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STUDENT

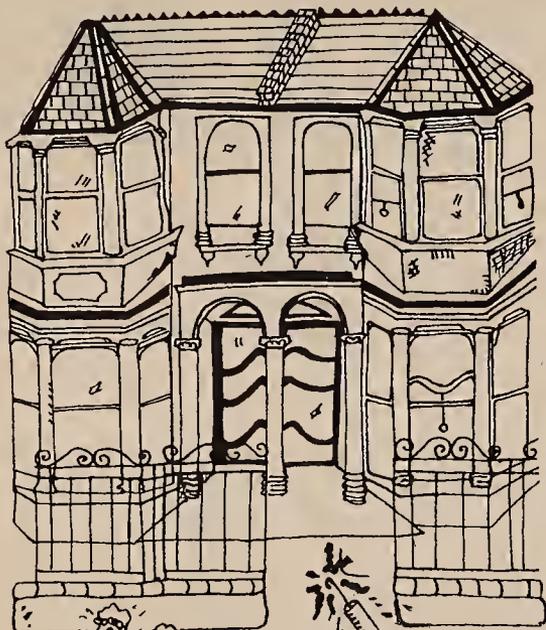
ETUDIANT

May 1982
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ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

75¢

CANADA'S NEWSPAPER FOR UKRAINIAN STUDENTS



"Paper!"

COMMENT

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Recycled Broadcasting

Mykhailo Bociurkiw

SUSK Gets Media Grant

(OTTAWA) The Ukrainian Canadian Students Union (SUSK) is pleased to announce that it has received a summer project grant from the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State. The Directorate has awarded SUSK \$26,000 to operate a summer project under the name *Multicultural Media Skills Development Project*.

The purpose of the project is to assist in the development of Ukrainian community broadcasting in Canada. Five full-time and several part-time students will spend the summer travelling across the country collecting data and interviews from Ukrainian urban and rural settlements. In addition, project workers will have an opportunity to record several amateur Ukrainian choirs, orchestras, and solo artists. All materials collected will be used to produce short-length radio documentaries on Canada's Ukrainian community. At the end of the summer, a series of radio documentaries will be available for distribution to Ukrainian radio programs and academic institutions.

The *Multicultural Media Skills Development Project* came about as a result of the need for the Ukrainian community to develop a resource base of quality productions which can be recycled from one urban centre to another. In Canada there are over ten AM and FM radio stations which broadcast Ukrainian programming, and yet no mechanism exists for these stations to obtain productions on Ukrainian personalities and events outside of their own local area. SUSK's project will satisfy

this need by providing interviews and features, as well as musical and vocal presentations on tape which any broadcaster will be able to obtain by the end of the summer.

The project is being managed by SUSK's Vice-President - Multiculturalism, Mykhailo Bociurkiw. Four other Ukrainian-Canadian students have been hired: Chrystyna Chudczak — a journalism student at Carleton

University and a former project worker on the Ukrainian National Youth Federation's media skills project; Andrii Krawchuk — Ottawa correspondent for *Oko Newspaper* and freelance reporter for the Ukrainian Division of RadioCanada International; Ulana Plawuszcak — former project worker on MUNO's media skills project, member of the *New Perspectives* editorial collective, and a U of T

USC Executive member; and, Donna Stachiw — a journalism student at Carleton University, staff member of Ottawa's Ukrainian radio program (*Nash Holos*), and newly elected President of Ottawa USC. The project workers will operate out of the offices of the Carleton University Students' Association in Ottawa. During their cross-Canada tour they will set up field offices in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Edmon-

ton. Initial preparations for the project have progressed rapidly. Since early May, project workers have been arranging for studio time in several campus and multilingual radio stations across the country; during their stay in each centre, they will have access to these studios to conduct interviews and complete production work. In addition, they will be equipped with

professional portable recording equipment for use in field situations and where studio facilities are unavailable. Although all of the project workers have had some type of experience working in the media, additional training will be provided by professionals from the broadcast industry.

The largest portion of the project's budget is covered by the funds granted by the Mul-

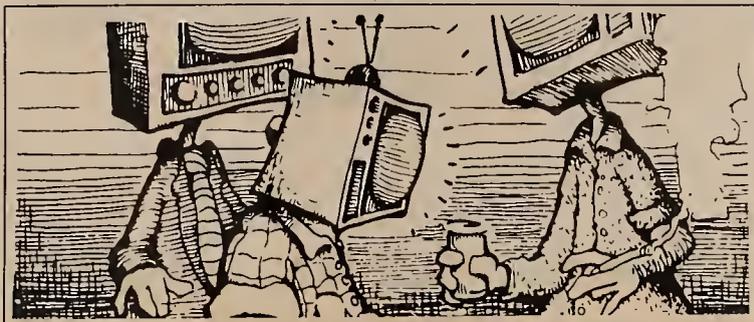
ticulturalism Directorate. Other project expenses will be covered by a grant expected from the Ministry of Culture and Recreation of the Province of Ontario (\$7,300). Cross-Canada rail transportation is being provided courtesy of VIA Rail Canada.

Project workers will begin their research and production tasks in mid-May. Interviews are currently being conducted in Ottawa, Montreal, and Kingston.

In mid-June, a trip will be made to Sydney, Nova Scotia (home of Canada's only Atlantic Ukrainian community), before workers head to Toronto to cover the Metro International Caravan and Ukrainian centres in southern Ontario. During the months of July and August, the project will visit Ukrainian urban and rural settlements from Winnipeg to Vancouver. The project concludes after the Twenty-third SUSK Congress finishes in Winnipeg, in August, when copies of the project's productions will be made available for distribution.

SUSK is grateful to many people in the Ukrainian community for their support. Among the organizations and individuals who lent support to SUSK's grant application to the Secretary of State were: the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (KYK), the Ukrainian-Canadian Professional and Business Federation, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the Ontario Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (which made a personal appeal to Multiculturalism Minister Jim Fleming), CCCM National Chairman Laurence Decore, and Senator Paul Yuzik. In addition, SUSK received recommendations from two federal Cabinet Ministers, Jean-Luc Pepin (Transport) and Judy Erola (Mines).

Look for further information on the *Multicultural Media Skills Development Project* in the upcoming summer issues of *Student* and in other Ukrainian papers. Also watch for the Media Skills research team in Ukrainian communities and at Ukrainian and Multicultural festivals throughout the summer.



University and a former project worker on the Ukrainian National Youth Federation's media skills project; Andrii Krawchuk — Ottawa correspondent for *Oko Newspaper* and freelance reporter for the Ukrainian Division of RadioCanada International; Ulana Plawuszcak — former project worker on MUNO's media skills project, member of the *New Perspectives* editorial collective, and a U of T

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The debt is diminishing, but ...

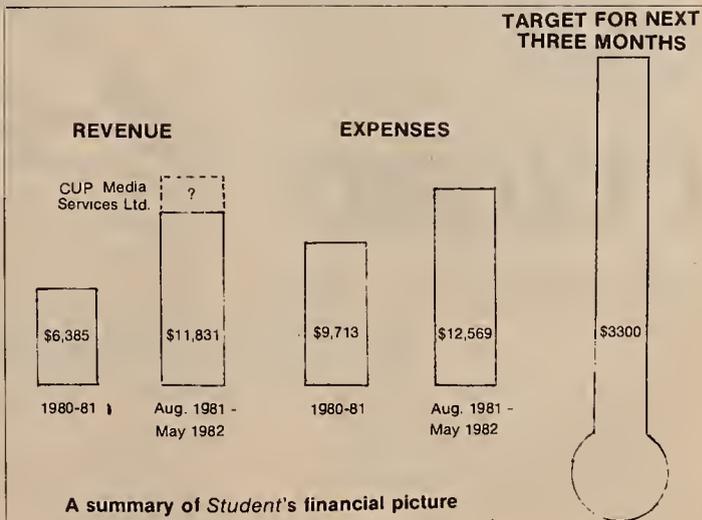
Student Campaign for Funds

During the past several months, members of the staff of *Student* have constantly stressed the necessity of reversing the deteriorating financial position of the newspaper. During the fiscal year 1980-81, *Student* incurred a huge deficit of \$3,328.00, pushing its total accumulated deficit since 1977 to more than \$4000. Needless to say, we could not afford to continue losing money at the same rate in 1981-82 and hope to survive as a financially viable publication.

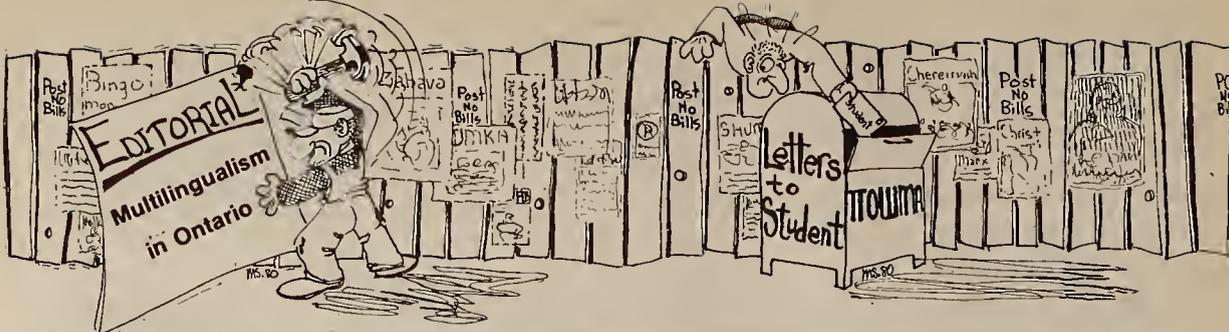
Fortunately, many people responded to *Student's* call for financial support and through the efforts of all of the staff members, aided by large donations from the SUSK National Executive (\$500.00) and several Ukrainian Students' Clubs across the country, *Student* has managed to weather the crisis for the time being. As is evident from the graphs of revenue and expenses for 1981-82, *Student's* deficit in the current year has been controlled, and there is even hope of it being partially eradicated when money owed to the newspaper under a National Advertising agreement with Canadian University Press Media Services Ltd. is paid out at the end of the fiscal

year.

However, *Student* is still far from being out of the woods as yet, at least in a financial sense. In the process of re-establishing a regular publication schedule, *Student* incurred substantially higher costs in postal rates and printing costs, and has invested over \$600 already in computerizing the address lists in an attempt to improve the efficiency of the distribution system. These new, inflationary costs must be offset in the next few months by an increase in revenue from new subscriptions and new sources of advertising, as well as by continued donations to the press fund. Therefore, we are appealing to our readers to shoot for the goal of raising \$3300 over the next three months in order to keep *Student* from falling back into a deficit position in the publication of each issue. We will be charting the progress of the campaign in each of our forthcoming issues until the end of August. We hope that you will continue to respond with generosity and, at the same time, help promote *Student* in your communities across Canada, in the United States and around the world.



Inside: *Amnesty. appeal, Egides, Makhno and comix ...*



The Board of Education of the City of Toronto has taken a decisive step towards publicly-funded second and third language instruction programs in day schools. After more than two years of research, the Board's committee on language instruction tabled its report in March. The report favours the introduction of instruction in any language in the publicly-funded school system for one half hour per day wherever there is sufficient demand for such programs. Despite the fact that second language programs have existed in Western Canada for eight years now (regulations allow up to half of each school day to be taught in languages other than English or French), the recommendations of the Toronto Board's committee on language instruction have met with stiff opposition.

Some of the most heated and acrimonious meetings ever held by the Toronto Board of Education took place during the debate over the report. This debate has now grown to encompass the Toronto press and public. The editorial board of the *Globe and Mail* came out against the language program proposals, stating: "The schools' task should be to educate children in one or both of Canada's official languages, the languages in which most of them can expect to work" (10 May 1982).

The *Globe and Mail* seems to have missed the issue completely. The Committee's report supports fluency in one or both of the "official" languages, but suggests that additional language knowledge is beneficial, both educationally and vocationally, as well as enhancing the understanding and facility with the "official" languages. Furthermore, the Committee's report states that most research on bilingual programs supports the beneficial impact of these programs on children, as they score as high or higher on standard achievement tests than do their unilingual counterparts.

The *Toronto Star* provided more extensive and balanced coverage in its articles (4-10 May 1982), stressing the advantages of language programs as well as discussing some of the problems resulting from administrative and staff reorganizations necessitated by the implementation of the new language programs.

But the *Toronto Sun's* coverage of the issue was almost unbelievable. Sun columnist McKenzie Porter overstepped all rules of propriety when he buried the issue of language instruction in a heap of abuse, spewing forth derogatory epithets as if there were no bounds to responsible journalism in Canada. In a particularly vicious way, he suggested that, "Jews, Italians, Portuguese, Greek, Chinese, East Indians, Africans and other incomers ..." were among other things, uncivilized, while only "Anglophone and Francophone" Canadians were civilized. Porter then went on to state: "Such selfish, parochial, concealed immigrants almost invariably (sic) are pushy. And it is this pushy type that far from being grateful for admission to Canada, and suitably meek, starts pushing around the native-born citizens after a year or so of residence (emphasis mine)" (Edmonton Sun, 2 May 1982). In one fell swoop Porter responds to the whole body of research in favour of second language programs by instead prattling about immigrants who are not "suitably meek" for Porter's standards.

One can only marvel at the contortions of logic that Porter would go through to rationalize his position when confronted with the demands for second language instruction in Canada. The vast majority of Ukrainian Canadians today are not immigrants. Having pioneered and homesteaded the Western plains before provinces were even established there, should not Ukrainian Canadians also claim the status of "founding people," in much the same way that the French do in Quebec or the English in Ontario?

Many arguments will be raised in the heated public exchanges between now and September, when the first of Toronto's multilingual language programs may be implemented. It is important that each of these be countered with cool-headed and rational rebuttal if the language policy is ever to be implemented and gain wide acceptance.

Perhaps the strongest argument in favour of implementing the language program in the schools is the purely educational one. Robert Duffy has succinctly analyzed the present situation and the educational argument in favour by stating: "... It [the Committee]

All signed letters of reasonable length which comply with Canadian libel and slander laws will be printed unedited (save for purposes of clarity) in this column. We will not print anonymous letters, but if for personal reasons contributors wish to withhold their names or use a pseudonym, this can be arranged. In all cases, however, we require both a genuine signature and a return address.

and the trustees had been in less of a hurry ... they might have been able to convince the majority that the program is justified on sheer educational merit. Experience and the studies of experts like Prof. James Cummin, of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, have shown that a child who arrives at school speaking only a [language other than English] not only progresses faster when taught in that language, but also learn better English" (*Toronto Star* May 9, 1982). It remains to be seen whether lucid thought like this will prevail.

Dmytro Jacula

Oops!

As a member of the York Ukrainian Student Association and as one of the editors of *Excalibur*, I found much to interest me in the April version of "From the files of the KGB." I also found much to anger me.

That the article that appeared in our March 18th issue was inaccurate and poorly written is not at issue — we certainly deserved to have our collective wrist slapped. But you didn't have to break it. Constructive comment is always healthier than vindictive attack.

In particular, I am offended by the item's inaccurate first paragraph; a paragraph that is no more than gratuitous insult. Did *Student* conduct a marketing survey to determine our circulation, or did it merely legitimize gossip by printing it? Under any circumstance, I fail to understand

why the *Student* collective would choose to celebrate the very apathy that is currently harming its own newspaper.

I also suggest that it is bad journalism to review an entire publication on the basis of one article. I have, very occasionally, read bad articles in *Student*, but I still recommend it to my friends.

Excalibur apologizes if its poor coverage in any way hurt the York Ukrainian Student Association, the Ukrainian Canadian Immigrant Aid Society or Amnesty International. It also informs the YUSA executive that, had the newspaper been contacted earlier, we would have printed an erratum, a letter to the editor, or both.

Yours truly,
Michael Monastyrskiy
Excalibur Editor

Fan Mail

Надслаю передплату на оба роки \$12.00. Газета *Студент* стає щораз цікавішою. Вн друкує статті, які вся наша преса не друкує, і тому є нешкавою. *Студент і Око* (Монреал) є дуже цікаві, не стандартні газети. Видають їх молоді; отже свіжість думки, допитливість, бажання реально оцінити явища, події в українському світі, роблять ці газети цікавими.

Прікладую \$8.00 на фонд газети.

З пошаною
Т. Романшин
Торонто, Онтаріо

Student Recruit

I have just recently become aware of the existence of the paper *Student* and have just recently subscribed to it. Therefore, I do not know what articles you have had in the past, specifically if you have run anything on Amnesty International. However, I was inspired to write an article on Amnesty of the paper and enclose it for your inspection. I hope that you will print it in your paper.

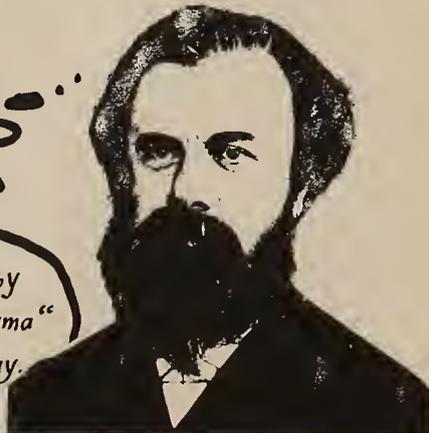
Sincerely,
Anonymous,
Stony Creek, Ontario.
(Article on p. 3)

STAFF THIS ISSUE: Jara Balan, Mykhailo Bociurkiv, Oana Boyko, Yolannah Ostiw, Tanya Oyczak, Mark Ferbey, Ted Harasymchuk, Vira Huzuliak, Tamara Ivanchenko, Omytro Jacula, Bohdan Kild, Alexia Kiyah, Oava Lupul, Marko Lytvak, Nestor Mykyryn, Mika Pasternak, Pointdexter, Peter Sochan and Roman Waschuk.

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Canadian University Press

STUDENT is a national monthly newspaper for Ukrainian-Canadian students, published by SUSK (Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union)

STUDENT is an open 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 individual signed articles are the responsibility of their authors, and not necessarily those of the *STUDENT* staff. *STUDENT's* role is to serve as a medium through which discussion can be conducted on given issues from any point of view. Letters to the editor are welcome. We reserve the right to edit materials for publication.

Whether one is a political participant or simply an observer, Alberta is certainly the place to watch for the next year or so. In a province that has always been known as being politically unique because of its lemming-like election results and its electoral volatility, the winds of change have certainly managed to pick up speed in the last little while.

Political analysts, both amateur and professional, concur that Premier Lougheed is definitely on the ropes. While his handling of purely domestic concerns has never been seen as exceptionally good, his ongoing "battles" with the federal government have always managed to make him appear as the defender of Alberta's "interests." This anti-Ottawa stance easily won him the elections of 1975 and 1979. However, a grave combination of political errors and misfortunes have put a seemingly irreparable dent in his carefully cultivated image.

Not the least of these was the signing of a questionable energy agreement with the federal government. Alberta's right wing (a rather large percentage of the province's population is only happy when the provincial government is actually "batting" the national government, which is seen as socialist, arrogant and alien). When a compromise agreement is actually reached, however, the provincial premier is immediately branded as a sell-out and in cahoots with the antichrist Trudeau. This was Lougheed's first problem with an energy agreement that gave him most of what he asked for. The second is that because of a combination of unforeseen economic circumstances, such as a declining demand for oil, the agreement appears to have done more harm than good to Alberta's economy. No matter how much Lougheed attempts to lay the blame for this on the federal government's shoulders, he is himself perceived to be at least partially responsible. The picture of Lougheed drinking champagne with Prime Minister Trudeau after the agreement was signed certainly hasn't helped him much either.

Although the premier also got most of what he wanted in the constitutional talks, he is seen as having "sold out" here as well. The unique (and disgusting) idea of constituent states opting out of a constitutional amendment was Lougheed's, right from the very beginning. However, certain groups, especially the separatist Western Canada Concept, have managed to plant the seed of paranoia that property rights are not protected in the new constitution, and that it is only a matter of time until the federal government comes to Alberta, confiscates all property, and throws everyone into internment camps.

The Open Road



Jarosław Iwanus

Many of the ignorant hoardes, who don't even know what a constitution is, much less understand the implications of the new document, take the story, hook, line and sinker. Lougheed is once again skillfully portrayed as having sold out to "eastern interests."

To complete his downward slide, Lougheed is also seen as being out of touch with the "grass roots" (whatever they are). In a recent open-line show on CBC radio, thirteen of fourteen callers thought that the premier was by and large ignoring the wishes of the populace. They

saw this as evident in his royal treatment of multinational oil companies, for example, while at the same time, he declines to aid small businesses in distress with low interest loans from the Heritage Trust Fund. Leaving aside the statistical incompleteness of the CBC survey, it is doubtful that the numbers would have been so overwhelming as recently as two years ago. Regardless of the fact that political elites in this country never have been in touch with the so-called "grass roots" (nor are they institutionally equipped to have this kind of contact), Alberta's opposition parties are making some headway in stressing the arrogance of the Lougheed government.

Be this as it may, discontent will not transform itself into electoral gains for opposition parties if firstly, the economy picks up within the next year (by which time a provincial election is expected to be called) and/or secondly, the opposition parties do not capitalize on their apparent momentum.

The people of Alberta certainly have several major alternatives from which to choose. The first is the New Democratic Party, which, although socialist in its fundamental principles, finds itself moderating its stance somewhat, in the hope of only minimally offending Alberta's largely conservative populace. The second is the intellectually vacuous Western Canada Concept, which believes in creating an independent western Canada state, although they have mitigated this principle for political purposes. While they believe in minimum government involvement in people's lives, they are supported by the "yahoo" element of the province's population, and they are experts at playing on people's uncivilized fear of change (e.g., bilingualism, metrication, gun control, etc.). The third is the newly-born and tentatively-named Alberta Party, which has thus far come down in favour of federalism, responsible capitalism, and institutional reform. While this group is in its neonatal stage, it appears to offer a moderate, credible alternative, and early signs show that interest in such a party indeed exists. As for the Liberals, the Communists, and the Marxist-Leninists, they appear to be shunned almost in toto by Alberta's electors.

The upcoming provincial election should hold several surprises. Whether Premier Lougheed will be forced to follow the dubious lead of other recently-defeated western Canadian premiers remains to be seen. Unless the political and economic situation in this province turns around quickly and completely, though, it is almost certain that the government will see its sixty-seven seat majority reduced sharply.

A Student's View

Amnesty International Wants You

I am a Ukrainian-Canadian student of nursing. People have noted that I am, apparently, well-suited to nursing, and when I bemusedly inquire why, they say much to my unfeigned delight that I am — hear this — compassionate. I do not disagree because I am daily becoming more secure in my own self-appreciation without being tainted in any way, I hope, by cat-like smugness. Therefore, I take their well-chosen words under advisement, especially when they point to my *bona fide* entre into the halls of the saintly compassionate, witness: my plain old cardboard card membership in that very venerable organization, Amnesty International.

I appeal to you, too, Ukrainian students all, whatever your own discipline or personal disposition. Please take these words under advisement and become involved: join Amnesty International. You qualify since you all have the required degree of compassion, awareness, sensitivity; and a sense of fair play, decency and justice. These are not unsubstantial, unsubstantiated, airy-fairy, come-hither words of nonsense. They are basic because they describe you, Ukrainian students all, to the very core.

Ukrainian students have a glimmering, at the very least, of conditions in the Soviet Union, for people who voice the thoughts and longings of the ordinary people, who themselves are prostrate before the might of the armed forces and the KGB. These good individuals end up in jail, labour camps and mental hospitals.

When you join Amnesty International, a non-aligned, London, England based human rights

organization, and winner of the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize and the 1978 Human Rights Prize, your group is usually assigned three prisoners on whose behalf you write letters, make telephone calls and send telegrams. You campaign, in other words, for the release of your "prisoners of conscience" who are usually incarcerated because of their political or religious beliefs, and who are, therefore, adopted by Amnesty International with the proviso that they must not have either used or advocated violence.

I was lonely and ashamed in my Amnesty group for we have three prisoners, one a Ukrainian, and I was the only Ukrainian-Canadian in the group, though we have in our city, a moderate-sized Ukrainian community. So, I organized. I told Ukrainians that they could, as I likewise do, write under a pen name to protect relatives in Ukraine. That alleviated many fears. I likened the writing of one letter a month (the Amnesty quota) to the washing of one dying man's body in the streets of Calcutta by Mother Teresa — Mother Teresa finds joy in ameliorating suffering. And as a member of Amnesty International the force of your one letter a month may precipitate a bigger bowl of soup for your prisoner. Who knows? Isn't there some similarity, then, in what Mother Teresa does and what you can do?

In any event, I personally find Amnesty International's work to be very fulfilling and I ask you to join the ranks of the compassionate many. For further information, write Amnesty International, 294 Albert St., Suite 204, Ottawa, Ont., K1P 6E6.

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The Dr. Who Said No

Dr. Pyotr Egides is a Jewish-Ukrainian dissident who was exiled to the West in 1979. Formerly a soldier, a collective farm chairman and lecturer in philosophy, he now lives in Paris, France, where he publishes a dissident journal titled Poiski (Searches). Dr. Egides was interviewed by a Student collective member during his speaking tour of Western Canada in late November of 1981.

Student: Could you give us some background information about yourself and tell us why you became a dissident?

Egides: One could say that my life is very complicated, as complicated as the history of our country following the October revolution, for I was born together with this Revolution. I was born in Kiev and raised in an orphanage, my father having died when I was two years old. I went to school, of course; then there was the famine in Ukraine in 1933; I worked as a teacher in a village, where I taught Ukrainian. When I was nineteen, I went to study in Moscow at the Faculty of Philosophy, completing my studies two days prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. I volunteered to be sent to the front, where I was wounded, lost consciousness and ended up behind enemy lines. Eventually I made my way back through their lines to our positions.

Instead of being congratulated for making my way back, I was arrested and sent to Vorkuta (an infamous labour camp in northern Siberia) for ten years. I served eight of the ten, after which I was released and "rehabilitated." I couldn't find work right away, so I went to Lviv to live with my sister for a while. I began to work as a teacher again. Later, after Stalin died, and the September Plenum of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party was convened, Khrushchev said that a new course would be taken. I believed then that the construction of a true socialist society would now begin.

I decided to volunteer to go to a village where I became the collective farm chairman, with the thought that I could begin to build a socialist community in this sort of detached environment. I worked there for a few years and did what I could. I saw that the system and the regime did not allow one to construct a true socialist system. I left the village, and went to work as a professor of philosophy. At this time I successfully defended my dissertation and worked at several universities in their philosophy departments. My last position was at the University of Rostov. In 1970, I moved to Moscow, but I had already — since about 1965 — begun to participate in the dissident movement. I wrote a book entitled *The Only Way Out*, in which I showed that the way out of the menacing situation in which our country found itself was through the construction of a democratic socialism — that our country needed democratization. For this book, I was arrested, diagnosed as insane and sent to a psychiatric prison for almost three years. Our government decided that only the insane could speak about a real democratic socialism. Why did I become a dissident? I was always a critical thinker, and always compared reality with theory, with ideas. I saw that our reality did not correspond with these ideas which were espoused by Marxism; which Lenin had propounded, especially in his *State and Revolution*, that those ideas which he had set forth were not fulfilled.

I also concluded that all of the four basic slogans of the October Revolution had not been implemented. What were these slogans? Land to the peasants; factories to the workers; power to the soviets (councils, radas in Ukrainian); the right of all nations to self-determination. The land was originally allowed to be taken by the peasants. But shortly afterwards, it was taken back from them, and they were forcibly driven into collectives, which one can say are not real collectives, because the State decides everything for them. The workers did not receive the factories. Soviet power also does not exist, because the Party stands over the Soviets. And the Party itself is controlled by the Politbureau, which decides everything. In essence, the Politbureau has usurped all of the peoples' power and property. Because of this, one can say that our State is a Mefisto-type organization.

Further, our nations have not received the right of self-determination, because they were forcibly driven into this empire, and were never asked whether they wanted to join the Soviet Union or not. There was never any type of referendum held in our republics. It someone even brings up this question today, then this person is declared to be a bourgeois nationalist and is imprisoned. Some nations are especially oppressed. For example; both the Crimean Tatars, who were driven out of their homeland, and the Volga Germans, are particularly oppressed. The Germans began the Second World War, but the Volga Germans are not responsible for this. Jews are especially oppressed. Ukrainian culture is not allowed to develop freely, and so forth. Thus, the mottoes or slogans of the Revolution were not carried out. All this induced me to take a critical position to what was being done in our country. I thought for a long time about the meaning of life and came to the conclusion that *life has no meaning if a person conforms to something which he or she has been forced into* — that one has to be independent, and think and imagine independently. And if you think as an independent person, you are a dissident; you are arrested and thrown into prison. That's how it is.

Student: At yesterday's meeting, you said that the Soviet Union is not socialist. In your view then, what is the nature of the Soviet system? If it is not socialist, then what is it?

Egides: In order to determine whether a country is socialist or not, one must initially explain what one means by the word socialism.

Student: That was our next question.

Egides: Then I will begin with this question: the question

of what is socialism can be answered in many different ways. Some say that socialism means State ownership; socialism occurs where there is a system of planning. There is some truth in this. But neither state ownership, nor the presence of a planned economy mean that a country is socialist. This is not the essence of socialism. The primary basis of socialism is the non-existence of the exploitation of someone else's labour. The exploitation of another's labour cannot exist only when the means of production belong to the producers themselves. This is the take-off point from which the construction of a socialist society must begin. There can be many approaches to building a socialist society — many people understand socialism in different ways — but, I believe that all will agree, that until the means of production belong to the producers themselves, there will be exploitation and you can't have socialism.

Socialism, therefore, is the various forms by which the means of production belong to the producers themselves. When this exists, then one can say that the basis of socialism exists. Now, let us look at our system. Do the producers in the Soviet Union have control and ownership over the means of production? Not in the least. The means



of production belong to the State. The authorities say that State ownership means social ownership — the State belongs to the people. This is nothing but pure fiction, lies, and demagoguery. If this was really the case, then the people would control the State, but in reality, the people don't and can't. Decisions are made by state functionaries and bureaucratic institutions. They decide everything — not the workers. And above them stands the Politbureau; so when it comes to the question of ownership, then essentially, the Politbureau is the owner of the means of production. And, in general, one cannot even speak of State ownership if you don't have democracy. When democracy does not exist, as is the case in the Soviet Union, then State ownership transforms itself into ownership by the State apparatus — the State functionaries. They own the means of production, not the workers; the engineers; that is, not the producers. This can be seen by the fact that the producers do not determine their own wages or the prices of the goods they produce; they do not decide the norms or rules of production, nor do they manage or dispose of dividends and profits. All these matters are managed and disposed of by the State. And what is the State, but the State apparatus? It appropriates everything, and then gives the producers a so-called wage, which it determines itself. This means that there is no control whatsoever over the processes of production. Therefore, there is no such thing as social ownership, and consequently there can be no socialism. There are those who say that when private property does not exist, there is socialism. This is not true. There do exist systems where private property does not exist, but this does not make it socialist. Thus, I can say that in the Soviet Union socialism does not exist.

Student: But what is the nature of the Soviet system?

Egides: This is a very important and complicated issue, because this type of system has never before appeared in history. This is a new type of system, but not entirely new, because elements of this system have existed in the past. Some say that our system is State socialist. I have already pointed out that socialism does not exist there. Some say that the Soviet Union is State capitalist. I also do not agree with this, because we do not have a system with capitalist relations between workers and employer. The employer in the Soviet Union is the State; in the West, it is a private owner. Capitalist relations exist when there are some sort of market relations between the employer and the worker, when the worker can bargain with the employer, either as an individual, or through unions. In the Soviet Union one can do neither. The State determines what it pays its workers. The workers can't bargain with the State, nor can they work for another employer. This means that capitalist relations do not exist. Therefore, one can't call the Soviet Union State capitalist. Here in the West, where you have some forms of State ownership, one can say that some elements of State capitalism exist, because the workers can bargain with the State; they can strike — and the strike is a form of bargaining. In the Soviet Union you don't have this. Strikes are forbidden. Therefore, there is no state capitalism.

What sort of system do we have? One can say that it is some sort of symbiotic system. It is composed of State slavery, State feudalism, and some elements — of the eternal ones — of capitalism. On the one hand, we do have certain forms of capitalism, such as money, commodities, shops and stores, but these are only forms, because in reality you don't have capitalist relations. But there are feudal and slave relations. Why do I say feudal? Well, because our peasants can't move, even from one collective farm to another, and even more so to the city. They are tied to their collective farms.

Recently, it has been claimed that they have been given passports. Up to this time our peasants were like helots (a class of serfs) of ancient Sparta. Our peasants are similar in status to the helots, because they never had the same rights as city-dwellers. Now they do have passports, but in reality, this is just another form, because the peasant still can't leave the collective farm without official approval. If your passport does not have an official stamp, you can't live in the city. Therefore, you must live where you are currently residing, even though you have a passport.

In reality, this is State serfdom. You don't have individual landlords, but the State as a whole is a State feudal system. The same can be said of the workers. They don't have the right, let us say, not to work somewhere. A worker can go from one factory to another, but he can't say, "I don't want to work, but wish to do something else." The State functionaries tell him, "No, you have to work." This means he is a serf, and he must work at a job he doesn't want to work at. Furthermore, workers do not have the right to bargain, to strike, as I've already indicated, and they don't have trade unions to defend them because the trade unions which exist in the Soviet Union are not real trade unions — these are just words. In general, in the Soviet Union anti-words (i.e., "double-think," as in George Orwell's *Novel 1984*) are used very frequently. This means the words are old, but the meanings are new. Trade unions in the Soviet Union don't exist. Because of this, one can call the workers State slaves, because they do not have any rights and have to accept what the State dictates and what it gives them.

In the Soviet Union, there exist real phenomena, which one can call slave phenomena. For example: our prisoners, who at one time (in the 30's) numbered in the millions, work for nothing; that is under Stalin, they worked for nothing; now, they work for practically nothing. They are given a little money to buy something, but in essence they receive no wages. Therefore, they are slaves. You also have a form of slavery in the army. For instance, to teach a soldier military skills may require one year of training. But he is usually kept for three. Why? Well, most of the time he performs numerous tasks — for practically nothing. This is also a form of slave labour. Because of this, one can say that we have a symbiotic system: State slavery, State feudalism, and some elements of capitalism. Capitalism can be said to exist in the Soviet Union in its external relations, between our State and other countries. There, one can say that real capitalist relations exist. Well then, this is what I can tell you about our system.

Student: What is your view on the recent events in Poland? Do you see any possibility of a similar movement developing within the Soviet Union? (Note: This interview was conducted before martial law was declared in Poland.)

Egides: The events in Poland make me very hopeful and optimistic and have a universal historical significance. In the first place, they have begun to tear apart our empire. This is the beginning of the end of our empire, and of its regime as a whole. Whatever may happen in the future, our regime has already lost, one can say, the game with Solidarity. Secondly, the Polish working class has shown that workers are capable of managing the affairs of the state. Recently, some theories have been propounded that say "well, the working class has already fulfilled its role; it is not capable of being a leading factor in the historical process. This role is being transferred into the hands of the intelligentsia; only the intelligentsia is qualified; only competent people can manage the State, etc." However, the Polish workers have shown that they are very competent in these political affairs, and that they are quite capable of managing the State. They are showing themselves to be extremely intelligent in regard to solving socio-political problems. Thirdly, the Polish events have shown that contemporary social problems can be solved without resort to arms, simply by means of a mass social movement, without force, without barricades.

It's another matter altogether if they are attacked. Then they shall have to defend themselves. But to date, they have begun to solve the tremendous socio-political problems by peaceful means, and if they had not been obstructed, they would have even begun to solve Poland's economic problems. However, they are deliberately hindered from doing this by the Soviet Union and the Polish State, through its Party and bureaucracy, which does not want Solidarity to solve these economic problems. I believe that the Polish events will have a tremendous influence within the whole empire, and upon the nations within our country.

Student: In Poland, the dissident intelligentsia has been collaborating with the workers' movement. Is there a possibility of such cooperation within the Soviet Union, and do you think that such cooperation would be a decisive factor in initiating a mass movement there?

Egides: Yes, this type of cooperation is indeed decisive. But, in our country, there are less possibilities for this type of cooperation than in Poland. Our dissidents do not have the same access; they are not allowed to meet with workers at the factories. If a dissident appeared at a factory and began speaking about something, he would

see Dr., pg. 10

Solidarity Suppressed

The Polish government has released the outline of a program for economic and political change that is aimed, it said, at making Poland economically independent from the West and self-sufficient in food production.

Its broad, overall goals include an expansion of trade and economic cooperation with other Communist countries, a reorientation of industrial production for agriculture, a move to lessen the dependence of the economy on imports from the West, and wage and pension reform.

"Recommendations were issued to work out assumptions for restructuring the economy, aiming to regain Poland's economic sovereignty," the report on the meeting by the government press spokesman said.

The program was a further refinement of the line laid down by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski in a speech to Parliament on 25 January. It represents an effort to give the impression that the martial law government is actively tackling the country's problems.

One major problem, with the Solidarity union still suspended under martial law, will be the shape of the trade union movement. A committee headed by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski presented in February "a set of political premises for reviving the trade union movement."

The unions, it said, would be "authentic, independent and self-governing representatives" of the workers, but it added that they must be "harmoniously connected" with the overriding goal of "consolidating the state and the Socialist democracy."

To some observers, the phraseology suggested a possible retreat from the pledge that Solidarity would be revived as a genuinely independent organization. It subordinated that union's future to the idea of the cohesion of the state.

With Solidarity leaders in detention, including Lech Walesa, apparently refusing to give way on matters of principle on the holding of talks, the government appears to be taking a harder line toward the union. This can be seen in both the public comments in the official media and the private remarks of government officials. A new series called "We Accuse" has been carried over national radio. It is a compendium of quotes from Solidarity leaders and interpretations designed to substantiate the notion that the union was after nothing less than a seizure of power and the overthrow of Communism.

Numerous newspapers have begun carrying extension "exposés" trying to show that Solidarity leaders were undemocratic and loose with union funds. Charge of embezzlement have been raised. (*International Herald Tribune*, 9 February 1982)



BLOC NOTES

Smoloskyp Register

Smoloskyp has published a valuable reference tool for anyone interested in the defense of Ukrainian political prisoners (*Ukrains'ki politiv'ianzni v SRSR. Adresnyi pokazzhchyk*). It is a register, in Ukrainian, of all Ukrainian prisoners of conscience with pertinent biographical information, including addresses and dates of birth and arrest. Appendices contain information on how to correspond with political prisoners and addresses of various important institutions. The directory was compiled by Marta Harasowska. It costs \$6.00 and can be obtained from: SMOLOSKYP, P.O. Box 153 Station "T", Toronto, Ontario M6B 4A1. Net royalties will be used in the interest of Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR.

Circus Ring Busted

In a developing scandal, police have arrested the national director of Soviet circuses and confiscated \$1.4 million worth of illicitly obtained diamonds and illegal foreign currency from his apartment, according to Soviet sources.

The sources said that agents of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) police arrested Anatoly A. Kolevator at his apartment Feb. 17 and found a cache of diamonds worth 800,000 rubles along with 200,000 rubles in foreign currency.

The sources, who included office workers at Soyuzgoscirk, the national circus directorate, said Mr. Kolevator had been accused of extorting bribes from circus performers who wanted to join the internationally acclaimed troupes the Soviet Union sends on worldwide tours.

As director general of Soyuzgoscirk, an agency under the Ministry of Culture, Mr. Kolevator oversaw about 20,000 employees, including 6,000 entertainers in more than 80 circuses, ice ballets and traveling zoos across the country.

'Boris the Gypsy'

Mr. Kolevator was said to be a member of the advisory collegium of the Ministry of Culture with a rank equivalent to deputy minister. He is one of the most senior Soviet officials to be accused of corruption since the late minister of culture, Yekaterina Furtseva, was reprimanded in 1974 for using state materials bought at bargain prices to build an ostentatious \$170,000 country home.

Mr. Kolevator's arrest followed that on 29 January of a sometime circus performer who uses the name Boris Tsigan — "Boris the Gypsy" — and has long been rumored to be a close friend of Galina Brezhnev, the Soviet leader's 53-year old daughter. Galina Brezhnev's friendships with circus performers have been a source of gossip among the Soviet elite for more than a decade.

Soviet sources said that Mr. Tsigan was arrested in possession of a large quantity of diamonds, and when asked by police where he obtained them, implicated Galina Brezhnev.

She is said to have denied the accusation, and there is no indication that she is under investigation. Soviet sources speculate that Mr. Tsigan may also have led investigators to Mr. Kolevator, the circus administrator.

In the early 1970s, Galina Brezhnev married and divorced a circus performer she met in a hotel in the Black Sea resort of Sochi.

She is now the wife of Lt. Gen. Yuri M. Churbanov, second-in-command of the MVD police who have arrested Mr. Tsigan, Mr. Kolevator and his deputy. (*International Herald Tribune*, 27-28 February 1982.)



• One of our agents was looking through back issues of *Ukrainskyi holos* (Ukrainian Voice) and came across the following tidbit of information in a 1956 issue. It seems that in June of that year a Winnipeg alderman named J. Penner proposed that Pritchard Avenue in the city's north end be renamed Ivan Franko Street. Penner, a communist, argued the change was appropriate because the street already had on it the Ukrainian Labour Temple and was soon to house the Ivan Franko museum and monument. But a Ukrainian alderman, S. Rebchuk, opposed Penner's initiative on the grounds that it was being made on behalf of a minority faction within the Ukrainian community. His lobbying proved successful, and city council defeated Penner's motion. As a result of this "victory" on the part of Ukrainian nationalists, Winnipeg to this day does not have a street with an unmistakably Ukrainian name.

• Last month, Toronto brimmed with anticipation on hearing that Student had been seen at Toronto's South Central Mail Processing Plant on 969 Eastern Avenue. Readers were quietly and hopefully assuring themselves that the months of tireless waiting had not been in vain. Our insider on the scene confirmed the earlier reports with detailed accounts of the size and condition of the Student bundles. Asked out loyal Canada Post employee and part-time Student informer: "Chomu vy vysylate vsikh naraz? Tak Deshevshe, pravda?"

• It seems that Student is not the only Ukrainian student publication with recent distribution problems. The March issue of Prism, the newsletter published by the American student union SUSTA, never made it to the post office. Apparently, the bulk of the copies to be mailed were left overnight at the Ukrainian Liberation Front building in New York City, where an overzealous janitor threw them out, thinking that the 750 copies of the issue were garbage. It looks like subscribers to Prism will never know if the janitor was right.

• Ukrainians have finally made it — at least into the social pages of the *Globe and Mail*. Zena Cherry's column in the 12 May edition of that paper featured a chatty account of a dinner held at York University to commemorate the 90th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada and the 10th anniversary of Ukrainian studies at York. Unfortunately, she gave Dauphin, Manitoba, and not Star, Alberta, as the site of the first Ukrainian-Canadian community, and managed to spell several names wrong, including that of Professor Orest Subtelny, the head of a newly-established program in Ukrainian history and political science at York. Oh well, at least there was a nice picture of Bishop Borecky holding forth with several notables at the function.

• Ukrainian political prisoner Danylo Shumuk has been transferred from a labor camp in Perm to exile in Kazakhstan. The transfer was brutal. Shumuk said: "The trip to Kazakhstan was harder than all those ten years of slavery in the camp." Although the distance between the camp and his place of exile could have been easily travelled by train in a few days, the transport in fact lasted fifty-one days. Shumuk was transported north and south, north and south, for weeks on end. The purpose of such drawn-out transport is only to weaken and break prisoners psychologically before they begin their term in exile. Shumuk lives in great poverty in exile, earning his living as a coal-stoker — hard physical work for an elderly, infirm man. He is allowed, however, to receive postcards, letters and even packages from abroad. Letters should avoid overtly political content, but may inquire about his state of health, communicate support and good wishes, etc. Packages can be either the so-called *banderoli* (up to 2 kg) or packages proper (up to 10 kg). Shumuk's address is:

Kazakhskaya SSR
Uralskaya oblast
Karobinsky rayon
Pos. Karatobe
Gostinnitsa

Shumuk, Daniil Lavrientyevich

At the same address with Shumuk is another Ukrainian political prisoner, Rev. Mykhailo Ilich Vynnytsky, a Ukrainian Catholic Redemptorist father arrested in 1975 in Lviv.



A recent photo of Danylo Shumuk in exile.

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CANADA

Nestor Mikhnenko, better known as "Batkó Makhno," is one of the unknown figures of Ukrainian history. Although he is highly regarded in the anarchist tradition despite some of the contradictions of the movement he led, Makhno is reviled and denounced as a glorified bandit by Ukrainian nationalists and communists alike. We present this brief discussion of Makhno's attitude towards authority in the hope of shedding some light on a complex and extremely fascinating chapter of Ukrainian history. Although the events this article refers to may seem rather remote to some readers, it is worth noting that Makhno was a source of inspiration for the revolutionary student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit in the struggles that almost toppled the French government in 1968.

Perhaps in attempting to comprehend an enigma such as Nestor Makhno, an insight may result in exploring Makhno's treatment of a concept that was central to his outlook. For anarchists, the central theme and source of oppression is authority in all its forms and manifestations, just as for Marxists an analogous point of departure is productive private property. In the words of a well-known anarchist thinker, Michael Bakunin, "... we reject all legislation, all authority and all privileged, licensed, official and legal powers ... this can serve only to the advantage of a dominant minority of exploiters against the interests of the immense majority in subjection to them. This is the sense in which we are all anarchists ..."¹ Nestor Makhno was 'Batkó' (i.e., a liked and respected figure) to thousands of peasants in southeastern Ukraine, though his enemies preferred to call him a thief, a bandit, pogromist, traitor, et cetera. To this day, the mention of Makhno evokes strong emotions among many Ukrainians, who either praise or disdain him. This cursory examination of Makhno, focussing on his perception as well as encounters with authority, will hopefully shed light on why he continues to provoke such contradictory reactions.

Nestor Makhno was born on 27 October 1889 in Hulai Pole (a regional centre in south-eastern Ukraine) to a poor peasant family. As his father died before Makhno was a year old, he and his three brothers were raised by their mother and compelled by economic hardship to find work even as children. By the time he was twelve Makhno was self-supporting and showing an interest in political matters, following the example of his brothers. This interest was intensified by the events of the 1905 revolution which provoked various activities and organizations in Hulai-Pole. A group of anarchists emerged and it is on its periphery that Makhno began his political activities. He was first arrested in 1906, was released, then re-arrested in 1908, and finally tried in 1910. Makhno and thirteen others were sentenced to be hanged for terrorist activities (on the basis of testimony provided by a secret police informer), but their sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. Makhno served his term in Moscow's Butyrki prison, the most notorious penal institution in tsarist Russia.

Despite his difficulty in accepting and coping with prison reality, it was in prison that Makhno received his "political education" from a fellow anarchist prisoner named Peter Arshinov, who later became the chronologist and an important figure in the Makhnovist movement. According to Arshinov, Makhno "showed great perseverance and learned Russian grammar, mathematics, Russian literature, the history of culture and political economy. In fact, prison was the only school in which Makhno acquired that historical and political knowledge which was a great help in subsequent revolutionary activity."² Makhno in prison (he served nine years, from the time he was nineteen) is further described as "Stubborn and unable to accept that complete extinction of personality that those condemned to forced labor underwent, he was always insubordinate to the prison authorities and was continually in solitary confinement, where, because of the cold and damp he contracted pulmonary tuberculosis."³ It has been suggested by some that Makhno's release of all prisoners and burning of prisons in areas liberated by his armies can be attributed to the bitterness he felt about his experiences in Butyrki.⁴

Makhno was released from prison under the general amnesty of the Provisional Government in early March 1917 and returned to Hulai-Pole where his activities during the period 1918-21 shall be the focus of our discussion. In August, 1921, Makhno along with eighty-three followers crossed over to Romania where they remained until April 1922 before proceeding to Poland. The Soviet government requested Makhno's extradition from both countries. In Poland his plight was such that he spent thirteen months in prison on charges which were obviously false (conspiracy to incorporate parts of Galicia to the U.S.S.R.), and he was eventually acquitted. His stay in Poland was one of constant fear and sickness, ending when he fled the country for Germany in March 1925 after being hospitalized for his various illnesses. Makhno then went on to Paris where he resided until his death in July 1934, at the age of forty-four. In describing Makhno's stay in Paris, his long-time anarchist comrade Voline wrote, "Sick and suffering bitterly from his many wounds, ignorant of the country's language and adapting himself with difficulty to surroundings which were as different materially as they were psychologically his existence abroad was little more than a long and miserable agony, against which he was powerless to struggle. His friends helped him support the weight of these sad years of decline."⁵ Other accounts of his years in Paris are gloomier in presenting tragic details of an individual psychologically and physically crippled to such a degree that death



came as a surprise to no one.⁶

But before I deal with Makhno's theoretical perceptions of authority (through which his ideological views emerge), I shall attempt to present an overview of factors and forces which coalesced into a dynamic that allowed for the emergence of a unique figure such as Makhno.

He entered into the political arena in Ukraine in August 1918 after the Brest-Litovsk treaty, by organizing partisan units that wreaked havoc among the Austrian armies of occupation. Villages liberated by Makhnivtsi witnessed the expropriation of land which was then handed over to local soviets (councils of workers and peasants) to do with as they pleased. The area of Makhno's operations was, historically, heavily populated by descendants of the Zaporozhian Sich Cossacks who "opposed the reduction of the peasantry to serfdom ... The heritage of the Sich's socio-economic order remained strong in the thinking of subsequent generations, especially as serfdom in Ukraine did not develop as a result of social conditions as it did in Russia, but was imposed. Retaining the memory of freedom, the population preserved the tradition of struggle to achieve it."⁷ In early twentieth century reality such a historical tradition manifested itself in a prevailing attitude among the peasants that a contemporary Ukrainian scholar has described as follows: "Experiences with the 'Reds,' 'Whites,' 'Germans,' and Austro-Hungarians had taught them that all governments were essentially alike, taking everything and giving nothing. Therefore, the peasants were more apt to revolt than to create or support a national government ... Unable to see any necessity to substitute another regime for the fallen tsarist one, they wanted to be left alone to arrange their lives and affairs."⁸ Clearly, the spirit of egalitarianism was central in the psyche of the Eastern Ukrainian peasants.

There was also at this time an immigration of Russian anarchists fleeing from the Cheka to Ukraine who formed the anarchist federation "Nabat" which contributed greatly to the proliferation of anarchist ideas in the region. Another factor to be considered was that the "organized forces of the Communist Party were weak in the Ukraine in comparison with those in Great Russia. The influence of the Bolsheviks over the peasants and workers was always insignificant."⁹ Among the political parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries (SR's) were the prevailing force. Thus, lacking any strong ties to a statist conception, the peasant masses expressed their aspirations by struggling in Makhno's armed forces and they supported this movement in all respects throughout the Civil War. Furthermore, although Makhno was not

the only *batko* or *ataman* active in Ukraine at this juncture of history — there were a number of colourful partisan groups and warlords such as Hryhoriev and Tiutlunyk — the Makhnovist movement was by far the most significant numerically. It is estimated that Makhno's Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army fluctuated in size between 10-50,000 men, depending on seasonal and other factors.

Makhno's conceptualization of reality can best be understood as being the product of a poor peasant mentality exposed to the anarchist ideas of such thinkers and revolutionaries as Bakunin, Kropotkin, Arshinov and Voline. Makhno's own political concepts and those of Makhnivschina (the movement he inspired) are impossible to distinguish as there is no evidence in available literature from which one could extrapolate a dichotomy. There is a dearth of information about conflict resolution and discussions of theoretical matters in available material on Makhno. Ideological positions and principles were formulated by Makhno and a small group of Russian Anarchists. This area of activity, according to Voline and Arshinov (who were intimately involved in the formulation of Makhnovist ideology), was one of the shortcomings of the movement. Numerous sources attest to Makhno's awareness of this problem, which he attempted to remedy by seeking out anarchist intellectuals from outside of Ukraine.¹⁰ The anarchist organization Nabat was generally supportive of the Makhnovist movement, though several individual anarchists had reservations about this popular movement, considering it impurely anarchist. Arshinov attributes this apprehension on the part of the intellectuals to their social background and isolation from the masses; to the great distance that they were removed from the movement (especially, the Russian Anarchists); and, finally, to their lack of sensitivity coupled with their feelings of helplessness. He concludes his remarks on this subject by noting that "... when the mass movement in the form of the Makhnivschina, rose from the depths of the people, the anarchists showed themselves completely unprepared, spineless and weak."¹²

It should also be recognized that although Makhno himself was a brilliant military strategist and organizer, he was not much of a theoretician. For him, anarchism "was not a doctrine, but a way of life; he strove toward anarchism, not from idea to life but from life to idea."¹³ The principles upon which he based his activities during the Civil War were stated in his memoirs as follows: "It is from here, from Hulai-Pole, that this formidable revolutionary force of the workers will emerge in the hearts of the

working masses, on which, according to Bakunin, Kropotkin and others, must depend revolutionary anarchism; and which will indicate the means by which the old regime of bondage can be destroyed and a new one can be created where slavery will not exist and authority will have no place. Liberty, equality and solidarity will be the principles that will guide men and human society in their lives and in their struggle for greater happiness and prosperity."¹⁴ Moreover, as Makhno's ideas developed and evolved under conditions of civil war they were propagandistic and agitational in nature, presenting themselves in the form of leaflets and proclamations, most of which were issued in the years 1919 and 1920 by the Cultural Educational Section of Makhnovist Army.¹⁵

In Makhno's understanding of anarchism there was no place for authority in any form, and it can be said that on an abstract level there were very rare and incomplete departures from this precept in all of the literature produced by the movement that bore his name. In addition to leaflets and proclamations, the Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army published two daily newspapers in "liberated area": *Put'k Svododa* (Road to Freedom) in Russian, and *Shliakh do Voli/Holos Makhnivtsia* (Road to Freedom/Voice of the Makhnivist) in Ukrainian. But these publications did not contribute significantly to an understanding of libertarian ideas because they concerned themselves essentially with reports, interests and tasks of the army. On the other hand, *Nabat*, a weekly publication of the "official" anarchist organization, preoccupied itself with ideological matters but did not necessarily reflect precisely the views of Makhno. On most questions the Makhnovschina espoused the views of Bakunin and Kropotkin, and it is probably sufficient to simply quote extensively from the Makhnivist proclamation of 27 April 1920 entitled "Who are the Makhnivisti and what are they fighting for?" In this proclamation their goals are outlined as follows:

"the overthrow of the monarchist, coalition, republican and social-democratic, Communist-Bolshevik Party Governments. In their place must be substituted the free and completely independent soviet system of working people without authorities and their arbitrary laws ... it is the supreme form of non-authoritarian, anti-state socialism, which expresses itself in the organization of a free, happy and independent system of social life for the working people in which each worker taken separately, and society as a whole, will be able to build without assistance his own happiness and well-being according to the principles of solidarity, friendship and equality. The working people themselves must freely choose their own soviets, which will carry out the will and desires of the working people themselves, that is to say, administrative, not ruling soviets. The land, the factories, the workshops, the mines, the railroads and other wealth of the people must belong to the working people themselves, to those who work in them, that is to say they must be socialized ... Only through the abolition of all rulers, through the destruction of the whole foundation of their lives, in state affairs as well as in economic and political affairs. And only through the destruction of the state by means of a social-revolution can the genuine Worker-Peasant soviet system be realized and can we arrive at Socialism."¹⁶

On a conceptual level one may delineate a slight inconsistency on the nation-state question. According to Arshinov, in viewing the nation as a source of authority the insurgents proclaimed that "When speaking of Ukrainian independence, we do not mean national independence in Petliura's sense, but the social independence of workers and peasants. We declare that Ukrainian, and all other working people, have the right to self-determination not as an 'independent nation,' but as independent workers."¹⁷ This statement poses the question that if "independent workers" collectively exercise their right to self-determination (the term self-determination being used here in an unorthodox manner, as it usually applies to nations and not peoples) on the basis of national and/or geographical origin, are they not in essence calling for national independence? It should be noted that Makhno's wife Halyna stated to the feminist anarchist Emma Goldman in Kiev that Makhno's "ultimate plan is to take possession of a small territory in Ukraine and there establish a free commune."¹⁸

Further evidence of Makhno's support for national independence may be found in a document dated 20 May 1919 entitled "Conditions on which the revolutionary soviet of partisans of Hryhoriev and Makhno (Kherson, Katerynoslav, and Tavria) are in agreement". One of the five points reads, "we do not recognize the Directory and support the position of its immediate liquidation and in its place there should form a Provisional Central Council of the Republic consisting of socialist elements on the basis of soviet rule in an independent Ukrainian Republic ... we support the position of an independent Ukraine as this in fact is what we are fighting for and we recognize the principle of popular rule."¹⁹ The view that Makhno supported the concept of an independent Ukraine is not presented in most literature concerning him. This view has been given credence as recently it has been revealed that the views of his wife Halyna, a Ukrainian-school teacher and activist, seemed to have played a significant role in the development of Makhno's outlook on the national question. It is said that she held strong national feelings to which Makhno adhered and reveals in numerous passages

throughout his memoirs. For instance Makhno in recollecting an encounter with Lenin and Sverdlov, asserted his national pride by admonishing them for, "trying to avoid the word Ukraine and ... calling it South Russia."²⁰ Makhno supported the idea of a free and independent Ukraine unfettered by states of any kind, including a Ukrainian nationalist state.

How then, were these various ideas and schemes implemented by the Makhnovschina? This question seems to follow logically from the previous discussion but implies, unjustifiably, that ideas (as products of the mind) have no validity in themselves. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the success or failure of the implementation of an ideology often reflects more about the specific historical context it must take root in than anything about the content of the ideas.

Despite the raging civil war and the military demands it imposed on the movement, the Makhnovtsi did attempt to implement anarchist ideas. In addition to the already-mentioned contradictions and weaknesses of the Makhnovschina, Voline observed other problems which stemmed from Makhno himself. Voline lists some of the difficulties the movement had to contend with: "The almost continued necessity of fighting and defending itself (Makhnivschina) against all enemies, without being able to concentrate on peaceful and truly positive works ... The continued existence of an army within the movement. For in an army of whatever kind it may be, always and inevitably ends by being affected by serious faults, by a special kind of evil mentality ..."²¹ Voline goes on to mention that some of the flaws in Makhno's character exacerbated and intensified the problems confronted by the Movement.

In areas liberated by Makhno the insurgents would post proclamations declaring that they had no intention of ruling, and that the expropriation of the landowners' estates would pave the way for the emergence of a system of free soviets and communes. The soviets were to be a political-military form of association, while the communes were their socio-economic counterparts. Congresses of peasants, workers and insurgents were held on a regional basis, and the position of the insurgents vis-a-vis other tendencies and parties were summed up as follows: "In allowing all political parties and organizations full and complete freedom to their ideas, the Makhnovist army wishes to inform all the parties that any attempt to prepare, organize and impose a political authority over the working people will not be permitted by the revolutionary insurgents, such an act having nothing in common with the free dissemination of ideas."²² In reality, unless one attempted to reinstitute the old social order or to form revolutionary committees which would try to rule and govern the population — as the Bolsheviks attempted to do so with their "Revkoms" (Revoliutsiinii Komitety) — freedom of expression and dissemination of ideas through accessible means was not discouraged. But unfortunately, the free soviet system was primarily concerned with providing an infra-structure (support system) for Makhnovist army operations, and social problems by-and-large remained of secondary interests. However, the free peasant commune system was developed to a limited extent and Makhno took a great interest in it. For example he wrote about them that "The management of each commune was conducted by a general meeting of all its members ... As a new method (school) they settled on the anarchist school of F. Ferrer (a Spanish educator who stressed a spirit of independence and spontaneity)." There was even a peasant commune named after Rosa Luxemburg, but because of the civil war these communes never spread beyond the immediate vicinity of Hulai-Pole.

The structure of the Makhnovist army was such that it was headed by a Revolutionary Military Council that consisted of other *batkos* and *atamany* who allied themselves with Makhno. Each regiment kept its separate identity and its own chain of command, which in most cases was hierarchical and not corresponding to the spirit of egalitarianism inherent in anarchism. In this regard, it may be noted that Makhno was called a "batko" (i.e., "Father") and despite attempts to avoid this point in literature about him, he was a *leader*, and a colourful one at that. In addition to having a weakness for drink and women, Makhno was also known for being bold, stubborn and temperamental. Voline suggests that there were individuals within the Makhnovschina better qualified to perform Makhno's tasks.²³ Thus, in reviewing his activities amongst his compatriots and in areas of insurgent operations, one can find both instances where sincere attempts were made to implement espoused anarchist principles and occasions when Makhno and his followers exhibited a callous disregard of these beliefs. Of course, the exigencies of specific situations encountered by the insurgents were sometimes responsible for these inconsistencies, and the obstacles to facilitating qualitative change were often overwhelming. Church property was in most cases expropriated along with estates of the landowners, but it is significant that there was no policy of terrorizing the clergy, Jews, or other religious sects and nationalities.

In his dealings with other groups of insurgents Makhnovtsi were generally fraternal, the notable exception being the well-known case of Hryhoriev. He, according to some sources "was openly anti-semitic, the perpetrator of pogroms; Makhno protected Jews and in fact had many serving on his own staff. While Hryhoriev was prepared to work with any ally, including General Denikin, Makhno and his advisers tread a carefully chosen revolutionary path, refusing to support dictatorships of any sort whether radical or reactionary. Convinced finally that Hryhoriev was a hopeless case, Makhno decided that the *ataman* should be eliminated."²⁴ Some have endeavored to justify the Hryhoriev shooting as an act of opposition to anti-semitism, but it seems that this incident speaks for itself and reflects civil war reality with its concomitant justice, which was not necessarily

(Cont'd On Page 11)



in Ukraine at this juncture of colourful partisan groups and Tlutiunyk — the Makhnovist significant numerically. It is an Insurrectionary Army flucmen, depending on seasonal

of reality can best be un- of a poor peasant mentality eas of such thinkers and potkin, Arshinov and Voline. and those of Makhnivschina possible to distinguish as there nature from which one could a dearth of information about ons of theoretical matters in eological positions and prin- o and a small group of Russian ty, according to Voline and volved in the formulation of of the shortcomings of the test to Makhno's awareness of ed to remedy by seeking out de of Ukraine.¹¹ The anarchist, supportive of the Makhnovist uld anarchists had reservations nsidering it impurely anarchist. nsion on the part of the ground and isolation from the it they were removed from the an Anarchists); and, finally, to ed with their feelings of rks on this subject by noting t in the form of the depths of the people, the mpletely unprepared, spineless

that although Makhno himself and organiser, he was not much ism "was not a doctrine, but a chism; not from idea to life but es upon which he based his es stated in his memoirs as ulai-Pole, that this formidable will emerge in the hearts of the



Starslayer Strikes!

Eugene Plawluk

Ukrainian Halfbreed in the Comix

The barbarians have struck again. Shortly after my last article on Ukraine in the comics, another barbarian sword & sorcery comic has blossomed forth with a Slavic hero. My prediction that Ukraine would be a good setting for a barbarian has come true. Mike Grell, writer and artist of "Warlock" fame at DC comics, has struck out on his own under the auspices of an independent publisher — Pacific Comics. Having been given copyright to his character and stories as well as the freedom from the restrictions of the Comics Code, Grell has produced an interesting storyline for his latest endeavour, *Starslayer*.

Starslayer is a barbarian swordsman from the Celtic era, seized just at the instant of death and taken forward into a future Earth. The first issue describes our hero, Torin MacOuilleon, as a Slavic Cossack who has ended his travels by marrying the daughter of a Celtic Chieftain. The plot is typically action-packed and loosely reconstructed upon a historical setting. MacOuilleon and his son are out boar hunting when they come across an encampment of Romans who are just beginning their raids on the Celts in Britain. Like any true Slav, Torin responds to these usurpers and imperialists by brandishing his sword and exclaiming: "Some would say it simpler to pay the Roman tribute. But once a man bows his head in submission he becomes a Slave. A Free Man Bows to No One!" Thereupon, the unsuspecting Romans are slaughtered by our hero.

Father and Son run to their village to alarm the residents that the Romans are coming. But they are stopped short by the Celtic Chieftain, who denounced Torin as a Slavic outsider and claims that he should not be making tribal decisions, whether he is married to the Chieftain's daughter or not.

"You overstep your bounds Torin! You are an outlander, a

Half-Breed Scythian," claims Hadwin the Chief.

Torin replies: "I bear you no ill-will Hadwin. But the path you choose leads to destruction and slavery. Indeed I am not of your people. But I have shared your lives, fought your enemies, and come to love this island that now lies drowning beneath the Roman Tide."

Torin then extolls his neighbours to revolt: "Have you not learned by the example of your Scythian Brothers? The proudest warriors of the Steppes — conquerors of the Cimmerians and a Dozen other tribes, and yet we allowed ourselves to be swallowed up by the Samaritans, until little remains of our culture but a memory, I am not a Briton but I am a Celt."

Here we have yet another reference to the Celtic National Tribal Alliance that spread throughout Europe even into the Ukraine in the times before the Roman invasions. Grell has dug into a little known portion of history — that of the early

alliance of the Celts, Gauls, and Slavs against the civilizations of the Byzantium/Mediterranean region — which are the proto-history of popular myths in all our cultures.

Torin, of course, is correct, the villagers opting for tribute discover for themselves that the Romans, like the later White colonists in North America, are arrogant, overbearing and bring 'trinkets' to the 'natives,' yet demand total tribute and obedience to Caesar. After an accumulation of insults, the Village calls back Torin and his Swordwielding wife, Gwynyth, and they rise up against the Romans. Of course, this results in a slaughter of both sides. But as Torin would say: "Better to die a free man than live as a Slave."

At his moment of death, a lightning bolt transfers Torin heavenward but he is intercepted by a waiting spaceship, piloted by a female scientist from the future. It appears that the Earth of

thirty thousand years in the future has become jaded and decadent and her space colonies of genetically-mutated humans are in revolt. But Earthlings have forgotten how to fight. Hence, they send a space mission back in time to capture a suitable 'barbarian' to lead the Earth forces against the revolt. Will Torin the *Starslayer* detect the treason of the new Earth Empire? Will he fight for further freedom and align himself with the rebels of the future? These and other questions we will leave in Mike Grell's capable hands.

Grell's art work includes full splash panels of action, good character construction and excellent dialogue. His conception of historical man in the future and the problems which he will face are excellently depicted. I recommend this comic as a tight, action-filled break from the humdrum of final exams and papers. Get it at your local comics store.

Starslayer: by Mike Grell, Pacific Comics.

A Literary Passport

Identifications Conference Book Reviewed

In March 1982 the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) published *Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada*, edited by Jars Balan. The volume contains selected papers from the conference held at The University of Alberta in 1979 by CIUS and the Departments of English and Comparative Literature. The conference posed the fundamental question: does the ethnic who writes, write ethnic literature?

Identifications is one of the first attempts to respond to this question, and as such is a pioneering venture.

What is an ethnic Canadian? In a panel discussion on "Hyphenated Canadians — the Question of Consciousness," Canadian playwright George Ryga and adult educator and author Maara Haas debated the question with Canadian Ukrainian writers, Myrna Kostash and Yar Slavutych.

One of the fascinations of the book is the ambivalence of the contributors toward the subject matter. George Ryga, for example, vehemently denies the significance of ethnicity in his life and writing. In the discussion on "Hyphenated Canadians," he maintains that Canadians should categorize themselves by their geographical location, as Maritimers, Westerners, Quebecois, rather than by their ethnic origin. Yet in a biographical essay on "Ukrainian Influences in George Ryga's Work," Jars Balan, a graduate student in the Department of English at the University of Alberta, is able to discern numerous instances in which Ryga's background influences have pervaded his writing. Similarly, David Arnason, Assistant Professor of English at the University of Manitoba, in his essay on "Icelandic Canadian Literature," notes that the Icelandic Canadian experience is essentially over, since the Icelandic language is virtually obsolete in Canadian literature, but concludes with the warning, — If Canadians are going to gain a distinctive identity, to learn to speak in a language that will, as Johnson puts it, measure their breath, they are going to have to confront all aspects of their experience. Ethnic literature is an important aspect of that experience.

Henry Kreisler, author of *The Rich Man and The Betrayal*, and University Professor in the Department of Comparative Literature, examines "The Ethnic Writer in Canada," from the perspective of a post-Second World War internee, based in England, who made a conscious decision to dispense with the German language and become an English-language writer. Although initially he had reservations whether he could dispense with his native language "as it were a shirt," he took heart from the examples of Joseph Conrad and A.M. Klein, realizing that like a tree, he could with time grow new roots without discarding the old.

A different approach is taken by Yar Slavutych, poet and Professor in the Department of Slavic and East European Studies. Examining early Ukrainian writing in Canada, the author points out the success of Ukrainian writing in this country. The pioneers, albeit from modest beginnings, were able to reflect their experiences in their native language, in a foreign country, so that today, Ukrainian literature is flourishing in Canada, whereas in Ukraine itself, it has been restricted by Soviet policies of Russification. But Danylo Struk, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Toronto, takes a more pessimistic view in his article, "Ukrainian Emigre Literature in Canada." He feels that only a handful of Ukrainian emigres have been able to create literature as emigres, despite the impressive quantity of writings. Moreover, he maintains that emigre literature will always be a dying literature, "dying with the very people who produce it."

Other groups encompassed include Hungarians and Jews. George Bisztray, Associate Professor and Chair of Hungarian Studies at the University of Toronto, analyses Hungarian literature, and perceives that although still isolated, Canadian Hungarian writers are at last becoming aware of this isolation, and may soon become integrated into mainstream Canadian literature. Vancouver-based translator and teacher Seymour Levitan gives "An

Introduction to Canadian Yiddish Writers," describing the background to Yiddish writing in Europe and Canada, and focusing, in particular, on the poetry of Rochl Korn, who is preoccupied with the Jewish themes of exile, and the desire to end that exile. Judy Young, Literary Projects Officer of the Multiculturalism Directorate, Secretary of State, Ottawa, looks at Canada's "Unheard Voices," that is, those expressing themselves in a language other than English or French.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the volume is a panel discussion on "Ethnicity and Identity: The Question of One's Literary Passport." The participants are Pier Giorgio di Cicco, poet and associate editor of *Books in Canada*; Maria Campbell, author of *Halfbreed* and former writer-in-residence at The University of Alberta; Andrew Suknaski, Saskatchewan poet and author of *Wood Mountain Poems*; and Rudy Wiebe, Professor of English at The University of Alberta and author of numerous books, including *The Temptations of Big Bear* and *The Mad Trapper*. The panelists explain their relationship to their "other language," Italian, Cree, Ukrainian, and German respectively, its influence over their writings and whether their awareness of this background language has affected their writings in English. The discussion is lively, informal and even, at times, irreverent.

Clearly the book is of great import to scholars and students of Canadian literature. But its significance lies beyond this. It poses questions of identity, awareness, of the role of ethnicity in our lives. Not all these questions are answered. Nonetheless, as Jars Balan comments in his introduction: "What we learn may not only change our understanding of Canadian literature, but may also change fundamentally how we see ourselves."

Identifications is available at the price of \$7.95 from: University of Toronto Press, Distribution Department, 5201 Dufferin Street, Downsview, Ontario, M3H 5T8.

* The above article was submitted by David Marples, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Bela Rudenko (soprano) [Art songs by K. Stetsenko, V. Kosenko, F. Nadenenko, H. Majboroda, L. Dychko, A. Kos-Anatoli's'kyi] and arrangements of Ukrainian folk songs by B. Ljatoshyn's'ky, S. Ljudkevych and L. Kolodub. | Melodiya 33 D 031355-56.

With considerable justification Ukrainians take pride in their vocal music both as composers (be it of folk or art songs) and as performers. Although many outstanding singers have appeared in Ukraine (even if one considers only the 20th century), a surprisingly small number of them achieved international recognition. Perhaps this was because most of them never got any further than Moscow. In earlier times Oleksander Myshuha-Fillipi (1853-1922) and Solomia Krushelnys'ka (1873-1952) did become famous internationally, but after that one had to wait till the 1930s and 1970s for Natolii Solovianenko and Bela Rudenko to achieve transatlantic recognition. The former was a soloist for one season at the N.Y. Metropolitan Opera, and the latter gave several concert tours in the United States.

Bela Rudenko is a coloratura soprano whom various New York critics compared to the greatest of the great. She is equally at home on the operatic and concert stage, and it is in the latter role that we find her on this disc. The programme begins with the lyrical and ever-popular "Vechernia pisnia" (Tykhesenku vechir na zemli spadete) by Kyrylo Stetsenko (1882-1922) (lyrics by V. Samilenko). Rudenko renders this with great delicacy and restraint. There follow three songs by Viktor Kosenko (1896-1938): "Vony stoiely movchky" (They stood in silence), a melancholy piece with tragic overtones; "Sumnyi ia" (I am sad), a dramatic expression of passionate love that ends on a lyrical note; and "Hovory, hovory" (Speak, speak), another soaring love song. These are



Konsert Meister Doremy Fasola

followed by Fedir Nadenenko's (1902-1963) autumnal setting of A. Pushkin's "Proshchannia" (Farewell). With the exception of the Stetsenko piece, all the aforementioned songs seem to be lyrics by Russian poets, though they are sung in Ukrainian. There follow three Ukrainian folk songs, each with an entirely different character. Borys Ljatoshyn's'ky's (b. 1895) "Oi u poli" (In the field) is a setting of a love-song not without humour. "Oispivanochny moi" in Stanyslav Ljudkevych's (1879-1979) arrangement begins dramatically but ends in serene clam. The soloist's coloratura is used very effectively in Lev

Kolodub's (b. 1930) "U heiechku khodyla" (I would walk about the grove), an almost childlike song. Heorhii Maiboroda (b. 1913) conveys very effectively the strong emotions of Volodymyr Sosiura's romantic poetry in "Ne sumu!" (Do not pine), "Lyst" (the letter) and "Osminie pisnia" (Autumn song).

Lesia (Ljudmyla) Dychko (b. 1939) is the composer of three exceptional songs: "Ne chomni" (On the boat) is a powerful setting of one of Lesia Ukrainka's love poems. The refrain is sung murmuring, which Rudenko performs flawlessly without resorting to any vocal trickery, that lesser voices stoop to. A. Palazchenko's "Iabunka" (The apple tree) is full of the joy that so lends itself to a coloratura. The third song "Iak — khochesh — zacharuju" (Do you want it — I will enchant the forest) is set to lyrics by M. Rudenko. While the previous songs stuck to traditional tonalities, here Dychko uses chromatic devices that so effectively convey the magic character of the words.

The disc concludes with two well-known works by Anatolii Kos-Anatolsky (b. 1909) for coloratura. The composer is also the author of the lyrics: "Solovei i troiande" (The nightingale and the rose) and "Soloviyni romans" (The nightingale romance). In both works additional colour is added to the piano accompaniment by a flautist (Volodymyr Antonov). The most demanding trills in the high register seem to come so effortlessly to Rudenko that these songs invariably bring even a cold, critical audience to its feet in a standing ovation.

In all the songs B. Rudenko is very ably accompanied by Halyna Patorzhynska, the daughter of the famous basso, Ivan Patorzhynsky. B. Rudenko has also cut a stereo disc (Melodiya C-01509-10) of operatic arias by G. Donizetti, L. Delibes and G. Verdi. If you love vocal music of the highest calibre and want an excellent introduction to Ukrainian chamber vocal music, do not miss experiencing this record.

KOLUMN-EYKA



Building a Foundation

Our dance is one of the most popular Ukrainian activities in this country. We can boast of hundreds of groups and schools, thousands of participants, and countless performances all over the world. Millions of hours of dedicated work, and millions of dollars have gone into making our dance what it is. In many ways, we can be proud of our great successes. On the other hand, there is still a long, long way to go. We have great momentum right now, but we must concern ourselves more and more with the quality of our art.

We all know that Ukrainian dance is a very complex and multifaceted business. Many of us are now good at performing the steps, but by themselves, the steps are not nearly enough. In order to produce good performances from beginning to end, a group needs expertise in dance technique, ethnography, choreography, teaching, costuming, acting, administration, music and more. The better we know these fields, the more we will understand what we are doing, and the better we will dance. It is in these related fields that our dancing needs most work now.

ETHNOGRAPHY

- folk traditions in historical and political context
- calendrical and personal cycles in Ukrainian customs
- regional variations
- folk costumes
- music
- general history of Ukrainian dance
- Canadian history of Ukrainian dance
- Soviet Ukrainian dance
- comparative studies of other nationalities
- recreational folk dance

THEATRICAL DANCE

- ballet
- character dance
- jazz, modern dance, etc.
- the art of choreography
- anatomy and kinesiology
- creative movement
- acting and mime
- theatre production
- costuming and make-up

TEACHING

- curriculum
- modern educational dance
- classroom techniques
- rehearsal management
- ballet and character dance methodology
- standardization of steps
- dance notation

ORGANIZATION

- regular communication between groups
- regular cooperation between groups
- surveying and analyzing present Ukrainian dance activity
- collecting and establishing a library of literature, music, films and choreography

PUBLICATIONS

- publicizing and disseminating material
- translating
- writing and publishing essays on numerous topics

ADMINISTRATION

- group structure and leadership
- fund raising
- fund raising
- grant application
- facilities
- booking performances
- arranging tours etc., etc.

We must also keep in mind that there are a great variety of people involved in Ukrainian dance under a great variety of circumstances, and for a great variety of reasons. Each group has its own style, with its own point of view and its own interests and priorities. Not everyone is concerned with all of the above. Some of us are concerned with ethnographic reconstruction, while others want Las Vegas dynamism. Some take advantage of Soviet accomplishments, others help develop our own choreographers. For many, teaching children is a major concern. For others, it is not.

It is exactly this wide spectrum that is our greatest strength as a community. Instead of fighting about them, we should take advantage of our differences. Not everyone should become a historian or a kinesiologist, for example, but it would be great if some of us would. We could learn and benefit from each other so that we all develop the broadest base possible. Only on a wide, strong foundation can we raise our art higher.

Andriy Nehechewsky

Ukrainian Dance Instructor

The Yalenka Ukrainian Cultural Society requires a qualified resident dance instructor. Society members will aid in obtaining employment and accommodations for a person willing to instruct our championship group. If you are interested in coming to the beautiful, bustling centre of B.C., please contact:

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The Dr.

(cont'd from page 4)

immediately be arrested. We have attempted to do just that. For instance, I tried to establish contacts with some workers. I went to certain cities near the Volga, where there are many factories. But I did not have access to the factories. I could, only through my friends, speak with some workers. It is very difficult in our country. Even in Poland, it was not that simple. Initially, the intelligentsia stepped out against the regime; the workers didn't support them. Then the workers stepped out; the intelligentsia didn't support them. Later, they understood this and began to collaborate. In our country, there are certain instances of such collaboration. For instance, the first independent trade union, organized by Klebanov (For information on this independent trade union movement see *Workers Against the Gulag*, edited by Victor Haynes and Olga Semyonov), had very weak ties with the dissidents. But later, the dissidents themselves helped create a free trade union called S.M.O.T. (The Free Multi-Profession Union of Workers). This is an example where both dissidents and workers combined to form a free trade union. I had direct relations with this organization. Members of our journal's editorial board (Note: Egides and a group of Moscow dissidents published a samizdat journal known as *Poiski*, i.e. Searches) are members of, and work in this organization. So, you see, something is being done. But it is very difficult. There are arrests, repression. But we must hope that this collaboration will occur in the future.

Student: Does the intelligentsia understand that it must have contacts with the people?

Egides: Unfortunately, not all the intelligentsia understands this. But a significant number do, and are attempting to do something about it.

Student: You were born and lived in Ukraine for some time. What can you tell us about the national and democratic movement in Ukraine? What sort of relations exist between Russian and Ukrainian dissidents, and among the dissidents of the other nationalities in general?

Egides: Let me begin with the last question. There are very warm and friendly relations between Ukrainian and Russian dissidents, and many know each other personally. Dissidents from Moscow have frequently travelled to Kiev to establish contacts. For instance, Mal'va Landa, who is a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, frequently travelled to Kiev to establish contacts. Dissidents, such as Oksana Meshko, have travelled from Kiev to Moscow. I met her in Petro Hryhorenko's apartment in Moscow. I also met Olya Matushevych. We also have warm relations here in the West, with Plyushch and Hyrhorenko. I am a personal friend of Malynkovych, who lives in Munich and is a member of Kiev's Helsinki Group. So there are close ties between us. Another example: Sergei Kovalyov, a biologist from Moscow, was arrested because he helped the dissident movement in the Baltic region. Here in the West, however, I have seen certain unpleasant things happen. I see that Russian and Ukrainian emigres do not even speak with one another, and treat each other as enemies. I believe that this is a great mistake on both sides. I do not agree with those Russians who say that our

country is not the Russian empire, but the Soviet empire. This is not true. This is still the Russian empire, even though it is called Soviet. Russia is still the metropolitan country, even though the Russian nation lives under the same conditions as do all the other enslaved nations. It is also an enslaved nation. However, although the Russian nation is enslaved, and may in fact live worse than the people in the Caucasus or the Baltic republics, when Russians move to other republics they have certain privileges, and in general, they do not consciously deal with the national problems of those republics very well. Many do not even think about these problems. But this does not mean that all Russians have this attitude — that all Russians are enemies of Ukrainians. On the contrary, friendly relations must be established. I think that here in Canada, where there are many Ukrainians, a Ukrainian-Russian friendship committee should be established, on the basis of the full recognition of the Ukrainian nation's right to establish its own independent state without any preconditions — that is, without waiting for a referendum, or something of that sort. One must begin with the conditions that existed just after the October Revolution, where each nation had established, or was in the process of establishing, its own republic. Every nation should have the right to independence. And because of this, I would say that one must begin with the dissolution of the empire. On this basis, one could build a committee of Ukrainian-Russian friendship.

Student: You were the chairman of a collective farm in the 1950s. Could you briefly tell us about your experiences? What is the nature of the collective farm system? You've already answered part of this question, but perhaps you'd like to add something?

Egides: I became the chairman of a collective farm because I really wanted to do something with my own hands, to realize these ideas of socialism which I hold. I accomplished what I possibly could within that system. I tried to destroy the exploitation of women by men, because on the collective, the men usually managed and directed, while the women performed the most difficult tasks. I chased out these exploiters and we appointed new directors who behaved humanely towards women. But I couldn't radically rebuild this rural economy because I was not allowed to do this from the top. I proposed that the people be paid according to the amount of crops they harvested, not by the hectare. This would have interested the collective farmers in their work. They themselves wanted this. They wanted to manage everything themselves and simply be paid for what they produced. The authorities told me that this proposition was not socialist. Other propositions were similarly treated. Under these conditions, nothing more could be accomplished. So I left. Some people have said that it is necessary to undo the whole system of collectives and return to private cultivation. Then the rural economy would be more productive. I don't believe this, and neither do the collective farmers themselves. If you ask them what they want, they reply that they want the collective farm to be a real collective — so that they could be the owners. Then it

would be a real cooperative system; the collective would be responsible to its members' wishes. They could set prices themselves, determine what should be sown and what should be produced; sell the produce themselves, and divide the profits among its members. But collectives in the Soviet Union can't do this. Therefore, they are not real collectives.

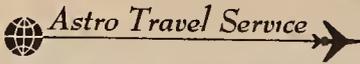
Student: At last night's meeting, you said that some sort of liberalization was necessary in order for the oppositionist movement to work more freely and spread its ideas, so that eventually real change could occur. What are the chances of the regime making these concessions? How can the people in the West help this process along?

Egides:

This is an extremely complicated problem, and you have touched on the vicious circle. In practical terms this means that in order for the dissident movement to spread, a minimum of liberalization is needed. And in order to win this minimum of liberalization, a democratic oppositionist movement is needed. The regime will never give anything in and of itself. It is useless to wait for this to happen. Only if there is some sort of movement, and there is some sort of pressure applied, then the regime will have to give in a little. In order for this to happen, there must be some minimum form of organization. This would set into motion a chain reaction, where one step would be followed by another. What this would look like is that the democratic movement would force the regime to make certain small concessions; when this happens, the movement will grow; then the regime will again be forced to make even greater concessions, and so forth.

Student: But the regime understands that if it begins to make concessions, this means that the end may be drawing near for it?

Egides: Yes, it understands that this process may bring about its end and it wants to avoid this, but when certain pressures are applied it must make concessions — it can't avoid making them when the right kind of pressure is applied. Concerning your other question — what can people in the West do to help this process along — well, people in the West can do a great deal. Because the regime will have to make concessions when pressure is applied from below and from outside, meaning from the West, if there will be some sort of cooperation between the emigre dissident movement and people in the West. For example: we publish a journal in the West, entitled *Poiski* (Searches). I have been in the West for two years now. Yet, I've only been able to publish three issues of the journal though I have enough material for eight. When these journals are brought into the Soviet Union, this will hopefully lead to the situation where those people who read it will begin to think and become more conscious. In order to awaken peoples' consciousness, they must have access to some critical literature. And we can't do this, because people in the West do not help us enough. Unless we receive more help we can't even begin to build a mass movement, which would force the regime to make these minimum concessions that are needed.



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МАХНО

(Cont'd From Page 7)

consistent with anarchist principles. As for prisoners of war, the Insurgent Army would execute the officers and release the remaining troops, instructing them to spread the news of the Makhnovist revolution.

In concluding, it is perhaps worth noting that the Makhnovist movement in locating the source of authority in a positivist respect, summed up the task of individuals in the following words: "... look into depths of your own beings, seek out the truth and realize it yourselves: you will find it nowhere else."²⁷ As mentioned before and confirmed by friend and foe, Makhno with his mobile force of "tachanky" (small horse-drawn carts, often with machine guns mounted on them), was an astute military tactician. Indeed, some argue that Makhno's military exploits provided the model for modern guerrilla warfare.²⁸ These military adventures imbued Makhno with an aura analogous to Robin Hood that spread amongst the peasants. Songs, poems and stories about Makhno's bold and often outrageously clever deeds (such as the time he disguised himself as a woman to escape capture) became popular throughout Eastern Ukraine. Makhno's opponents, however, have portrayed the Makhnivtsi as groups of bandits who pillaged by night and melted into the countryside by day. This, of course, has no basis in truth because their support came from the masses of peasants who consistently supported the Insurgent army and provided it with volunteers.²⁹

On a final note, it could be said that the relevance of this movement is that it continued and contributed to the tradition of rebellion and struggle in Eastern Ukraine, where workers have in more recent times gone on strike under slogans such as "All Power to the Soviets."³⁰ In defying the authority of the Soviet state, they raise concepts and ideas that were an integral part of the Makhnovist movement in its theory and practice.

Notes

1. Sam Dolgoff, *Bakunin On Anarchy*, Vinlage, 1972, p. 231.
2. Peter Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, Black & Red, 1974, p. 52. In later years Makhno was to regret that he never had the opportunity to learn his native Ukrainian tongue.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 52 and 53.
4. Victor Peters, *Nestor Makhno The Life of an Anarchist*, Echo, 1970, p. 26.
5. Voline, *The Unknown Revolution*, Black & Red, 1974, p. 694.
6. Michael Palij, *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno*, University of Washington, 1976, p. 2.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
9. Voline, *The Unknown Revolution*, Black & Red, 1974, p. 545.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 571.
11. Michael Palij, *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno*, University of Washington, 1976, p. 6.
12. Peter Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, Black & Red, 1974, p. 245.
13. Michael Palij, *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno*, University of Washington, 1976.
14. Nestor Makhno, *Russian Revolution in Ukraine*, Vol. 1, quote on hand.
15. Paul Avrich, *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, Cornell Univ. Press, 1973, p. 133.
16. Peter Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, Black & Red, 1974, pp. 272 & 273.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
18. Emma Goldman, *My Oisillusionment in Russia*, Apollo, 1970, p. 149.
19. I Mazepa, *Ukraina v Ohny y Buri Revolutsiyi 1917-1921*, Prometej, pp. 38 & 39.
20. Michael Palij, *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno*, University of Washington, 1976, p. 71.
21. Voline, *The Unknown Revolution*, Black & Red, 1974, p. 571.
22. Peter Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, Black & Red, 1974, p. 155.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
24. Paul Avrich, *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, Cornell Univ. Press, 1973, p. 131.
25. Voline, *The Unknown Revolution*, Black & Red, 1974, p. 703.
26. Arthur E. Adams, *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine*, Kennikat Press, 1973, p. 403.
27. Peter Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, Black & Red, 1974, p. 261.
28. Dimitry Lehovich, *White Against Red*, Norton, 1974, p. 336.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
30. Andrea Martin, *Ukraine — Unrest & Repression*, 1973, p. 2.

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XXIII SUSK CONGRESS

August 26 - 29, 1982
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Each year, during the last week-end of August, the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK) holds a national congress. This year that prestigious event is being hosted by the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba. The main purpose of the Congress is to hear the reports of the outgoing national SUSK executive, and to elect a new body of officers for the upcoming academic year. Voting delegates from each Ukrainian Students' Club across Canada as well as other participants will have the opportunity to attend several informational lecture/seminars and enjoy relaxing social activities.

Officially, a core committee of organizers has been established under the direction of the elected Congress coordinator, Marijka Spytowska. Thusfar, the Congress itself has been given a general thematic direction (to be announced later), and a tentative agenda has been developed. Guest speakers are now being approached for their participation in this year's extravaganza, and financial support, from public and private sources, is now being sought. In short, the 23rd SUSK Congress promises to be a huge success.

See you in Winnipeg at the Congress this August!

Congress Committee '82

(tentative agenda)

Thursday, August 26

7:00 p.m. Registration & Reception

Friday, August 27

9:00 a.m. Registration
10-12:00 Opening Address on Congress Theme
Plenary Session #1 (election of praesidium)
12-1:30 p.m. Lunch (Guest of Honour)
1:30-3:00 Lecture/Seminar Slot #1
3:00-3:30 Rest Break
3:30-5:00 Lecture/Seminar Slot #2
5:00-7:00 Supper (Buffet-style)
7:30-9:00 Bus Tour of the city of Winnipeg
10-1:00 a.m. Riverboat Cruise (Social night)

Saturday, August 28

8:30-9:30 a.m. Registration
9:30-10:30 Plenary Session #2
(Executive reports, committees)
10:30-12:00 Lecture/Seminar Slot #3
12-1:30 p.m. Lunch & Free Time
1:30-3:00 Lecture/Seminar Slot #4
3:00-3:30 Rest Break
3:30-5:00 Lecture/Seminar Slot #5
7:00-9:00 Congress Banquet (Guest speaker)
9:00-1:00 a.m. Zabava (Music by Vol'ya)

Sunday, August 29

10-12:00 p.m. Free time for Church services
1:00-3:00 Plenary Session #3
3:00-3:30 Rest Break
3:30-6:00 Plenary session #4
6:00-7:00 Supper
7:00-9:00 Plenary Session #5
9:00-?? a.m. Official Closing & Final Farewell