

# СТУДЕНТ

# STUDENT

FEBRUARY, 1978  
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# ETUDIANT

GAZETA UKRAINSKOHO STUDENTSTVA KANADI 25 CENTS CANADA'S NEWSPAPER FOR UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

KLYMCHUK GIVES SOVIETS EXCUSE FOR NEW REPRESSIONS

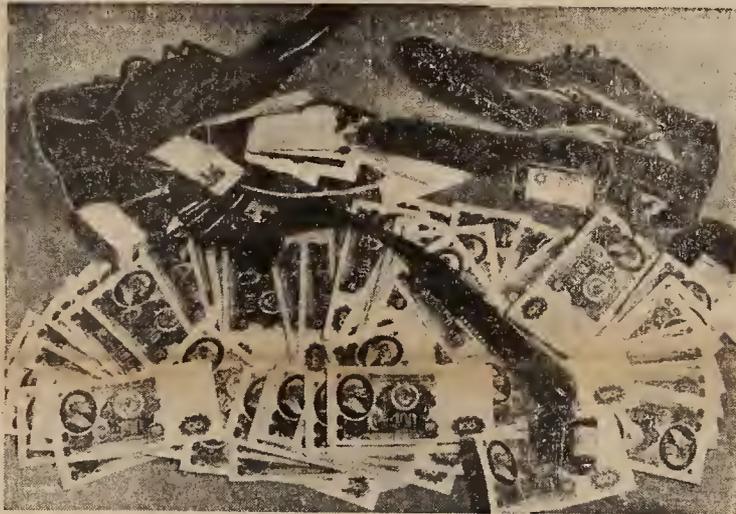
Zorjan Hrom'jak

## KLYMCHUK: KGB FRAME UP?

No sooner were the words, "I fully realize my guilt and am therefore turning to the great Soviet humanism with the request not to punish me" spoken than Andy Klymchuk was winging his way home to London on Aeroflot from Moscow, thus ending his five month incarceration in Lviv in Soviet Ukraine. [Klymchuk was released January 5 — Ed.]

This plea to Soviet humanism was later translated by Klymchuk, when in London, to be an agreement with the Soviet authorities, wherein, "We worked out a confession on a basis of I scrub your back and you scrub mine." Also in reference to his confession to which he "mostly agreed to," Klymchuk added, "I've made no secret of the fact that I had to say certain things at the time."

Klymchuk, as one may recall, was the 22 year old British student apprehended by the K.G.B. last August for smuggling 7,000 roubles (about \$13,000) and Ukrainian nationalist and anti-Bolshevik propaganda microfilms into Ukraine, ostensibly from a Ukrainian nationalist group to pass them on to the democratic (opposition) movement for its use. Subsequently Klymchuk was the subject of a defense campaign, organized on his behalf by British students (for more information refer to STUDENT; vol. 10, nos. 41 and 42). During the campaign, the scrutiny under which Klymchuk's case was placed generally dispelled the superficial and circumstantial evidence involving the Ukrainian nationalists, and indicated the entire affair to be a Soviet counter-intelligence move, beginning with London and ending in Lviv.



Soviet photo displays the 'evidence' — the shoes, the money, the film.

At first Klymchuk pleaded innocence at bast and ignorance at worst to his smuggling activity through quotes such as, "I have absolutely no idea who he is," in reference to James Dickson, the man in England who allegedly sat Klymchuk's smuggling mission up (and most probably a KGB agent), and "I reckon there's something in these shoes and these films as well" when passing the goods on to Ivan

(whom one can also suspect of KGB complicity), his Ukrainian contact in Lviv, apparently unaware of their contents, and finally "I knew I was taking a chance, but I got bored doing nothing ... I like living dangerously, taking risks ..." as his motivation for the smuggling activity.

However Klymchuk's five month incarceration in Lviv, along with his being subjected during his

stay to excursions to the theatre, films, circus, ballet, his relatives, the British Embassy ... and finally his spending New Year's Day drinking a bottle of champagne with his interrogator Repeto, "a likeable chap," in Klymchuk's own words, with whom he "got on all right," reminded Klymchuk of his reasons for being in the Soviet Union.

Thus Klymchuk's alternate explanation for his smuggling activity

was that it was "financed by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" and that he was recruited for this mission, as claimed by the Soviet authorities, by none other than Jaroslav Stetsko, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Bandervitsi) [OUN(B)] and the Anti-Bolshevik bloc of Nations [A.B.N.].

In addition, Klymchuk was "disgusted at the leaders of O.U.N." for "constantly intoxicating the minds of the young Ukrainian emigres about Soviet reality" and who, "push us towards committing crimes against the Ukrainian people and Soviet Ukraine ..." and "I accuse the organization of involving me in such actions and I am angry with myself and ashamed."

It is quite remarkable how Klymchuk, indicated by both his parents as being able to "speak only a few words of Ukrainian; and never being involved with the Ukrainian community, managed to suddenly acquire such profound and perceptive insights into this community.

Equally as remarkable is Klymchuk's statement in the Soviet Union, "I have seen here a real democracy, a happy working people ..." It is curious how Klymchuk managed to experience such a revelation from his short stay in the Soviet Union and his repeated aesthetic excursions during this time.

Since his release, Klymchuk has been suspiciously quiet about his acquiescence to Soviet authorities. One can understand Klymchuk's compliance while in the

(KLYMCHUK continued on page 11)

## MAJOR CRISIS FOR UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN CANADA

W.R. Petryshyn

Ukrainian-Canadians have lost 28,000 Ukrainian "mother-tongue" persons during the past five years. Advance information for the 1976 Minor Census was released December 15, 1977, by Statistics Canada. "Mother-tongue" data indicate that Ukrainian-Canadians

have lost approximately 5,600 persons (who used Ukrainian as their first language) every year during the last five years. In 1976 there were still 282,060 Canadians who claimed Ukrainian as their mother tongue.

During the 1971-76 period the

number of Canadians having English as their "mother-tongue" increased by 8.9%. The population claiming French, "mother-tongue" increased by 1.6%. During this period the Canadian population increased by 6.6%.

Through immigration there have been major increases in the following "mother-tongue" groups: Spanish (85.3%); Indo-Pakistani (79.5%); Portuguese (45.5%); and Chinese and Japanese (32.5%).

In 1971 the Census indicated 399,855 Ukrainian-Canadians claimed Ukrainian as their "mother-tongue." This represented 48.8% of the 580,660 Canadians who claimed to be of Ukrainian ethnic origin. Ukrainian "mother-tongue" refers to the language a person first learned in childhood and still understands at the time of the census.

In general there exists an increasing trend for ethnic Ukrainians to claim English as their "mother-tongue." Table 1 indicates the decreasing percentage of persons claiming Ukrainian "mother-tongue."

Moreover, the percentage of change occurring between ten

TABLE I  
MOTHER TONGUE OF UKRAINIAN-CANADIANS, 1931 TO 1976

Year	Percentage	Percentage Change
1931	93.1%	
1941	92.1%	1.0%
1951	79.6%	12.5%
1961	64.4%	15.2%
1971	48.8%	15.6%

year periods (1931-1941 is 1%, 1961-71 is 15.6%) indicates an increasingly accelerating trend. The quinquennial census of 1976 confirms this process, indicating that losses of persons with Ukrainian as their "mother-tongue" will be even greater in the future. The reason for this trend lies in the fact that there is a disproportional age structure among those people who have Ukrainian as their "mother-tongue." The 1971 Census indicated that, of the Ukrainian-Canadian population over 60 years of age, 91.5% had Ukrainian as their "mother-tongue."

However, in the same census, the Ukrainian-Canadian population under 30 years of age had only 29.6% of its members claiming a Ukrainian "mother-tongue." As those over 60 pass away, their numbers are not replaced by younger people.

There is a decreasing number of families who use Ukrainian as their home language. Today only 22.8% (or 132,606 people) of Canada's 580,660 Ukrainian-

(CRISIS continued on page 10)

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### AND MORE!

# СТУДЕНТ

## STUDENT ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

Please address all correspondence to:

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11248-91 St.  
Edmonton, Alberta  
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STUDENT is a national, trilingual and monthly newspaper for Ukrainian Canadian students, published by the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK).

STUDENT is a forum for fact and opinion reflecting the interests of Ukrainian Canadian students on various topics — social, cultural, political and religious.

The opinions and thoughts expressed in STUDENT represent the particular situation in which the Ukrainian Canadian student movement finds itself, both within the Ukrainian Canadian community and within Canadian society. Opinions expressed in individual signed articles are not necessarily those of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union or of the STUDENT editorial board.

Letters to the editor are welcome. We reserve the right to edit materials for publication.

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## Від редакції

### ЩО ТРЕБА ЗРОБИТИ?

### Збереження української мови

Тому, що редакційна колегія „Студента“ одержувала численні зауваження щодо браку українського статтей у нашому часописі, вона бажала б висвітлити своє ставлення до цієї справи.

Правда, є брак українськомовних статей у газеті „Студент“. Ми свідомі цього і маємо намір поправити цей стан. Але далеко не найменшою причиною проблеми є те, що саме ті, які найбільше моралізують про цей стан, які жаліються, що „Студент“ не виконує своїх обов'язків, як часопис українського студентства, сприйняті збереження української мови, самі не вислали до редакції ані одної статті по-українському.

Але втрата нашої мови серед студентства (і інших секторів нашого суспільства) зовсім не є моральним питанням. Це — соціальна проблема. Щоб встати і скритикувати когось за те, що його діти не вміють говорити по-українському, або, засуджувати молоде покоління за те, що воно не має жодного бажання зберігати свою мову і спадщину, або, обвинувачувати українське видання, що друкується більшістю англійською мовою, не є великим досягненням. Але чия це вина, що цей стан існує? Чи можна обвинувачувати якесь одну особу? Чому, від 1971-ого року кількість канадців, яка подає українську мову як свою рідну, впала понад 9%? Кожен може несамолюбиво моралізувати але це хіба забезпечить епітафію на чийсь могили. Питання, яке кожен моралізуючий (або інакший) українець повинен собі поставити: що він сам зробив щоб поправити цей стан?

Хоч мовля скаржитися про брак студентів в українськомовних курсах в університетах і поширення англійської мови серед нашої молоді, і так далше, до нудоти, кожен проблеми лежить в саміх переживаннях осіб в певних стадіях його життя. Навіть якщо хтось пробува-

тиме виконувати дитину в українському оточенні в домі, в більшості випадків вона зустрічається з асиміляційними течіями поза хатою, особливо в школах, і ці зовсім перекреслюють намагання батьків.

Найкращий захист проти цієї проблеми є навчання своєї дитини двоюмовно. В цьому напрямі, Едмонтонська англійсько-українська двоюмова програма є першою великою спробою (в нашому часі), яка надімося починати і в інших осередках. Двоюмова освіта (українська мова є мовою навчання, а не лиш предметом) не тільки дозволяє дитині зрозуміти українську мову, звичайні й культуру, але приносить ще й ту користь, що дитина краще вчиться творчо думати, розв'язувати проблеми. Вивчення мови починається в ранньому віці і завоюється щоденним вжитком у програмі частинного заглиблення. В такій опосіб дитина одночасно вчиться думати двома мовами — українською мовою та такою самою близькою, як і англійською. Дитина тоді почувається так само в себе дома в обох мовах (а також і в обох громадах).

Але навіть якщо англійсько-українська двоюмова програма є найбільш конкретним засобом збереження своєї мови, скільки батьків в Едмонтоні дійсно пробують впливати своїх дітей до двоюмовних шкіл? Скільки марно вичеркують чому вони не можуть вписати своїх дітей, навіть якщо вони погоджуються, що програма вартизна. Скільком, хоч вони заявляють що зробиють що небудь для добробуту своєї дитини, є „незручно“ в деяких випадках возити свою дитину кілька кварталів далше до двоюмовної школи? Скільки українських організацій активно підтримують цю програму, яка буде значно успішна в збереженні української мови й культури серед наших майбутніх поколінь ніж дотепершні спроби. Скільки

батьків і українських організацій активно агітують за установавання двомовних шкіл в інших осередках таких як наприклад Вінніпег (де йдуть спроби, щоб змінити провідні закони щодо навчання в інших мовах), Саскатун або Торонто? Але далше всі чимсь незадоволені.

Як конкретний план, який би включив студентів в проект збереження української мови, „Студент“ хотів би запропонувати початок міжнародного листування поміж українськими студентами різних країн світу. У нас є спільний знаменник, це те що ми розуміємо українську мову, ми б були змушені спілкуватися по-українському. Це буде конкретний крок до збереження мови серед нас, поскільки найкращим способом зберігати мову є вживати її.

„Студент“ пропонує, щоб одне листування почалося виданням літнього числа включно українською мовою. Запропонована тема цього числа буде аналіз стану українських студентів і їхніх організацій на Заході — в Європі, Канаді, Сполучених Штатах Америки, Австралії і Південній Америці. Це включатиме такі речі, як погляді їхніх організацій, їхні принципи, їхні членства, їхня діяльність, їхні минулі, їхні конгреси і їхня ролі в відповідних суспільствах.

Ми звертаємося до всіх українських студентів на Заході подавати свої погляди на цю тему. Кінцевий в'єсвід їхній зусиль буде цінний документ про розвиток українського студентського руху на Заході. Після цього кошти друку в українській мові значно вищі ніж в англійській мові, ми також звертаємося до тих в українській громаді, які цікавляться збереженням української мови, фінансово підтримати цей проект. Ця підтримка може нам здійснити нашу ціль.

H. M.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

LET US SAY THIS ABOUT THAT

Dear Sir,

As Vice-President of the Ukrainian Students Union in Great Britain and a participating member of the Committee to Defend Andrij Klymchuk, I would like to protest, on behalf of the Executive of the USU, against the inaccuracies and the clear political bias in Vera Dumyn's article "British Students Defend Klymchuk," which was

published in the December 1977 issue of STUDENT.

The article states that "The case of Klymchuk has received broad support in Britain due to the initiatives of the National Union of Students, the International Marxist

(THIS continued on page 11)

## EDITORIAL

### WHAT IS TO BE DONE? (RETENTION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE)

Considering the numerous comments which we have received regarding the lack of Ukrainian language articles in STUDENT, the editorial board would like to explain its position on this issue.

Sure there is a lack of Ukrainian articles in STUDENT. We realize this and have every intention of rectifying the situation. Certainly not the least of the problem's causes is the fact that those who moralize the most about the situation, and pitifully lament the shrinking of STUDENT's responsibility as a Ukrainian student publication to uphold the Ukrainian language, have themselves yet to submit a single article to be published in Ukrainian.

However, the loss of our language amongst students (and other sectors of our society) is certainly not a moral issue. It is a social problem. It is no mean feat to stand up and criticize an individual because his children cannot speak Ukrainian. Or to accuse the younger generation of simply having no desire to retain their language and heritage. Or to denounce a Ukrainian newspaper which prints predominantly in the English language. But whose fault

is it that this situation exists? Can any individual be blamed? Why is it that since 1971 the number of Canadians claiming Ukrainian as their mother tongue has dropped over 9%? One may moralize frantically but the most it will do is provide an epithet for one's grave. The question which every moralizing (or other) Ukrainian should ask himself is what has he/she done to rectify the situation.

While one may complain about the lack of student enrolment in university Ukrainian language courses, rampant usage of English amongst our youth, etc., ed naussum, the root of the problem lies in the experiences of the individual in the early stages of his life. Even though one may attempt to raise one's child in a Ukrainian environment at home, in most cases he is exposed to assimilation forces outside the home, particularly in the schools, which more than adequately nullify the parents' efforts.

By far the most effective way to combat this problem is to educate one's child bilingually. To this end, Edmonton's English-Ukrainian bilingual program is a pioneering effort (in our time) of no small importance which will hopefully be

initiated in other centers. Bilingual education (in which Ukrainian is the language of instruction, not merely a subject of instruction) not only gives the child an appreciation of the Ukrainian language, customs and culture, but has the added benefit of increasing his creative thinking and problem-solving skills. Learning begins early and is acquired by normal everyday usage in a partial immersion program. The child thus simultaneously learns to think in two languages — the Ukrainian becomes as familiar to him as English, making the child as comfortable in one language as in the other (and hence also in either the English or Ukrainian community).

But even though the English-Ukrainian bilingual program is by far the most concrete way in which one can ensure that one's child will retain his language, how many parents in Edmonton actually bother to enroll their children in the program? How many grasp at straws to make excuses as to why, although they agree the program is worthwhile, they cannot send their children? How many, although they claim they will do anything for their child's well-being, are greedily "in-

convenienced" by the necessity in some cases to drive their child a few blocks to a bilingual school? How many Ukrainian organizations actively support this program which will probably be much more successful in the retention of the Ukrainian language and culture amongst our future generations than they have been with the present ones? How many parents and Ukrainian organizations are actively agitating for the establishment of bilingual schools in other centers such as Winnipeg (where approaches to change provincial legislation regarding education in different languages are being made), Saskatoon or Toronto? And yet they all complain.

As a concrete proposal that would involve students in a project aimed at language retention, STUDENT would like to propose that an international correspondence be initiated between Ukrainian students of various countries in the world. As we all have the common factor of understanding Ukrainian, we would be forced to communicate in Ukrainian. This will be a concrete step towards language retention amongst us, since the best way to retain a language is to use it.

STUDENT would propose that this correspondence begin with the publication of its July issue entirely in the Ukrainian language. The theme proposed for this issue would be an analysis of the status of Ukrainian students and their organizations in the West — in Europe, Canada, the United States, Australia and South America. This includes such things as their organizations' views, their principles, their membership, their activities, their past, their Congresses and their role in their respective societies.

We appeal to all Ukrainian students in the West to submit their views on the subject. The final product of their efforts will be a valuable document on the development of the Ukrainian student movement in the West. Since the costs of printing in the Ukrainian language are substantially higher than in the English, we would also appeal to those in the Ukrainian community who are concerned with the retention of the Ukrainian language, for financial assistance in this project. This support will assist us in the achievement of our goals.

N. M.

# Заклик до всіх зацікавлених осіб



Myroslav Marynovych

Electrical engineer, born in Kiev, in 1949, was an editor for "Tekhnika" publishing house before his arrest. Was dismissed from his job three times for his views and his friendship with oppositionists. In November 1976 became a founding member of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. After searches of the flats of Marynovych and his relatives and interrogation by the KGB, arrested by the KGB for "committing especially dangerous crimes against the state." Has been held in an isolation prison of the KGB in Kiev awaiting trial.

Радянська дійсність вимагає, щоб на Заході групи оборони допомагали радянським опозиціонерам, забезпечуючи їх добрим правовим дорадництвом та адвокатами. До тепер ми звичайно клопоталися опозиціонерами цюю після їхнього суду та суворого засуду. Але з досвіду відомо, що суворість засуду радянського опозиціонера пераз стоїть у відворотному відношенні до того, якого розголосу набрала його справа за межами Радянського Союзу. Вже від кількох місяців ведеться праця в оборону Микрослава Мариновича та Миколи Матусевича. Союз Українського Студентства Канади (СУСК) тому найняв адвоката, що оборонятиме цих заарештованих членів Української Громадської Групи Сприяння Виконання Гельсінкських Угод (з осідком у Києві). Це — Дж. В. Померант, К.Р., відомий за своєю правозахисницьку працю, та директор Канадської Спільноти для Оборони Громадських Прав. Інших опозиціонерів також обороняють адвокати з Заходу: Лук'яненко — Дж. Вінер, Гінзбург — Е. Вежіет-Віл'ямс, Руденка й Тихого — Р. Кларк, Орлова — Дж. МакДоналд, а Сергієв — Б. Гол.

Ми звертаємося до всіх, кому лежить на серці доля опозиціонерів у Радянському Союзі, допомогти нам фінансово. Поможіть нам добитися конкретних вислідів. Експлайте Ваші чеки (зазначуючи, що це на оборону Мариновича й Матусевича) на адресу:

Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union  
Eastern Office  
191 Lippincott St.  
Toronto, Ontario  
M5S 2P3

## AN APPEAL TO ALL CONCERNED INDIVIDUALS

Soviet reality requires that assistance be rendered from defence groups in the West in obtaining genuine legal advice and counsel for Soviet oppositionists. We tend to concern ourselves only after dissidents have endured a trial and have been given an extremely harsh sentence. But the extent to which a Soviet oppositionist is punished is often inversely proportional to how well he is known outside the Soviet Union.

A campaign for the defence of Matusевич and Marynovych has been underway for several months now. The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK) has retained a renowned human rights attorney, Joseph B. Pomerant, O.C., to represent Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusевич, arrested members of the Kiev-based Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. Pomerant is the Director of the Civil Liberties Union of Canada and a lawyer of wide repute. Other oppositionists are also being represented by Western lawyers — Lukianenko by Geoffry Weiner, Ginzburg by Edward Bennet Williams, Rudenko and Tykhy by Remsay Clark, Orlov by J. McDonald.

We are appealing to all those concerned with the plight of Soviet dissidents to aid us with financial support. Please forward your donation (indicating that it is for the defense of Matusевич and Marynovych) to the following address:

Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union  
Eastern Office  
191 Lippincott St.  
Toronto, Ontario  
M5S 2P3

Допоможіть в боротьбі за справедливість в Україні!



Mykola Matusевич

Historian, born in 1946 in Kiev, expelled from the history faculty of the Kiev Institute of Pedagogy in 1949 for refusing to inform on friends and acquaintances for the KGB. Had difficulty finding employment even as a labourer, and was continuously insulted and harassed by the militia and police for his support of political prisoners. In December 1975 charged with "hooliganism" and jailed for 15 days for singing Christmas carols. In November 1976 became a founding member of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. After dismissal from work, searches of his flat and the quarters of his relatives, interrogation by the KGB, was arrested by the KGB on April 23, 1977 for "committing especially dangerous crimes against the state." He has been held in an isolation prison of the KGB in Kiev awaiting trial.

## TO THE KGB

An anonymous poet in Europe wrote the following ditty:

As Leonid Ilich just did say,  
the KGB is here to stay  
for we have cadres proud and true  
leave our prisoners true blue too  
in the name of democracy  
we will uphold gerontocracy  
Although the state may fade away  
the KGB is here to stay

In all the concentration camps  
the workers light their little lamps  
while Lenin's body turns around  
we just carry on and make our rounds  
Oh this is where they all are at  
our conscious proletariat  
for although the state may fade away  
the KGB is here to stay.

(sung to the tune of 'Oh Christmas Tree...' with a Russian accent.)

## SOVIET EMIGRE DISSIDENTS REGROUP

On January 23 the Winnipeg Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners and the University of Manitoba Ukrainian Students' Club sponsored a lecture by Adrian Karatnycky on the International Sakharov Hearings in Rome and human rights in the U.S.S.R. Adrian Karatnycky, a journalist and translator, is currently the secretary for the New York Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. He was recently assigned by Harper's magazine to cover the Sakharov Hearings which were held in Rome November 24-28, 1977. The aims of these hearings were to publicize and bring to the attention of the West specific cases of suppression of human rights in the Soviet Union and the particular freedom of speech, assembly and freedom of movement. Some of the points raised by Mr. Karatnycky are summarized below.

The tribunal was presided over by Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal, and numerous journalists, scholars, and political figures came to the hearings, while the largest-ever gathering of Soviet oppositionists in the West was in attendance. This was a prime occasion for Soviet exiles to debate and discuss among themselves, and although the tribunal itself was characterized by scrupulous attention to fact and

detailed testimony, the "back-room" discussions among the Soviet exiles demonstrated an amazing variety of viewpoints and ideological orientations. More than ever before, one could note an increasingly important political differentiation within the Soviet emigration. As political attitudes form and splits occur among the exiles, as they continue to write, travel to various conferences, and have an effect on the policies of Western governments, it is becoming more and more important to understand the ideological trends in their community.

Much of the most stimulating informal discussion came from exiled Soviet scientists, and while there is no general rule, it seems that it is mostly poets and novelists who are the more conservative force, while it is the scientists who are the radicals on the left. The conservative elements, as represented by writers such as Maximov and Nekrasov, are grouped around the quarterly journal Kontinent. Although it claims to be a non-partisan publication, the reactionary politics of its editor and many contributors are well known, and several members of the original editorial board have broken their association with the journal. It is interesting to note that the most

recent emigre intellectuals from the Soviet Union are refusing to cooperate with Kontinent for political reasons, since, contrary to popular belief, the majority of these recent emigre intellectuals can be described as liberals or democratic socialists.

The democratic left, however, is itself surprisingly variegated. Since in the Soviet Union there is little opportunity to exchange political viewpoints, to carry on any wide-ranging debates on political topics, and to act in a political fashion, the oppositionists in the Soviet Union are often forced to create their "own" ideologies. Consequently many of the new emigrants have elaborately conceived personal world views. The basis for political consensus in the democratic opposition is not a political program of any sort, but an adherence to constitutionality and to international human rights covenants that the Soviet Union has signed. Thus dialogue and tolerance are integral parts of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union. The tasks and

(DISSIDENTS continued on page 11)

# KOSTASH: THE CHILDREN HAVE GROWN

Myrre Kostash is a freelance journalist who has written an extensive inquiry into the history of the first Canadian-born generation of Ukrainians (All of Baba's Children, Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1977). Her work has generated much controversy and has broken into the Canadian bestsellers' list. **STUDENT** seeks here some of Myrre's impressions about her ethnicity, about her experiences, and about the impact of her book. Ms. Kostash plans next to write a book about the 1960's from her perspective as a feminist, an ethnic, and a Prairie person.

**STUDENT:** Could you tell us something about your background?

**KDSTASH:** I was born in Edmonton, my mother was born in Edmonton. My grandfather never homesteaded — he was a labourer in Edmonton. My parents were teachers in these one-room country schools. I was educated at the University of Alberta with a B.A., the University of Washington and the University of Toronto with an M.A. in Russian literature.

**STUDENT:** In the course of your development and education, how much of your consciousness evolved from a North American background and how much from a Ukrainian one?

**KOSTASH:** My Ukrainian education was parallel to my North American education, but my Ukrainian education ended in my early adolescence. I went to 'Ridna Shkola' Sunday school camp, and CYMK, but stopped half-way through high school except for CYMK — at CYMK we had dances. **STUDENT:** What were the reasons? **KOSTASH:** I couldn't speak Ukrainian, that was the big problem. I didn't know what the hell was going on most of the time. And the most inquisitive I got about what was going on in the world around me, politically particularly, I didn't find anyone discussing those things in the Ukrainian community. I found the discussion going on outside, so I just turned my attention towards different fields.

**STUDENT:** How did you come about to writing All of Baba's Children?

**KDSTASH:** (Mel) Hurtig apparently heard that I had got a Canada Council Grant and wrote to me in Toronto and said he would be interested in discussing publishing the book. He didn't know what I'd be doing — he just seemed interested in publishing whatever I had in mind.

**STUDENT:** What was your grant application for?

**KOSTASH:** My grant application was to do a book about three generations of Ukrainians in one family. I would somehow find this family somewhere out in one of these towns in Alberta and I would describe what happened to the Ukrainian Canadians by going

your work, i.e. did you wish to stress any particular points about Ukrainian Canadians?

**KOSTASH:** I was definitely going to be interested in women's work, women's role, status of women in the community because I was a feminist and concerned myself with these things. I was going to stress the lives of the perfectly ordinary Ukrainians, to avoid as much as possible the success stories within the community — the lawyers, real estate people, etc.

**STUDENT:** You differentiate quite a bit between the "ordinary" Ukrainian Canadians and the "big shots" in the "charmed circle."

**KDSTASH:** Right!

**STUDENT:** But you never explicitly say who these people are.

**KDSTASH:** Well, what distinguishes them in the first place is their education, and then the extent to which they were affected by the nationalist organizations — the politics and ideology of the middle-of-the-road and right-of-that-organizations in the community, their adherence to the church — the notions they had about their piety, and their income level. The charmed circle is very much in the community, but they function as an elite vis-a-vis the mass of people in the town and they also function as a mediator between that community and the Anglo-Saxon establishment outside. In other words, I see a hierarchy — a social and economic hierarchy — within the Ukrainian Canadian community.

**STUDENT:** You have come across very pessimistically to the idea that Ukrainians could have or even would have wanted to retain a distinct identity beyond their native villages. This is almost to say that the immigrants remained ethnics organized vertically only temporarily, i.e. until they could rise from the lowest social stratum and "make it" in Canadian society. This view attributes only raw desires to Ukrainian businessmen and assumes that Ukrainian nationalism was an irrelevant and inconsiderable force in Canada. Isn't this being rather simplistic in attempting to portray an entire community? Unless, of course, your purpose was to show only a sector of that community.

**KOSTASH:** I've gone on developing intellectually end politically since

"it" in Anglo-Canadian terms. **STUDENT:** What was the stress of your research? Was it an oral history?

**KOSTASH:** A social history, maybe a "pop" history in a way. Lifestyles, attitudes, popular culture — that was my stress rather than the history of ideas.

**STUDENT:** In effect, quite consciously a journalistic piece rather than an academic work.

**KOSTASH:** Absolutely! What else? That's all I could bring to it. My training, my expertise, my interest as a journalist, so that the stresses and focuses in the book do belong to a journalistic inquiry rather than an academic or scholarly one.

**STUDENT:** Since your book has been published, you have been on tour promoting it quite extensively. What sort of reactions have you been getting to it from different parts of the country.

**KOSTASH:** In Vancouver I met mainly media people, not members of the community, so it's hard to say what they thought. Although I was on an open-line show and people were calling in and wanting to talk about the fact that they had been discriminated against as Ukrainians when they were younger. In Calgary I talked to a group at the university and there seemed to be a general interest in the whole area, the entire subject, especially the political history I did readings in Saskatchewan, in Saskatoon particularly well-attended and I was overwhelmed by their response. People seemed to be so grateful for this book, like saying "Thank you for having written this," like I had given them something no one else had bothered to. There was such affection and appreciation — I was really quite moved by it. I talked to students in Winnipeg and Ottawa.

They had an academic interest in how was one going to go about writing ethnic history now, what are the themes, what sort of questions come out of this sort of research, what has been the failing of existing material on the subject. And then, of course, Toronto was the big one and I didn't know what to expect because I know the Ukrainians in the East are another kettle of fish altogether. I was going to be dealing with a very nationalistic group of people, the "novoprybuli". I expected to be really creamed for being unacademic and unhistorical, and so on.

**STUDENT:** And how did it turn out?

**KDSTASH:** Well, there certainly was that criticism, but there were 250 people there on the night of a blizzard, so I thought that was a pretty good indication of people's concern. There were isolated elements of hostility towards what I was doing, people who really resented what I said about anti-Semitism, about the church, what I said about the left-wing organizations, my criticisms of KYK — KYK is a sacred cow; but the general mood of the audience was really in support of me. There were times I would say something in my defence then there would be this spontaneous applause from the majority of the audience, so I got the feeling they were really behind me and that the hard-core opposition never really materialized.

**STUDENT:** How about reaction to your book in Two Hills itself?

**KOSTASH:** I haven't been there yet to check it out. I intend to go there and make a presentation. I hope they will understand what I've done with the book and not be upset that I have included some bad news about the area as well as the good. I hope they will understand that the book comes out of an incredible amount of caring about these people and what's happened to them. I could have only have done this book if I felt close to these people.

**STUDENT:** How do you view the criticism that your book is un-historical, particularly in light of the fact that many people regard it as a definitive work of Ukrainian Canadian history?

**KOSTASH:** It certainly isn't definitive. In fact, I consider it the first of many books that will come from my generation. Perhaps the excitement comes from the fact that it's my generation that's speaking in this book, that the material we've had so far comes from my parents' generation. So that my perception of what's happened in the community is conditioned and coloured by my generation's experiences. The kind of criticism I get to the book is conditioned by the mindset

made sense given who I am. But now I think I've gone on developing that other possibility, so if I were to rewrite the last chapter I wouldn't be so vague.

**STUDENT:** Do you think you now better understand your parents' generation?

**KOSTASH:** Absolutely! I'm able to fill in now my general impression of them with the details of their lives — the politics, the personalities, the texture of the community, the controversies ... I can see where



... We're now in a position to be more critical

of my parents' generation. I think they're still thinking that it's necessary to portray only the really positive and romanticized characteristics of the community because the Ukrainian Canadian is considered something of a hick, a second-class citizen.

**STUDENT:** Similarly to how the Quebecois used to romanticize their history?

**KOSTASH:** Yes. The community in general was held in pretty low esteem relative to what it is today. To counteract that prevailing general attitude held by Anglo-Canadian society, the ethnic elite counteracted with this very positive, reinforcing mystique about the community. That's no longer necessary for my generation. We're now in a position to be much more critical. That's what I would call it — it's been called a negative book, but I would call it a critical book. My standard response to the charge that I'm too hard on the Ukrainians, that I don't give them enough credit for their group strength and their heroic achievement is that we know that already. That's already there in the literature and in the mythology. I feel this is part of a dialectic process — I'm not providing some sort of an antithesis out of which will come a new synthesis of ethnic history.

**STUDENT:** Towards the end of Baba's Children you remark the only inheritance you've gained from your Ukrainian experience is a feeling of 'otherness', a consciousness which refutes point-blank acceptance of Anglo-Canadian norms ...

**KDSTASH:** ... in other words a mind-set or an ideology, if you will. I think that last chapter is a kind of "crie du coeur" which was written before I had fully developed my ideas. I found myself in the excruciating position where I saw myself being assimilated into something which was really inhuman in a lot of ways from my point of view as a woman, an ethnic, and a Prairie person. And yet the model which I was offered by which to resist that process — the Ukrainian Canadianism coming out of the mainstream of that community was also untenable. It didn't relate at all to my realities, my experiences over the last ten or fifteen years. I really felt caught between the devil and the deep-blue sea. That's the tone that that last chapter takes and that's why some people find it so infuriating. I seem to equate to assimilation, but really all I was saying was that I couldn't see any choice, I couldn't see a way of being Ukrainian Canadian that

they came from, and by extension, where I come from.

**STUDENT:** From what you've seen of the Ukrainian Canadian community, both present and past, what sort of future development would you predict?

**KOSTASH:** What I would see happening is that we have to broaden the definition of our ethnicity so that we can then meet with other ethnics and other outsiders and other critics whoever they may be — they may be the Quebecois, native people, farmers and fishermen, the women's movement — and form alliances in terms of specific actions and not isolate ourselves in terms of our ethnicity. We must go beyond specific cultural attributes — although it is important to celebrate these — and see that we have common cause with other groups. We must take into account several factors — that fewer of us will be speaking Ukrainian, that there will be more intermarrying, and that we will be more mobile, making it harder to form generation-long communities — when we consider what will constitute a viable ethnicity.

**STUDENT:** Do you see your increasing consciousness as an ethnic having an influence on the manner in which you approach your work, i.e. the manner in which you recently covered the Unity Hearings?

**KOSTASH:** I think it's liberated me from the notion that I'm just a Canadian like everybody else — I don't think that way anymore. I think that to speak that way is being irresponsible, a way of avoiding coming to terms with the real divisions which exist amongst the people of this country in regards to ethnic origin, sex, or how you make your living — see ethnic consciousness as a way of resisting the government's attempts to polarize us as Anglophones and Francophones.

**STUDENT:** Do you see any more positive attributes in your ethnicity? **KOSTASH:** Yes, but at that point I get very airy-fairy. I can see how I am in touch with certain values which come from a peasant culture and which may, in fact, be still applicable. We can take the values of community, collectively, co-operation — a certain tribalness, support through the blood group — and extract them from an agrarian order to use in the ethnic communities we set up now. I think the ethnics have inherited this lock, stock, and barrel from our antecedents and can usefully plug them into a new society.



... I consider it the first of many books that will come from my generation

through the generational experiences of this family. Then I realized it was going to be pretty hard to find one family intact and that I might not be able to get all the material I needed from one family and I would have problems with the language if there was still the pioneer generation alive. So, gradually I honed in on one generation, that was the first Canadian-born generation.

**STUDENT:** Did you bring any biases or pre-suppositions into

I've finished writing the book and have come to understand in fact that the notion, the attachment to the homeland and the desire for the homeland to be ... a very important sustaining emotion and idea in the Ukrainian Canadian community in general. I agree with you I probably downplayed it — I don't properly appreciate that. But I don't know whether that's the same thing as resisting assimilation. I think that idea co-exists alongside the felt need of the people to "make

# BRIEFS ON THE USSR & EASTERN EUROPE

FROM INFORMATION BULLETIN (VOL. 1, NO. 3) PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONERS (EDMONTON)

## POLAND: STUDENTS HARASSED BY POLICE

The Student Solidarity Committee (SKS) was the object of a series of police raids over a three-day period. According to Reuter of Nov. 21, 1977, the police raided six to eight flats inhabited by leaders of the SKS on the night of November 20, confiscating papers and typewriters but not detaining anyone. One of the searches (lasting seven hours) was conducted at the home of law graduate B. Sonik, where about 120 SKS supporters were holding a meeting at the time.

On November 22, another student leader — L. Maleszko — was detained by police while walking in a Cracow street, taken to his apartment, which was then searched, and afterward freed. Later the same day, who students distributing leaflets in the streets of Cracow, calling for free access to some restricted library books, were detained by the police for several hours and then released.

## USSR: WORKERS' DISSIDENT

Vladimir Klebanov, a former coal-miner who organized a group of workers to protest hazardous working conditions, was arrested on Dec. 19, 1977 and placed in a psychiatric hospital in Moscow. Klebanov had previously spent four and a half years in psychiatric hospitals for exercising the "right to complain" regarding workers' interests, in particular safety conditions. Because of what Klebanov called his mine's "unrealistically high plan" of coal production, miners often had to work 12 hours a day instead of the normal six hours. As a result they became tired and careless and accidents took the lives of 12 to 15 people a year and injured 600-700 others in his mine alone. The authorities continuously refused to investigate the causes of the death and injuries.

Some of the other members of this group include V. Nadezhda Kurakina, waitress; Anatoly N. Poznyakov, locksmith; S.A. Ogenevyan, engineer.

According to case histories compiled by the group, psychiatric hospitals are often used as a weapon against workers who protest about their working conditions. Often, workers are given prison sentences for "hooliganism."

The workers' group has criticized the existing trade unions for not defending the rights of workers.

The case of the Klebanov group reflects an increase in workers' dissent in the USSR. A significant factor, which undoubtedly influenced the Soviet authorities' decision to suppress the workers' group is the fact that the group has attempted to establish links with the general civil rights movement in the USSR. Klebanov approached the civil rights activist A. Sakharov, hoping that Sakharov would take up their case. Apparently, Sakharov refused to take any action "because he feared that some of the workers who had signed protests did not understand the risks of open dissent."

By the end of November 1977, Klebanov's group had collected the signatures of 38 workers from 24 cities on an open letter denouncing "the groundless repressions" and "the plundering of people's dignity, the measures of terror used in an attempt to frighten honest citizens."

Klebanov has recently been released from the psychiatric hospital and has been "advised" by the authorities to leave the country.

## USSR: DISSIDENT IN HIGH PLACES

Dissident activity has been taking place in the Soviet Union in unexpected quarters — at the highest party level. A samizdat journal that has been prepared was almost ready to be put into circulation when it was confiscated by the KGB and its producers arrested. According to a report by Swedish journalist, N.M. Udgaard, who actually saw a copy of the finished publication, its contents were of a "thoroughly orthodox Marxism." The journal argued against the use of police methods in dealing with dissidents in the ideological struggle.

The group that put the journal out was composed of eight people, among them some particularly well-known ideologists — two members of the editorial board of the publication *Molodoi Kommunist* (Young Communist). The two were: Otto Laciš — who held a position of considerable responsibility in the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, — and L. Karpinsky — a former highly placed functionary in the Komsomol, a member of the editorial board of *Pravda*, and in recent years, one of the directors of the Progress publishing house.

The appearance of such a group led to lengthy deliberations in the highest party circles and Politburo member, A. Pelshe, was appointed to head an investigation. Several members of the group, including Kerpinsky, were thrown out of the party and relieved of their positions, the rest were demoted and given a "strong reprimand."

Obviously jolted by this latest revelation of dissident activity, the party continued to discuss the matter and measures are to be taken to prevent the construction of a similar group within the party in the near future.

## POLAND: INDEPENDENT WORKERS' CELL FOUNDED

The Committee for Social Self-Defense (KSS-KOR) announced on November 22, 1977, that a "cell" of the KSS-KOR samizdat journal *Robotnik* (Worker) has been formed among a group of workers in Radom, scene of worker rioting in June 1976. The cell pledged itself to fight for the rights of the working class independently of the official trade unions, which it described as "dead" institutions, and to support the creation of other independent bodies to represent Polish workers. It said that it would attempt to convince workers that they should struggle for a greater voice in decisions concerning their pay, working hours, social conditions, and housing. The statement issued by the cell that it had been formed on November 4, 1977, did not indicate how many members it had. It was, however, signed by Leopold Gierek, one of the workers jailed after the June 1976 riots.

The creation of this new group is significant in that it represents the first concrete evidence of institutionalized links between the workers and the intelligentsia, following their ad hoc co-operation in the successful struggle to free those imprisoned for activities connected with the 1976 price protests.

## POLAND: SAMIZDAT JOURNAL CONFISCATED

The Movement for Human and Civil Rights (ROPCO) was recently the subject of the first police raid on a dissident's apartment in two months. According to Reuter and

UPI, six plainclothes policemen and four uniformed officers arrived at the apartment of human rights campaigner Marke Skuza at 6:30 hours on November 18, 1977 and conducted a thorough four-and-a-half hour search. They confiscated 450 copies of the COPCO journal, *Opinie*, which had just been mimeographed and was awaiting distribution.

## USSR: PARADZHANOV FREED

The well-known Soviet Armenian film director, S. Paradzhanov was recently released from imprisonment. Paradzhanov was arrested in January, 1974 for trafficking in art objects and icons, but due to lack of supporting evidence, was released and subsequently re-arrested and sentenced to five years of imprisonment. It is believed that the harsh sentence was a reflection of the Soviet authorities' treatment of homosexuals. Prior to his arrest, Paradzhanov had fallen into disfavor with Soviet authorities due to his protests against the arrest and harassment of dissidents. An international campaign had been launched on behalf of Paradzhanov in which the French Communist Party made several appeals for his release. Paradzhanov is now residing in the republic of Georgia.

## USSR: DZHEMILEV RELEASED

Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev was released from prison on December 22nd at the end of a two-and-one-half year prison term. Earlier reports had indicated that Soviet authorities planned to re-arrest him in the prison-camp, and to sentence him to his fifth term. Dzhemilev's case had been the focus of an international defense campaign. In the weeks before the end of his sentence, Amnesty International in New York launched a telegram campaign. The Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee in New York had a letter signed by four former political prisoners printed in the December 20th issue of the *New York Times*. Dzhemilev gained the enmity of the Soviet government by his active support of the efforts of the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland. The entire Crimean Tatar population has been deported from the Crimea in May, 1944 and their republic was abolished by Stalin in 1946. Dzhemilev's case

came to international attention when he undertook a ten-month hunger strike beginning in June 1975. In April, 1976, Dzhemilev was brought to trial and was sentenced to forced labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

## NEWS IN BRIEF CZECHOSLOVAKIA EAST GERMANY

Members of Charter 77 recently declared publicly that many young people are discriminated against in terms of the educational opportunities they are allowed. They claim that students are admitted to secondary or post-secondary educational institutions on the basis of "civic obedience without reserve or criticism." Access to education is also determined according to the activities of parents. Often, parents sacrifice their ideals in order to enable their children to receive a proper education.

On January 6, the first anniversary of the Charter 77 movement launched to publicize a continuing government drive against political dissidents. Czechoslovak chartists called for all political detainees to be freed and for security police to stop harassing human rights activists. The first Charter manifesto was endorsed by 241 supporters. The list of signatories has since increased to approximately 1,000.

In an anonymous manifesto, the East German regime has been strongly attacked apparently from the inside. If the manifesto is genuine — and most informed opinion in the West believes that it is — the document would indicate the existence of the first opposition group, as opposed to individual dissidents, in East Germany in recent years. The authors call themselves the Federation of Democratic Communists of Germany, and the West German magazine which published the document claims that they are high and middle-ranking officials in the East Germany Communist Party. The manifesto rejects the one-party system and Soviet domination, and calls for an independent judiciary and parliament. It attacks leading figures in office, accusing them of corruption, abuse of office and parasitism.

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# THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE

## Objectives of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies was established at the University of Alberta in July 1976 to serve the academic needs of scholars in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies in all parts of Canada. Publicly funded without term, the Institute has six objectives:

1. To encourage program development in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies at the undergraduate and graduate levels in Canadian universities.
2. To encourage the study of, and research on, Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian subjects by means of undergraduate scholarships, graduate thesis fellowships, and research grants to university academic staff and to proven scholars under contract.
3. To encourage the publication of
  - a) research on Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian subjects,
  - b) paperback editions of notable master's and doctoral theses,
  - c) paperback reprints of out-of-print and other books.
4. To serve as a national inter-university clearing house for Ukrainian studies in Canada by coordinating program development and avoiding duplication in research and publication.
5. To serve as a resource centre for English-Ukrainian bilingual education in Alberta and elsewhere.
6. To assist in the establishment of creative contacts among professors, scholars, writers, researchers, and librarians in Ukrainian studies, by promoting and organizing meetings, seminars, lectures, conferences, and tours.

## Structure

The Institute is under the jurisdiction of the Dean of Interdisciplinary Studies. Policy is developed by the director, assisted by two associate directors at the University of Alberta and the Institute's University of Toronto office. The Advisory Council helps to promote the interdisciplinary dimension of Ukrainian studies at the University of Alberta. The Council of Associates, consisting of the most senior personnel in Ukrainian studies in Canadian universities, helps to implement the Institute's inter-university function.

## Program Development

The Institute offers no courses or degree programs. It is a national coordinating body for courses and programs in Ukrainian studies offered in various departments at Canadian universities. It also endeavors to initiate programs in underdeveloped areas of Ukrainian studies. Specifically, it is concerned:

1. To expand and strengthen department-based programs of Ukrainian studies at Canadian universities by increasing enrolments, initiating courses in desirable areas, and avoiding unnecessary duplication.
2. To encourage the appointment of staff knowledgeable in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies at various Canadian universities.

## Research

The Institute furthers research in five ways:

1. By providing ten undergraduate scholarships worth \$1,500 per year (renewable under certain conditions).
2. By providing five master's thesis fellowships worth \$3,500 per year (non-renewable).

3. By providing three doctoral dissertation fellowships worth \$5,000 per year (renewable under certain conditions).
4. By awarding research grants to academics and other qualified scholars (renewable under certain conditions).
5. By awarding two student-travel bursaries worth \$5,000 per year to Ukraine or to centres significant in the history of Ukraine or Ukrainian settlement in Canada (non-renewable).

Graduate fellowships and bursaries may be held by Canadian citizens or landed immigrants in any Canadian university or elsewhere. Undergraduate scholarships are awarded to Canadian citizens or landed immigrants only at Canadian universities. While the Institute contracts research beyond Canada's borders, requests for research grants are accepted only from Canadian citizens and landed immigrants.

## Publication

The Institute publishes:

1. "The Alberta Library in Ukrainian-Canadian Studies," a cloth-bound and paperback series dealing with past and present aspects of Ukrainian life in Canada.
2. "The Canadian Library in Ukrainian Studies," a cloth-bound and paperback series emphasizing developments in history, the humanities, and the social sciences primarily in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ukraine.
3. "The Thesis Library in Ukrainian Studies," a paperback series of theses and dissertations valuable as primary source materials.
4. *The Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*, a semi-annual journal edited by graduate students under Professor G. Luckyj's direction, containing notable articles, course and seminar papers, parts of theses and dissertations, correspondence, and book reviews.

The Institute also assists Professor Luckyj's Ukrainian textbook publication project at the University of Toronto to improve the quality of teaching materials, especially in literature and language at the university level.

Jointly with the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe, the Institute is committed to preparing a four-volume English language, alphabetical encyclopaedia of Ukraine. This major project, currently underway in Ukrainian at Sarcelles, France, with Professor V. Kubijovyc as editor-in-chief, will be coordinated in Canada by Professor Luckyj. The first of the 800-page volumes is projected for 1980.

## Coordination

To coordinate Ukrainian studies at Canadian universities, the Institute

1. Compiles detailed registers of all academics in Ukrainian studies in Canadian universities, as well as all scholars and researchers engaged in Ukrainian studies in Canada.
2. Publishes a newsletter available without cost to all persons interested in Ukrainian studies.
3. Arranges for the Council of Associates to meet annually at meetings of the Learned Societies.
4. Organizes special addresses or conferences on underdeveloped areas of Ukrainian scholarship with special emphasis on history, the social sciences, and bilingual education.
5. Awards grants and scholarships and funds publications according to established priorities.

## INTERVIEW WITH THE DIRECTOR

**STUDENT:** What has been the response of the Ukrainian community in general and Ukrainian students in particular to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, and is there any room for community input in its programs?

**LUPUL:** The response of the community in general has been a favourable one, not just in Edmonton but across the country. The fact that the Institute is a publicly funded academic unit has impressed people. I think the community is probably not yet as well informed about the Institute as we would like, but those who do know about it have very high expectations.

Student response has been very good. Applications for financial aid for graduate work have been forthcoming in larger numbers than expected, student participation in our seminar series has been good, and students have generally helped out in the Institute's public programs.

Community input through participation in events sponsored by the Institute has also not been disappointing. I know from a fact that the conference held in Edmonton last September on "Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism and Separatism: An Assessment" the community was genuinely surprised to see the kind of objectivity and frankness with which a Ukrainian institution could approach a perennial Ukrainian problem without acrimony or argument, in very sober and carefully articulated discussions.

**STUDENT:** As most of the Institute's activity is conducted at the graduate level, of what significance is the Institute to the average undergraduate Ukrainian student, i.e. how can he "plug into" the Institute?

**LUPUL:** I think it has been psychologically beneficial to students of Ukrainian background on campuses to know that there exists an institution such as the Institute because it is an official recognition of the Ukrainian fact in Canada. From the academic standpoint students can now look forward to an expansion of undergraduate courses in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies, particularly in the areas of history, the social sciences and, we also hope, in the fine arts before long. I am sometimes concerned that while we might be given a warm reception by administrators in various departments in our desire to develop courses, the enrolments,

on which in the final analysis the future of these courses will depend, might not be forthcoming. It is for this reason that we have undergraduate scholarships. Their purpose is to enable students to become well informed about the history and contemporary situation of the Ukrainian people in Canada and the world and, complemented by courses in Canadian studies, it the primary interest is Ukrainians in Canada, or East European and Soviet Studies, it the primary interest is Ukraine itself, it is hoped the individual student will be drawn into a Ukrainian-Canadian or Ukrainian area of specialization at the graduate level.

**STUDENT:** What is the Institute's relationship to the development of bilingual education programs in Canada? Do you see a reciprocal relationship whereby the Institute assists in the development of qualified bilingual teachers while the bilingual program in turn would ensure a continued interest for Ukrainian Studies in future generations?

**LUPUL:** There is no question that the Ukrainian bilingual program is one of the most important dimensions of the Institute's work — it certainly takes very much of the Institute's time, and justifiably so. The Institute is only the cap on the Ukrainian educational ladder in Alberta, which begins in the kindergartens and grades one, two and three — the elementary program in the school system. If the Institute, as an academic institution, is to conduct research on Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian topics, by utilizing Ukrainian sources, it seems imperative that in the future there be people who can both speak and read the Ukrainian language.

The Institute's involvement in the bilingual program concerns in large part the teacher dimension. If the bilingual program is to be successful one has to ensure that the teachers in the schools are as well prepared as it is humanly possible. Here the Institute has to ensure that specially tailored courses to improve the level of the teachers' Ukrainian language usage are available and that methodological courses are introduced. Workshops are helpful but they are infrequent and insufficient. It is extremely important for the Institute to see to it that for the first time in the history of Ukrainian language education teachers do not learn how to teach Ukrainian, or in Ukrainian, in classes which are geared

primarily for teachers of French or any other second language.

**STUDENT:** There exists in North America a somewhat similar center for Ukrainian studies, the Harvard Ukrainian Institute. What is the relationship of the Canadian Institute to the Harvard Institute and is there a measure of cooperation between the two?

**LUPUL:** Well, the relationship with Harvard has been very good. Harvard's approach to Ukrainian studies is quite different, however, from ours. They deal with graduate studies primarily in three areas — language, literature and history — and have no clearly defined orientation towards the study of the Ukrainian fact in the United States. This is a very important difference, for the Institute in Edmonton very clearly has, at least as a coordinate responsibility, the study of Ukrainians in Canada.

Harvard also tends to fund research which is sometimes referred to in the academy as "pure research." The Institute in Edmonton is more interested in what might be called "practical research" — research which can be published for use in classrooms at the post-secondary level. These publications need not necessarily be textbooks but could be very useful as supplementary materials. The Canadian Institute is therefore geared not so much to the scholar in Ukrainian studies as to the student in Ukrainian studies.

This may also partially explain why the Institute is concerned with the bilingual education program on a practical level. Harvard could be concerned with bilingual education, because it has a linguistic dimension, but it would be concerned with it from a more theoretical standpoint.

**STUDENT:** I believe that one of the Institute's proposed projects was the establishment of a student exchange program with the Soviet Ukraine. Has anything to this end been achieved and does the proposal include Eastern Europe as well?

**LUPUL:** Yes, we've had available, since July 1976, two travel-study bursaries in the Ukraine or another center prominent in the settlement of Ukrainians in Canada. I think one might interpret the existence of this program as an indication of the Institute's intention to concern itself with the Ukrainian

# INSTITUTE OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

- Sponsors regular interdisciplinary (non-credit) seminars at the University of Alberta and the University of Toronto, attended by staff and students. Attendance of colleagues at nearby universities and of scholars in the community is encouraged, preliminary to developing similar seminars regularly.
- Organizes the annual Shevchenko lecture, sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Men's Club in Edmonton.

### Bilingual Education Within an Interdisciplinary Framework

A special concern of the Institute is to help bilingual education programs by coordinating the work of faculties and departments of education, school systems, teachers' associations, private vernacular (*ridne shkola*) organizations, and parental organizations. Particularly important is the preparation of personnel at the university level knowledgeable in Ukrainian studies in all disciplines, complemented by East European, Soviet, and/or Canadian studies to meet the growing needs of English-Ukrainian immersion classes, *ridni shkoly*, university faculties, government departments, and the Ukrainian-Canadian community. A comprehensive "Ukrainian Language Resource Centre" containing teaching materials produced in North America and Soviet Ukraine is being developed in the Institute. The Institute also organizes summer school and extra-mural classes in Ukrainian studies, especially for teachers, first at the University of Alberta and, in time, wherever Ukrainian is taught in public and separate schools.

### Research Grants (See also section on Research)

The Institute invites applications for grants to conduct publishable research of an advanced nature, especially on Ukrainians in Canada, in the following areas: education, history, the humanities, law, and the social sciences. Application forms are available on request. Grants are not given to subsidize publications which the Institute has not commissioned or approved, or for work commissioned by a commercial publisher. Nor are they awarded for work intended primarily for use in the public schools.

### Graduate Thesis Fellowships (See also section on Research)

The Institute invites applications for master's and doctoral thesis fellowships in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies in the following areas: education, history, the humanities, law, and the social sciences. The fellowships are to aid students to complete their theses, and awards are made only in the thesis year of an academic program and only for thesis work. Only in exceptional circumstances may an award be held concurrently with other awards. Application forms are available on request. Applications must be received by January 31 with notice of award normally given early in March.

### Student Travel Bursaries (See also section on Research)

The Institute invites applications for a year of study in Ukraine or in other centres significant in the history of Ukraine or of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Applications in education, history, the humanities, law, and the social sciences will receive priority. To qualify, students must be Canadian citizens or landed immigrants enrolled in a graduate program in any Canadian university or elsewhere. Only in exceptional circumstances may an award be held concurrently with other awards. Application forms are available on request. Applications must be received by January 31 with notice of award normally given early in March.

### Undergraduate Scholarships (See also section on Research)

As part of its program-development function, the Institute provides annually ten undergraduate scholarships worth \$1,500 each for an eight-month period of study at any Canadian university to deserving students interested in an undergraduate degree with a major in Ukrainian studies, consisting of a combination of at least five full courses in a three-year Arts program in Ukrainian, East European, Soviet, and/or Canadian studies (depending on whether Ukraine or Ukrainians in Canada is the main concern) and at least eight full courses in a four-year Arts or Education program. The amount is intended to cover tuition fees and to subsidize the cost of room and board beginning in the first year. Scholarships of \$500 to students residing at home will increase the number of scholarships available. Application forms are available on request. Applications must be received by January 31 with notice of award normally given early in March.

### Translators

The Institute requires competent translators of Ukrainian scholarly works into English and/or French in the fields of education, history, the humanities, law, and the social sciences. Contracts will be negotiated on the basis of a professional fee structure. Inquiries should be accompanied by a curriculum vita.

### The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Foundation

The Foundation, like the Institute, was conceived by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation when its executive was in Edmonton (1973-75). Today, the Foundation, with letters patent and a tax-deductible number (0540221-21-25), is the Federation's national project.

The main purpose of the Foundation is to provide the Institute with additional funds to enable it to undertake projects which are beyond the Institute's budget. More specifically, the Foundation will

- enable the Institute to publish the four-volume alphabetical "Encyclopaedia of Ukraine" in English, now being prepared by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Sarcelles, France, and the Institute's Toronto office;
- enable the Institute to publish at least two union catalogues of library holdings, including the largely uncatalogued private libraries of the largest Ukrainian-Canadian cultural and educational centres and the catalogued extensive Ukrainian holdings of the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the Harvard University Library. One catalogue would deal specifically with Ukrainian Canadians;
- enable Canadian universities to hire permanent academic staff in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies on a cost-sharing basis;
- provide matching grants to university libraries in Canada where Ukrainian studies are in the embryonic stage;
- enable the Institute to purchase valuable rare collections of documents, manuscripts, and books for deposit in its library;
- negotiate with various governments for grants to support the Institute's objectives;
- meet important needs such as the development of a series of high quality educational teaching aids on film about Ukrainian culture, which do not come within the Institute's academic framework as a university institution.

## DR. MANOLY LUPUL



Makuch

### Nestor Makuch

Ukrainian emigration to Canada, particularly in the pre-WW I period. My understanding is that both proposals were well received by the Soviet representatives and we await future developments.

**STUDENT:** The Institute has stated that, while developing programs in all fields of Ukrainian studies, it intends to specialize in the study of Ukrainians in Canada. Briefly, what has been achieved to this end so far and what major projects are proposed for the immediate future?

**LUPUL:** Our first publication in the area of Ukrainians in Canada will be a study by Frances Swyripa (currently a research assistant in the Institute) on what has been written on Ukrainians in Canada in the English language. Other projects include the translation of the memoirs of Vasyl Chumer (who for many years was a very prominent leader of the Ukrainian community in Edmonton), a statistical compendium on Ukrainians in Canada (1891-1971), a study on the development of Ukrainian-Canadian cinema and film production, an annotated bibliography of Ukrainian literature in Canada, and a study on Ukrainian emigration from the Austro-Hungarian empire to Western Canada (1896-1914). Another very important concern in the area of Ukrainian-Canadian studies, which has still to be formalized, is a union catalogue on Ukrainian-Canadian holdings in both the English and Ukrainian languages in various public and private libraries.

One might also mention the conference held in September 1977 in Edmonton on "Ukrainian-Canadians, Multiculturalism and Separatism: An Assessment" which discussed seriously from various viewpoints the Ukrainian reaction to the entire question of national unity in Canada. Contemplated for September 1978 is a conference at the University of Ottawa on the contemporary social situation of Ukrainians in Canada, with special emphasis on social structure, class, and mobility.

(LUPUL continued on page 10)

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# OF FISH & CHIPS, PIZZA AND HOLUPTS!

INTERVIEW WITH NORMAN CAFIK, MINISTER OF STATE FOR MULTICULTURALISM

PART TWO

**STUDENT:** To what extent would you be prepared to extend support for third-language training? For instance, a recent study undertaken in Edmonton of the Ukrainian-English bilingual program found that one of the major impediments to increased enrolment was a lack of adequate transportation facilities for busing children. Concern about the quality of education and fears that the program lacked sufficient funding to operate successfully were also cited as major concerns in the study.

**CAFIK:** Well, first of all, our funding, as you know, is not being done through the present school system. It's on the voluntary side, church groups and other individual groups get together and we provide funding to assist teachers and so on in providing this service. Now, I think that probably we need to sweeten the pot in that respect and provide more funding and we're looking for more now through the treasury board for this particular program. But this is largely—if it's going to be done



... I can deliver the goods for the benefit of the multicultural program.

on the educational side — it's out of our jurisdiction. It's a matter of encouragement and co-operation with the provinces, particularly in areas where there is a real demand and I haven't yet met with my provincial counterparts on that side to work out what can be done. There are some very good things happening in the West at the moment, some with our support, some with provincial support and it's a matter of co-operating in such a way that there is very little overlapping and that we get the maximum benefit for the dollars that we in fact are spending.

**STUDENT:** The French language has been receiving federal grants for educational purposes for the last two years under the Trudeau government. It seems a reasonable and just proposition to have the federal government give a corresponding proportion to the teaching of other languages in the same kinds of ways in Canada.

**CAFIK:** Well surely you're not serious about that. You can't really think that with an official policy of bilingualism that we ignore the real nature of Canada but in linguistic terms, not in cultural terms, and that we provide an equal amount of money for a multiplicity of other languages. Surely the national interest is not equally served by those two different approaches. The reason that people want to retain their third language is because there is a very intimate and substantive relationship between language and culture. We recognize that. By saying we're multicultural then, we provide funding because of that close relationship and link between language and culture. One flows from the other and third language training flows quite naturally from a multicultural concept — and that's fine.

But we're not trying to provide French training to people in Canada because we're trying to preserve the French culture. We're doing it because we would want our society to more truly reflect in its official forms the nature of Canada, which is bilingual, where people are free — bilingual, not in the sense that everybody should speak both languages, but in the sense that governments on, hopefully, all levels at some time, will be able to respond to people across Canada in both official languages and that's a structural thing. It doesn't emanate from the same reasons and to spend money in such a way as to create a multilingual society may not be in the broad public interest.

**STUDENT:** I wouldn't go so far as to advocate that everyone should be multilingual, just as everyone is not expected to be bilingual. Isn't the point that if concerned people, because their background is French it is seen that they should have the right to address the government in that language, that can't be argued with —

**CAFIK:** Because that's the structure of Canada.

**STUDENT:** But if someone wants to learn a language in the educational system then shouldn't there be equivalent supports to their desire as there are, for example, for French-speaking people in Western Canada to have access to learning French in the schools.

**CAFIK:** Well, the reason is altogether different. In the one, in the case of learning either English or French, they are functioning languages in Canada and you can't become integrated into society without speaking one or the other and maybe one is more important than the other in some areas of Canada and vice versa. So, that's the nature of Canada, that's the nature of integration to be able to do that. It's the nature of the national unity question to some extent. In terms of third-language training, it is for a different set of reasons altogether, very important reasons and if there are enough people in a given area who wish to learn a third-language, then we're all for it and our policy is for that reason. But I don't think that you can say that there really ought to be the same amount of money spent on third-language training as there is on second-language training. I just can't relate to that.

That's not denigrating the concept of multilingual training — I think that it's very important and I think that it needs more funding than it has presently got. I think that there are odious comparisons made between the two, but these things are not always tradeoffs. You know, you could say that culture is less important than postage stamps because we spend more money on printing postage stamps than we do in preserving our multicultural heritage. You could say that multiculturalism is less important than national security, because we spend more on the RCMP, but really it's not in those dollar terms that we decide what the impact really is. We've got to look at the reality of it and we've got to find out whether, in fact, as minister I can deliver the goods for the benefit of the multicultural program and I think I can.

**STUDENT:** In announcing the government's recognition that Canada was officially a multicultural society in 1972, Prime Minister Trudeau stated that "multiculturalism should be the basis of a society based upon fair play for all." I believe that you have re-iterated this concept of multiculturalism in your speech given in Winnipeg. What specific role do you see the government undertaking towards the creation of such a society?

**CAFIK:** Well, there are two levels, I suppose, like there is in every human question. There are the perceptions of the public — I use the term "equal opportunity" as opposed to "fair play," but they really mean the same thing — but in terms of equal opportunity I suppose that we have got to create a condition as much as possible in society where mutual respect, mutual understanding and co-operation is achieved which implies the discarding of prejudices and attitudes that may not be very positive in relationship to cultural groups, visible minorities, or others in Canada. That's a conditioning kind of process which is very important, which involves the use of the media, it involves public relations work on my part, communication with these larger communities as opposed to only the ethnocultural communities, all of that is important and fundamental if we're going to create a wholesome and happy society where we all have mutual respect for each other.

Then there's the level, I suppose, the official level of things that it's important that we not only say that in terms of the

public at large having those kind of more positive attitudes but that we adopt approaches here to reflect the reality which means, in simple terms if I use an obvious example, of appointments to federal boards, bodies, agencies, crown corporations and so on. I have two reasons for wanting the ethnocultural communities to be fairly and properly represented and given a fair choice, on the premise, of course, of competence. I'm not going to practise the kind of tokenism that may look like something that isn't of saying throw into a computer (some names) and how many people of Polish extraction (some names) and we want that percentage on all of the boards in Canada. No, competence is important, it's fundamental. But I think that it's important that they be given the opportunity to serve with the same equality as any other Canadian, whether they be of French or English extraction. So I've got to identify people in areas of competence and expertise that could serve on those bodies and boards and do a good job. So that there would be a visual recognition on the part of the government itself by its activities, that we in fact mean them and we practise them ourselves. So that's important.

Furthermore, the second element is that, and I believe this, that people of differing backgrounds all have different contributions to make. Our backgrounds make us uniquely what we are. And the nation itself, in my view, loses something by having a board or the CBC or Air Canada or whatever, that reflects one or two cultural backgrounds — we've missed the boat and not had the benefit of having someone of Chinese origin or someone of Ukrainian or somebody of Polish or Italian or whatever, because they can bring to that task perhaps an understanding, a slightly different approach to things than would be present if they were not present. So I think that the boards themselves would benefit from the input of people of backgrounds that more truly reflect the nature of Canada. So for the benefit of the group for equal opportunity, for the benefit of the society as a whole, it's important. That's an area that under "free play for all" or whatever the prime minister had said, equal opportunity is the term that I use, I think that that's very important. It's very important psychologically. If you take and put someone from the Chinese community into a major national body, everyone in the community knows that and one of their people have sort of made it. I mean, they've been recognized and it gives a little bit further hope and tickles the aspirations, perhaps, of people of similar backgrounds that, in fact, one can rise to those heights



... there is a very intimate and substantive relationship between language and culture

And I think that's important in terms of providing additional incentive and additional awareness that they truly are in their home. This is their land. This is not some foreign land that they happen to live in. This is their country and they want to build it along with the rest of us, whether we eat fish and chips, or pizza, or cabbage rolls, or whatever it is, we all are Canadians and we all share in the life of Canada and share in its opportunities.

## NEW ISSUE OF JOURNAL CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF UKRA'NIAN STUDIES SEMINAR SERIES UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The third issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*, published by the Institute's Toronto office, appeared in December and has been mailed to over 600 subscribers.

The third issue contains articles by V. Tkacz, "Tychyna's Poetic Imagery in Kulish's *Marodni Malakhi!*"; E. Andijewska, "The Journey — A Translation by M.D. Olynyk"; B. Nahaylo, "A Reappraisal of Dziuaba's Treatment of Leninist Nationalities Policy"; M. Savaryn, "Ivan Dziuba's Trauma"; V. Holubnychy, "Tezy pro rufsiifikatsiu (Theses About Russification)"; M.

Petryshyn, "Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: Some Observations"; J.-P. Himka, "Ukrainian Art in the Soviet Union"; E. Kasinec, "Documentation for Ukrainian Studies"; an interview with Mykola Pawliuk, "Ukrainske zhyttia v Rumunii" (Ukrainian Life in Romania); and "Guides to Research, Reviews, and Letters." Subscriptions are \$4 a year in Canadian funds. Please send cheque or money order to the *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*, Department of Slavic Languages and Literature, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1A1.

12:30 P.M.	—	311 Athabasca Hall
Thursday, February 23, 1978	Nestor Makuch	"Russo-Ukrainian relations. March 1917 — January 1918"
Thursday, March 9, 1978	James Carter Bohdan Krawchenko	"Profile of Ukrainian Dissidents"
<b>UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO</b>		
7:30 P.M. — Common Room, Second floor; Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, 21 Sussex Avenue		
Tuesday, February 21, 1978	Prof. Peter Potichnyj	"Publications of the Ukrainian Underground during WWII"
Thursday, March 9, 1978	Prof. Roman Szporluk	"Ukrainian Intelligentsia and the Regime 1956-72: A Case Study in Interest Group Politics"

# ПОДВІЙНИЙ ЮВІЛЕЙ ПАТРІЯРХА ЙОСИФА

## ПОДВІЙНИЙ ЮВІЛЕЙ

М. Хомяк

І.

Українська спільнота у вільному світі являла в Україні таїно, шанувала величчю, минулого, 1977 року, подвійний ювілей Блаженішого Патріарха Помісної Української Католицької Церкви Йосифа Сліпого: 85 річчя Його життя (17 лютого) і 60-річчя Його священства (30 вересня). З тієї нагоди прибули численно до Риму, за святкування в соборі св. Софії, в дні 30-го вересня — 3 жовтня 1977 р., миряни з усіх усюдів у вільному світі з своїми владиками і духовенством, щоб засвідчити свою безмежну любов і відданість Ісуповідниківі за святу віру Хрестові і незламному Борцеві за перемогу Божої Правди в добу найжорсткішого переслідування і нищення Христової Церкви та української нації в Україні, як і теж мільйонів вірних розсіяних або запроторених до концентраційних таборів на цілому просторі СРСР. Чому ж цей подвійний ювілей ставив до Риму знову масово українських мирян (вірних) і духовенства під проводом своєї ієрархії? Відповідь висувається сама собою: Блаженіший Патріарх Йосиф присвятив ціле своє трудоволюбне життя жертвенному служінню і розмові Української Католицької Церкви та української нації. Тому прилягає, бодай в загальному, Його життя.

Побачив світ 17 лютого 1892 р. в селі Звездирів, теробовельського повіту, на Поділлі, в Галиччї, в селиській родині Івана та Ана-

тазії Коберницького-Дичковського. Його дід Йосиф прозиво в селі "Сліпий" і під тим прізвищем став відомим Його славний звук. Початкову освіту здобув у рідному селі і в Вишнівчюку біля Зарваниці, де знаходилась чудотворна ікона Пресвятої Богородиці і до неї напливали кожного року тисячами прочани-паломники. Побажість батьків і відвідин тисяч прочан-паломників залишили незатейливі сліди в душі молодого хлопця, учня української гімназії в Тернополі, що її він закінчив відмінником в 1911 році. Його ж року записався на богословські і філософські студії у львівському університеті, а вже осіною 1912 р. митрополит Андрей Шептицький вислав його на дальші студії до відомого університету в Інсбруці, в Австрії, що їх закінчив в 1918 р. ослагнувши ступінь донтора богослов'я. Митрополит Андрей, по поверті з свого заслання до Сусалля в роках 1914-1917, висвятив молодого богослова, 30 вересня 1917 р., на священника в манастирі в Уневі, про який залишив прецкавний документ п.п. "Листи з України" о. Йосифа Скрейверса, чернець з чину Найсвятішого Ізбавителя. Той великий приятель українського народу оновив в них про тринкратну появу духа: 29 жовтня 1914 р., 29 лютого 1917 р. і в листопаді 1923 р. і свою розмову з ним. На питання хто він? — дїстав відповідь: "Ангел України". Переклад з французької мови на українську п.п. "Ангел України" надрукований в Ювілейному Аль-

манаху оо. Редемптористів (тобто Чину Найсвятішого Ізбавителя), Іорнтон, Саск. за 1955 рік, з негодю ювілею 50-річчя.

По свєченні о. Йосиф Сліпий виїхав на поглиблення своїх філософських студій до Інсбруку, опісля до Риму. На основі наукових праць митрополит Андрей іменував його в 1922 р. професором догматики в духовній семінарії у Львові, а під кінець 1925 р. її ректором. І тоді о. д-р Йосиф Сліпий започаткував і розвинув



свою многогранну організаційну, наукову і видавничу діяльність, спершу в духовній семінарії, опісля від 1928 р. в Богословській Академії. Вона була до вересня 1939 р. єдиною українською високою школою в Галиччї, під Польщею.

По приході большевників до Львова 22 вересня 1939 р. назначили в Богословській Академії було зароборене, манастирі і всі католицькі школи закриті, а духовенство і церкви обложено непомірними податками. Почалась національно-релігійна переслідування і масові

вивози українського населення на Сибір. У таких умовах відбулось таїно, на свято Непорочного Зачаття — 22 грудня 1939 р., рукоположення о. ректора Йосифа Сліпого в митрополітї, приватній каплиці, в сая списока, з правом наслідства на митрополітучю престолї, за випадок смерті митрополита Андрея. Папа Тїй XII грамотою з 25 листопада 1939 р. іменував нового владку архієпископом Серенськьм. Рукоположення списока, помічника митрополита, довершив митрополит Андрей Шептицький з владиками: Никитя Будкою і Миколою Чарнетським, у приватності членів митрополітучої каплиці, в знаменник умовах в обох випадках. В 1917 р. царський в'язень, митрополит Андрей, поклав свої руки на майбутнього советського в'язня, в манастирі в Уневі, де тасмийні гїсть з того світу заповідав ось що: "Спасіння мого народу недалеко, Всевишній почислює його страждання. Ще недовго, й міра заповніться" (Альманах — стор. 364) "Боже благословення з нами... Воля ся... але ще багато крови поливє... Терпи, Дорога Україно, ти будеш велика і вільна" (там же ж, стор. 368) "Чому ти смєвш, коли небо радуеться? Я побачив перед собою — лише о. Й. Скрейверс — тасмну появу. Не ждучи на мою відповідь дух продовжив: "Я предсказав тобі боротьбу, якої ти тепер свідком, то ж чому ти лякаєшся? Україна пролила свою кров за волю свою, і вона твю волю дістане... І свободу тую святую своїми власними

руками збудують ті, що тепер тут тїрарами-катами. На Українській Землі знову стає Хрест, хоча б і не без крови... Страшні часи налягли на цілий світ. Дев'ять наближається... вже показується веріне світло" (там же ж, стор. 373). А підчас возведення о. ректора Йосифа Сліпого в сая списока 22 грудня 1939 р. Слуга Божий митрополит Андрей влучив своєму помічникові, замість жезла, дерев'яну палицю. Йі отримав о. ректор Йосиф Болян від митрополита Андрея, підчас тайного свєчення на лупького списока, в гостинній Континенталі у Києві, 23 вересня 1914 р., як пастирський жезл коли то везли митрополитів Андрея на заслання. Далі новосвячений єпископ Йосиф Сліпий отримав від митрополита той самий перстень і служебник, що їх у подібних умовах дістав новосвячений список Болян.

З вїбуком німецько-большевцької війни 22 червня 1914 р. і втечі большевцьків архієпископ Йосиф Сліпий вїдновив зруйнований будинок Богословської Академії і продовжував у нїй нормальну працю, що відбувалась аж до другого приходу большевцьків до Львова в липні 1944 р. По смерті Слуги Божого митрополита Андрея Йосиф Сліпий став митрополитом, а вже від 11 квітня 1954 р. став большевцьким в'язнем з усіма владиками, які загинули, як Ісуповідники і Мученики, з тисячами свєченими і сотнями тисяч вірних, по концентраційних таборах і в'язницях.

(дальше буде)

# HELSINKI, HUMAN RIGHTS AND CANADA

Stephan Zaverucha

On November 16th, 1977 a committee headed by Or. L. Lukas and representing Estonian, Lithuanian, Czechoslovak, Polish and Ukrainian groups in Canada, met with the Canadian Parliamentary Helsinki Group in Ottawa.

Each group had prepared a selected problem area for presentation: language, religion, exchange of information, etc.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Ontario Council & Toronto) was represented by Adam Mykytiuk whose remarks were directed specifically to the problem of reunification of families.

He advised the Helsinki Group that the majority of cases have not been settled for periods of over 29 years and in many instances for over 50 years. It was stated that the Ukrainian group appears to have 160 bona fide cases involving immediate family members and, adding figures from other groups, there appears to be at least 400 unsettled family reunification cases in Canada. Most tragic of all is the length of time involved.

Mr. Mykytiuk felt that although the Canadian government was instrumental in sponsoring the human rights section of the Helsinki accords, his group is disappointed in the Prime Minister's recent decision to go the route of "quiet diplomacy." Simultaneously it had been disclosed that the family reunification question would only be a review topic at the Belgrade Conference and would not be discussed specifically as a substantive item.

He further stated that it has become obvious that the situation would not be solved through use of regular bureaucratic channels, but that a settlement could be reached if both the Prime Minister and parliamentarians took a more direct and open stand.

Mr. Mykytiuk then requested that the Helsinki Group seriously consider asking the Right Honourable P.E. Trudeau to make a personal and public plea to President Leonid Brezhnev, to inform him of the extent of the family reunification situation and attempt to obtain a bilateral settlement of these long-outstanding cases.

There was considerable discussion among all those present concerning this point. Some felt that a "hard" line should not be taken. Mr. Mykytiuk pointed out that the Prime Minister had done this for other groups and was successful. Also that Canada and the U.S.S.R. have friendly relations, that many U.S.S.R. functionaries attended 60th Anniversary events in Canada, etc., and if properly approached, the Soviets should be willing to alleviate a humanitarian problem existing between our two nations.

Several times discussions became rather heated and at one point the Ukrainian representative stated that Canada should first clean up its own human rights area, specifically the treatment of refugees and its policy of immigration of family members.

He outlined the current situation regarding East European refugees in Canada, the deportation

of these individuals, in many instances without allowing them the opportunity of asking for asylum in a third country. Several instances were cited where East European countries did provide exit documents to family members, but Canadian representatives refused to interview them and denied their entry to Canada.

In conclusion Mr. Mykytiuk reiterated the contention that unless the Prime Minister of Canada becomes actively involved with the reunification issue during this critical stage of the Belgrade Conference, this aspect will be glossed over and relegated into oblivion.

As a result of the foregoing and other presentations, the Parliamentary Helsinki Group has, among others, the following suggestions under discussion:

1. What is the most effective procedure for effecting respect for the Helsinki accords — especially the family reunification and travel provisions? State to State? Individual to State? Informal contacts at the Belgrade Conference?

2. It was suggested that the Canadian figures on family reunification are incomplete and that they should be as extensive as possible to ensure that the delegation to Belgrade is fully informed.

3. There was some feeling that the Immigration Act might require some changes to deal more adequately with cases of refugee status and family reunification. (Full credit for this should go to Miss A. Nicholson, M.P. for Trinity).

# POLAND: A TOTALITARIAN FACADE?

John-Paul Himka

Twelve years ago Jacek Kuron argued, in an "Open letter to the Party," that only a true proletarian revolution could introduce a workers' democracy in Poland. Today he has altered that view. Instead of revolution he advocates cautious reform and the fostering of alternative social institutions. This is what he told NBC reporters in Warsaw in May 1977:

"I think the possibilities for reform in Poland are very promising. At the same time I think that for the present it is necessary to maintain a totalitarian facade. Our program must be to create a pluralist society beneath this totalitarian facade without disturbing it, to create unofficial social institutions representative of the people's aspirations."

In arguing the retention of the totalitarian facade, Kuron has in mind the lesson of Czechoslovakia in 1968: the openly democratic reforms of the Prague Spring led to a Soviet invasion and the eradication of any trace of democracy in advocating unofficial institutions. Kuron has in mind organizations like the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR), of which he is a member.

KOR emerged in September 1976 to defend workers arrested or fired for participating in strikes and demonstrations. In its first year of existence, KOR collected over three million zloties, which it spent on legal aid for arrested workers and on subsidies for the families of both arrested and fired workers. KOR so

mobilized Polish public opinion that the government was constrained to grant an amnesty to all arrested workers and to all the KOR activists who had also been arrested.

The success of KOR is an indication that unofficial social institutions can have a great impact in Poland and that perhaps Kuron is correct in his analysis: perhaps a democracy is brewing beneath Poland's totalitarian facade.

To mention just two little-noted items that support this view:

1. Poland has a flourishing samizdat press (the Poles prefer to speak of "uncensored publications"). In fact, Poland has set a samizdat record: the first issue of the uncensored almanach Zapis was published in a hard cover edition with a press run of 400 copies.

2. In August 1977, in Honolulu, an international conference of psychiatrists passed a resolution condemning the USSR's abuse of psychiatry for political ends. The resolution only passed by a narrow vote of 90 to 88. It would have failed had the Polish delegation voted with the rest of the Soviet bloc against the condemnation, which it did not. Instead, the Polish psychiatrists did not show up for the vote, although they had attended every other session of the Honolulu conference. This timely abstention of the Polish delegation was decisive in the censure of the Soviet Union's psychiatric terror against dissidents.

# STUDENT PRESS FUND

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## CRISIS

(continued from page 1)

Canadians speak Ukrainian at home. Consequently, in the future there will be fewer Ukrainian children who will be able to claim Ukrainian as their "mother-tongue."

However, this does not mean that the number of Canadians with Ukrainian as a "second-language" must necessarily decline. Ukrainian language immersion programs, such as in Edmonton's school systems, may result in an increase of fluent Ukrainian language speakers. In this sense, the "mother tongue" statistic must be distinguished from the "language used at home" statistic, which in turn must be distinguished from the "fluent in a second [Ukrainian] language" statistic. Despite these qualifications, the decline in the Ukrainian "mother tongue" statistic is evidence of a major crisis for Ukrainian language maintenance in Canada.

In so far as language knowledge and fluency is an important element of socialization in developing ethnic identity, the foregoing figures demonstrate the imperative need for Ukrainian language immersion programs for all Ukrainian children if the Ukrainian-Canadian ethnic community is to exist and develop. Evidence shows that only language immersion (and not studying Ukrainian as a course option) can ensure the chances of developing second language fluency. Such immersion programs, when linked to practical language use within an ethnic community, is one of the critical social mechanisms which can increase the chances of the survival and development of the Ukrainian ethnic community. The crisis of loss of "mother tongue" Ukrainian speakers must be answered by our community with an equally large

TABLE II\*  
 UKRAINIAN MOTHER TONGUE IN CANADA AND PROVINCES  
 1971 - 1976

	1971	1976	Numerical	CHANGE %
Canada	239,655	282,080	-27,795	-9
Maritime Provinces	130	110	+180	+24
Quebec	11,390	10,980	-410	-4
Ontario	80,230	76,035	-4,195	-5
Manitoba	72,920	60,250	-12,670	-17
Saskatchewan	53,385	45,920	-7,465	-14
Alberta	70,900	64,960	-5,940	-8
British Columbia	20,055	22,780	+2,735	+14
Yukon/NWT	355	330	-25	-7

Table II is indicative of developments as they are occurring by province. It is apparent that the greatest percentage and numerical loss of Ukrainian "mother tongue" has occurred in Manitoba. The gain demonstrated by the Maritimes and British Columbia can be explained by the current migration of Ukrainian Canadians. It is known that British Columbia has become an attractive center of retirement, particularly for Ukrainian-Canadian prairie farmers, and other migrants.

growth of Ukrainian language immersion programs across Canada

\*Ivan J. Teslo, "The Ukrainian Canadian in 1971," in D. W. Geras A. Cusan, and J. Rozumny (eds.), *The Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences* (Toronto: UJAN, 1976), p. 515.  
 †Statistics Canada Daily, Thursday, December 15, 1977, pp. 3-4

## CLUB NEWS

### SUSK SKI TRIP

After many months of preparation, and several phone calls across Canada, SUSK's 1st Annual Ski Trip has finally come and gone. SUSK and non-SUSK members from Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon and Winnipeg all met in Kelowna from the 28th of December till the 2nd of January and had one hell of a great time skiing, partying, skiing and partying! Significantly, Saskatoon sent out eight people (six of which had never skied before) while Edmonton and Winnipeg had each sent out

only one. Considering that Saskatoon has very few hills to ski on, this was a great effort on their part. Nice going Saskatoon! Also to all you people who backed out of the trip at the last minute, you don't know what you missed!

At last year's SUSK National Congress held in Vancouver, a recommendation was made to encourage more interaction among the member clubs. Well this ski trip was a means of increasing club interaction, but the turnout was very poor. Only twenty-five people turned

up on the trip, ten of which were not SUSK members! Hopefully, next year support of these functions will increase. The time and the price of this ski trip was very reasonable so there was no excuse!

Many thanks to Vera Yeleniuk for doing such a great job of organizing the trip (even though she wasn't there to enjoy it) and a special thanks to Pat Chomnycky and Iris Achtemchyk for being there to help.

Jean Kosak  
 Calgary

### VANCOUVER: DOWN TO WORK

Now that everyone has recovered from the Christmas holidays and the ski trip to Kelowna, we are all settling down to work again. Except for the ski trip, the holidays were relatively slow. Five Alpha Omega members attended and all agreed that they had a great time.

With January already half over,

everyone is working on the annual graduation banquet which is being held on Feb. 4th. Preparations for this event have been underway for several months. This year being the 25th anniversary of SUSK, Andrii Makuch — SUSK National President, will be the guest speaker. With the amount of work being done for the banquet, club members an-

ticipate it will be a huge success.

Because of the banquet, little else has been done in the club this year. However, there will be at least one other function toward the end of the month and a few members are also planning to attend the Western Conference in Edmonton.

## LUPUL

(continued from page 7)

**STUDENT:** Considering the considerable demographic base for Ukrainian studies in Canada, does the Institute have in mind the development of a summer program for Ukrainian students, which would perhaps give students who would otherwise not be able to fit Ukrainian content courses into their programs an opportunity to do so?

**LUPUL:** We haven't thought of it in terms of a summer program but we're aware of the fact that there is a very large interest in non-academic courses, study sessions, discussion sessions, etc., which bear on the Ukrainian fact in Canada. We have a tentative proposal for a course which could be offered through the Department of Extension at the University of Alberta as an introduction to the various dimensions of Ukrainian Canadian studies, including the situation in Ukraine itself. The idea is that students could then indicate the kind of courses which they would like to pursue in greater depth, either at an academic or non-academic level. The course may begin as early as this fall. It could be offered in the summer, but there are indications that those who probably would benefit most might not be able to attend a summer course; if offered in the evenings such attendance would be more likely.

**STUDENT:** To date the Institute seems to cover primarily programs of a research nature in the academic field. Has the Institute considered funding students working in the fine arts, both creative and performing?

**LUPUL:** It has considered this, I assure you, and this has been one of the most difficult problems which has faced the policy-makers in the Institute. It is very legitimate for the Institute to become involved in funding the academic dimension which underpins the fine arts but it is very clear that we would have great difficulties in funding the creative and performing arts themselves. The performing arts seem very definitely to be outside the terms of reference of the Institute. That enters into what one might speak of as cultural manifestation *per se*. The question of creativity however is something else again. If a person writes a play or poetry, we're prepared to look at how well it's done. We will not commission such work nor will we receive requests for research grants to do such things. However we're prepared to look at creative manuscripts — novels, poetry — for publication purposes. But this is a marginal area. Creativity itself is a difficult thing to define and in order to be considered by the Institute submissions will have to be clearly outstanding, done by someone who brings to this work experience and talent which is indisputable.

**STUDENT:** The job market for students specializing in Ukrainian studies would seem to be somewhat limited at this time. Is it possible that the Institute would become over-successful in its encouragement of Ukrainian studies and "glut the market"?

**LUPUL:** I don't think so. The interest of the Institute is to produce people who have a good knowledge of Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian studies in the larger context of either the Canadian or the European field. With the kind of needs there are now in government which wear on language, culture, education and majority-minority relations, with the kind of needs that there are even in universities in the area of majority-minority relations which bear on Canada particularly, and with the needs that exist within the Ukrainian community itself, particularly in providing leaders who better understand themselves and their background, I don't think that one can really overdo this. If it is understood that the individual who undertakes these studies is not going to emerge as a Ukrainian specialist but as one who tends to see the problems of ethnicity and the problems of a culturally pluralistic society with greater insight because of a better understanding of one particular group's problems, then I don't think that one can say that one could overdo Ukrainian studies.

**STUDENT:** What role, in your opinion, does the Institute play in the survival of Ukrainians as an ethnocultural group in Canada and what implications does this have for the future of Canada's multicultural policy?

**LUPUL:** The Institute has a two-fold function in the question of the survival of the Ukrainian fact in Canada. It can, through its supervision of the bilingual program, test to see whether there is sufficient interest in language education to make the equation between culture and language a living reality. If one finds that the linguistic dimension is not viable the Institute will probably have to change its course to its second function, namely to teach about the Ukrainian fact in Canada in the English language. I have seen from experience that people who don't speak Ukrainian do not necessarily lack a consciousness of their Ukrainian background and they would like to know more about it. In following what I am fond of speaking of as 'the other side of the street', namely the side of the street which uses English, the Institute can still help individuals come to a better understanding of the Ukrainian fact in Canada and thereby enable the survival even of some aspects of the Ukrainian culture in this country. There may not be as many aspects but that is something which only the success of the first route I have indicated will determine.

As far as multiculturalism is concerned, the Institute itself, I have no doubt at all, would not have emerged had it not been for the multicultural movement of the past ten years or so. I think the Institute itself is a concrete specific expression of the multicultural concept in our society. If the Institute should cease to exist or should fail, I think this would be a blow for the development of the multicultural reality of Canada. It will in fact say that for various reasons ethnic groups are not really interested in studying, researching hearing or publishing about themselves. And this is pretty serious because if this should manifest itself through the Ukrainian dimension, a group which has always been at the forefront of articulating its aspirations, then anyone else on the outside could say that if the Ukrainians can't do it then perhaps very few other people can. And since the Ukrainians have also been at the forefront of the multicultural dimension, the implication will be that multiculturalism itself is perhaps not a very viable concept and policy.

**STUDENT:** Does the Institute also play a role in the broader Ukrainian community outside of Soviet Ukraine?

**LUPUL:** One of our projects is the translation of the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, under the leadership of Prof. V. Kubijovyč. This is an extremely important project and it turns the Institute into an international institution. We also have research projects in various countries, West Germany for example, which will be published. We recently received a library of which the surplus books, those which are duplicated in the University of Alberta library, will probably go to South America where there is, I am told, a very great dearth of library materials amongst Ukrainians. I might also add that the Institute is planning a major conference in London, England, on "Religion and Human Rights in Soviet Ukraine," which will reflect some of the concern of the Ukrainian community in the West about the religious situation in Soviet Ukraine and hopefully will facilitate a better understanding of what is really happening there.

I don't think that the purpose of the Institute is to embarrass scholars either in this country or in Ukraine — scholars who may see majority-minority relations in a different way in Canada than the Institute might, or scholars in Ukraine who might see the political, social or religious issue differently than the Institute or the people it serves might. I think its main purpose is to really for the first time develop as much understanding as objectively as possible of what is really happening to Ukrainians in Canada and in the Soviet Ukraine itself.



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# KLYMCHUK

(continued from page 1)

Soviet Union; however there exists no reason for his not retreating in the West his obviously fabricated story. Moreover, there is absolutely no reason for Klymchuk to refuse to meet and discuss particulars of his experience with the British students (notably the N.U.S.), who spent vast amounts of money and effort in what to them was a principled and democratic defense of a case in which an abrogation of human rights occurred.

Most recently, information has been obtained that Klymchuk is now prepared to reveal his experience in detail — to a large London daily for a \$12,000 fee!

Fabrication of the conditions leading to his trip to the Soviet Union, fulsome praise of the Soviet Union, vitriolic attacks on the Ukrainian emigre community, contemptuous disregard for the considerable defense effort on his behalf by British students, and finally his disgusting opportunistic move to sensationalize his experience compel one to review Klymchuk's case for its concomitant political ramifications.

The Soviet disinformation department has attempted to vilify the Ukrainian emigre community, as a whole, as some sort of hysterical and reactionary entity and create the illusions of intensive collaboration between this community and the opposition movement in Soviet Ukraine, using as links cretinous and malicious liars such as Andy Klymchuk.

One must of course acknowledge the strong element of solidarity between emigre Ukrainian elements and the opposition movement in Ukraine and their real and mutual attempts to establish contact for cooperation. One must concurrently deny however, all insinuations that any subversive liaison exists between reactionary emigre Ukrainian elements, and therefore by induction, a reactionary opposition movement.

o concoct such fallacious schemes of collaboration, or to

clemour about the reactionary nature of part of the Ukrainian emigre community is a very typical Soviet ploy. This red herring manoeuvre is meant to deflect attention from the truly critical questions — the nature of the Soviet Union and thus the reasons for its undemocratic, uncritical, militaristic or, in short, reactionary existence.

The Soviet Union would like nothing more, then to discredit and nullify the opposition movement in the Soviet Union, the one force most capable and most likely in the future to develop the dynamic necessary to rectify the existent conditions.

The new wave of arrests of political oppositionists (over 20 in the last half of 1977) concurrent with A. Klymchuk's stay in Ukraine, attests to this very attempt to smash the opposition movement.

Those not as naive as the Soviets would have, will not of course fall for Soviet disinformation tactics to discredit the opposition movement. Likewise, analogous internal situations of repenting and recenting political prisoners must be understood within the framework of Soviet coercion and duplicity. Unfortunately, people on the periphery of involvement with political defense work may become apprehensive in their support for given individuals or campaigns, fearing a repetition of compromising situations such as the Klymchuk case. In answer to this one can only hope that the combined efforts and abilities of democratic and progressive forces in the West committed to solidarity with and defense of the opposition movements, and their goals, in the Soviet Union will offset these periodic incidents.

The key to victory is, as always, in the strength and efficacy of practice of the opposition movement itself and the assistance which concerned people in the West can give it.

# THIS

(continued from page 2)

Group and the Socialist Students' Alliance, which founded the Committee to Defend Andrii Klymchuk." May I make it quite clear that the Committee was formed under the auspices of the NUS; other interested parties were then invited to participate. Amongst the Committee members were the Ukrainian Students Union, the Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners, Hull University student representatives, Andrii's parents and Member of Parliament. It is totally misleading to suggest that the Committee was formed by the NUS, IMG and SSA; one of the main reasons for organising the Committee on an "ad hoc" basis was to discourage any one group from making political capital from the case.

The article goes on to say that "... the activities of these groups ... stands in contrast to the silence maintained by the emigre nationalist organisations." It was accepted at the time by both the Committee and the Ukrainian community at large that Ukrainians should maintain a low profile to avoid exacerbating the situation. It would have obviously reinforced the Soviet case against Andrii had large numbers of Ukrainians demonstrated against his imprisonment, for the Soviets this would have been tantamount to an admission of guilt.

It was claimed that those groups which remained silent are those who only take up cases from which they hope to gain political capital. It is surely very naive indeed to assume that groups such as the IMG and SSA do not do this themselves! These groups were in fact explicitly warned at meetings of the Committee to refrain from using the Klymchuk case for their own political ends. As a concrete example, one group placed an advertise-

ment before the Soviet Embassy demonstration in "Time Out," a London events and entertainments guide. The advertisement clearly implied that the demonstration was organised by that group, and not by the Committee. As a second example, slogans such as "KGB out — socialist democracy in" were not approved by the Committee, they were clearly less oriented to the Klymchuk case than to ideological opinions.

The article finally asks "why emigre nationalist organisations and defence committee have not taken up the defence of Klymchuk?" The indivisibility of open Ukrainian intervention has already been explained. It should be again noted that the Ukrainian Student Union and other organisations took an extremely active part in the campaign. The USU together with the Hull students raised most of the campaign funds; a large part of these funds was contributed by the Ukrainian community here in England.

When Klymchuk was first arrested, letters were sent to various institutions, including **STUDENT**, in an appeal for funds. The details of the case and information about the Committee were provided. Given that accurate facts were available in it is both surprising and dismaying to read this misleading and inaccurate article. It must be stressed that the points made in this letter have been made in the interests of objectivity and not as a result of any political motive. It is to be hoped that future articles in your otherwise excellent newspaper will be better researched and objectively reported.

Yours sincerely,  
V. Lyczmanenko  
(Vice-President, Ukrainian Students' Union in Great Britain)

# DISSIDENTS

(continued from page 3)

challenges facing the oppositionists are so wide that political differences are often laid aside to cooperate in fighting for democratic rights.

Nonetheless, such individuals such as Kronid Ljubarsky, Valery Chalidze, Pavel Litvinov, V. Turchin, and Leonid Plyushch can be broadly classified as belonging to the Soviet dissident left. All of the above have a scientific background, and this is no accident. Scientists play a critical role in the Soviet dissident movement, and their left-wing activism is largely a result of their desire to have a consistent and systematic view of society. Science has often been a refuge for the most talented and critical minds in the Soviet Union who want to enjoy open intellectual inquiry, although this island of security has ultimately proved to be illusory, the contradictions of the system have proved to be inescapable, and many scientists, with a natural inclination towards social and political experimentation, are drawn to the left. Because of the relative intellectual "isolation" of most true socialists in the Soviet Union, however, and the resulting introspection of their thinking, some have difficulty in getting used to Western socialist

thought and politics. V. Turchin, a very interesting recent emigre, says that his language has very little in common with the jargon of the left in the west. What he argues for is a radical reappraisal of an entire system of concepts, believing that "without such a reappraisal, without a renewal of the profound ideas that are at the basis of the socialist movement, attempts at radical forms of socialism will continue to lead to totalitarian conclusions. It is this that is at the roots of our arguments with the left."

It is very important to realize and understand the variety of views among Soviet oppositionists in the West, especially since the Western

media tend to greatly exaggerate the importance of certain prominent individuals such as Solzhenitsyn. The human rights movement in the Soviet Union includes a diverse range of people with varying political and economic views and interests, social and class backgrounds. At the moment many of the most talented Soviet writers, artists and scientists are in the West, and they will have a significant contribution to make to the development of Western intellectual thought. They will be taking a more and more active part in our cultural and political debates, and their ideas can only strengthen and enrich us.

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