

STUDENT

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ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ 25 CENTS CANADA'S NEWSPAPER FOR UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

UKRAINIAN WORKER APPEALS TO CANADIANS

(Leonid Stry is a Ukrainian worker from Odessa who has written several appeals to the Soviet government to allow him to emigrate. This latest appeal to Canadians is similar to one recently addressed to the USA.)

Dear Ukrainian community of Canada!

A Ukrainian from the city of Odessa, a father of seven children, appeals to you, with a request that you, honourable Ukrainians, help us emigrate for economic and political reasons.

We do not have the strength to continue living the way we live now. I will explain our situation: 1) Workers, clerical workers, and families are in a difficult economic and political situation. 2) Work norms and appraisals are frequently revised. At the same time workers are not given the necessary materials and tools (a lot of things we don't have at all, also, work production is stagnating and as a result it is, above all, the worker and his family that suffer the consequences). Each year workers are assigned increased socialist work obligations. Work plan requirements are constantly increasing while wages remain the same. We are forced to work in excess of the work norms even during our holidays — *subotnyky, nedilnyky* to work "for the other fellow" on the account of the five-year plan, and other forms of work exist for which we are not paid which are not found in the law. 2) The trade unions are aware of these irregularities but do not defend the interests of workers and are merely interested in co-operating with the party and government. Our trade unions have become purely ad-

ministrative bodies. 3) Prices have risen and there is a lack of produce and consumer goods. 4) Health care is inadequate and there is a shortage of medicinal drugs. 5) The managers are involved in theft, bribery, and the use of "connections." 6) Religion is persecuted. 7) There is oppression of national movement and thought.

I am a father-operator. I fulfill the plan according to Soviet law. I do not drink or smoke, I did not neglect my duties. I supported human rights and defended persecuted individuals. I spoke out against attacks made by our official press. The militia — "the aware ones" — summoned me to the procurator's office to testify against friends in the struggle. I did not testify or sign anything. I was then harassed by the KGB. They persecuted me and tried to force me to sign provocative statements, threatening me with the law. I did not sign anything and said, "I will not help you in your dirty business." They conducted a search at 12 midnight. They frightened the children. They forced me off the bus and set a dog on me.

Doctors, a father and son, beat me up in the hospital. My friends from work were summoned and my performance appraisal was taken to the KGB. It states that I am a "good worker and a family man, but an anti-soviet." The KGB seized my medical files from the polyclinic and a KGB agent, Michun, visited my wife. I was summoned six times during the year. Last November 3rd, I was warned by mail that I would be tried under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for "agitation and propaganda." The sentence would be seven years imprisonment and 5 years in exile. But I don't consider myself guilty of anything. I cannot tolerate all this nor do I have any intention of doing

(WORKER continued on page 11)

OPPOSITIONISTS SENTENCED

A Soviet court has sentenced Myroslav Marynovych, 28, and Mykola Matusevych, 30, both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki



Myroslav Marynovych

Monitoring Group set up in 1976, to seven years of imprisonment and five years exile for "anti-Soviet" activity. The sentence was passed down on March 30, 1978 in Vasykiv, a small town south of Kiev.

O. Podrabinek, a member of the Committee Against Psychiatric Abuse in the USSR and Tania Osipova, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, both came from Moscow to observe the trial, but were not allowed to enter the courtroom. Luba Murzhenko, the wife of political prisoner Oksa Murzhenko, who was sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment in the 1978 Leningrad hijack trial, also attempted to attend the trial. On March 27 she was arrested and detained in prison until April 8. In prison she conducted a hunger strike until she was released. Oksa Helko, Matusevych's wife, is now in a Kiev hospital with pneumonia.

Various sources report that, with the end of the Helsinki follow-up conference in Belgrade, conditions in camps and prisons for

political prisoners have worsened considerably. The future for Marynovych and Matusevych thus looks very bleak indeed.



Mykola Matusevych

TOP SOVIET UN DIPLOMAT DEFECTS

BYE-BYE BREZHNEV

Zorjan Hrom'jak

On April 5, 1978, Arkady Shevchenko, recognized as the Soviet Union's foremost expert on nuclear disarmament, left his UN post with his \$67,000 annual salary and went into hiding in New York.

Shevchenko, a forty-seven year old Soviet Ukrainian, was the Undersecretary General for Political and Security Council affairs at the United Nations, one of the most powerful and influential positions for an international diplomat to occupy. Although this post is currently reserved for a Soviet citizen nominated by the Soviet government, the appointee is an employee of the UN and ostensibly works to promote a non-partisan and international philosophy in his work. In reality, the various Undersecretary Generals are functionaries of their respective governments, promoting its policies in their work.

The resultant diplomatic crisis triggered by Shevchenko's "defection" is a crucial issue vis-a-vis its ramifications on US-USSR relations (and thus indirectly on international affairs) but especially on the Soviet Union internally.

Shevchenko's action can first be traced to his refusal to heed a Soviet order to return to Moscow, apparently to be relieved of his post. Speculation in the international press on the reasons for the recall order are manifold. According to some accounts the Soviet govern-

ment was displeased with Shevchenko's purported "alcoholism" and "affair with an American woman." More serious and probable is the view that Shevchenko had been a "double agent" for some time, supply both the FBI and the CIA with information on KGB spy activity in the US and on other matters for an annual salary of \$100,000.

The Soviets, as is now customary for them, immediately accused the US intelligence service of a "defestable frame-up" and of "premeditated provocation" and of

holding Shevchenko "under duress." What is more, Shevchenko's wife "corroborated" these claims by declaring that her husband was both "a good family and party man" and thus his action was obviously externally induced. Shevchenko, as of yet, has not been explicit in his reasons for leaving. Indicating that his choice was one "of his own free will," "free from any restraint or external coercion," he declined to consider himself a defector (although he did say he had "differences with his government"), but rather a Soviet citizen living in the U.S. However, soon after his defection Shevchenko appealed to the UN and the American government, seeking the monies he has paid towards his UN pension, a cash settlement for the salary of the remaining two years of his contract, and assurances that he could remain in the U.S.

The US State Department has reacted to Shevchenko's action in a very artificially nonchalant manner, declaring that he "is free to stay here, return to the USSR, or go to another country as far as we are concerned." This apparent lack of concern on the part of the American government is in fact a screen intended to camouflage a very deep concern. A zealous acceptance of



Shevchenko

(BYE-BYE continued on page 11)

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AND MORE!

СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT

STUDENT ETUDIANT

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STUDENT is a national, trilingual and monthly newspaper for Ukrainian Canadian students, published by the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK).

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

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

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

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

IT'S UNDEMOCRATIC, BUT ...

It is difficult not to agree with Andriy Semotuk's arguments about the lack of democratic principles in our community life. His elaboration of the 12 points he specifically mentions, however, is not very convincing, since he often mentions incidents and events which are known only to a very small circle of participants or observers of those events. How many contemporary readers of **STUDENT** know about the controversy of the meeting with Trudeau in 1971 and about subsequent developments in Toronto? Other events could have been selected. Nevertheless, in almost every instance Andriy is right, except that he fails to objectively assess the sad reality in which Ukrainians in Canada find themselves. It is true that the readership of Ukrainian newspapers, based on circulation figures (themselves often exaggerated), is meagre. It is true that participation in organized Ukrainian life is steadily declining; however, no matter how democratic the Ukrainian community would be, these trends will continue. Our great tragedy is not only the violation of democratic principles, but also a severe lack of people who would be willing to serve their community in some capacity. There is a growing number of individuals whose motto is "moja knata z krayu," who are ready and eager to criticize but who will never accept a position in a Ukrainian organization because this would tax their time and might even require some financial sacrifice.

One cannot but admire Andriy's own attitude in this respect. He has given more time and effort than almost anyone I know in the Ukrainian community in general. One should not forget, for example, his participation in the hunger strike

for Valentyn Moroz, his work in SUSK, and his work in New York for the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. But how many Andriy Semotuks are there? Look at the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, or the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Federation. People have to be cajoled, persuaded, and sometimes even threatened in order to extract from them a consent to

serve in these organizations. Those who eventually do agree to serve are not necessarily the best available. Outside of their desire to become "important" in our community they have little to offer as far as leadership qualities or general competence are concerned. But how can we expect miracles from individuals who accept their posts reluctantly, often under duress? Therefore Andriy's criticism of the existing structure of Ukrainian life, although justified, fails to take into account the fact that there are circumstances which cannot be overcome unless we instantly produce a large number of individuals like Semotuk, Lupul, Tarnopolsky, Savaryn, etc. who would be willing, often to their

personal disadvantage, to serve the community and eventually improve its standards and behaviour.

We must keep in mind that we cannot afford to ignore the assets which exist even within a blatantly "undemocratic" system. We may have many legitimate reservations and we should voice them at every opportunity; however, we must recognize that as long as people are doing in their limited way some good for Ukrainians at large, we should tolerate them and even encourage them to continue their work. If we display undue criticism and impatience, without providing concrete and viable alternatives, we would drive the few remaining community-minded individuals away from their work and con-

tribute towards creating a vacuum which may be impossible to fill. To a large extent our hands are tied until properly qualified individuals come forward to take the place of those who presently run our organizations.

The Ukrainian community, undemocratic as it may appear, has managed to attain many goals that are envied by many other ethnic groups in Canada. It has not lived up to its potential, this is true, and there is a great deal of room for improvement; however, we must be careful when we undertake to recommend massive reforms,

(BUT ... continued on page 11)

TRAITORS IN OUR RANKS (or are they traitors to some?)

There exists in Canada "a group of young people who have taken it upon themselves not to help the Ukrainian community but to destroy it." This is the earth-shattering message which Bohdan Harhaj, the current president of CESUS (Central Union of Ukrainian Students), delivered recently in Edmonton at a Ukrainian Liberation Front sponsored "niche" on Ukrainian youth in North American society. So as not to leave any doubt in his audience's mind about the veracity of his statements, Harhaj assuredly stated that he could back this allegation "not with empty words or empty phrases" but with "evidence," and claimed that he was in possession of various "documents" — letters, copies of minutes, etc. — which would expose the pernicious nature of this "fifth column" within our ranks.

It is disturbing that Mr. Harhaj could not be more specific about this colossal "threat." Surely any movement which has as its ultimate goal the complete destruction of the Ukrainian community should be openly exposed and "proper" steps taken to deal with it. Although Harhaj mentioned the existence of these damning documents and even stated that he would cite one later in his speech (but never did), he paradoxically did not rise above the level of the "empty words and empty phrases" which he claimed to be avoiding. When asked from the audience to be more specific and whether these documents would ever be made public to back up his charges, Harhaj could only reply that "if it becomes necessary to do so, then this documentation will be published." The implication in this

statement is that in the meantime his audience and the Ukrainian community will have to accept, on blind faith, his word that they are threatened by this alleged group of misguided evil souls.

This type of campaigning bears a strong resemblance to the witch hunts and "red-baiting" techniques of the McCarthy era and should be immediately recognised as such. It is indeed sad that the head of a world-wide organization of Ukrainian students has nothing better to do than to run around Canada scaring aging freedom fighters with the bugbear of impending destruction at the hands of a few malicious plotters. If Mr. Harhaj is indeed serious about his statements he should not only publish at least a selection of his "documents" but he should also concretely delineate how this nebulous group of malcontents is going to destroy the community.

One may venture to guess that what Mr. Harhaj means by a "movement to destroy the Ukrainian community is nothing more than the activity of various groups which are currently awaiting for the creation of new organizational forms as an alternative to existent ones. But this would place him in the midst of these miscreants, since one of the reasons why Mr. Harhaj (who is also a member of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine and is involved in the publication of its newspaper *Homin Ukrainy*) was in Edmonton in the first place was to encourage members of the Ukrainian Liberation Front to tap a current of "popular demand" and establish a chapter of TUSM (M. Mikhnovsky Association of Ukrai-

nian Student Youth), a member of the OUN (b) family of organizations, whose purpose is to enable its members to study and develop the ideology of integral nationalism. In effect, this means that Mr. Harhaj is proposing the establishment of a group which is an alternative to the present Ukrainian Canadian student community organized within SUSK (Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union).

According to Mr. Harhaj, if there is an initiative from a group of people to organize themselves around their own interests, then why shouldn't they form an organization to further their aims? One cannot object to this, but one can object to the double standard being applied here. Why is TUSM an exception in that it is allowed to form an alternative to existent community structure while others attempting to do so (since they as well cannot function in existent bodies) are condemned by Mr. Harhaj? Are these "deviants" attempting to *destroy* the community by their creation of a form of organizational life which actually will allow them to remain within it? Or is anything which does not fit within the OUN (b) mold of organizational life subversive?

Mr. Harhaj and other proponents of his "fifth-column" theory should remember that no community can last for long unless it provides for the acceptance of diverse personalities and ideas, and that those attempting to force the entire community to abide by a prescribed standard will in the end become its pallbearers.

N.M.

IF IT'S GOOD ENOUGH FOR A 'FELLOW' OF "OOVOO" (Y.B.Y.), IT'S GOOD ENOUGH FOR YOU!

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...CESUS: THE CONTINUING SAGA OF ...

Bohdan Harhaj, the present head of CESUS, the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (a coordinating body for Ukrainian student organizations throughout the world) was in Edmonton recently on business connected with SUM — Spilka Ukrainsoi Molodi (Ukrainian Youth Association). As CESUS President he requested a meeting with the SUSK National Executive and, despite the extremely short notice given to SUSK, some members of the executive and several other students met with Bohdan Harhaj on April 24.

SUSK's relation with CESUS have been strained now for several years. Matters came to a head last year, when, SUSK was virtually excluded from playing any concrete role in a CESUS Congress held in Toronto due to behind-the-scenes machinations and "packing" of the congress participants (large numbers of young students were specially bussed in from the U.S. to vote for the occasion). Since SUSK representatives had little influence on the contents of the congress agenda, which primarily focussed on internal CESUS problems, and since these representatives felt that they would have minimal influence on the congress proceedings, it was decided that SUSK would not participate actively in the CESUS Congress. During his visit Bohdan

Harhaj himself told the SUSK executive that he was not happy with some aspects of the Toronto Congress and its results.

The new SUSK executive elected in Vancouver at the end of the summer also decided that, due to a number of other urgent priorities facing SUSK, the question of relations with CESUS was not a high-priority matter. Of late, CESUS has been largely a symbolic organization, and Bohdan Harhaj admitted that in recent years CESUS has not accomplished very much. In fact, he was of the opinion that the next CESUS Congress would have to completely re-examine the work of CESUS and discuss the extent to which CESUS is a feasible and viable body.

Therefore, apart from Bohdan Harhaj's visit there has been no real communication between CESUS and SUSK for several months. Up to this point the new CESUS executive has undertaken only one concrete project, the collection of one million signatures for a petition in defence of human rights in the Ukraine, to be submitted to the United Nations in the fall.

SUSK's general position on CESUS is that, as a result of the irregularities noted previously, SUSK's relationship with respect to CESUS will have to be thoroughly reexamined. One of the resolutions

passed at the SUSK Western Conference in February stated that "the SUSK executive prepare a position paper on the relationship of SUSK to CESUS, to be presented and discussed at the next SUSK National Congress." Bohdan Harhaj will also be invited to make a short presentation at this Congress.

Although Bohdan Harhaj assured the SUSK executive that CESUS would be "keeping the door open" (a somewhat patronizing phrase) for SUSK until the present stalemate is resolved, past experience with CESUS, especially where the Toronto congress last year is concerned has not been fortunate, and the structure and mode of action of CESUS leaves much to be desired. Only time will tell whether the situation has really changed.

Even if past differences with CESUS can be resolved, however, a number of questions remain as far as the work and functions of CESUS are concerned. Bohdan Harhaj stated several times that he saw CESUS only as a "coordinating and representative" body, similar to the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, and that most concrete work has to be performed at the local level by member student organizations. What then, however, is meant specifically by a "coordinating and representative" body? What can or

should CESUS "coordinate," what is the nature of CESUS's mandate to represent member organizations, and at which forums is it to represent these organizations? To quote an article from the October 1969 issue of the now defunct New York student journal *Novi Napriamy* (New Directions): "CESUS should not ask for a mandate from all students to speak in their name — Ukrainian students in each country, depending on local circumstances, can form their own opinions on Ukrainian affairs. We do not need a CESUS which would 'represent' all Ukrainian students — we need a CESUS which would help Ukrainian students communicate with each other."

A revamped CESUS, however, probably could play some positive role in Ukrainian student life. Bohdan Harhaj mentioned the possibility of publishing a bulletin outlining the activities of Ukrainian students throughout the world, and in principle this is a good idea. The idea, however, is an old one, and a great deal depends on how the bulletin is prepared and whether its contents, and the method of distribution, satisfy student needs.

Likewise, it was mentioned that CESUS was interested in increasing contacts with young Ukrainians in South America and was trying to arrange for some form of exchange program between Ukrainian youth

in countries such as Argentina and Brazil and Canada or the U.S. Ukrainian communities in these countries could use a great deal of assistance from their well-off compatriots in North America. But again much depends on the approach taken, and on whether the *practical* needs and problems of Ukrainian students and communities in South America will be tackled. One concrete form of assistance, for example, might be in the form of financial help for needy students who wish to pursue a higher education, to which there is limited access in South America. But one must beware of unexpected consequences, this kind of program could be counterproductive if the most talented individuals leave the communities which need them the most to look for "greener pastures" in Canada or the U.S.

There are many other worthy projects, such as summer student exchanges between Europe and North America, which CESUS could address itself to. CESUS must show, however, that it can provide services which are needed in the Ukrainian student community. No number of patriotic statements and appeals will substitute for the hard work, substantive programs, and visible results needed to persuade Ukrainian students that CESUS is playing the role which it should be playing.

ETHNIC PRESS CONFERENCE IN OTTAWA

THE ETHNIC PRESS IS DEPRESSING

I.J.

On March 21-22 the Ministry of State for Multiculturalism sponsored a conference of ethnic press representatives in Ottawa. Over 140 representatives of the ethnic press and ethnic radio and television programs from all parts of Canada attended what turned out to be the most elaborate conference of this nature ever organized by the Ministry. Five cabinet ministers addressed the audience, and a number of top-ranking civil servants were also in attendance.

On the first day of the conference the Hon. Bud Culen, Minister of Employment and Immigration, and several senior members of his departmental staff, spoke about the new Immigration Act and Regulations, the Hon. John Roberts, Minister of the Secretary of State, spoke about the new Citizenship Act, and discussion groups which met in the afternoon posed questions to the Minister of Employment and Immigration. On the second day the Hon. Ron Basford, Minister of Justice, and Canadian Human Rights Commission Chairman Gordon Fairweather spoke about the new Canadian Human Rights Act, the Hon. Marc Lalonde, Minister of Health and Welfare, spoke about the National Unity issue, and the Hon. Norman Calik, Minister of State for Multiculturalism, spoke on a number of topics in the area of multiculturalism, but concentrated on new developments in the multicultural program and on issues of importance to the ethnic press.

Despite the crowded program, there were a number of discussion sessions and question-answer periods when the above ministers and their departmental officials could have been closely questioned about new developments in the field of immigration, human rights, citizenship, and multiculturalism. Unfortunately, few of the conference participants posed intelligent and challenging questions, and the ministers brushed off most of them with ease. Not only were the questions fairly innocuous, but several speakers from the floor took an obsequious and deferential posture which, if it had not been so amusing, would have been depressing. As it was, those media

representatives who take their work seriously must have been embarrassed by the hand-rubbing questioners who would profusely thank a minister for practically any answer to their questions.

Even more disturbing was the nature of the questions raised by several representatives of some of the older, "established" ethnic groups (primarily from Eastern and Central Europe, although many Europeans from the Mediterranean area are now also part of this "established" group). Despite the fact that they themselves are immigrants, primarily from the post-World War II period, these speakers posed questions or made statements which were extremely defensive or even hostile concerning new immigration to Canada. Although never stated point-blank,

the reservations voiced were probably directed against the increased immigration of non-whites from "Third World" countries.

Thus, paradoxically enough, the Minister of Immigration had to "defend" new immigrants before certain ethnic press representatives who inquired whether a three-year waiting period was really sufficient for new immigrants to receive their citizenship papers, and questioned whether "shiftless," "lazy" new immigrants were not contributing to a new "crime wave" in Canada. In order to allay these concerns, the minister had to cite studies which showed that crime rates among new immigrants were lower than among the general population, and that their claims on social services are also lower. It seems that many established "ethnics" have rapidly

forgotten the experiences of their own people when they first came to Canada, and the prejudice and discrimination then encountered. One Ukrainian "journalist," for example assured the Immigration and Employment Minister that he shouldn't bother worrying about human rights violations in Canada, since "there are no human rights problems in Canada." It is true that conditions for new immigrants today are much better than they used to be, and that a system for monitoring human rights violations is being set up. This may be resented by immigrants who did not benefit from the services now available to immigrants, but this is no excuse for the attitudes which, consciously or not, were expressed from time to time at this conference by people who should know better.

It is interesting to note that, according to research carried out in 1976 which was just recently released in the form of a report entitled "The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto," Southern and Eastern Europeans are over represented in the racist categories and under represented in the tolerant categories, in comparison to the population as a whole. Southern and Eastern Europeans were shown to be significantly more racist than tolerant. The largest proportion of foreign born who are in the very racist category are those who arrived prior to 1949, and the percentage decreases over the years. The largest proportion of the very tolerant foreign born are the most recent arrivals.

If the press of the new immigrant groups had been better represented, and if those representatives who were present had been more aggressive, they would have had a number of bones to pick with the "established" ethnic press. As it was, I am sure that many of them were surprised and disappointed by the antics of many of their "compatriots."

It is a pity that one has to point out the negative aspects of the above conference, since ethnic press conferences can perform a useful role. Despite the somewhat obvious "ethnic politicking" of some ministers, many ethnic press representatives probably did benefit from the information sessions, although too many of them seemed to take official government statements at face value. It is also a positive development that the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation now has a very capable president in the person of Dr. Joseph Kage, who is also the National Executive Vice-President and the Director of Jewish Immigration Aid Services of Canada (JIAS). Hopefully he will provide some long-needed leadership to the Ethnic Press Federation.

The statements of the Minister of State for Multiculturalism on the expansion of the multicultural program and his views on the role of the ethnic press, were also of great interest. The next issue of *STUDENT* will describe the new developments in the multicultural policy in more detail.



Calik lays it on thick ... but spreads it out thin

SHEVELOV: A SCHOLAR FOR ALL SEASONS

STUDENT INTERVIEW

Yury Shevelov is one of the most prominent Slavists in the West today, and one of the few Ukrainian emigre scholars who has achieved a truly international reputation. He has numerous publications to his credit. One book, entitled *A Prehistory of Slavic*, is a standard text for students in Slavic studies, while his *Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*, to be published soon, will probably be the definitive work on this subject.

But Yury Shevelov is by no means an "ivory-tower" scholar. In the immediate post-war years he was very active in the cultural-literary life of the Ukrainian emigre community of Germany. He was one of the co-founders of the writers' association MUR — *Mystetskyi Ukrainskyi Rukh* (Ukrainian Artists' Movement) and prepared large numbers of articles for various newspapers and journals on literary-cultural topics. MUR idealistically tried to unite all Ukrainian writers in Germany,

regardless of their style or politics, as long as they opposed the colonial status of Ukraine.

But the difficult life of the post-war Ukrainian emigre community in Germany, which was split by numerous and often bitter conflicts, did not provide a conducive atmosphere for the peaceful development of a Ukrainian literary movement. Political differences split many writers, and Shevelov (who wrote under the pseudonym "Sherekh") and several of his associates were criticized for their lack of involvement in the political polemics of that period. MUR folded in 1949, when more and more Ukrainians began to leave Germany for overseas. "Sherekh" himself left Germany in 1950, and his active participation in Ukrainian literary affairs began to decline soon after. According to Shevelov, Sherekh was "buried" in 1956, partly as a result of his disenchantment with the parochialism and petty bickering of the Ukrainian emigre com-

munity. One straw on the camel's back was a Ukrainian editor's reaction of his article on Louis Aragon because Aragon was a communist, and therefore could not be a good poet! Ironically enough, the article was intended to demonstrate how the style and popularity of the poetry of even someone like Aragon, who considered himself a communist first and a poet second, was a result not of his ideological background, but of the national soul and style of French poetry. This was to have been the first of a series of articles showing how the work of the greatest contemporary poets, no matter how original and innovative, was still rooted in the traditions of the national poetry of their country.

The death of Sherekh also came about as a result of Shevelov's decreasing interest in looking at Ukrainian language and literature from an organic national perspective, and his increased interest in taking a general European perspec-

tive. The death of Sherekh, however, did not signify the end of Shevelov's involvement with the Ukrainian community. He has always maintained a strong interest in the development of Ukrainian studies in the diaspora, and has contributed a great deal of time and effort to the *Enisyclopedia Ukrainoznavstva* and the English-language *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*. Recently he has given a series of lectures in various North American cities, and has contributed several articles to the emigre monthly *Suchasnist*. In one of these articles he criticized the "opartinnennia" or over-politicization of the Ukrainian emigre community, which has often led to *habid intolerance*. A nation is not a political party, and people should not be "excluded" from a nation because of their beliefs.

Shevelov has also criticized the disproportionate amount of attention which the Ukrainian diaspora lavishes on the romantic triad:

history, language, and literature. Despite the great importance of these branches of scholarship, too much emphasis on historical-linguistic romanticism is not healthy. Considering the present situation in Ukraine, according to Shevelov it would be best to combine the socio-economic needs and desires of workers with the ideological demands of the intelligentsia. Much more attention in the West should likewise be devoted to economic studies dealing with Ukraine than has been the case up to now.

One can only hope that Yury Shevelov will continue his revived activity on the Ukrainian scene. Few Ukrainian scholars and writers have his ability to synthesize material of a variegated nature in an original fashion, and he can make a great contribution to raising the level of debate on Ukrainian subjects in the West.

Introduction by Ivan Jaworsky

STUDENT: What is your evaluation of the state of Slavic studies in the West, especially Ukrainian studies, with respect to current achievements and future demands?

Shevelov: I can shortly answer that the state of Ukrainian studies in West is not as we would wish, since there are few centres where Ukrainian subjects are taught and most of those centres which do exist do not have, at least for the time being, enough scholarly personnel. If we look at the situation country by country, and I am talking about university level courses which are not restricted just to elementary language instruction, in France there is almost nothing, as is also the case in England. In Germany the situation is somewhat better, but only slightly — Prof. Hortschach at Frankfurt University has done a great deal to promote Ukrainian studies, but he always complains that other Slavic groups are at the centre of attention, and that he has to push strongly to promote Ukrainian courses. In the U.S. there is actually only one serious centre — Harvard University — where a great deal is being done, but here most attention is paid to history, and to a certain extent, to literature; relatively little attention is paid to linguistics. In Canada the situation is better; however, even here there is a lack of senior scholars, on the one hand, and also it seems to me that there are few students who are truly interested in doing serious research. It is not enough to take one or two Ukrainian language courses for "sentimental" reasons; there is a strong need for determined students who would truly immerse themselves in Ukrainian studies.

There is, of course, a great deal which Slavists interested in Ukrainian studies cannot accomplish "from outside," in the West, and which can be done only in Ukraine. Archival materials for historical research are often unavailable in the West. The same is true for the study of the history of the Ukrainian language. Similarly, we cannot seriously undertake the preparation of a Ukrainian dictionary, since one person cannot do this sort of work; rather, a whole team is needed to gather materials and to file them. This does not mean, however, that certain problems cannot be tackled in the West. Work carried out here can do a great deal to stimulate scholars in Ukraine. They often respond to research done in the West in order that they not be accused of being left behind in some field of research, and many possibilities for useful research in the West have not yet been explored.

STUDENT: What role do Slavic studies, or Soviet studies (economics, sociology, political science, etc.) in the West play vis a vis a positive influence on Soviet Ukrainian scholarship?

Shevelov: I am not a Sovietologist, and therefore all that I can say is that it is very important to study contemporary Soviet politics, since politics influences a great deal in the Soviet Ukraine. In Soviet Ukraine the open discussion of topics in Ukrainian history is taboo, and little valid research is done in this area. A two-volume catalogue of works which were published in the Ukrainian S.S.R. in 1977, for example, includes only one book on Ukrainian history, and the work deals with spragistics — the study of seals and stamps. This may be a very important book, but it is no substitute for solid studies on a whole range of important problems in Ukrainian history. We have a situation where large segments of the population in Ukraine simply do not know their own history. They know only the history of the Soviet Union as a whole, taught of course from a very specific perspective, and only those events in Ukrainian history which fit into that specific perspective — events such as the so-called "Union" of Ukraine with Russia during the time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and the Haidamak movement, which is viewed only as a social protest movement aimed at the Poles; other aspects of this movement are disregarded. Someone who is sincere in learning history must do this on his own. Knowledge of the history of one's own country has, of course, a great influence on one's general outlook, and I am personally of the opinion that the study of Ukrainian history is extremely important. Current problems in Sovietology always receive considerable attention, and not only from Ukrainian scholars, for they are of political interest to various governments. We can make a contribution to this area, that is, to Sovietology, but I feel that there is a great need for studies in history as such, and also studies in the history of literature and the history of language. I should also add another very important area — socio-economic history, which we should not forget. I feel that the fact that this area has not been taken into consideration by Harvard is a deficiency of their Ukrainian studies program. They are doing very good work in other areas, but economics and economic history should not be forgotten.

STUDENT: What is your evaluation of the contemporary state of the Ukrainian community in the West, especially in North America?

Shevelov: I think that I should refrain from making any comments on this very complicated problem. It is possible to say a great deal on this topic but to end up with very little which is concrete.

STUDENT: Maybe the last question can be replaced by another one. I believe that Yury Sherekh is "dead" now, that he was "buried" in the 1950's...

Shevelov: Yes, it was 1956, I believe...

STUDENT: You then assumed a much lower profile as far as your activity in the life of the Ukrainian community is concerned, especially in comparison to your literary-cultural activities immediately after the war. It seems that you are now becoming more active. You have signed some documents of the Ukrainian Democratic Movement, and are making more public appearances. Is there some specific reason for this?

Shevelov: The answer is very simple. I think that one fault of Ukrainian scholars has been that they have devoted too much time to everyday contemporary problems and have lost sight of their more important goals. I set myself the task, in my scholarly career, to prepare a detailed history of the Ukrainian language. I had to begin with what existed before the Ukrainian language was formed, that is, with a description of proto-Slavic, for one cannot write a satisfactory history of the Ukrainian language by looking only at the Ukrainian language itself, one has to take a wider perspective. Therefore I first had to prepare a history of proto-Slavic. This I did, and in 1964 my book, called *A Prehistory of Slavic*, appeared. Once I finished this, I felt that I could then tackle my basic task, the preparation of a history of the Ukrainian language itself. This I have finished, and the book has already gone to press.

Since this was the basic goal of my scholarly career, I feel that I can now take a certain rest, and turn my attention to my hobbies, such as literary criticism.

Conducted by Zorjan Hrom'jak

* Dr. Shevelov's work entitled *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*, will be published for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies by Carl Winter Universitätsverlag late in 1978 or early in 1979.

TRUDEAU SHRUGS OFF REUNIFICATION

The Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society advises that they have had little success in persuading Prime Minister Trudeau to make a direct appeal to President Leonid Brezhnev for settlement of outstanding family reunification cases.

It is of interest to note that the Canadian Government readily takes extraordinary measures on behalf of other minorities, but there is a strange reluctance to act on behalf of East Europeans — specifically Ukrainians and Balts.

For example, in 1977 Immigration Department officials visited Hanoi and Saigon in connection with reunification applications. They also interviewed 297 Chilean political prisoners in 27 prisons, with the result that these prisoners and their dependents are now starting to arrive in Canada.

In 1973, during his visit to China, Trudeau personally approached the heads of state and reached a understanding on family reunification. Similarly the Hon. Don Jamieson, Minister for External Affairs, pressed for a stepped-up family reunification plan during his January 1978 visit to China. As a result of these actions more than 2,800 Chinese citizens have rejoined families in Canada.

Meanwhile, there is only the odd, piecemeal settlement of Ukrainian or East European cases.

David Orlikow, N.D.P. M.P. for Winnipeg North, appears to be the only parliamentarian with sufficient humanitarian compassion to raise the issue in Parliament (Thursday, March 2nd). The Prime Minister of Canada, however, treated the matter very lightly, as can be seen from the following transcript from the Hansard of March 2, 1978.

REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF SOVIET NATIONALS WISHING TO EMIGRATE FROM U.S.S.R.

Mr. David Orlikow (Winnipeg North): Mr. Speaker, I should like to direct a question to the Prime Minister. Some time ago representations were made to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs by representatives of various ethnic groups, including Ukrainian, Polish, Latvian, Estonian and Jewish groups, urging the government to make representations to the government of the Soviet Union to permit immigration of Soviet citizens who have committed no crime and wish to leave that country, especially citizens of the Soviet Union who have relatives in Canada.

Since whatever representations were made on this matter at the Belgrade conference have failed, would the Prime Minister now make public representations to the Soviet president, Mr. Brezhnev, urging him to facilitate the movement of such Soviet citizens to Canada?

Right Hon. P. E. Trudeau (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I am surprised that the hon. member asks the question in this way. He knows the government has made many representations to Soviet authorities to this effect. I have reported to the House that I have raised the question twice, personally, in

meetings with the prime minister of the Soviet Union and again with the ambassador. I believe it is a matter of record that there has been substantial improvement in the movement of Jewish Soviet citizens out of the Soviet Union. Indeed, in the area of reunification of families, there has been substantial progress. I do not have the statistics at hand, I am surprised the hon. member implies by his question that we have not obtained results. We have, and so have other western countries.

Mr. Orlikow: Mr. Speaker, my supplementary question is directed to the Prime Minister. No one questions that there has been some progress. At the same time, there are still many Jewish dissidents who have not been permitted to leave the Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society of Toronto has a list of some 400 families who are still attempting to get relatives out of the Soviet Union. Despite the progress which has been made, they are the ones who would like the Prime Minister to make another public appeal, and not just the usual diplomatic appeal; they feel that is not enough and what is required is an open, public appeal to the president of the Soviet Union. Will the Prime Minister give consideration to making the type of public appeal which these groups are requesting?

Mr. Trudeau: Mr. Speaker, I understand that a public appeal is all they can get out of the opposition parties. Out of the government, they have got results—which is preferable.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Some hon. Members: Oh, oh!

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BRIEFS ON THE USSR & EASTERN EUROPE

FROM INFORMATION BULLETIN (VOL. 1, NO. 5) PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONERS (EDMONTON)

INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONISTS DEMAND REGISTRATION

The group of workers who announced in January their intention to form an independent trade union in the Soviet Union have officially demanded that they be registered as such by the state. In a letter addressed to the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet, to the Praesidium of the Council of Ministers, and to administrators in the official unions, they declared that the aim of their organization is to "contribute to the full application of all Soviet laws and regulations governing work conditions, to allow for the defense of male and female workers, and to ensure that citizens have access to legal aid for the resolution of conflict at work."

Referring to the new Soviet

Constitution, to the International Charter of Human Rights, and to the Convention of the International Labor Organization, the authors of the letter consider that the creation of such a union is in no way contradictory to Soviet legislation.

Members of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group have expressed their solidarity with the leaders of the independent trade union. Two of the leaders are now in prison, while two others are in a psychiatric hospital. A complete list of signatories of the above document will not be made public unless Soviet authorities agree to register the trade union (which is unlikely), to prevent massive repressions against workers.

WESTERN TRADE UNION SUPPORT FOR TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN SOVIET UNION

Britain's second biggest trade union — the 1.2 million engineering section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers — is to give public support to the campaign for basic trade union rights in the Soviet Union.

The AUEW's executive council has written letters to Mr Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, and Mr Alexander Shibaev, general secretary of the Soviet trade-union movement, protesting Soviet treatment of the workers who call themselves 'the Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers in the Soviet Union.'

This is the first time the executive council has taken such a strong stand on the suppression of workers' rights in the Soviet Union,

and it is bound to give new impetus to the campaign among British trade unions to get the Trades Union Congress to take up the Soviet trade-union cause.

The letters say that the AUEW executive council is 'particularly worried about the so-called psychiatric treatment' to which members of the Association of Free Trade Unions members have been subjected.

Britain's biggest white-collar union, the 700,000-strong National and Local Government Officers' Association (NALGO), also intends to take a strong public stand against the Soviet suppression of union rights. NALGO's general secretary, Mr Geoffrey Drain, has written a toughly-worded letter of protest to the Russian Union of State Institution Workers.

SHCHARANSKY DENIED

The case of Anatol Shcharansky, who has been imprisoned for nearly a year in the Soviet Union, on a fabricated charge of "treason," has been protested by the French Communist Party. The January 24 issue of the French CP daily, *L'Humanite* contained a lengthy article criticizing Moscow's denial of legal rights to Shcharansky. The article stated, "We consider it unacceptable... for any country whatsoever — and all the more so for a Communist country — to fail to recognize the rights of a defendant."

PROTEST

Political prisoners in Mordovian prison camps have come together to oppose the increasingly repressive measures used by the camp authorities against the prisoners. The protest is specifically directed at the recent increase of beatings occurring while prisoners are being transported from one camp to another.

POLISH STUDENTS REPRESSED

Last March, the Polish authorities detained 27 students in Wroclaw at a meeting of the unofficial Student Solidarity Committee. The meeting was at the home of professor Boleslaw Gleichgewicht, one of 58 academicians who recently launched a programme of lectures as an alternative to official university courses.

CHARTER 77 REVIVAL

Petr Uhl, one of the most prominent supporters of the Charter 77 human rights manifesto in Czechoslovakia, recently gave a telephone interview to an Austrian journalist. Uhl described first his own situation. His apartment is under round the clock surveillance by police, who check identity papers of all visitors and often prevent people from seeing Uhl. Since the launching of the Charter 77 campaign in January 1977, Uhl has had his driving license taken away, his army rank withdrawn, his telephone cut off, and he has been fired from his job. In describing the current situation of the Charter 77

campaign, Uhl said that, taken as a whole, it is good. He said that "the Charter has become more active again, there are three spokespeople, new people are signing and even giving their names publicly, there is a multitude of activities, and, very slowly, the barrier of fear is lifting."

Uhl says that while repression is still directed against supporters of the Charter, the authorities have been forced to look for pretexts outside of support to the Charter as the formal reason for the victimizations. Uhl stated, "... the Charter has, all in all, become legal ..."

VOIKHANSKAYA WON'T SEE SON

Soviet authorities have refused to allow Misha Voikhansky, the eleven year-old son of a psychiatrist who was forced to emigrate from the Soviet Union in 1975, to join his mother. The grounds given by the authorities for this refusal is that Marina Voikhanskaya is an "anti-soviet element and must be punished." Marina's mother has also been refused permission to join her.

After working for thirteen years as a psychiatrist in Leningrad psychiatric hospitals, Voikhanskaya began to protest the

treatment of political prisoners, in the hospitals. Voikhanskaya was forced to emigrate after being harassed and threatened by the KGB.

Voikhanskaya has actively campaigned in defense of the victims of Soviet psychiatric abuse. In August, 1977 she testified before the World Psychiatric Association convention in Honolulu, which passed a resolution condemning "systematic abuse of psychiatry for political purposes in the USSR"

TRANSYLVANIA SUPPRESSED

An emergency force of more than 1000 armed soldiers was brought into Transylvania after the publication of a letter by a former member of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee, last January. The letter was a protest against the authorities'

campaign of enforced assimilation of the Hungarian minority. According to Karoly Kiraly, the deputy in the National Assembly who wrote the letter, thousands of homes have been searched and their occupants harassed by the Romanian secret police.



John-Paul Himka

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DISSIDENT

George Liber and Anna Mostovych. *Nonconformity and Dissent in the Ukrainian SSR, 1955-1975: An Annotated Bibliography*. Cambridge, Mass., 1978. xxxix & 245 pp.

Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute has enriched its Sources and Documents Series by a very useful bibliography on Ukrainian dissent. Most of the 1,242 items registered are samydyav materials that circulated in Ukraine between 1955 and 1975, but the bibliography concludes with a select list of 200 secondary works. An introduction, lists of abbreviations and sources consulted, extracts from the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, and an index round out the volume.

The compilers did right to interpret their task broadly, not restricting themselves to the Ukrainian national movement alone. The materials listed in the bibliography also concern the Jewish movement for emigration to Israel, the Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant movements, and the Russian civil rights movement in the Ukrainian SSR.

Crimean Tatar dissent, however, is excluded. The compilers noted in the introduction that

"the subject is a complex one which merits a separate bibliography"; and, more importantly, "we adhere to the position taken by most Ukrainian dissidents, who maintain that the Crimea was never an integral part of the Ukrainian SSR and who wholeheartedly support the aspirations of the Crimean Tatars to restore the autonomy of their former republic."

The bibliography of dissident materials is arranged alphabetically by both names (e.g. Berdnyk, Dobosh, Sverstiuk) and topics (such as Arson, Babi Yar, Lviv Oblast, Women Political Prisoners). The name entries list writings by the dissident in question as well as unsigned material emanating from Soviet dissident circles about the individuals concerned. Thus under "Dziuba, Ivan" we find reference to both *Internationalism or Russification* and reports published in the *Chronicle of Current Events* and elsewhere that provide information on Dziuba's expulsion from the Writers' Union and encounters with the KGB. Signed articles on Dziuba however, appear under the author's name; thus *Among the Snows* is listed under the entry for "Moroz, Valentyn."

Only materials that have been published in the West in Ukrainian,

Russian, and English figure in the bibliography, and precise bibliographical data are given in each entry. Most of the entries, moreover, are annotated with a concise description of contents.

The select secondary works listed at the back are well chosen and represent the following categories: Memoirs of Former Soviet Dissidents; History and Politics; Religion; Demography and Geography; Ukrainian-Jewish Relations; Education, Publishing, and Communications Policy; Literature; Economics. The People's Republic of China and Dissent in the USSR.

The value of this book should be immediately apparent. It will be indispensable as both a scholarly reference work on Soviet Ukraine and a practical tool for all engaged in defense work. It has, furthermore, a timely significance. Now that Ukrainian youth in the emigration are exploring new political directions and alternatives to the OUN-CP/SPY-Charybdis, it is important to review the legacy of the dissident movement of the past two decades in Ukraine. This bibliography will remind us of documents that still have great political validity, such as the appeal of the Communists of Ukraine (Initiative Committee) from

1964 (printed in *Suchasnist'*, December 1969)

It will also, however, raise some questions about the significance of the Ukrainian dissident movement as a whole. Consider, for instance, a dominant genre represented in this bibliography: the appeals. There are appeals addressed to all manner of individuals (Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Shelest, Patriarch Alexsei, Nixon, Ford, U Thant, Waldheim), institutions (PEN-club, Writers' Union, Canadian Government, Soviet courts and government bodies, editorial boards of Soviet periodicals, Amnesty International), and amorphous collectives ("all good people in all countries," "women of the world," "nations of the whole world"). But there is not one appeal addressed specifically to the Ukrainian people (though there is an appeal to the Jewish people put out by Jewish dissidents). There is not one appeal addressed to any specific social class: workers, kolhosnynyky, or students. In other words, the appeals reflect a "help-us" and not a "let-us-help-ourselves" mentality.

This is also implied in the other genre predominating: reports of trials, persecution, and imprisonment. There is a species of self-flagellation apparent in these mar-

tyologies. One can almost arrive at the impression that dissent is really a self-perpetuating vicious circle in which a gets arrested and b rushes to his/her defense, so b is arrested and c rushes to his/her defense, and so on well beyond z — and only a great, inaccessible Puer (Nixon, Brezhnev, all good people) can break this vicious circle.

True, a few giants, such as Dziuba and Moroz, seem able at least temporarily to escape from the enchanted circle and offer us a political analysis. But all too often the political analysis suffers from an inadequate theoretical structure and too scant an appreciation of the socio-economic foundations.

The corpus of dissident writings, then, demands careful study and reflection. The bibliography compiled by George Liber and Anna Mostovych is of inestimable help in this process.

It can be ordered by sending a check or money order for \$650 (US) to the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 1581-83 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

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SUSK IN RETROSPECT: CAN YOU HAVE YOUR CH

In the October, 1977 issue of *STUDENT* Andrij Makuch wrote an editorial concerning the myths that have enveloped the SUSK experience. He noted that for many students this experience was largely irrelevant, but for others it had become an albatross that needed burying. These myths refuse to fade away, the 'old warriors' keep reappearing, and a reoccurring problematic faces the current SUSK executive. If the myths are to be buried we must come to terms with the legacy of the past ten years. As one of the 'old warriors' who was active in SUSK from 1969-1974 in the West and in the East, on the club and executive level as a volunteer and fieldworker, and as a member of the Lett, I hope to contribute to the burial of the myth.

THE SIXTIES AND SUSK

Ten years ago, policemen rioted in the streets of Chicago, students and workers brought the French state to the brink of collapse, American forces escalated the war in Vietnam, a civil rights movement organized in Northern Ireland, Soviet tanks rolled into the streets of Prague and an emigre Ukrainian nationalist organization released a remarkable document from Soviet Ukraine entitled *Internationalism or Russification*. These events were not totally unrelated and collectively they sent tremors throughout the world. Ideological norms were challenged, cultural forms dissected and the politics of dissent rehabilitated. For a layer of Ukrainian Canadian youth this revolutionary upheaval raised a plethora of ideologically troublesome concepts. In 1968 the Montreal based executive of SUSK adopted a modest programme that would transform a hitherto passive organization into a local point for this newly radicalizing student layer.

If 1968 was a year of global upheavals within the Ukrainian diaspora the status-quo remained largely unchallenged. Having said this one should point out that a generalized state of crisis pervaded the community. In Canada both nationalist and Stalinist formations were growing older and were unable to replenish their ranks with young, politically conscious cadres. During the fifties our older brothers and sisters discarded their ethnic baggage as quickly as possible, donned an apolitical stance and melted into mainstream suburbia. The few who didn't, held positions in the student sector of the nationalist or Stalinist community.

For the reasons stated above, the appearance of a revitalized SUSK was welcomed in the nationalist community. Commentators such as M. Myronuk noted the difference between the "student activists" of the sixties and their "lethargic predecessors."¹ These new activists could have an important influence "on the future path of Ukrainian life in such populous centers as Winnipeg and Toronto... New York and Munich,"² as well as "future events in Ukraine."³ More importantly they could be drawn into the thinning ranks of the nationalist organizations. This honey-moon was short-lived. The independent course adopted by SUSK ended in a collision course with the nationalist establishment. SUSK became as the new-lettiche put it "the people our parents warned us against."⁴

In the ensuing years a number of pseudo-theories arose to explain SUSK's evolution. Most of these theories belong to the epic tradition or are, at best, pieces of folk-history. Certain segments of the

nationalist community favour the conspiratorial theory. This version holds that Ukrainian youth are basically healthy — conservative and/or passive — while those who became involved with SUSK were led astray by evil forces. Fill in any or all of the following: a) communists, KGB agents, b) Maoists/anarchists, Trotskyists c) Marxist professors d) a decadent and corrupt society, e) misguided individuals such as Krawchenko, Bojoun, Petryshyn, Bozhyk etc. (here one will note that women do not figure in as corrupting influences.)⁵ A second popular theory views the SUSK phenomena as the work of two men — Krawchenko and Petryshyn. The tale begins with the appearance of two *vozhd*-like figures in the East and, well you know the rest. A third version would see SUSK as the Ukrainian Canadian counterpart of Canadian new-left organizations such as Student Union for Peace Action of the Canadian Union of Students. Yet another popular tale would have us believe that SUSK was the result of a byzantine web of personal friendships, intrigues, relationships, and enmities.

The four versions cited above have served mainly as the source of endless political anecdotes and tales. All four versions develop logically, provide a neat explanation for a complex process, and shed more light on the politics (or lack of politics) of the narrator than the question under discussion. All four versions have some basis in fact. Krawchenko and Petryshyn did play an important role in SUSK, the political perspectives of the Canadian new-left did influence the development of SUSK. SUSK was an amalgam of individuals, personal relations did underpin political relations, and SUSK was influenced by ideologies other than right wing nationalism. Up till now, attempts to synthesize an analysis have been few and far between. To date we lack an understanding of SUSK's evolution, its ideological sources, its leadership, the issues it raised, the strategy and tactics that it employed, and its achievements and shortcomings.⁶ Hopefully this paper will generate a discussion around these questions.

BUILDING SUSK — REORGANIZATION AND REVITALIZATION

Most accounts of SUSK in the new period date the revitalization of the organization to the fieldwork activities of B. Krawchenko which culminated in the 1969 Vancouver Congress. They point to the new policies and leadership that originated in Vancouver. A careful examination of this proposition will reveal that many of the innovations originated with the 1969-69 executive. Fieldwork, *STUDENT*, the belief that SUSK must become much more of a professional grouping, and the decision to challenge federal policies vis-a-vis minorities in Canada all date back to this period. The 1969-70 executive built upon this foundation, fleshed out these concepts and infused them with an activist content. A variety of new-left symbols and concerns permeated the organization — student movement, student power, Ukrainian power, solidarity campaigns and the commitment to develop alternate cultural forms. Continuity between the old and new executive was provided by individuals such as R. Petryshyn.

In the next nine years considerable effort was devoted to building an active, grassroots, student movement. Conferences of club presidents, Eastern and Western conferences, think-tanks,

club visitations, *STUDENT*, fieldwork projects, letters, and the telephone were used to bring the executive closer to rank and file members. Despite these efforts, considerable friction existed between the clubs and the National executive.⁷ Much of this friction stemmed from the nature of the executive and the daily decision making process. Within the executive, decisions were taken after a long period of involved discussions. Considerable continuity existed between executives and decisions were influenced by any number of collective experiences. The difficulty lay in sharing this experience with an ever changing SUSK membership.

This gap was reinforced by regional and often generational differences. For eight out of ten years the executive would be located in Toronto. Most executive members were recruited from the nationalist community.⁸ Many had been involved previously with community youth organizations such as Plast, SUM, and CYMK. [Here it should be noted that by the time they entered the executive they were largely disenfranchised.] In the early seventies, SUSK executive members were drawn from across Canada but by 1973 it was again largely a Toronto based grouping. These facts do shed some light on the policies adopted by SUSK. For example, the militant political traditions of the first two generations in Canada was largely unknown. Attempts to rediscover this heritage lay low on the list of priorities adopted by the organization.⁹ Concern with language retention was a carryover from a nationalist upbringing.

In the early seventies the executive saw itself as more than a governing body. Many executive members had come to the conclusion that if the Ukrainian community was to survive in Canada it would do so not because of the community but in spite of it. SUSK's role was not only to provide political leadership but a cultural alternative as well. A few attempts were made to organize events such as dances with rock bands, coffee houses, the like. Most activity took the form of prolonged discussions on authoritarianism, sexual liberation, the psychédelic experience, the nature of Ukrainian culture, sexism, youth culture, rock music and the need to make Ukrainian culture relevant for the mass of Ukrainian Canadians. These discussions had two consequences. Firstly a critique of North American cultural forms was incorporated into the lifestyle of a small milieu that centered around the Toronto executive. Long hair, blue-jeans, and Indian cottons became *de-rigueur* at any number of SUSK functions.¹⁰ Secondly a serious attempt was made to develop a Ukrainian Canadian culture via the staging of the Ukrainian Canadian Festival of the Arts.

Any discussion of leadership inevitably leads us to the thorny problem of sexism within the organization. Although SUSK prided itself on the large number of women who occupied leading positions in the organization it never became a haven from a sexist society. Overly sexist attitudes were frowned upon, however sexism was expressed in more subtle forms. For a large number of women their first introduction to SUSK politics was via the typewriter. Promising males on the other hand were quickly integrated into the organization and thrust into the public limelight. Although a number of women were influential within the organization, this was rarely expressed publicly. Those women

who did develop a public presence were often typecast as aggressive harridans.¹¹ These attitudes remained largely unchallenged and are still a problem to this day.

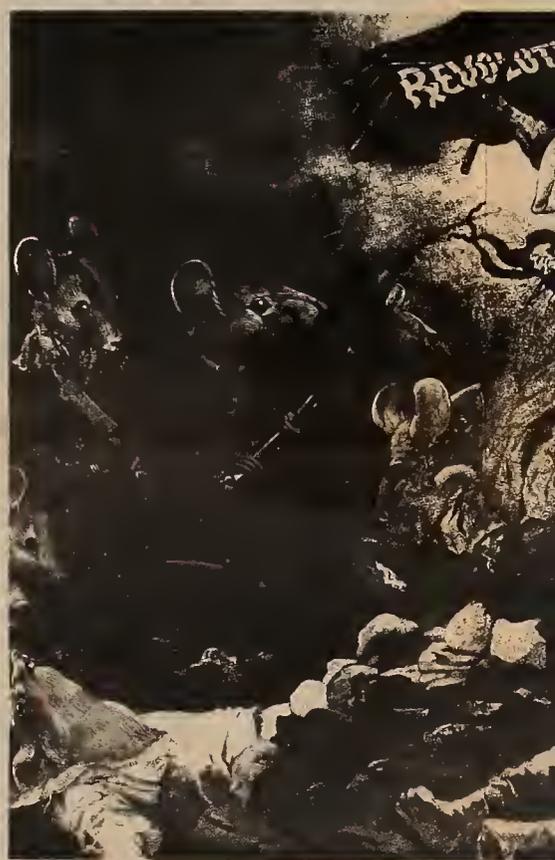
EARLY POLICY: THE 'CANADIAN WAY OF LIFE'

The issues raised by the organization and the strategy and tactics that it employed were mediated by the origins and composition of the SUSK leadership. Two major issues dominated the discussions of the organization; the status and perspectives for 500,000 Ukrainian Canadians and dissent in

ethnic group, d) the argument that the problems of newly arrived immigrant communities were not synonymous with the problems facing long established ethnic communities. If ethnic communities were to survive in Canada they must have access to the broader resources of the society as a whole. To this end government support, federally, provincially and municipally, was essential.

The adopted strategy and tactics owed much to the type of activism developed by Saul Alinsky and the extra-parliamentary op-

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Ukraine. Of the two issues the greatest excitement was generated by the problem of minority rights in Canada. After the Vancouver Congress a small knot of individuals was convinced that political activity could change social conditions for Ukrainians in Canada and abroad. What remained unresolved was how to affect this change. Out of the ensuing debate came the concept of multi-culturalism.

The ideological sources of the policy owe much to the crisis in Quebec and the struggle of oppressed minorities in the United States. An examination of both experiences coincided with discussions of the "Ukrainian fact."¹² Four key conceptions underpinned the policy: a) a recognition of the "French fact" in Canada, b) a rejection of the two nation theory of Canada — arguing that the Canadian reality was in fact multi-ethnic, c) the belief that language retention was the key to the survival of any

position.¹³ In the initial skirmishes two tactics were advanced. The first was to by-pass governmental bodies, to organize popular support among all ethnic groups in Canada, thereby pressuring the government into action — a type of ethnic, extra-parliamentary opposition. With this in mind a series of multi-cultural conferences were organized across Canada and contacts were developed between ethnic groups on a federal and municipal level. The second tactic adopted was to pressure politicians and civil servants directly in Ottawa.

EARLY POLICY: DISILLUSIONMENT

In the short term this strategy proved to be highly successful. The federal government announced the adoption of a multi-cultural policy and prospects looked good that provincial governments would follow suit. After the federal policy announcement tactics changed

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argument that newly arrived immigrants were not the problems of ethnic communities and that they must be treated as a whole, not individually, especially in the case of the type of Saul Alinsky's elementary op-

considerably. The attempt to organize on a multi-ethnic level fell away and most energies were devoted to full-time lobbying of the federal government. Within a relatively short period of time it became evident that the federal government was not willing or interested in developing ethnic languages or cultures. Multiculturalism began to look more and more like an extension of the old pork-barrel system. Ethnic organizations and power brokers competed annually for a slice of the federal pie in return for loyalty to

the government reinforced divisions within the SUSK executive. One group stressed the need to continue to react to government initiatives (or lack of) by lobbying key politicians and civil servants, while a second group questioned the very viability of the policy. Discussions began to focus on the class nature of multiculturalism and whether cultural rights could be secured without fundamentally altering the structure of Canadian society. The summer 1972 fieldwork project reflected the change. For example,

nian Canadian community. Political barriers fell and artists who had grown up in nationalist and Stalinist organizations met one another and discussed the prospects for the development of Ukrainian-Canadian culture. Significantly the vast majority of participants came from outside community structures. Conference organizers noted that if the achievements of the festival could be translated on a pan-Canadian scale then one could talk about the development of a new cultural fabric. If the festival was a success then the follow up was a disaster. The commitment to publish a Ukrainian Canadian Arts Catalogue ran into a stone wall of indifference. Lack of proper funding and management difficulties conspired against the successful completion of the project.¹³

REORIENTATION AND THE FERMEN IN UKRAINE

Attention and interest shifted away from multiculturalism to the opposition in Ukraine. Surely if Ukrainian culture was to survive it would only do so if it flourished in Ukraine. Massive arrests in the spring of 1972 served to focus attention on the national question. This shift had three major consequences; firstly, it brought the organization into closer contact with the emigre nationalist organizations, secondly, it inaugurated a serious discussion on the nature of political oppression in Ukraine; thirdly, as activity around the question increased the organizational focus shifted from the executive to a series of "independent" defense committees. Throughout this period relations with the nationalist establishment were highly ambivalent. Many activists were convinced that the emigre nationalist organizations were doomed to a slow death. Moreover, after attempts to democratize organizations such as KYK had failed, serious doubts were raised about the possibility of reforming from within. Still the nationalists did represent a tradition of resistance in Ukraine. What remained outstanding was an assessment of their contribution, successes and failures. It soon became evident that there were no quick, easy answers. A profound ignorance existed on questions that related to Ukrainian history, politics, economics and even culture. Thus began the long, torturous, process of self-

education. Serious differences developed around two theoretical problem areas; a) the nature of the opposition, b) strategies for defence work. For example, a close reading of documents in the *Chornovil Papers, Ferment in the Ukraine, and Internationalism or Russification* convinced many that the oppositionists were the real defendants of socialism and that they deserved to be defended as such. Reading all stripes of the nationalist press, one could get the impression that dissenters in Ukraine were all closet nationalists of the O.U.N variety, who were waiting for the triumph of free enterprise and the American way of life. Some documents were conveniently pruned before publication while others were never published. Small wonder then that when the first Ukrainian dissident reached the West [Leonid Plyushch in 1976 - Ed.] the vast majority of the nationalist community was shocked to find that he was a Marxist. The sectarian nature of nationalist interventions, the secrecy and the cynical manoeuvrings, all served to alienate their potential recruits.

REORIENTATION AND THE PARTING OF THE WAY

The most striking differences developed around the question of who defends prisoners best — governments (if so which governments) labor, intellectuals, students and/or all of the above.¹⁴ Debate on this question carried on in fits and starts throughout this period to the present day. What dominated the debate was the way that different sectors of North American society responded to this question. As early as 1968, SUSK approached the Canadian Union of Students with a resolution condemning the repression of democratic rights in the U.S.S.R. After considerable debate the resolution was passed and the Union published a booklet on repressions in Ukraine. Later actions tended to focus their attention on the Canadian establishment — media, government, and "public opinion". The response to well organized, hunger strikes, demonstrations and rallies, was deafening — a few, quiet words through diplomatic channels, an end to inflammatory comparisons between the FLQ and the opposition in Ukraine, a few motherhood resolutions from the parliamentary opposition and selective press coverage.

Prior to the anti-Kosygin demonstration in October, 1971, the general consensus had been that it was necessary to plead the case of imprisoned oppositionists before the Canadian government. All this changed when mounted police units in Toronto charged a demonstration composed mostly of politically conservative, upright, East European emigres. This police "discipline" galvanized opinion within SUSK as few other issues had. It was seen as the height of governmental cynicism. The defenders of the free enterprise system it seemed were more interested in markets than in democratic rights. The archfoe of capitalism, A. Kosygin, was being protected by those he sought to destroy.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the newly formed Committee In Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners was scoring some of its earliest successes. The strategy adopted by the Committee was much more attractive than seeking the aid of puffed-up dictators in Taiwan, Spain, or Chile. By orienting their work to the liberal-left the committee managed to marshal the support of a host of prominent intellectuals, feminists, civil rights workers, and anti-war activists. Inadvertently, the Committee provided an answer to the question of who defends political prisoners best. It seemed that those individuals and groups that fought for an extension of democratic rights at home were the most consistent in their defense of oppositionists abroad. While the American liberal-left came out in support of Soviet political prisoners the commitment was not returned. Neither the "democrats" nor the "conservatives" would publicly speak out against political repressions in the United States, Canada, or the rest of the so called free world.

FRUSTRATION AND THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF THE LEFT

For the majority of SUSK members Ukraine at best was an emotional, motherhood issue. Involvement was usually limited to participation in some sort of hunger-strike or demonstrations. Those who were intimately involved in defense work were unable to translate their experiences to the rank and file membership of SUSK. The attempt to deal with the

problems arising from these contradictions operated the left wing current in SUSK. It was a long, muddled, heart-breaking affair. Old allegiances fell aside, long standing personal friendships snapped under the pressure, and an air of confusion reigned supreme. Once again the search for new forms was placed on the agenda of the day. By the 1973 CESUS Congress, the socialist current had consolidated its position. Its intervention into the Congress produced a chain reaction that would return to haunt the nationalist community. A month later the largest, most active, Ukrainian American students organization, TUSM, developed a left wing split and New Directions was left asking the question "Whose Left?"¹⁵

The genesis and development of the first left wing current to appear on the emigration for over twenty years marked a watershed in SUSK's development. Its very appearance provoked a crisis. This nebulous "Left" after all was composed largely of the past leadership of the organization. SUSK however was supposed to be a "cross-ideological" body, not a political party. How then should SUSK deal with the Left? Over the next five years every incoming executive would have to grapple in its own way with this question. In the meantime, a right wing backlash was growing in the nationalist community. Tremendous pressures, personal and political, were employed to keep SUSK in line. But the "socialist" fact was not to be dislodged easily. Between 1973 and 1978, a variety of forces and pressures left their mark on the organization. The Canadian economy sank into a recession, the New Left disintegrated, separatism was becoming a major force in Quebec, racism was taking on new forms, and an academic institute was organizing in Edmonton and Toronto. However, as my own involvement with SUSK waned during this period I leave the analysis of the past five years to someone who was more directly involved.



al skirmishes needed. The first governmental popular support jobs in Canada, the government ethnic, extraction. With this multi-culturalized across tracts were ethnic groups municipal level. opted was to and civil service. DISILLUSION- this strategy successful. The announced the cultural policy and good that ones would federal policy cs changed

federalism and the Liberal party. If multi-culturalism meant ethnic cookery, jobs for an opportunist fringe, and lured old folk-festivals, who needed it? At this point energy shifted to the provincial and municipal level with the hope that the support of these governments could pressure the federal government into taking a more responsible position. By 1972 the Manitoba government had made a number of concessions around second language education. With the hopes of securing a similar multicultural policy from the Ontario government, a coalition of groups (such as Ontario KYK) and numerous individuals began to prepare for the Heritage Ontario Conference.¹⁶ The result of a sophisticated, articulate, assault on governmental policies were plattitudes from Diana Eaton¹⁷ and a keynote address that spoke about everything but multicultural policy. The failure to win concessions from

the "Smack" petition attempted to circumvent governmental bodies by mobilizing grass roots support among non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups.¹⁸ The project died a quick death. As time went on multiculturalism was relegated to the hands of a few dedicated semi-professional brief-writers. For the vast majority of SUSK, the issue elicited blank faces and thundering yawns. A final hurrah came when SUSK was unable to realize its ideas on the development of Ukrainian-Canadian culture. It was argued that Ukrainian-Canadian culture could survive only if it developed a contemporary, urban face. To realize this aim a number of projects were undertaken, the most ambitious of which was the Ukrainian Canadian Festival of the Arts. The festival itself was an unqualified success. For four days it brought together some of the most creative and innovative talents in the Ukrai-

Footnotes
1 Myronuk Maksym, *lak ne my, to khto? lak ne leper, to koly?* STUDENT, March, 1970 (reprinted from *Suchasnia* January 1970)
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 See Page 3 of the December, 1977 issue of STUDENT for a discussion of how the "conspirators" school of analysis is used in the nationalist press.
5 Two important contributions to this discussion are: Kowalsky, M., *Towards a Political Sociology of Multiculturalism*, STUDENT May, 1973, and Lahyky, Taras, *Our Politics and Their*, New Directions, Vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 16-22.
6 Almost every year lauds developed with a club/clubs and the national executive. As a final protest, a number of clubs have withdrawn from the organization.
7 Obviously there were exceptions - e.g. Sheila Siobadan.
8 Although projects were suggested as early as 1969, the executive did not act on them in a serious way.
9 Some were claimed that you could pick out the national executive by the way they dressed.
10 The locker room camaraderie that developed among men on the executive tended to be the preserve of the men.
11 National Film Board productions dealing with the Saul Alinsky experience were shown regularly at a variety of SUSK conferences, orientation courses, etc. up to 1973.
12 SUSK executive members took part in the conference as individuals.
13 Diana Eaton worked for the Citizenship branch at the time. As such she gave a number of interviews to the press.
14 The "Smack" petition was circulated in the summer of 1972. For more information see Kowalsky, M., *Towards a Political Sociology of Multiculturalism*, STUDENT, May 1973.
15 The Video SUSK project suffered from similar problems. Funds were given to cover the cost of salaries but not to pay for equipment and tape.
16 For example, one commentator suggested that Ukrainians consider the Chinese as an ally, based on the premise that the Ukrainians' only enemy is my friend Se Iaroslavko, Boris, *Ukraine & China: The Peeking Duck Comes to Russia*, in *Ken*, New Directions, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 6-14.
17 Kupchinsky, Roman, *Who's Left in TUSM?*, New Directions Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 8-10.

SELO: BECAUSE CULTURE IS FOR LIVING

UKRAINIAN CULTURAL IMMERSION CAMP

Jars Balan

The *Selo* concept was developed in 1973-74 by Roman Onufrijchuk and Wasył Balan of the National Executive of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (CYMK). Confronted with the problem of an assimilating membership that had a declining interest in Ukrainian life, they came up with the idea of organizing a series of cultural immersion camps to be held in the summer and designed to appeal primarily — though not exclusively — to young Ukrainian-Canadians between the ages of 15-20. Although only one of the planned camps was held in the summer of 1974, *Selo* has since become a regular feature and an annual event on the CYMK programme, camps having now been held at or near Oakville (Ont.), Thorby (Alta.), Thunder Bay (Ont.), and Wakaw (Sask.). This year *Selo* will move to a camp on Lake Winnipeg, near Gimli, Manitoba. The idea behind the camp roving each year may be summed up as follows: to ensure that there are a variety of settings and challenging situations for the staff and students to discover and contend with; to introduce the *Selo* concept to various communities and make use of existing Ukrainian camp facilities; and to encourage participants to see and learn about different regions of Canada.

The choice of the name *Selo* — literally it means "village" in Ukrainian, but has strong emotional and social connotations — is probably the best indication of what the camp is and how it operates. Essentially, *Selo* attempts to create a village-like atmosphere in which participants can learn, largely through the medium of oral communication, about their Ukrainian heritage in what may be described as a Slavic-Canadian environment. Classes are conducted in an informal manner — sometimes under trees when the weather is nice, or in dorms if the classes are small — and the daily schedule is

periodically interrupted by special seminars and talks by surprise visitors with experiences, skills or knowledge to share. There are no exams or formal concerts at the end of sessions, which generally run for three weeks in the latter part of August.

periodically interrupted by special seminars and talks by surprise visitors with experiences, skills or knowledge to share. There are no exams or formal concerts at the end of sessions, which generally run for three weeks in the latter part of August.

Much of the "educating" of *Selo* is done by a process of absorption and immersion; the backdrop against which *Selo* unfolds each year is created by the active involvement of all the participants in every aspect of camp life. Ukrainian music — traditional, contemporary, folk and classical — can often be heard playing from speakers in the mess hall or outdoors. Usually, recorded music competes with the melodious strains emanating from singing, bandura and tsymbaly classes, or the spontaneous song of groups working and individuals practicing newly-learned tunes. Over the weeks the camp facilities are slowly transformed and brightened by the flowers and geometric motifs of decorative *rozpyts*, applied by students and volunteers. It is not uncommon to see people wearing either traditional Ukrainian costumes (from different periods and regions) or contemporary adaptations of Ukrainian dress on festive occasions at the camp. Embroidered blouses and shirts — sometimes under a *zhupan*, *kypta*, or sheepskin vest — are often combined with blue jeans and a *pyas*, and seem to be popular forms of expression. The blend of these and other elements produces an atmosphere that the staff feels is conducive to learning and living the Ukrainian experience.

Since most of the participants at *Selo* are 2nd, 3rd or even 4th generation Ukrainian-Canadians, who don't know their ancestral tongue or have a poor grasp of it, the daily business of the camp and classes are conducted in the English language. Special talks by resource people who speak only Ukrainian are translated for the students. And although in recent years instruction has been available in conversational Ukrainian at various levels, problems finding suitable teachers have stunted this part of the *Selo* programme. Efforts, however, are being made to improve the range and quality of language instruction, and to encourage the use of Ukrainian among those who speak it.

As the curriculum varies somewhat each year according to the availability of instructors, the following outline of course offerings is subject to change. Also, plans are being made to expand certain areas of interest in the years to come.

Musical training ranges from instruction in bandura, tsymbaly (some instruments are provided for beginners) and oral literature (singing), and includes a course in musical appreciation that embraces everyone from Bortnyansky and

Lysenko to Kobza, Lumomyra, and the D-Dritters Five.

Dancing classes — always popular with Ukrainians — teach traditional and contemporary steps and choreography, emphasizing individual development and enjoyment rather than being performance oriented.

Another feature of the *Selo* programme is its handicrafts division. A pottery course combines the practical and the theoretical by showing students how to shape a *baran* and a *kumarets* from a lump of clay as the same time that it teaches them how to ornament their bowls and plates with ancient Ukrainian symbols and designs. Decorative arts provide background classes on folk architecture and *rozpyts*, then actively involve students in the beautification of camp facilities according to a pre-selected regional style that is compatible with the site. Weavers begin by building their own portable hand looms and making *pyasy*; larger looms are also available for more advanced and ambitious work. And people wishing to learn how to embroider or write *pyasy* can always find guidance and instruction in the basics. Attesting to the vitality of this aspect of the *Selo* experience, many of the skills learned in handicraft classes are taken home by the students and developed in the form of individual hobbies and group projects to decorate church halls and even family rooms.

Courses of an academic nature include a survey of Ukrainian literature in English translation — from the chronicles of Kievan Rus and the epics of Soviet literature to the stories and poems of Ukrainian-Canadian authors writing in English — and a course in Ukrainian history that begins in prehistoric times and stretches to the modern age. Expansion in this area may eventually add a separate course in Ukrainian-Canadian history and classes in anthropology and geography.



What this section of the *Selo* curriculum attempts to do is provide a background and context to other courses, and to develop a general historical awareness among *Selo* participants.

Of an even more comprehensive nature are the team-taught or team-led seminars that fall under the title of Ethnography and 21st Century Ukrainians. The first is a mixed bag of presentations designed to give everyone an idea of what is being taught in courses they aren't enrolled in; the second is an issue-oriented group discussion that tackles the problems and prospects facing Ukrainians around the world today. Other courses that are not easily defined are Ukrainian Experience and Ukrainian Lifestyle (*Pobut*). The latter incorporates anything from learning how to make jam or rose-hip tea, to building a *peech*, gathering herbs, or playing traditional Ukrainian games such as *shpak*, *hola*, or *durak*. The Ukrainian Experience Course — prepared especially for first-year students — is a subjective journey into the Ukrainian psyche led by camp director Roman Onufrijchuk.

Finally, a course explaining uniquely Ukrainian customs — at weddings, funerals, and religious holidays — is offered under the title of Ukrainian Ritual. As part of CYMK's commitment to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, *Selo* hopes to offer more in the way of religious education in its total programme. Various problems, however, have so far managed to thwart the further development of formal religious studies at the camp. It should be noted that these problems are gradually being resolved, and that *Selo* is and has always been ministered to by a chaplain of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox faith. A Divine Liturgy is arranged for each Sunday, and other services are held whenever necessary. Non-Orthodox participants may worship at the church of their own choice if one is located nearby.

The staff of *Selo* reflects the diversity that characterizes the immersion camp programme. Staff members are chosen on the basis of the breadth, as well as the depth, of their knowledge; their ability to communicate their interests to young people; and anything else they can offer in the way of particular speciality, having acquired their expertise through their own initiative and curiosity. Although some preference is given to members of CYMK and "graduates" of the *Selo* programme, the ultimate criteria by which prospective instructors were judged, are competence, compatibility and enthusiasm. Suitable teachers are sought and hired without

regard to their citizenship (American and British Ukrainians have taught at *Selo* in previous years), religion and organizational background.

Because the staff of *Selo* varies each year, as does the site and situation, the organization and operation of each camp, of necessity, flexible. Students soon realize that the staff is responsive to their needs and open to suggestions. They have to be, since no single staff member is an expert on how the *Selo* concept should be implemented and developed. For this reason, each camp tends to be the sum total of what everyone — staff, students, guests and surprise visitors — brings to it, rather than following a pre-determined pattern or rigidly defined plan of action. Crises are dealt with as they arise, and opportunities are seized with characteristic spontaneity. In this way, *Selo* has evolved in a fluid, unmechanical, fashion.

Another factor encouraging maximum participation is that unlike many other summer camps, participants are responsible for much of the day-to-day functioning of *Selo*. Although the kitchen is organized and supervised by a staff member hired for that purpose, all of the cooking, serving and dishwashing is done by a crew of students selected at random and assigned to kitchen duty on a rotational basis. Everyone misses one or two days of classes in the course of each session to work in the kitchen. Similarly, all other chores necessary to the operation of the camp — the maintenance of washrooms, the washing of floors, and clean-ups in the dorms and on camp property — are done by the students themselves. One camp, because it had no electricity, required that work teams be assigned each day to chop wood for the kitchen stoves; others have posed different problems.

In addition to these tasks, *Selo* participants are also expected to put in an hour of physical labour each day towards the improvement of host facilities. Broken fences and stairs are replaced or mended and cabins get scraped and painted in work-bees that fulfill a commitment to leave each camp in better condition than it was in at the beginning of a *Selo* session.

But not all of *Selo* revolves around work, seminars and classes. As with other camps, various social events are an integral part of the programme, the difference being that at *Selo* festivities are often spontaneous and are usually student initiated and organized. Special occasions are celebrated in a generous Slavic spirit, and dances and bonfires have a distinct and unmistakably Ukrainian flavour. A night of revelry, preceded by an evening dinner that has in the past featured such delicacies as roast pig and *holubtsi*, traditionally closes each session of *Selo*.

In these ways — by working, living, learning and sharing, worshipping, and celebrating together — a strong and lasting feeling of community is built up in the duration of each camp. The emotionally supportive atmosphere generated at *Selo* encourages participants to embrace their Ukrainian heritage and culture, and to adapt it in ways that are meaningful to themselves in contemporary Canadian society. For many, *Selo* begins a process of growth that continues long after they have returned home; for others it is simply a warm memory that they will carry into their adult lives. In all its endeavours *Selo* attempts to impart a holistic appreciation and understanding of Ukrainian culture in all of its diversity and richness. Although it cannot be all things to all people, few, if any, leave *Selo* with either deep or lasting regrets.

What, then is *Selo*, when all is said and done? Some of its critics have dismissed it as a romantic fantasy and a dilettante holiday; others have attacked gaps in its programme and its limited accessibility in these times of economic hardship. Many of these criticisms have some merit, as the organizers and initiators of *Selo* readily admit. But they counter with the argument that they are always working to improve it, and point out that *Selo* is, among other things, a pioneering venture in the Ukrainian community. It is a living experiment in cultural transmission, and a hot-house for ideas. It is, above all else, an evolving adventure in education that is as willing to learn as it is eager to teach.

Whatever its failures and shortcomings, *Selo* IS and that's an accomplishment in this age of assimilation and declining interest in Ukrainian community life.

BLACK LIBERATION AND UKRAINIANS

The Ukrainian language press has already written much about the recent conflicts in Angola and Mozambique and of the impending crisis in Rhodesia which at present is a racist state directly dependent for survival on its larger neighbour and ally, South Africa. The mass circulation Western dailies have also expounded on the evils and dangers of Soviet and Cuban intervention in Africa and the consequences of this for the West. What has yet to be voiced by the Ukrainian press is its own position towards the various revolutionary and liberation movements on the Black Africa continent.

It is an indisputable fact that the white minority in Rhodesia imposes its will on the majority of their black fellow human beings. The reasons for this advanced by prominent South Africans and Rhodesians, as well as by their supporters abroad sound quite plausible to a surprisingly large number of people — before the arrival of the whites, the indigenous inhabitants were living in a semi-primitive state from which they advanced only with the aid of the whites, and everything that Rhodesia and South Africa have (industry and a virtually self-supporting economy between them as compared with the subsistence farming of the blacks) is because of the ideas, thinking and foresight of the whites.

Naturally, the unenlightened argue, such economic progress as has been achieved could never have been attained without the aid of the blacks who supplied that most important of economic necessities so vital for the development of any country — cheap labour. "Wrong," the proponents of the status quo in South Africa stress. Anyone can dig a hole but not everyone can design a bridge. And, after all, when the Africans speak of majority rule what does that really entail? It's well known that there is no functioning democracy in any of the Arab or black African countries on the whole continent, so what at these Kaffir politicians talking about when they argue for majority rule?

The institution of totalitarianism for everyone in the country, whereas elementary democracy exists at present, albeit only for the white minority? If life is

so bad in South Africa why do more black people emigrate there than anywhere else in Africa?

All these old and well known arguments, like any simplification, gloss over and ignore the more detailed and pertinent aspects of the problem at hand; such as do white children have an inborn superiority or 'gift' which enables them to design bridges and the such, or is it something that is taught to them and for which they undergo training and instruction? And if the latter, why haven't the Africans themselves begun to be trained similarly by the white administration until recently and even then only minimally and with a great deal of fuss and opposition from the more reactionary government elements?

Undeniably the black and coloured inhabitants of South Africa and Rhodesia enjoy higher standards of living than their contemporaries elsewhere in Africa. But what is not mentioned is that a certain economic success has been achieved only at the cost of totally sacrificing the native Africans' political freedom and basic and elementary human rights. It is certainly worth stressing that although the standard of living of the coloureds and blacks compares favourably with that of Africans outside Rhodesia and South Africa, if we in turn compare the black majority's standard of living with that of the white minority, we find a world of difference. Indeed, many informed observers tell us the world is virtually that of a slave and master. Unquestionably South Africa is rich, but this wealth has been attained solely by exploiting the majority of the population to ensure that the minority might continue to live in the lap of luxury.

Blacks have deliberately been deprived of the chance to advance to a higher professional level; worse, as engineers, accountants and white collar workers. Consequently whenever there is talk in political circles of the blacks "taking over," it is continually pointed out in the same breath that they do not have sufficiently qualified people to do so — implying that they are incapable of doing so because of some genetic inferiority. It is understandable that this situation

exists, since deliberate actions motivated throughout the years by purely political designs have ensured that the majority of the blacks do not aspire to progress from the ranks of the labouring or 'servant' class.

As regards basic democratic freedoms which exist only for the white minority, we are told that whites "know what to do with their votes," whereas the introduction of a universal franchise would inevitably result in totalitarianism for everyone. This, of all the arguments advanced against majority rule, probably contains the greatest fallacy. The native Africans' aspirations and desire for political freedom are no different to those of white Europeans in Europe. There, of course, exist those amongst the Africans who are insufficiently educated or incapable of being educated to understand any issues put before them — just as there are amongst Europeans. But Europe provides a close parallel in people who are so totally complacent and consumer orientated in their life style that they show a total disinterest in their respective governments' running of their countries day-to-day affairs. It would certainly be interesting to know whether the latter would be in a better position to differentiate between relatively complicated arguments relating to their complex industrial societies than an illiterate African to the comparatively simple issues relating to his lifestyle.

One of the redeeming (to use the word very loosely) features of white minority rule is that it has chosen a basically democratic system with which to govern itself. It seems a trifle illogical however, to refer to oneself as a democrat if one is not willing to have that democracy enjoyed by every human being. Although it would be true to say that there is not an over-abundance of democratic governments in Africa, that does not mean to say that every new state created would automatically lapse into totalitarianism and that those forced to live under an authoritarian black-African regime would resign meekly to accept their fate. Indeed Europe itself is not blessed with an over-abundance of democratic governments and yet the casual



observer seems to believe that there is some essential difference which makes people aspire to freedom on one continent and not the other.

To imagine anything forestalling the movements for democracy in African is difficult and that does not just include white Africa but countries such as Uganda, Mozambique, Nigeria and Angola as well. To suppose that such a thing would be possible is a political and moral error which the various Ukrainian liberation movements can never presume to make. Indeed many Ukrainians would wish to have seen Portuguese colonial rule in African and whites in South Africa and Rhodesia condemned earlier in an attempt to add weight to the many efforts aimed at securing political change in South Africa.

Had the major Western powers realised the position of the Africans earlier or if they were already aware of the situation (and it is difficult to imagine that they were not), then they should not have continued to ignore it. By doing so they have forced some African nationalists into the arms of the Soviet Union, yet another colonial power which promises that they will be masters

(in theory) of their own countries but at the initial price of ideological, economic and military concessions. If the West had taken earlier note of the numerous cries for help from Angolans and Mozambiquis, they would not now be placed in the unhappy position of contemplating over the future opposition and contra-influence of those African countries to the politics and policies of the West.

Clearly the vast majority of Ukrainians in the West believe that our various liberation movements should make efforts to publicise and state quite explicitly in the Ukrainian language and English language Ukrainian press, that they support the struggle of the Africans for majority rule throughout the continent.

If they fail to make this clear, those same liberation movements will be in the unenviable position of having to face the additional opposition of the newly independent African states to the efforts of our own country, Ukraine, to obtain practical as opposed to the present theoretical, political and economic independence from Moscow's imperialists.

I. Chonkin Jr.

IVANKO SEES THE LIGHT

THE POLITICS OF THE CAUSE

(This article was written as a response to an article by Askold Lozynskyj "Youth participation in the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle" which appeared in the March 30 issue of Ukrainska Dumka.)

Little Ivanko emerged from the library, his intellectual faculties ablaze, his heart pounding, hardly able to contain himself. What news what brilliance! Oh it was simply indescribable — a mere 1/2 hour reading the stupendous outpourings of one Askold Lozynskyj and all was clear! How ever so simple it all was — here was the call that had awakened him as it had those noble predecessors of the Ukrainian nation — Mikhnovsky, Dontsov et al., the familiar lineage of all that was best in the annals of Ukrainian history. A great advantage, when you came to think of it, to have produced such a simple progression of laudable heroes; none of that socialist riff-raff, that "internationalist" band of renegades, those damned liberals and democrats — oh no, not for us, but only good patriotic nationalists! And although the liberation of the Ukrainian people had not yet quite come about, well why worry — you are fortunate because you have an

aim in life, an ideal (oh would art those unfortunate American/Canadian compatriots who lack a similar fortune). Yes, become a political propagandist, join the ranks, take the message out into the dens of the foreigners amongst whom you live. And the call to arms is not simply from some old fogies with fancy rhetoric in the emigration but also from young intellectuals in the Ukraine, who are calling YOU to the barricades to wage the struggle against the allies of Muscovite-Bolshevik Imperialism.

Yet Ivanko noted that this was not all, life could not be so simple; the Devil had this nasty habit of placing dangerous pitfalls in his way, tempting one off the righteous path with countless devious diversions — and he rightly understood that the Devil was simply a Marxist in disguise! There's that danger of "leftism," such that even learned scholars have been known to be seduced by this type of claptrap; and then there are those objects that pass for "socialism" and "social reform". And understandably there's "liberalism," especially dangerous because of its immense popularity. And the sum total of these evil leftist trends is to turn you against "establishments," or even, God forbid, the good old Ukrainian

emigre establishment. And not only that, it's also commonplace (amongst the well educated and politically sophisticated, at least), that North American liberalism does not differ from Soviet "socialism" — well bless my soul, thought Ivanko, just fancy that! No, one must not get tied up with these sorts; after all, they even try to be principled in their politics, and as he now well realised, that could have nothing in common with the Ukrainian political emigration!

Ivanko's immediate tasks were cut and dried. Yes, damnit, he'd convert those misguided fools who had the mischance to be under the influence of leftism, those unfortunate twits who blindly stumbled into socialism. The slogan was crystal clear — SOCIALISM IS A MARXIST OOGMA, CARE ABOUT YOUR NATION!!! By Jove, that will show them, what ho! And not only this method, oh no, good Ukrainian nationalistic youth is capable of much more. Why, one can present facts to your misguided professors, yes, real serious stuff, prepared by Ukrainian nationalist intellectual heavyweights in the West (well, some of them at least, since apparently most have forgotten their task and do nothing for the cause). The answer is simple, so simple —

get yourself an influential position and propagate the Ukrainian cause. Or get those weekly chappies into a bit of UK culture and then whisper a bit about the cause. Or better still have a demo, beat up a few policemen (no, don't worry your conscience — they are all foreigners and it's excellent for publicity) and spread the cause thus.

Ivanko's imagination stretched out into the receding sunset. The mind boggled at the opportunities, his creative faculties whirled round as if he were high on naughty substances. Yes, stand up in your Trade Union — tell them about the cause; it will only take a minute, so simple really, freedom for the Ukraine. Take it to the Student Union and they will surely listen, write a letter to the Times and it will surely be published; canvass your M.P. and he will surely support you, inform the BBC, get in touch with the Labour Party, the Liberals, the Conservatives — spread the word, mobilize support, form action groups, petition the UN, boycott the Commies. Yes, no problem at all — no need to waste your time with political analysis, exhaust your energies on developing a rational political programme; you've better tasks ahead of you. And if you really must read, then a weekly dose of the

Ukrainian Thought (or *Homin Ukrayny* for our Canadian readers - Ed.) should take care of that little need. And if you're asked the why's and wherefores, the political stance and basis of your action, your allies, your strategy, your tactics, then boldly assert — the Ukrainians are oppressed, they want freedom! And assured, you'll succeed. Simply glance at the achievements to date; Formosa, Franco's Spain, Caetano's Portugal, the Greek colonels, Thieu and Park, Ficochet, the Anti-Castroites, (even the National Front is rumored to be interested). Why the list is almost endless! Just a little bit more, a spot of consolidation, a little swipe at those damned socialists (Plyushch and Grigorenko) who the crafty Commies keep letting out to divert us and the final victory is ours. Let those enemies of the freedom loving and peaceful Ukrainians beware, no effort too big, no price too high, no blood spared for the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Ukrainians — and let that traitorous pseudo-Ukrainian ragbag of duped leftists, socialists, democrats, hedonists, liberals, weirdos and oddbods take heed. Repent, and seek the noble path to true salvation. For the good of the Cause.

THE NDP, UKRAINIANS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

BROADBENT DEVELOPING SOLIDARITY

On 28 January, 1978, during the "Capital Banquet and Ball" held in Ottawa commemorating the 50th Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence, Dr. J.E. Broadbent, federal leader of the New Democratic Party, addressed the Ottawa Ukrainian Community. Below is the full text of his remarks.



May I begin by thanking Mr. Shulakevych and the organizers of Ukrainian Week in Ottawa for their kind invitation to speak to you this evening. I am honoured to have the opportunity to share in this event and particularly to help commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Republic.

I should say right from the start that I am always a little hesitant in coming to an event of this type, because it is so tempting as a politician to speak simply in flattering generalities about the contributions this or the other groups have made to Canadian society.

You will know much better and be far more aware of Ukrainian involvement in the history of our country. You after all have lived it. I simply know it has been an involvement of significance.

Rather than talk about Canadian Ukrainian history in general, I want tonight to link it specifically with your concern with civil rights and say something about my party in the same regard, because in a curious way our histories have been intertwined.

But before doing so, I want first to establish my Ukrainian credentials! It may surprise some of you but not all, that I grew up in a community which was substantially Ukrainian. Oshawa, in my boyhood days, certainly in my part of town, was more Slavic than WASP. Going home for supper with one of my friends after school was more likely to see me eating cabbage rolls than

roast beef, more likely to find me munching poppyseed rolls, than eating apple pie.

Later in life, when I decided to stand for political office some of you will recall that I narrowly defeated a cabinet minister by the name of Michael Starr, well-known in the Ukrainian community throughout Canada. I am not sure whether I owe you an apology or not because I had as my campaign manager, a man by the name of Nestor Pidwerbecki.

Generally than I can't claim to be one of you. But my boyhood past and my community present makes me free to challenge any of you to a Polka contest.

Michael Starr is only one of many successful Canadian politicians of Ukrainian origin that I have had the privilege to know. There are, of course, a number in the present House of Commons. And, many of you will know that CCF and NDP governments in Saskatchewan and Manitoba have long had many members and cabinet ministers representing the Ukrainian community of their respective provinces.

The point I want to stress tonight is that it is not surprising

that Ukrainians have played an important part in community and political life of Canada when one remembers the traditions of democracy and civil rights inherent in the first Cossack State established in 1648. At the time, that state was founded upon social and political institutions far ahead of their day. Many of you know this history in great detail.

What may be less well-known to you is the historical civil-libertarian concern of my party and its involvement with causes particularly pertinent to the Ukrainian community in Canada. The first leader of my party and one of its founders was J.S. Woodsworth. He became politically active in Winnipeg. Woodsworth went to jail for his activities during the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 in which the majority of protesters were from the North End of Winnipeg. It was not popular with the establishment of the day but the Ukrainian and other Slavic people of the North End had real claims for better wages and working conditions as many of your fathers and mothers will be able to tell you. They simply were fighting for the right to exist in an organized fashion to pursue these claims.

Men like Woodsworth had the courage to join and help new Canadians establish such rights.

In a basic sense, my party has historically been more concerned with civil liberties than perhaps any other single issue. Frequently our stands, like many of yours, were unpopular at the time.

We supported the Chinese and Japanese in the struggle for the right to vote. And later, men like Andrew Brewin, a Toronto MP, helped lead the defence of Canadians of Japanese ancestry, so wrongly incarcerated during the Second World War.

Our opposition to the invocation of the War Measures Act in 1970

was not an easy decision but; one which I would make again without hesitation.

I mention these incidents in Canadian history involving civil rights and have said something about my party's involvement because I think it is particularly relevant to the event you are, in part, commemorating today.

Democratic fires burn brightly in the hearts of Ukrainian Canadians today just as they did sixty years ago in the Ukraine at the time of the creation of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.

As a professor of political philosophy, I know of the stirring poetry of Taras Shevchenko. I know something about the Ukrainian struggle for self-determination and cultural equality. Shevchenko's writings were founded upon human dignity, freedom, equality, justice and brotherhood. His words inspired not only Ukrainians but scores of other oppressed peoples. His words were about human and cultural liberty.

I know too of the special kind of courage it takes for people to stand up for civil liberty in the face of structured terrorism. I have had the privilege of marching outside of the Russian embassy here in Ottawa with some of you to show your concern and support for men like Valentyn Moroz, who has wrongly been imprisoned for his beliefs.

As Canadians, we must continue our active support of human rights and civil liberties not only at home but in all other countries where these fundamental rights are denied. Men and women must be free not only in Winnipeg and Ottawa but also in Moscow and Kiev.

As politicians we have a special duty. All of us in the House of Commons have a special obligation to speak out whenever liberty is

threatened. Members of Parliament from all parties have done so recently in favour of the dissidents who courageously struggle to bring civil liberty to those people under Russian control. The Helsinki agreement on basic liberties must not be allowed to be ignored by any country without strong protest by free men wherever they may live.

Finally, let me say that even though the Democratic Ukrainian Republic of 1918 was short-lived, it exemplified an understanding and level of tolerance all of us in Canada should not forget. As you know, there were three minority groups in the Ukraine and the government attempted seriously to accommodate this multicultural society within the bosom of a single state. Indeed, special departments of government were established and rights of these minorities honoured, to achieve this end.

I do not know how successful this noble attempt would have been had the Ukraine survived as an independent peoples. His words were about human and cultural liberty.

At this particularly crucial period in our history, we must be determined to build a stronger, more unified Canada but we must do so with a sense of trust, equality and tolerance so that our Canada continues as a truly multi-cultural society based on freedom.

We have 110 years of experience, some of it fraught with difficulty, but we have a nation of people whose individuality and heritage have not been lost. We have preserved our liberties and we have not been a melting pot. This has been for the better.

We must continue to build an even finer country where all of our people can be proud Canadians and proud of their roots.

CLUB NEWS OTTAWA: STEPPING UP

The Ottawa Club has been tidying up its seedy image lately, with a series of serious seminars dealing with topics like: sports in Romania, religion, and Ukrainian archival holdings at Carleton University, which were held just before exams. Nothing much happened after that except for Easter, Nadia's birthday and (shliah!) a late April snowfall.

Things are going to pick up in May, however, with another cabaret being planned for the end of the month, and with the start of Ottawa club's second summer project.

Sponsored by the Secretary of State, it will hire three students to organize a Ukrainian language immersion program for children and a program of workshops and seminars for students of various ethnic groups. The project will hopefully culminate in a small festival of visual and performing arts in August, produced by Ukrainian children and students as well. The purpose of the project is to make children enjoy learning Ukrainian and to encourage discussion and creativity within the student community.

UKRAINIAN IMMERSION COURSE IN SASKATOON

A language program, unique on the North American continent takes place in Saskatoon this summer. The program is a total immersion course in Ukrainian for high school students.

Young people who wish to improve their speaking knowledge of Ukrainian will enrol in the program which takes place at Mohyla Institute for a five week period from July 2 - August 4, 1978.

Optimum opportunity to learn is provided through the creation of a totally Ukrainian environment. Students are accommodated at beginner, intermediate and advanced levels. Staff members will be

with the students at all times to act as speaking models, and assistants.

The program includes formal classes using the audio-visual approach, which will give students credit standing in Grades IX, X, XI or XII Ukrainian. Supplementing this is a variety of cultural and recreational activities. The activities include folk arts workshops, Ukrainian dancing, singing, bandura playing, music appreciation, films, guest lectures, discussion groups, drama, tours and sports.

An interesting feature is the attendance of one or two 15-17 year old Ukrainian students from Europe who do not speak English, and

attend the course, not as instructors, but as full participants. This has the very practical effect of encouraging everyone to learn to use Ukrainian in order to develop friendships with the foreign visitors.

The Ukrainian Total Immersion Summer School is in its fourth year of operation. It has drawn participants from as far afield as Victoria, B.C., Montreal, P.Q. and California, U.S.A.

Anyone who has completed Grade Eight (elementary school) may attend Application forms and information are available from Mohyla Institute, 1242 Temperance Street, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 0P1.

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BYE-BYE

(Continued from page 1)

Shevchenko would certainly 'foul the atmosphere' for US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in his upcoming talks in Moscow on nuclear arms reduction (SALT). Shevchenko's expertise in nuclear disarmament politics, along with his probably intimacy with Soviet military strategy, would undoubtedly give the US an incalculable advantage in its deliberations with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the US leadership, by overtly soliciting Shevchenko's services, would be risking the level of success already achieved by its detente discussions by incriminating itself of political machinations.

Apparently a compromise of sorts has been reached whereby Kurt Waldheim (Secretary General of the UN), under pressure from the Soviet Union and without opposition from the US government, has released Shevchenko from his responsibilities and accepted Moscow's nomination of Viktor Issraelyan as his successor. Although this dismissal is a breach of the UN Charter (since an

employee of the UN, as was Shevchenko, is subject only to UN authority) the press has not yet registered a protest from Shevchenko to this effect, which leads one to conclude that the US government has adequately compensated Shevchenko for his actions. Shevchenko's services will undoubtedly be enlisted by the US Intelligence Service, but discreetly, so as to maintain both the dignity of its conference discussant, the Soviet Union, and its own 'innocence' from diplomatic intrigue.

Regardless of the immediate outcome of Shevchenko's defection, one can be certain that it has indicated a flaw in the Soviet foreign service. A man of Shevchenko's political and diplomatic stature and his long record of years of servility to his government indicates that there are crises in the Kremlin severe enough to cause dissension to this degree. Shevchenko's 'defection' is a further indication that the Soviet bureaucracy, although monolithic and rigidly reactionary, contains fissures in its

structures, or currents of opposition that occasionally surface to challenge the hegemony of the ruling clique. Actions such as Shevchenko's are a cumulative phenomenon, indicating weaknesses in the Soviet structure and laying bare the myth of the immutability of the party and state apparatus. It is thus possible for the democratic opposition movements in the Soviet Union to add these exposures from the top to internal indicators for direction of change (from the demands of the working class and intelligentsia) and to continually adjust and adapt themselves to the most efficacious change.

Occurrences such as Shevchenko's action and the resultant reactions and changes they engender are positive indicators of an unstoppable process of dialectic and change - a process that the Soviet bureaucracy will not be able to thwart and a process that Soviet society will have to reflect.

WORKER

(Continued from page 1)

so, I have a right to life and to a decent wage, and not to a miserable, beggarly existence working in a Soviet enterprise for a meagre wage (160-180 roubles per month). I don't want to and cannot go to prison. The children will die of hunger and the authorities will badger them unmercifully. That is why I am once again appealing to you, dear community, to please help us emigrate. Arrange for an invitation as a family member. We are believers. God help us. Good-bye.

Our personal data:
1) Siry, Leonid Mychailovych, b. 28.10.1936, Sloviansk, Donetsk oblast.
2) Sira, Valentyna Leonidivna, b. 25.8.1944, Olexsandrovets, Kher-son oblast.

3) Siry, Edward L. (son) b. 12.6.1963, Sloviansk, Donetsk oblast.
4) Sira, Victoria L. (daughter) 29.9.1964, Sloviansk, Donetsk oblast.
5) Sira, Laryssa L. (daughter) 8.8.1967, Odessa, Odessa oblast.
6) Sira, Rita L. (daughter) 1.3.1971, Odessa, Odessa oblast.
7) Sira, Oksana L. (daughter) 19.9.1972, Odessa, Odessa oblast.
8) Siry, Vladyslav L. (son) 13.12.1974, Odessa, Odessa oblast.
9) Sira, Diana L. (daughter) 9.4.1977, Odessa, Odessa oblast

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KV. 128
Siry, L.M.

BUT ...

(Continued from page 2)

because we may easily destroy those institutions which appear obsolete but which may still be useful and productive. Let us discuss these issues as broadly as possible and let us realistically aim at improving the future status of our community, but let us also realize that we are working in an extremely difficult climate and that it is easier to destroy than to build and preserve.

S.J.

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