

СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT

ETUDIANT

DECEMBER, 1977
Vol.10 No.41

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

ВСІМ НАШИМ ЧИТАЧАМ ВЕСЕЛИХ СВЯТ ТА ЩАСЛИВОГО НОВОГО РОКУ

THE TASK FARCE ON NATIONAL UNITY

Andriy Makuch

The Task Force on Canadian Unity is the most hurried effort to date in the direction of national understanding. It comes down to a simple conclusion -- the Task Force believes that the key (and the most pressing) issue in Canada today is Anglo-French racial strife and that Trudeau has the answer to it (although it may have to be modified). In other words, this is not an impartial group. The members' presuppositions are strong, meaning they will hear some solutions more than others because they coincide with their own.

The Task Force is a government-initiated commission with the avowed intention of assembling

in effect, to modify the system which "is the one best suited to the diversity of our founding peoples and to the nature of our geographic, social and economic environments" (N.B. All quotations in this paragraph are from a handout, "The Role of the Task Force").

It is obvious that the members of the Task Force have not taken to heart (or mind) neither the plurality of Canada's people, nor the policy of multiculturalism implemented by the Prime Minister in 1971. The "third option" they seek has been articulated by numerous groups (other than the French and the English) for years now. The Task Force still sees

Canadians who are non-English and non-French stand when the system is geared towards "the diversity of our two founding peoples"? Do we assimilate (and in which direction) or do we retain an independent profile? In fact, for years the former has been assumed. John Evans, president of the University of Toronto and a Task Force member, expanded on this matter saying that the French are obviously the founding nation of Canada -- who retain their homogeneity by and large -- while the English do not have the same cohesiveness. He has mistakenly equated our existence in the English speaking sector of Canada with the adoption into

DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON

BRITISH STUDENTS DEFEND KLYMCHUK

Vera Dumyn

Andriy Klymchuk, a British student of Ukrainian origin was arrested on August 1 of this year while on a tour of Ukraine, and charged with allegedly smuggling anti-Soviet literature, including instructions from emigre nationalist organizations, into the Soviet Union. Since that time, the Soviet authorities have intensified their campaign against "bourgeois nationalists" in the attempt to discredit the opposition by linking them with emigre nationalist organizations and foreign espionage agencies. The case of Klymchuk has received broad support in Britain due to the initiatives of the National Union of Students, the International Marxist Group and the Socialist Students' Alliance, which founded the Committee to Defend Andriy Klymchuk. The activities of these groups in defence of Klymchuk stands in contrast to the silence maintained by the emigre nationalist organizations, who have become the focus of Soviet attacks.

In October, a demonstration was staged, involving some 800 people, in defence of Klymchuk. The demonstration took place outside the Soviet Embassy in protest against Klymchuk's arrest and demanded his immediate release. The demonstration which was organized by the London Committee to Defend Andriy Klymchuk, was one of the largest

did not consist of the traditional anti-Soviet slogans like "Better Dead Than Red." On the contrary, the slogan chanted included "Free Andriy Klymchuk -- stop State repression" and "KGB out -- socialist democracy in." The International Marxist Group and the Socialist Students' Alliance are currently attempting to take this issue into colleges to ensure that the next NUS Conference gives the Executive a clear mandate for the defence of all political prisoners in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The silence of liberal, centrist nature of these groups who take up only those cases of repression from which they hope to gain political capital. By defending all cases of political repression in the USSR and Eastern Europe, groups such as the London Committee to Defend Andriy Klymchuk, who have taken the campaign forward on a clearly socialist basis, have shown that they are in the forefront in defending democratic rights and socialist democracy in these countries.

ANOTHER DOBUSH AFFAIR?

Recently an article appeared in News from Ukraine (No. 44) entitled "No Pardon for Cutthroats." The fact that Andriy Klymchuk's father is a former member of the nationalist "Helychyna" division, during WW II, has been used by



Part of the Task Force: "A good chance for Canadians to get it off their chests."

Young

bling "concepts and policies which could constitute some of the elements of a third option for Canada". They are not mandated to give an overall critique of the current situation in Canada, but only to bring forth recommendations which will "make our Canadian institutions more consistent with the needs of the

only bilingualism and biculturalism as the panacea for Canada's ills; the second option threatened by Quebec is secession, a rather unacceptable alternative for many. The solution, obviously is to make Confederation palatable to the French Canadians.

Where, then, do the 28% of

of English mores during the process of "Canadization" (i.e. complete assimilation). The French Canadians have also assumed that the "other peoples" because they live in the English-speaking sector of Canada, identify with Anglo cultural and political interests; hence they feel doubly threatened because the Anglos appear to be even more formidable. At the same time, the government implements a policy such as multiculturalism which specifies the French as an "ethnic group" (along with the Germans, Italians, Ukrainians, etc.) while never letting the Anglo-Celts know they are an "ethnic" "minority" in Canada. It is implicitly understood that "Canadian culture" is Anglo-Celtic culture (or as some people have concluded in the search for a Canadian identity or culture, the lack of it).

And at this time of stress in the federal system, does the desire of Ukrainians to retain their cultural



to take place in Britain today, on the issue of the suppression of democratic rights in the USSR. The political nature of the demonstration is reflected in the phrase that were chanted, which

the Soviet authorities in stegling rallies to harangue end denounce

(KLYMCHUK continued on page 10)

IN THIS ISSUE

- Which way forward for the Ukrainians? ... page 6
- Kurelek memorial page 8
- Expose on Ukrainian Students page 3
- The Brezhnev Constitution page 4
- News from the USSR and Eastern Europe page 5
- Interview with a Ukrainian Filmmaker page 8
- Club News page 9

AND MORE!

(TASK FARCE continued on page 2)

СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

Please address all correspondence to:

STUDENT
11246-91 St.
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T5B 4A2

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.

STUDENT STAFF

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF — Naeor Makuch

ASSISTANT EDITORS — Maritka Hryn, Yurly Stabelaky

STAFF THIS ISSUE

Jara Balen
Bohdan Chomlak
Varvara Diduch
Vera Dumyn
Ihor Hluzak
Zorjan Hrom'jak
Mykhaylo Hlinalak
Ivan Jaworaky
Daria Luciw

Olenka Lupul
Andriy Makuch
Tara Pawlyshyn
Kathy Polushyn
Pan Professor
Myron Pyskyr
Myron Pysyk
Helen Savaryn
Irika Scharebun

TASK FARCE

(continued from page 1)

identity (within Canadian society) represent disloyalty, the jumping off a sinking ship?

Many people think so. For example, at the Edmonton hearings, Ted Horton, a former Yellowknife newspaper publisher, asked,

"Who speaks for us? They do not who call my country a "mosaic" for a mosaic is only a more or less harmonious picture created by an artistic arrangement of fragments. It is but a facade and is no stronger than the weakest junction point between the bits and pieces.

The myth of the "mosaic" is perpetuated by hundreds of groups of thousands of later comers from other continents and other

nations who are prepared to set up enclaves within Canada to preserve manners and mores from which their fathers eagerly fled to find a new way of life and new hope in a new land.

It is patent nonsense to say that any citizen is a better Canadian because he's a good Scot or a good Ukrainian... We waste our time listening to fractionalized groups who present narrower views of a country's future and who seek national funding to preserve international ties of language and custom.

A judicious implementation of multiculturalism would require a fundamental change in the thinking of many Canadians

about the nature of their country. However, English Canada is only slowly coming to the realization that they are not here alone. It seems they are starting to understand that the French have certain legitimate demands which must be met; but, most of them have not even perceived the existence of other ethno-cultural groups as legitimate entities, let alone entertain thoughts about any rights which they may have. Understandably, the Task Force on Canadian Unity is working under oppressive conditions. But at this time, when the composition of Canada should be critically examined they are attempting to deal with only one aspect of the problem (the reconciliation of the "two founding races"); other groups, such as the Indians, Ukrainians, etc., seem to be shelved for the moment — if not by conscious policy, then by the inability of the Task Force to recognize the legitimacy of their aspirations. The patchwork nature of their task keeps them from realizing some fundamental changes which have occurred in Canada's social composition — we are no longer two races but a country of immigrants. National unity affects us all, and not just the French and English. Should this not be considered?



Task force members Jean Luc Pepin and Gerald Beaudour enjoy a good laugh.

would have surely been misinterpreted. This is a critical lesson, and one which I hope will not be overlooked at subsequent Congresses.

W. Melnyk

up support on this issue, you will have to be a little more specific.

W. Hladun

Traditionalist Mourns Decay of Values Amongst Youth

What sours me to compose this letter is a phenomenon that surely rends the heart of every Ukrainian proud of his heritage, namely, the way our youth is neglecting the hallowed traditions of our ancestors. Perhaps STUDENT can take up the clarion call of a return to tradition and serve as a beacon guiding our youth back on the path trod by our forefathers. My own letter will just mention a few of the traditions so thoughtlessly scorned by our young people and will indicate some of the sources

these whipper-snappers might turn to for regeneration.

I might start with the hookah or water-pipe, so popular in Cossack Ukraine during the days of Mazepa. Klymentiy Zinoviv (*Virshki. Prypovisti pospolytli*) infers that whole villages in Ukraine did nothing but manufacture hookahs. The Cossacks learned of the hookah, which they called a *bardak*, from the Tatars and Turks.

Zinoviv affirms that some Cossacks "developed the habit of pulling on the hookah, through which more than one person lost his sense" (*finyi navyk bardakom tiahnyty: prez kotryni ne sednomu pryshlo smyslu zbaty*). Might not our youth take its cue from this? Why serve wine and cheese at Ukrainian student gatherings?

(TRADITIONALIST continued on page 3)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Touchy resolution

During the final session of the 18th SUSK Congress, a debate transpired, whose ramifications must be stressed. When delegates are involved in forming Congressional Resolutions, it is crucial that they acknowledge the group for whom the resolution is intended. Resolutions intended for external distribution must be specific, justified, and well qualified. They should not be treated as tantamount to rhetoric meant to delight Partisan Congress Members. By employing satisfying phrases which are misunderstood by the ultimate intended reader, we are only succeeding in alienating those whom we would wish to convert.

The resolution which illustrated this problem dealt with the condemnation of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine's veto against Plyushch. Overall, this motion was well argued and certainly well warranted. However, in their zeal to depict the League's executive as a narrow clique that ironically aided the Soviet cause of splitting its opposition, the resolution committee overreacted and selected the phrase, "in collaboration with the K.G.B." To an informal delegate at this Congress, the implied meaning of these words was clear; that by its reactionary attitude, the League was de facto aiding their greatest enemy. However, most non-student readers of this resolution would not see it as an outburst against the League's anti-democratic politics, but rather as an unsubstantiated attack on an organization which they have long supported.

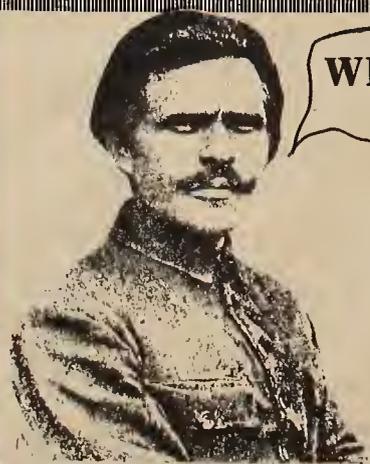
After ninety minutes of intense debate, the phrase was modified to read that the League was inad-

vertently "playing into the hands of the K.G.B." The implicit message was now explicit. This may seem a subtlety point, but when dealing with the predominantly conservative Ukrainian community we cannot be too careful. Had the resolution been passed while unemended, the message

Good job, but.....

Congratulations on reviving STUDENT and for putting out two superb issues.

The editoriel in the last issue was a very impressive one. It presented a very coherent argument in favour of the democratization of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (KYK). What was missing in the editorial however, was a definition of the "democratization" proposed. What in your view, should the new KYK look like? If you are to drum-



WE WILL FORCE
NO ONE

SUBSCRIBE!

—If you are a paid member of any Ukrainian Students' Club (SUSK) in Canada, then you will be receiving STUDENT regularly.

—If you are not a member, then you stand to miss several issues of STUDENT this year.

DON'T BE DISAPPOINTED! ACT NOW! SUBSCRIBE!
SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE ONLY \$3.00 PER YEAR. MONTHLY PUBLICATION.

Please send me STUDENT. Enclosed is \$3.00 (cheque or money order).

Foreign rates—\$4.00 in Canadian funds.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

POSTAL CODE _____

Send to:

STUDENT
11246-91 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
CANADA T5B 4A2

AMERICA SLAYS THE DRAGON

The following article is composed of extracts taken directly from an article entitled *Young Marxists do Their Stuff* which appeared in the October 20, 1977, issue of the informative Ukrainian American newspaper *America*.

The fact is fabulous, indeed, indeed. There is a herd core of Marxist zealots among Ukrainian students in Canada who are openly active in non-communist and even professional anti-communist student organization. Lately, they became too vocal and ardent in critical area of the Ukrainian national community life and policy in Canada. When opposed in their endeavors to get for Leonid Plyushch invitation for appearance as a principal speaker at the Congress of the Canadian Ukrainian Committee in Winnipeg by the League for Liberation of Ukraine a political organization which is the constituent member of the Committee, the Union of Ukrainian Students in Canada resolved at their Congress to condemn the League for Liberation of Ukraine as a "fascist" and "totalitarian" organization having possibly ties to the KGB (organs of the state security in the USSR)...

...The members of the League for Liberation of Ukraine as non-Marxists, have the right to oppose the invitation of a Marxist as a principal speaker at the Congress of Ukrainians in Canada. Young Ukrainian Marxists may be few in numbers, but we shall always remember Leninist dogma that numbers are less important than disciplined organization. When we regard young Ukrainian Marxism in the United States and in Canada as we decidedly should - their numerical insignificance ceases to be decisive. With Chinese and Cuban forces added to the Soviet apparatus, the world Marxist enterprise is vastly larger and more powerful than at any



legal responsibility for their actions, and their posture as wrongdoers cannot be tolerated by the community. It must be said here that the existence of our young Marxists and tolerance of their pseudo-ideological verbiage of Marxism coupled with different Left slogans, has long been ignored by the Ukrainian community in the United States and in Canada. It is the last time to stop this practice; otherwise this type of our self-indulgence will become foolish and even suicidal. In exposing the past and current machinations of the K.G.B. agents, nobody is beating a dead horse. The animal is very much alive and gets its oats regularly from the international fodder stock...

...The "Red Decade," of course, did not end with the advent of 1940's; communist organizations and influence were carried over and have persisted, in varying degrees to this day. The present day Party-line for the West, in both the Kremlin and Maoist versions, prescribes cooperation with any radical movement, even with the formerly outlawed anarchist tendencies. Thus, the brain damage and ethical trauma have been passed along to the present-day generation...

...Extremes of violence and vandalism and pornography combine with teaching in schools and universities, with writing in avant-garde periodicals, with preaching from the pulpit to keep the world in a state of turmoil and uncertainty. The followers of Marx have been entrenched everywhere: in the government, in the schools and universities, in literature and art. All they work for Revolution: this swarming, disciplined, obedient and fanatically self-righteous army of Marxists. A generation of college youth has been poisoned by Marxist pseudo-science and amorality and has carried the disease into manifold post-collegiate activities. This is also the reason for one of the strangest lapses into utopianism which afflicted a part of the Ukrainian students.

time in the past. Its Ukrainian agencies are therefore correspondingly more dangerous to our institutions and community life.

Do they play the Soviet game, these young Marxists? No, by no means; they even profess being anti-Soviet. They are an assortment of Marxists without specific foreign alliances. Psychologically these young Ukrainians remain tied to Marxism also by other varieties of radicalism such as anarchism, nihilism, and other throwbacks to nineteenth-century philosophies. Frequently they are penetrated by fashionable "life styles" of the hippies, yuppies, crazies, all soaked through with drug addiction, mystic cults, sheer destruction urges. In this case, sense of guilt ties them to Marxism and the desire to shock the family or the community becomes urgent. Having been involved in Marxist skulduggery, they find it difficult to deal tolerantly with those who don't agree with them. Their asinine reaction to a different opinion voiced by the League for Liberation of Ukraine, is the best proof that our young Marxists are not candid revolutionists who have the courage of their convictions men and women whose moral statute we can respect, but are the horde of part-time rebels who have

neither courage nor convictions, but only a muddy emotionalism and a mental fog which makes them an easy prey for the political racketeers...

...Our young Marxists should not be exempt from moral and



TRADITIONALIST

(continued from page 2)

How much better it would be to honor tradition and pass around the hookah filled with a substance that has the proper effect on one's sense!

Many of the same young people who have abandoned the hookah are also shamelessly shaving their faces as smooth as a baby's bum and cutting their hair

grotesquely short. Why do they so abhor the ways of their ancestors? Long, shaggy hair -- that is our tradition. Let us think back to the very end of the sixteenth century when Ukrainians defended their Orthodox Church against the onslaught of Polish Catholicism. At that time, the monk Ivan Vyshensky celebrated in a long poem by Ivan Franko, composed his *Knyzhka*. In the *Knyzhka*, Vyshensky asks why Roman Catholics make fun of Ukrainian Orthodox monks. He

puts these words in a Catholic's mouth: "For this reason do I make fun [of the Ukrainian monk] ... because he wears long hair and has not shaved." *Diia toho sia smiia... iz volosa dolhe nozty i - no podholovial*. Vyshensky wisely counters this shallow reasoning with the following profound consideration: "As distant as heaven is from earth, just so distant is a shaved head from a shaggy head in thought, worthiness, dignity and honesty before God. This is why we have shaggy hair." *...tak nebo ot*

zemlia, tak holata holova ot kosmatoi myslu, dostoiniym, hodnosti i uchtivosti pred Bohom daleche stoit. Se iest prychna kosmatoho volosial.

So let us hope that our youth takes these words to heart and that in the future we will often see our shaggy, long-haired youth gathered around the water-pipe, smoking some sense-shattering substance.

Before closing this letter, however, I might offer one more source worth consulting for a deeper understanding of our

traditions. I have in mind Guillaume Beaulain's *Description of Ukraine* Beaulain (c. 1600 - 1673) was a French engineer who spent many years working in Cossack Ukraine. Among the numerous fine traditions he records, one is outstanding: "the habit of drinking vodka and mead, which makes the maidens readily accessible."

With hopes for a future rooted in the past, I remain,

A Traditionalist

THE WITHERING OF THE SOVIET STATE

(or WHITHER THE SOVIET STATE?)

In preparation for the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of *The Great October Socialist Revolution*, one saw a feverish attempt by the Soviet bureaucracy in Moscow to create what it deemed an appropriate political scenario. The months, May and June of 1977, were particularly hectic and indicative of what L. Brezhnev, the first Secretary of the CPSU has in store for Soviet society.

On May 24th, N. Podgorny (Pidhirny) when he acknowledges his Ukrainian origin), an original member of the triumvirate, which took power from N. Khrushchev in 1964, and widely regarded as second only to Brezhnev in the power hierarchy of the Soviet elite, was ousted from the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and soon after was relieved of his duties as President or Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. In the days immediately following these disclosures, there was extensive discussion in the west as to their significance for future develop-

being accepted as an official head of state, comparable to d'Estaing of France, the American (sic) President, British Prime Minister or his fellow CP leaders, such as Husak of Czechoslovakia, Zhikov of Bulgaria, Hovecker of East Germany, Ceausescu of Romania and Tito of Yugoslavia, who combined the party and state portfolios. Now the insipid but vain Brezhnev will benefit from the protocol honours of treaty signing, 21 gun salutes, etc. - gestures accorded to a head of state.

At this point one can safely make a prognosis as to these conditions. The purging from power of bureaucrats considered to be Brezhnev's antagonists and their concomitant replacement by Brezhnev's toadies, Brezhnev's consolidation of both state and party power and the nuances of Brezhnev's draft constitution, all point to a revival or perhaps reinforcement of a Stalinist-type *personality cult*.

One sees in the history of the Soviet Union repeated attempts by its leaders to commission constitutions to their

socialist democracy and violations of Leninist norms of party and state, etc. as characteristic of the Stalin regime, and indicated that these *contraventions of constitutional provisions were resolutely condemned by the party* and promised that it *should never be repeated*.

In this same deceptive vein Brezhnev introduced, on September 1st, a new *de-Stalinized* national anthem, deleting the lines, "...Stalin has raised us to trust in the people inspiring us to labour and heroic deeds..." when in the same week J. Andropov, Brezhnev's confidant and head of the KGB was delivering a laudation for Felix Dzerzhinsky (the creator of the KGB and certainly no champion of democracy) on the occasion of the centenary of his birth.

On the question of the constitution, one of the most striking features is the description of the role of the state and party in Soviet society. Before entering into an analysis of these points it would be germane to the theme

far-left currents and petty bourgeois forces, as to the demands of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, which in his opinion laid the foundations for degeneration, repression, bureaucracy, etc.

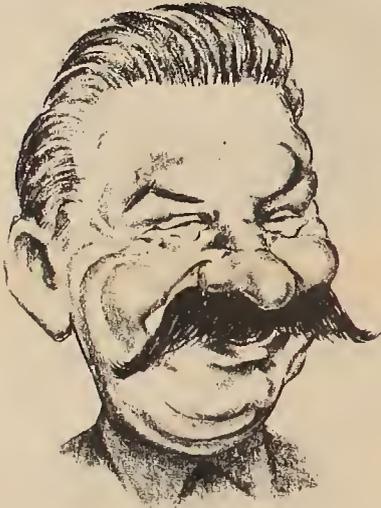
The epitome of the degree to which repression, centralism and inflexibility could be brought to, under the guise of socialism, was the dictatorship J. Stalin at the expense of the mediating energies of the Trotskyist and Bukharinite oppositions.

All facets of social reality became permeated with Stalin's policies. Even the historical materialism of Marx and the science of dialectical materialism suffered under Stalin's odious influence.

As Herbert Marcuse delineates in *Soviet Marxism* Stalin codified the tenants of historical materialism and arranged them according to his revamped dialectics to suit his conceptions of reality and rationalize his policies. The state and party grew to awesome proportions under Stalin's jurisdiction.

On the question of human rights and the relationship of the individual to the state one finds the guaranteed freedoms of speech, press, assembly, demonstration, worship, criticism, etc., but now qualified so that *exercise of rights and freedoms must not injure the interests of society and the State and rights of other citizens* and that *exercise of rights and freedoms shall be inseparable from the performance by citizens of their duties*. The Catch-22 of the situation is obvious since it has long ago been proven that state and society often are euphemisms for the elite under the particular *vohzd*. The theoretical legitimacy that oppositionists in the past such as Plyushch, Dzyuba, Rudenko or (Aykhy) may have officially had (albeit that this legitimacy was reneged by the courts) now is rendered impossible by these constitutional qualifications.

On the Nationalities question, the 15 republics are granted the usual secession rights and all sorts of autonomes, yet again the



"The only thing that's changed is that the moustache has moved up."

-comment in the Soviet underground press



ments in the power structure of Soviet leadership. Comparatively more minor changes were the replacement of K. Katushev by K. Ruskov as the USSR's representative to Comecon, and the elevating of K. Chernenko and V. Kuznetsov to alternate membership in the Politbureau.

On May 27th, the Supreme Soviet approved a revised draft of the new Soviet constitution which was passed on June 4th and disseminated throughout the USSR.

In the new constitution, provision was made for a First Vice-President of the Union, a post which was immediately filled by V. Kuznetsov, the former First Deputy Foreign Minister.

Finally, on June 16th, Leonid Brezhnev appointed himself President, marking the first time in the history of the Soviet Union that one man, officially, led the party and state simultaneously. (Khrushchev and Stalin both occupied party leadership and the post of Premier). The Presidency of the Soviet Union, or the head of state function was not new to Brezhnev, as he occupied this position from 1960 to 1964 under Khrushchev.

This move though dramatic, can hardly be considered unpredictable. For over a decade Brezhnev the *de facto* ruler of the Soviet Union, had been frustrated by international protocol in not

specifications. Lenin's constitution of 1918 was replaced by his successors with their version in 1924, which in turn was replaced by the Stalin constitution of 1936 (the latter ironically enough was actually written by K. Radek and N. Bukharin). Khrushchev's proposed 1962 revision of the constitution (thwarted by his ousting soon after) and finally Brezhnev's constitution of 1977 all in turn reflect attempts by the respective writers/commissioners to immortalize themselves.

Caught between the pincers of external pressure due to détente/SALT negotiations, ostensible commitment to the Helsinki/Belgrade Charters, etc., and internal pressure due to the crises of economic stagnation and unproductivity, inability to satiate consumer demands, etc., the Soviet elite has feverishly attempted to portray a liberalizing and democratizing face, through its propaganda on one hand, yet at the same time has ruthlessly smashed any attempts at the establishment of human and civil rights, cases of which are all too numerous documented and verified.

An indication of this hypocrisy is the case of Brezhnev's accessions during the ratification of the new constitution, where he cited *illegal repressions, violations of the principles of*

of this article to briefly recall several key debates on this very question in the historical development of the theoretic of socialism, so that this particularly enigmatic yet crucial question may be shown in its proper context as to its position in the Soviet Union today.

Over a hundred years ago in the forum of the First International M. Bakunin, in articles such as *Statism and Anarchy*, etc., polemical with K. Marx over what he considered to be inherent contradictions in the latter's concepts of workers' state and dictatorship of the proletariat coupled with their *withering away*.

For Bakunin, the praxis of such theory would inevitably lead to degeneration of any revolutionary gains and monopolization of power by elites insensitive to mass demands.

During the years preceding the February and October revolutions, Rosa Luxemburg scolded Lenin over the impossibility of creating *revolution by decrees*, and warned of what she saw in the Bolshevik tendencies to force ideological hegemony and attempt to conform the existent social reality to the former.

Alexander Berkman writing in *The Russian Tragedy*, etc., again scolded the authoritarian and undemocratic tactics of the Bolsheviks in their relations with

Soviet historical materialism now called for *socialism in one country* and by virtue of this *socialist country* being surrounded by *capitalist imperialism* the state could not *wither away*, but instead grow and monopolize power. Society was controlled by the state, which was controlled by the party, which was controlled by Stalin. Thus, ended the true dialectics of self-criticism and of progress. As distinction between the masses and the elite ossified, the fears and prognosis of libertarian socialist were realized, the revolution had unequivocally degenerated and been betrayed.

Despite the feeble attempts of Khrushchev and the rhetoric of Brezhnev to de-Stalinize or decentralize and democratize, one sees Stalinist social reality still pervading. The evidence can be in part seen in the new constitution.

In the 1936 constitution when describing the role of the party in the society, one simply finds reference to *active and politically conscious citizens* as members of the party which in turn is the *vanguard of the working people*.

No such modesty about the role of the party in relation to society exists in the new constitution, where for the Soviet Union or the State of the whole people the CPSU in the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state and public organizations.

areas of the military and national defense, finance and budget and generally economic and social development are the jurisdiction of the All-Union apparatus.

In his speeches of the 1960's Khrushchev in claiming the imminent arrival of communism...spoke of Soviet society on its way toward social self-administration toward the final withering away of the state, passing through the intermediate stage of the transmission of the state functions to the trade unions and other organizations.

Similarly in the preamble to the 1977 Constitution, Brezhnev speaks of the Soviet Union as a developed socialist society yet empirical evidence rejects this claim, regardless of bombastic rhetoric and official ideology.

To truly de-Stalinize Soviet society one must affect its infrastructure or socio-economic and political reality.

The deprivation of economic and political democracy has resulted in a frustrated and anxious working class, an alienated intelligentsia, an inflexible production profile, a static growth potential and

(SOVIET continued on page 10)

BRIEFS ON THE USSR & EASTERN EUROPE

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

UKRAINIAN PRISONERS HARASSED

According to a recent Smolenskyp bulletin, the KGB is carrying out a deliberate plan to increase strife and discord among certain prominent Ukrainian political prisoners and to discredit them in the eyes of their compatriots and western public opinion.

Several well-known political prisoners, among them Valentin Moroz, Sviatoslav Keravansky, Danylo Shumuk, M. Osechko, Ivan Heli, and Rev. V. Romanuk, have been isolated in Moldovian Camp 16, and have been allowed no visitors. After a year of harassment and attempts to set the political prisoners one against another, several of the political prisoners went on a partial hunger strike. After several months had gone by they determined that their previous nervous exhaustion and irritability had probably been due to the presence in their food and salt of small crystals of some unknown chemical substance. Thus, the political prisoners themselves established that certain letters written by Danylo Shumuk, falsified segments of which were printed in KGB publications directed at the Ukrainian emigre community, were written when he was under the influence of hallucinogenic chemicals and under strong psychological pressure from psychiatrists and psychologists.

Strong pressure is also being exerted on the families of political prisoners. It is expected that soon falsified letters from the children of certain political prisoners will be sent abroad in which other political prisoners will be slandered and accused of collaboration with the regime.

TERELIA JAILED AGAIN

Ukrainian dissident Yosyf Terelia, author of the widely-publicized letter to KGB chief Andropov in December 1976, has again been imprisoned. After he spent three and a half years in a psychiatric hospital in Sychorka (Dec. 1972 - April 1976), early June 1977 the Zekerpathia oblast court decided to send him back to the same hospital. His wife is being severely harassed in the town in which she lives.

CHARTER '77 ACTIVIST HARASSED

With the trials of the Charter '77 supporters beginning September this year, administrative harassment has increased against a leading member of the Charter '77 group - Petr UH. UH was a prominent activist in the Czech student movement in 1968. He was jailed as a Trotskyist in 1971. A document recently appeared in Labour Focus no. 5 in which UH discusses his recent arrest and his recent interrogation. UH has been repeatedly warned by police to end his activity in the Charter '77 movement. On October 18th, Frankfurter Rundschau reported that the prominent East German dissident, Wolf Bierman, the West German Marxist Rudolf Deuschke, and Jakob Moneta, editor-in-chief of the newspaper of the large West German metalurgical union have written a letter in support of Petr UH, and also giving their unconditional support for the struggle for human rights in Eastern Europe.

WORKERS' DEMO IN NOVOCHERKASSK

A recent samizdat document gives details about a workers' demonstration which took place in NovoCherkassk on June 2, 1962. The demonstration followed a strike called by workers in the largest factory in the city to protest sharp increases in the price of meat and dairy products at the same time that wages were cut. It is estimated that approximately 150 workers and members of their families died when units of the Soviet armed forces opened fire on the demonstrators. After the incident no information about the strike was allowed to leave the city, the families of those who were killed or wounded were exiled, and several trials took place. The document was signed by a number of prominent Soviet dissidents, including P. Grigorenko, A. Sakharov, V. Turchin, T. Khodorovich and T. Vasilkanova. They called for the date of June 2 to be commemorated as a day of remembrance for those who were killed in cold blood.

RUDENKO & TYKHY DEFENDED

In an open letter to participants in the Belgrade Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to Amnesty International General P. Grigorenko appealed that they demand an immediate cessation of the physical and psychological torture endured by the Ukrainian poet Mykola Rudenko and his co-defendant Oleksa Tykhy, and their immediate release from prison. Mykola Rudenko, an invalid of World War II with spine damage, has been denied proper medical treatment, and strong pressure is being exerted on him to extract an "expression of remorse" from him.

DISSIDENTS LEAVE USSR

Three Soviet dissidents, Tatiana Khodorovich, Dina Kaminskaya and Mark Popovsky, have left the Soviet Union. They arrived in Vienna on November 6th. T. Khodorovich was a co-founder, in 1969, of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights, of which Leonid Plyushch was a member, and was very active in his defence after he was imprisoned. In recent months she had administered the Solzhenitsyn fund set up to aid political prisoners and their families in the Soviet Union. She launched an appeal to Western countries to help dissidents resist the formidable pressure exerted upon them by the Soviet regime.

AMNESTY A FARCE

A. Sakharov, the Nobel Peace prize winner, said that the KGB had prevented him from handing in a question during a special Kremlin meeting of the Soviet Academy of Sciences on November 15, 1977. In his question he had complained that a recent amnesty, proclaimed to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, was restricted to certain categories of minor offenders. On the same day, 30 dissidents in Leningrad urged the Soviet government to release Anatoly Shcharansky, a leading dissident, from prison, and called for an inquiry into the interrogation methods used in his

case. Shcharansky is a founding member of the Helsinki human rights group. He was arrested on March 15, 1977 and has been held for investigation at the Lefortovo prison in Moscow on capital treason charges. Many Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel have been interrogated in connection with the Shcharansky case.

GRIGORENKO IN USA

General P. Grigorenko, a major figure of the Soviet dissident movement, has been given permission to visit the US for six months to undergo an operation and to visit his son Andriy. Grigorenko's health has deteriorated considerably in the last year. He is an active member of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, and is the Moscow representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. Grigorenko hopes to return to the Soviet Union after his visit to the US.

ROMANIAN OUT FOR YEAR

Paul Goma, Romanian author and initiator of the letter of Romanian intellectuals to the Belgrade conference dealing with the infringement of human rights in Romania, has been allowed to leave Romania to visit France on a one year tourist visa. Born in 1945, Goma was first arrested in 1956 for publicly reading his work Doulares in which he condemned the Soviet invasion of Hungary. He was released in 1958. He joined the Communist Party in 1968 after Ceausescu's condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. He was sentenced to jail for two and a half months for his letter to the Belgrade Conference, and was freed in May, 1977.

PLAKHOTNIUK RELEASE?

In May 1977 a medical commission recommended that the Ukrainian dissident Mykola Plakhotniuk be released from the special psychiatric hospital in which he is being held. No decision, however, has yet been taken on his case. If Plakhotniuk is released he may be faced with renewed charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for the alleged actions for which he was arrested in 1972. The psychiatric commission which originally ruled that he became "non-accountable" after his alleged "offence", which means that according to Soviet law he could still face trial and sentence for possession and distribution of samizdat literature. Amnesty International is now launching a letter-writing campaign on his behalf.

POLISH ACTIVISTS FINED

On October 29, 1977, three Polish members of Amnesty International were fined 3000 zloty for collecting signatures in a public place without permission and creating a public disturbance. The three, Adam Wojciechowski, Emil Morgielowicz, and Zbigniew Seikoika, all supporters of the Movement for the Defence of Human and Civil Rights in Poland were collecting signatures for a petition calling for the release of political prisoners all over the world.

CHARTER '77 TRIALS BEGIN

The trials of six arrested members of the Charter '77 human rights movement in Czechoslovakia have begun.

On October 17th, spokespersons for the Charter '77 movement issued an appeal in defence of Ales Machacek and Vladimír Lastuvka, both technicians from north Bohemia who were arrested in January, 1977, and charged with subversion of the Republic under Article 98, Section 1 of the Penal Code. Their trials were held in Usti-nad Labem on September 28-29th where they were sentenced both to three and a half years of imprisonment.

The case has aroused great indignation inside the country but has received little attention in the Western press. Unlike the trial of four other Charter '77 members - Lederer, Havel, Ornest and Pavlicak - it was not mentioned at the Human Rights Commission at Belgrade, although the sentences are harsher in the case of Machacek and Lastuvka as well as a clear violation of the Helsinki Final Act 1975 of the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, which Czechoslovakia ratified.

The grounds for the indictment of Machacek and Lastuvka was the fact that Czech and Russian books and periodicals published in Toronto, Paris, Cologne and Rome were found in their possession. As one of the proofs of their "hostile" motivations in distributing the publications and towards the "socialist system" an essential requirement under Article 98, the court submitted that the defendants sympathized with Charter '77 and has refused to join the January campaign condemning Charter '77.

Machacek and Lastuvka's trials were closed. The regional court building at Usti-nad Labem was guarded by 200 armed policemen and at least 50 plain-clothes police. The entire area was enclosed with barbed wire and surrounded by armoured cars. Only 8 people were allowed into the court room, six of whom were immediate relatives. Amongst those debarred from the trial were two representatives of the International Association of Lawyers in Vienna. On the last

day of the trial, two other Charterists, Ivan Dejmal and Petr Uhl, were arrested and detained for 48 hours for attempting to enter the court room.

The second trial, which opened on October 17th and received much wider publicity in the Western press, had four defendants - Ota Ornest, film director, Jiri Lederer, journalist, Frenstak Pavlicak, ex-Communist Party Central Committee member, and Vaclav Havel, playwright. Ota Ornest received the highest sentence, three and a half years. Jiri Lederer received three years. Both Havel and Pavlicak received suspended sentences of 14 and 17 months respectively.

Ornest and Lederer were charged with subverting the Republic from 1973 to January, 1977 by maintaining conspiratorial links with the Czech emigres - Pavel Tigrid and Jiri Pelikan to whom they sent contributions for publications in their periodicals Svobodni and Listy. Pavlicak was charged with an attempt to subvert the Republic (Article 98, Paragraph 7) by providing Lederer with an interview for his book A Book of Interviews in the Spring of 1976. Havel was charged for trying to "harm the interests of the Republic abroad by spreading false news" (Article 112, Paragraph 8) by passing on memoirs of the former minister of Justice, Prokop Dittina to Lederer. Allegedly, Lederer passed these memoirs to a Canadian diplomat, William Bontröm.

Similar to the Machacek and Lastuvka trial, the trial of the four was closed to the public. About 150 people attempted to enter the court room. A visa was denied to the reporter from the French Communist daily L'Humanite who attempted to report on this trial. In a statement published in La Monda of October 18, the editor of Listy, Jiri Pelikan pointed out the reason why it was necessary for material to circulate clandestinely both within Czechoslovakia and across its borders was due to the fact that the regime suppressed free information within Czechoslovakia and promised to cease engaging in the clandestine circulation of Listy as soon as all interests can publish in the normal way.

CZECHOSLOVAKS ARRESTED

Jan Princ was arrested on July 9 in the region of Decin, after a farewell party given for the Canadian Paul Wilson who was expelled from Czechoslovakia on July 15. Princ was sentenced to 3 months of imprisonment on September 21st for disturbing the peace (Article 6, Law 150/60). Due to protests and demonstrations on his behalf, Princ was released 17 days after the verdict. Both he and his wife have been unable to find any work.

Dr. Hubert Stein who was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment in the summer of 1977, was temporarily released in June 1976, and re-arrested in February, 1977. Stein is 73 years old and very ill. He remains at the Pankrac prison in Prague, sentenced for allegedly supplying information to the Dutch embassy in Prague.

Nan Jirons, an art historian and leader of the Plastic People group was re-arrested in October at an opening of an art show in a Youth League Hall. He was arrested after referring to the Youth official as a "bourgeois cow" and was charged with disturbing the peace.

WHO ARE THE UKRAINIANS AND

I have been asked to speak on a rather large topic - the major developments in Ukraine in the last fifteen years, their effect upon the Diaspora, the regeneration of the left-wing and socialist tradition and the impact of Plyushch's most recent tour of North America. This is clearly too broad a topic to be dealt with adequately in 45 minutes. And I am not sure whether the Ukraine-Diaspora connection is all that should be investigated to determine where we stand today. Rather, political and social forces of greater international proportions shape the evolution of the Ukrainian question and our predicament as national minorities as much as this connection.

What is the main lesson we can draw from the Plyushch tour and how does it represent a new stage in the life of the Diaspora? An answer to this question also demands a framework broader than the traditional organizational framework many are accustomed to. His recent visit to the Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital by a left wing campaign in France, in which few Ukrainians participated, should tell us that. Subsequent developments, right up to the recent tour demand explanations involving more than just Ukrainians, and certainly more than just Ukrainian nationalists. They are but one small factor in the international constellation of political pressures bearing on the Ukrainian question.

THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

By the end of the Second World War, we are dealing with a fairly complicated situation in Ukraine. When the War began, a large part of the population, particularly in the Western regions under Poland and the peasantry in Soviet Ukraine which had been brutally crushed in the 1930's by collectivization, supported the German invasion. Soviet historians hide the fact that thousands of Red Army soldiers surrendered in the first few months of the War, hoping to see Stalinism replaced by a more democratic and equitable system. Before 1943 and the emergence of the Ukrainian insurgent Army (UPA), the greater part of the nationalist movement supported the Nazis. Those who supported the Red Army and Soviet Partisan movement in the USSR were a small group until the defeat of the Germans at Stalingrad in February, 1943 and the Soviet offensive to the West.

But as the War front moved back across Soviet territories in 1943-44 the majority of the Ukrainian people, who had experienced the colonial boot of Nazi Germany in its most refined and brutal form, chose what they considered to be the lesser evil - the Stalinist system. At no time did there exist a third and revolutionary alternative, except in a limited, confused and ineffectual way - the UPA - in North Western Ukraine.

Stalin consolidated Western Ukraine was incorporated economically and politically in the space of the first post-War Five Year Plan. The rural areas were depopulated by deportations to Siberia, the Greek Catholic Church a traditional mainstay of peasant life was forcibly united with the Russian Orthodox Church, already a servant of the Soviet state; the UPA was wiped out in the 1947 campaigns in Slovakia, Southern Poland and Western Ukraine. Returning Red Army prisoners of War were imprisoned on the charge of desertion. The whole Crimean Tatar nation was deported in 1944 on the false charge of wholesale collaboration with the Third Reich. In short,

Stalin used the experience of the War to once again entrench the system of bureaucratic dictatorship that existed before 1939 under the cover of a victorious fight against fascism.

The emergence of the Ukrainian opposition in the last fifteen years is the product of essentially new conditions and a new generation that was relatively unscathed by the horrors of the War. We do not mean that these were non-Stalinist conditions - Malenkov, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Kosygin earned their positions in the purges of the thirties and are true heirs of Stalin. But Khrushchev, by denouncing the past at the 20th Party Congress in 1956 was forced to relax political controls as token proof that the crimes of the past would not re-appear. It was in this context that the regeneration of the creative intelligentsia and later, the political opposition, took place inasmuch as this liberalisation could not be evaded by Khrushchev, yet could not be tolerated beyond very narrow limits, the emergence of the opposition signalled the new crisis of the whole system.

But that context has to be drawn in much broader outlines. The German insurrection of 1953, the Polish workers' revolt of 1956, 1970 and 1978, the Hungarian Revolution and the Czechoslovak crisis in 1968 all played an important part in the quickening pace of ferment in the Soviet Union, providing it with new ideas and identifiable allies in the movements throughout the East in the post-War period.

To this scenario we should add the deep social and economic processes at work after the War, in Ukraine there arose for the first time in our history a mass intelligentsia that was conscious of its national oppression. It came alive under the protective shadow of the Shelestivshchyna. Equally important, the Ukrainian working class, now thoroughly cynical of the repeated promises made by Party Congresses of a better standard of living, is the major social class. It is a hereditary class without the advantages of social mobility once offered in the 1930's and 40's by a rapidly growing state and societal infrastructure. The 1970's and 80's will witness the emergence of this force as a political contestant, and will reshape the demands and entire character of the dissident movement as we know it.

...After the War, the nationalist emigration focussed its community on Soviet developments and was engaged with the Ukrainian communists in a bitter fight; in the 1960's and '70's the new socialist generation sought a new orientation towards the struggle of the opposition, challenging both Stalinist and Nationalist perspectives...

EMIGRE POLITICS

We tend either to asperate the experience of the Diaspora from developments in Eastern Europe or to posit a mechanical connection between them. All too often, the Diaspora is abstracted from the processes to which it is subjected in the Western capitalist countries of settlement.

Successive economic and political problems in Eastern Europe, from the land hunger of the 1890's and 1900's, to the nationalist emigration to the growing Jewish exodus in the 1970's have led to the concentration of sizeable communities in North and South America, Europe and Australia. Being national minorities, these communities have experienced the economic and cultural predicament that faces all im-

migrants - superexploitation, low wages, cultural assimilation, chauvinism from national majorities. These communities, together with the 40 million in the USSR embody the historical experience of the Ukrainian nation. Ultimately, this experience of the Ukrainian people and its struggle against all forms of oppression must be evaluated in a truly international framework. This is what we mean when we criticise a perspective that ignores the predicament of Ukrainians as national minorities in large capitalist states (and is content to consider the Ukrainian question limited strictly to Eastern Europe) or that draws a mechanical connection between the communities here and the majority of our people there as if Ukrainians were united by some mystical substance and were oblivious to social-political conditions in all states and internationally.

Ukrainian communities in the West have always looked to the developments in the homeland and taken sides in all struggles there: at the turn of the century, Ukrainians socialists in Western Canada organized defence campaigns for worker and peasant activists fighting against the Polish state and the Austro-Hungarian Empire; after the Revolution, many Ukrainians supported the international Communist movement because the Soviet government was initially prepared to support Ukrainians, because the large landowners who had driven our people to emigrate had been expropriated. In the 1930's, the community split, one group staying with the communist movement, another breaking with it on the strength of the Stalinist evidence. After the War, the nationalist emigration focused its community on Soviet developments and was engaged with the Ukrainian communists in a bitter fight. In the 1960's and 70's the new socialist generation sought a new orientation towards the struggle of the opposition, challenging both Stalinist and nationalist perspectives.

But equally, every national minority has had to deal with its social and cultural predicament in the new countries of settlement. The strength of the Communist movement in Canada in the 1920's lay precisely in its willingness to defend the rights of these minorities, who, incidentally formed the overwhelming majority of the CP in this period. But it was not

original Multicultural philosophy.

SHESTYDESIATNYKY

Up to the mid-sixties the opposition in Ukraine was drawn largely from the cultural and creative intelligentsia. These activists expressed their national and democratic aspirations in various artistic forms and discussion groups. The repressions in 1965, followed by trials in 1966 against them demanded that their challenge to the state and its policies become a political one. Increasingly pellucid, *zamuydav*, and various protests criticised state policies and challenged the official view that national oppression and inequality had been overcome. But for a few examples, this critique left short of demanding a radical transformation of society or the separation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union. Rather it was in the advocacy of reforms and the appeal to the rule of law that these oppositionists saw an alternative to the existing regime. In

our history. Before the Revolution, one could not speak of any significant middle class in Ukraine that was not rapidly assimilated by the Russian culture of the urban centres. Those who survived the purges of the 1930's were fully integrated in-

...The test of validity for any of the programmes of the opposition can only be by those whose aspirations these claim to represent - the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia. We have yet to witness this kind of mass participation in protest in Ukraine...

to the Stalinist elite. During the Second World War, many were victims of Nazi objectives to eradicate all educated classes within the population, (not only Ukrainians, but Jews, Russians and Poles). But the post-War period, and particularly the combination of the last stage of industrialisation, urbanisation and the Shelestivshchyna could not fail to produce a nationally con-

scious intelligentsia, not only Ukrainians and post-War period, the combination of industrialisation and the Shelestivshchyna could not fail to produce a nationally con-

conscious intelligentsia, not only Ukrainians and post-War period, the combination of industrialisation and the Shelestivshchyna could not fail to produce a nationally con-



1972, the KGB attempted to crush this growing discussion and ferment, and especially the production and circulation of the *Ukrainian Herald*, through mass arrests. The movement was temporarily silenced, but not defeated. It has been far less prepared to make its actions public (today exemplified only by the Helsinki Monitoring Group in Kiev), and it seems that the oppositional movement considers it as necessary to re-evaluate its past politics and tactics as to become an active public opposition again. Its further evolution will depend not only on this discussion, but upon the rest of Ukrainian and East European societies as well. The test of validity for any of the ideas and programmes of the opposition can only be made by those whose aspirations these programmes claim to represent: the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia. We have yet to witness this kind of mass participation in political protest in Ukraine.

THE EAST - WEST CONNECTION

I mentioned at the outset that the oppositional struggle in Ukraine has been paralleled by a profound social process - the first mass Ukrainian intelligentsia in

scious intelligentsia, sons and daughters of workers' and peasant families, not as readily and rapidly made into executors of Great Russian chauvinist policies in Ukraine.

There is a parallel process in Canada, albeit under different circumstances. Pre-War emigrants settled on the land or became miners, railway workers and manual labourers. In the large cities, Ukrainians were part of lowest stratum of the working population in the worst paid - worst condition jobs. The post-War period witnessed a rapid depopulation of the rural areas in Canada and a concomitant immigration of refugees from Germany to the large Canadian urban centres. The first born of these migrations, one internal to Canada, the other from Europe, reached university age in the late 1960's in a period of great expansions in the educational system. Although the various non-English communities in Canada remained underrepresented in the university student population this generation nevertheless represented an important change in the social structure of the communities. To a lesser extent, this holds true for Ukrainian communities in Germany, France and Britain; to an equal degree it is true for the American Ukrainian community.

cities, Ukrainian lowest stratum of the working population in the worst condition jobs. The post-War period witnessed a rapid depopulation of the rural areas in Canada and a concomitant immigration of refugees from Germany to the large Canadian urban centres. The first born of these migrations, one internal to Canada, the other from Europe, reached university age in the late 1960's in a period of great expansions in the educational system. Although the various non-English communities in Canada remained underrepresented in the university student population this generation nevertheless represented an important change in the social structure of the communities. To a lesser extent, this holds true for Ukrainian communities in Germany, France and Britain; to an equal degree it is true for the American Ukrainian community.

S AND WHAT DO THEY WANT?

clases within the population, (not only Ukrainians, but Jews, Russians and Poles). But the post-War period, and particularly the combination of the last stage of industrialisation, urbanisation and the Shelestivshchyna could not fall to produce a nationally

...ity for any of the ideas and opposition can only be made aspirations these programmes —the workers, the peasants tsia. We have yet to witness ss participation in political

conscious intelligentsia, sons and daughters of workers' and peasant families, not so readily and rapidly made into exactors of Great Russian chauvinist policies in Ukrainians.

There is a parallel process in Canada, albeit under different circumstances. Pre-War emigrants settled on the land or became miners, railway workers and manual labourers. In the large

Ukrainian-Canadian community's largest crop of professionals and intellectuals, you represent the maturation of the social structure of the Ukrainian people as a whole. As such, you are faced with a choice that the 'intellecuals' of all oppressed nations must resolve. You are members of an oppressed nation and a minority in this country, yet you have the qualifications for mobility that your parents could never have had. Your class instincts tell you to serve your community; your education allows you to leave it and to serve others.

It is under the influence of all of these processes described: the historical, social, political and international - that the Ukrainian question avoives today. The left-wing current in the Diaspora, which many have tried to explain as a devolus plot, a group misguided by 'enemies in our midst', should be seen in the light of these processes as well. Ukrainian socialists are organising today because they

Ukrainian struggle in the Diaspora and in Eastern Europe.

AND PLYUSHCH?

And finally on the Plyushch tour. When Plyushch was released, many people realised that Ukrainians have no monopoly on the oppositional question; indeed it was largely due to the French socialist public that he got out. His press conferences in Europe (to a lesser extent in North America) have had a tremendous effect in educating this public about the nature of the Soviet opposition and the importance of the national question. Within the nationalist community, Plyushch was supported most by the democratic and left-wing forces and by ordinary working people. He was opposed most by the QUN-B leadership in this community and the Communist Party in the Ukrainian CP community. Strange bedfellows.

Inevitably there arose tensions between those who have every intention to give the community an opportunity to meet Plyushch and those who consider his Marxist convictions a negation of their nationalist heritage and the future they have painted of the opposition in Ukraine. During his first tour of North America these tensions were muted; during the second, a boycott was organized by the QUN-B in an attempt to deny Plyushch the opportunity to meet the community. In Chicago, letters were circulated urging people not to attend the rallies; in Edmonton the lease on a hall where he was to appear was with-

myth that all cultures in Canada are equal and that Quebec has no interests in seaparation.

It was heartening to see the first issue of STUDENT out of Edmonton because its editors and co-workers are serious about dealing with this question politically. They not only ask what we mean by Multiculturalism. Ideally, but also who profits from government multiculturalism policy, why it has not satisfied communities' needs and what relevance it has to the Quebec question. This is certainly a debate that must be stimulated in the Ukrainian community (both the nationalist and communist) and between ourselves and the Quebecois, the Native Peoples and all minorities most oppressed in this country.

I think that the starting point of the debate within the Ukrainian community is the fight to win support for Quebec's right to self determination and independence. The Communist Party and the nationalist leadership have registered pro-federalist positions. The Vancouver SUSK Congress passed a resolution supporting Quebec's rights. We should carry this resolution into practical work - discussions, meetings, communication between the Quebec student movement and our own, etc.

I am not suggesting that all of the practical work we are engaged in should halt to make room for such a discussion as events like the Plyushch tour and the Quebec-Multiculturalism controversy churn up. But any practical work must be guided by con-

Given the scattered nature of democratic and left-wing groups in our community today, I think that the discussion should also envisage the possibility of arriving at a unitary organization in the not too distant future. The organizational question has bothered us for some time now and we should take the opportunities offered today to begin solving it. The following questions would be worthy of serious discussion amongst us:

1. What is our attitude to the Helsinki Accords? What importance do they hold for the Soviet bureaucracy, the American government, the oppositionists and the defense committees in the West?
2. How can we give more attention to the national and social questions in Ukraine in our defense work? Do we expect to be defending mass struggles in Eastern Europe in the near future as well as individual victims of repression and democratic rights?
3. An international unification and co-ordination of defense work.
4. What is our attitude to the Ukrainian CP community? How do we challenge the *Canadian Tribune's* slanders against the oppositionists, at the same time taking our defense work in to that community?
5. The failure of the first Multiculturalist action. An examination of its philosophy, the government's use of the issue and the reasons why it fails to answer the community's cultural needs; the social content of cultural oppression in Canada. Multiculturalism-Quebec; Multiculturalism-Native Peoples; Racism and unemployment in new immigrant communities.
6. The democratisation of the Ukrainian community. The failure of liberalism in KYK, CKVU, etc. Liga Vyzvolennya Ukrainy and the Plyushch tour.
7. An organizational strategy for democratic and left-wing groups in the community.



...You are members of an oppressed nation and a minority in this country, yet you have the qualifications for mobility that your parents could never have had. Your class instincts tell you to serve your community; your education allows you to leave it and to serve others...

drawn, in Winnipeg the nationalists organized intensive pressure to have Plyushch barred from speaking at the Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. But this boycott failed because the community accepted Plyushch as a legitimate spokesman of the opposition in Ukraine and came to his meetings in large numbers. The organizers of the tour were successful, not only in providing the oppositional movement in Ukraine with a public platform before North American society, but also in demonstrating in practice what they mean by the democratisation of the community. They also put forward a defense of Soviet political prisoners that is progressive and consistently democratic, and that is a credible alternative to the anti-communist prejudices of the traditional 'defenders' in North America.

THE DEBATE BEGINS

But the debate in the Ukrainian community is focused on the multiculturalism question as well. The fight for multiculturalism was pioneered by Ukrainian students who were prepared to take the issue of cultural oppression and assimilation to the public. This was practical hard work which won many supporters in different ethnic communities and eventually a government policy. But the policy is of dubious value as many have seen since 1971. The first weakness seen in the multiculturalism concept is its failure to deal with those problems that are most pressing for new immigrants: racism, the worst social and working conditions, etc. It had no social content. Since the election of the PQ in Quebec, multiculturalism has suddenly acquired a new value for the government. It capsulises the

tinuous discussion, continuous evaluation and self-criticism.



This paper was originally presented by Marko Bojcin at the SUSK Eastern Conference in Hamilton, November, 1977. Marko Bojcin is a former SUSK president and is currently a Ph.D. student in Political Science at York University. Bojcin's article brings up several vital points for discussion and we would invite our readers to take his proposals seriously and to initiate a debate within the pages of STUDENT on these issues.

cities, Ukrainians were part of lowest stratum of the working population in the worst paid - worst condition jobs. The post-War period witnessed a rapid depopulation of the rural areas in Canada and a concomitant immigration of refugees from Germany to the large Canadian urban centres. The first born of these migrations, one internal to Canada, the other from Europe, reached university age in the late 1960's in a period of great expansions in the educational system. Although the various non-English communities in Canada remained underrepresented in the University student population, this generation nevertheless represented an important change in the social structure of the communities. To a lesser extent, this holds true for Ukrainian communities in Germany, France and Britain; to an equal degree it is true for the American Ukrainian community.

The first post-War generation of Ukrainians in Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Rumania is, with few exceptions, the first generation to leave the villages of the Carpathians and the farms of the Olshyn region in Poland for the larger cities and towns.

Ukrainian students here at this conference [SUSK Eastern Conference] are not only part of the

WILLIAM KURELEK: 1927—1977

William Kurelek, the well-known Ukrainian-Canadian artist, died on November 3, 1977. Although in recent years he had become a very popular painter, and his works had become "status symbols" for many, Kurelek was a quiet and modest person with few pretensions. He had very interesting and original views on art, and his autobiography, *Someone With Me*, which has been used as an undergraduate psychology text at some universities, is a very sincere portrayal of a fascinating artist and person.

W. Kurelek had a great deal of pride in his Ukrainian background, and many of his paintings deal with the life of Ukrainians in Canada. It is unfortunate that despite his great desire to visit his father's native village in Ukraine for several weeks to prepare drawings for a Ukrainian-Canadian epic in the form of a mural, he was allowed to do so only shortly before his death.

Below are excerpts from a presentation Kurelek made to the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association (CESA) in 1973, entitled *Development of Ethnic Consciousness in a Canadian Painter*, which we are reprinting in lieu of a eulogy. The full text appears in *Idnitsitsa*, a collection of the papers presented at the CESA Conference, published by Peter Martin Associates. The excerpts appear with the kind permission of the publisher.

I first became conscious of being "ethnic" and of being an "artist" at the age of seven. Those of you who may have already read my autobiography know the two incidents to which I am referring, but I will cite them for those who don't. In the first, I found out the hard way that Ukrainians were not to be spoken in public:



It was about the second day of school. As I sat in my little grade one desk I spotted a fly on the window. "Mookha, mookha!" I exclaimed pointing to it. It was probably the first fly of the season. John even got up to catch it. The teacher stared icily, and the classroom roared with laughter as we sank our heads back into our seats.

The second had to do with my scholastic rivalry with a boy in my grade in the first years of public school:

The two of us were standing by the school. "I bet I can draw a better train than you!" I said. "I bet you can't. I can," he shot back. So in we went and draw our respective trains. I don't really recall what the drawings were like, or if in fact mine was better. The important thing was that I realized that I could draw. I also soon realized that this

talent drew attention and admiration, and I was starved for both.

However at that stage these two advantages were still two separate entities. They did come together for a few years. In my late teens and early twenties but parted again for a good ten to fifteen years before totally new circumstances allowed a reunion. And this time I think it is a permanent one...

I went through the public school years wondering whether I was Ukrainian or English Canadian until I left my brother and me to high school in Winnipeg. He also sent us to evening schools, one of which was a Ukrainian class. There I fell under the influence of Father Mayewsky, a teacher and dedicated Ukrainian nationalist. When I say "fall", I mean just that. At first I had found someone who was a man, a teacher and a Ukrainian, and I considered him a father figure. He taught us the history of the Ukraine, with its brief moments of glory followed by centuries of suffering under various foreign occupying powers. I was at last clear in my mind (or so it seemed to me) that I was a Ukrainian, not a Canadian. I dreamed of doing great things for the cause of Ukrainian liberation, and I idealized the Ukrainian countryside, people and culture, although I had never been there. I couldn't of course visit the Ukraine even if I had had the wherewithal because the Iron Curtain was shut good and tight...

...to satisfy my father and to insure his financial support for my education, I played along with his worldly ambition for prestige and security. I said I'd be a teacher, and I actually meant it at first. But the university turned me into a rebel. I fell under the influence of several books we studied or that I read myself: Joyce's *Por-*

trait of the Artistes's Young Man, Butler's *The Way of All Flesh* and Stone's *Lust For Life*. All of these are atheistic. My father had always ridiculed religion, and I wasn't sure what I believed. But Father M.'s influence had made me give it a try. The book's influence proved stronger. That meant that Father M.'s nationalistic influence was waning. Having lost respect for official religion of which he was a representative, I could come no closer to him and in fact had to avoid him. Secondly, it meant rebellion against family loyalties (and the family was Ukrainian) and



MILKING TIME

turning instead toward self-discovery and development. Finally, despite the good influence of contacts with displaced persons who were coming over in large numbers and telling the truth about Soviet society, I came under the counter influence of leftist rebels. I simply had no lag to spend on in political discussions with them at the university and at art school.

It is true that in my wanderings across western Canada, Mexico and Europe I would return to

Ukrainian subject matter from time to time. Sometimes one might even say that my art was nationalistic as is, for example, a large painting illustrating Gogol's *Taras Bulba*. But primarily my emphasis was on "social consciousness" - that is, the solid virtues of working people and peasants. Eventually I ended up in a psychiatric hospital in England and my days as an "ethnic artist" seemed to be over. The English people's gentlemanly kindness, tolerance and hospitality to me in a time of need prompted me to settle and remain in England. I threw over the influence of my father's prejudices, not knowing that he was mellowing back home and making English friends at last.

And then came the big turning point in my life, my conversion to the Christian faith. It is because of this conversion that I am today an ethnic artist and writing a paper on the subject. I had reached such a low point that I was finished no matter how you looked at me, as a Canadian, a Ukrainian, an artist or even just a human being. The irony from the point of view of this paper is that I was pulled back from the brink of suicide by an Anglo-Saxon Margaret Smith. She helped me by practicing her Catholic Christian faith and by setting a good example... To me, being a generally religious person is intractably tied in with being an ethnic artist. I'll explain this by showing the series of steps by which I came full circle back to ethnic art. And this time I became an ethnic artist, now mainly in conviction, but in actual practice. It started out with getting rock-bottom answers to rock-bottom questions.

(KURELEK continued on page 10)

Jars Balan

STUDENT INTERVIEW

CONVERSATION WITH A FILMMAKER

Harvey Spak is a filmmaker. Although "A lot of people my age were born at home", Harvey was born in August of 1941 in the Yagrevilla hospital. One remembers that some of the communities in the Ukrainian belt northeast of Edmonton didn't even have power until the middle or late forties. His father was born just east of Mundare on a homestead; his mother is from Wostok, thirty miles to the north. Harvey grew up in Two Hills Alberta, yet another

Ukrainian settlement in that colony that stretches north and east of this capital of the New Araby. His grandparents on both sides of his family were part of the first wave of immigrants that settled Canada at the turn of the century. They were Galicians, Catholics, and from around the region of Kolomyia.

I was surprised to discover that Harvey had a "strange history", in that he had studied for the priesthood (in the Latin church),

as he put it, "a long time ago. I spent six years in a seminary - in fact, I was just about almost ordained when I was asked to leave." Remembering those years, he chuckled in an affectionate and an unambitious way. Does he still consider himself religious? He explained: "After that episode in the seminary I sort of stopped going to church for a long time. I never really stopped being a Catholic - I never became an apostate or anything. I just got tired of the whole aha-bang effort being with it for so many years."

Forced to abandon his pastoral inclination, he found work in Edmonton as a social worker, which he didn't enjoy. The following year he went to Montreal and enrolled in Communication Arts at Loyola, where the lifestyle of the sixties caught up with him. He had learned how to speak French in the seminary, and although he majored in photography his real interest was film.

"How I got into photography is an interesting story. The guy who taught photography at Loyola was Ukrainian - his name was John Max. That was his pen name, his real name was Ivan Pochelka. His letter was a Ukrainian immigrant to Montreal... He became a very important photographer in Eastern Canada. We started talking one time and he asked me where I was from and I said Western Canada, from Alberta, and he said 'oh, there are a lot of Ukrainians in Alberta, and I said 'yeah, I'm one of them.' He said 'so am I' so we started talking Ukrainian for a bit. I used to go to his house."

He started in film was modest: "I had this friend who was a priest in St. Albert. There used to be a retreat house there and I used to go and help him out. He decided he'd do these multi-media shows for kid's retreats and wanted me to give him a hand, so I'd do some posters for him, get 2-3 projectors, and some slides, and do all these sort of primitive multi-media things. I became interested in film through that - we used to get in a lot of films from the National Film Board. Then I went to Loyola and found out I had to start in the 8 mm. film class. I did that for the first year." In the second year he had his introduction into 16mm film, working as a cameraman, recording Allan Ginsberg's poetry readings and visit to Montreal. The film was never finished - "there just wasn't time" - and the footage he shot now collects dust in a box somewhere in the National Film Board library.

The summer prior to that, he got a job making a film by himself - "I was the cameraman, director, sound man and editor" - on the Blood Indian Reserve in southern Alberta. He remarked without apology: "in a way it was a bad film: but in a way it was a good film. That was the first time I worked in 16 mm."

He moved back to Edmonton in 1970, and got involved with a group of filmmakers who eventually coalesced in a nebulous organization known as Filmwest. Comrades in and out of existence whenever money is available to shoot a film. He muses

philosophically: "It seems to run in cycles. One thing about Filmwest, though, is that we have absolutely no debts. Because when times are hard, we just don't pay ourselves. We've been surviving that way for five years." The approach is "populist" as opposed to "commercial", but Harvey confesses we do films for anyone who will pay us to do films - we're really very mercenary deep down." Another burst of laughter.

Duties for each assignment are rotated - one film you're the director, the next film you're a cameraman. The idea is to keep everyone in touch with all aspects of the craft, and to counteract any latent pulls to a Hollywood mentality. This approach is in part responsible for a distinct style that Harvey feels has emerged from the Filmwest group.

Spak elaborated on what he meant by a distinct style and illustrated his explanation with a scene from his most recent film, a cinema portrait of poet Andy Sukneak, funded by the National Film Board. Finding inspiration in some ghostly memorias from Sukneak's past, he had Andy hang himself in the Winnipeg stockyard, exclaiming, "that's a fantastic prelude image!" He continued with a question: "How do you kill yourself on the prairies. Two ways: you shoot yourself with a 22 or else you hang yourself with some barbed wire or some tanning wire... We dramatized it. Why not..."

(SPAK continued on page 10)



CLUB NEWS

CROSS CANADA

CALGARY

The Calgary club informs its fellow clubs and members through its newsletter of a recently held Halloween party at which all those who attended and participated, enjoyed themselves immensely.

Highlight of the evening was a best costume contest won by Richard Lalimer by his portrayal of

the Great Pumpkin. M. Gottsellig, Tom Neil, Susan Birley and Roxi Kozak all won prizes for their portrayals of a swashbuckler, and woodnymphs respectively.

The winner of the ski trip to Big White B.C. was Earl Hjeeller. Unfortunately the turnout for the party was less than anticipated and consequently a substantial

amount of money was lost. Hopefully in the future greater attendance will allow the continuation of such events.

A Christmas party, carolling in December and further events in January are planned. All are encouraged to attend and any enquiries ought to be directed to 318 E MacEwan Hall, U of C, Calgary.

OTTAWA

The Ottawe Ukrainien Students' Club recently held its general meeting-social where club members formed various committees to plan events for the upcoming year.

Already underway are preparations for a skating and

cross-country ski trip in December, and January, respectively, coffeehouses, seminars, films, etc., and a regular newsletter. Club members are also involved in organizing a radio program for the Ukrainian community.

The club has managed to acquire access to a house on weekends in

which it will base its activities. Its initiating function will be an evening featuring a Ukrainian Gong Show and local musicians.

The ambitious and well organized Ottawa club appears to be well upon its way of preparing itself and the community for an interesting and enjoyable year.

VANCOUVER

With the Congress being held in Vancouver this year, the club started off with much enthusiasm. Membership remained approximately the same as last year. At Clubs' Day on campus, Alpha-Omega set up a booth to recruit new members. With the new executive's ideas and enthusiasm the club should look forward to another great year.

October was a busy month for the club with a lasagna dinner and dancing one night. A good turnout

made the evening a success. With the approach of Halloween, everyone was looking forward to the annual car rally. This event is put on with the Ukrainian Athletic Association. Because of Halloween, everyone was in costume and this certainly added to the success of the event. A party was held after the rally.

Some of the things the club members are looking forward to in the coming months are more dinners, and, of course, the big project is

the ski trip with the University of Calgary Club. Plans are being made for a good time. Also, with spring slowly creeping up on us, the executive has started making plans for the annual graduation banquet.

With this year well underway the executive feels that with the cooperation and enthusiasm of all members we should go a long way. If the past few weeks are any indication, the rest of the year looks promising.

WINNIPEG USC SOCCER TEAM 1st DIVISION SOCCER CHAMPS



FRONT ROW (L to R): Pat Bazan, Bohdan Opyr, Mykhaylo Iliniak, Zenon Romaniuk, Zenko Hluzok, Rick Urbanyk. SECOND ROW (standing L to R): George Hrahowych, Ihor Hluzok, Myron Drepko, Bohdan Tymo, Ihor Holeczyneky, Taras Pawlyshyn, Bruce Steczko, Ken Budyk, Zenko Fedory, Bohdan Madechuk.

STUDENT PRESS FUND

(Contributions to date)

- \$60: Chaban Ukrainian Dance Ensemble (Regina)
- \$50: University of Alberta USC
- \$25: L. Derewenko
- \$15: Dr. P. Palaschuk
- \$10: Mary's Flower Shoppe (Toronto)
- \$7: B. Zaputovich, Z. Zwarych, M. Moroz, O. Kuplowska
- \$5: O. Volianiuk
- \$3: N. Chomiak
- \$2: R. Bojcun, I. Szkrumelak, R. Stachiw, E. Dumyn

All contributions should be forwarded to:

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN STUDENTS' UNION
11246-91 STREET
EDMONTON, ALBERTA
CANADA T5B 4A2

FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

SUSK has been in poor financial shape, and in fact has been saddled with a considerable debt, for the last several years. Concrete measures to settle the problem were taken during 1976 when the Congress in Toronto resolved that SUSK restrict its financial expenditures as much as possible, and that a determined effort be made to pay off the existing debt. Although some progress was made in 1976-77, much of the debt still remains, imposing a considerable financial and psychological "brake" on SUSK's work.

The present executive has continued a policy of fiscal restraint, although it has had some difficulty in working effectively on its restricted budget. Nonetheless, a regular Ukrainian student newspaper is being published, and some important and concrete steps have been taken in the areas of multiculturalism and human rights. No projects are being undertaken which would run a risk of increasing the present debt.

It is disturbing, however, that a number of "new" debts from the past have surfaced recently. People have come forward with old claims, in some cases dating back a number of years, which, for some reason, previous executives had not passed onto their successors. (SUSK's record in the area of finances has not been outstanding). Unless SUSK is bestowed a major financial wind-

fall it cannot now hope to pay off all the debts it is faced with. However, the executive feels that it is necessary to clear the air and to eliminate the misunderstandings which have plagued the financial side of SUSK's work. To this end we are requesting that individuals or organizations who still have old financial claims on SUSK (other than those mentioned in the financial report presented to the last congress) come forward (or forever hold their peace). Due to the wide circulation of STUDENT we hope that most of those to whom SUSK owes money will respond.

A financial conference will be held in February in Toronto at which all debts will be reviewed and some strategy formulated to cope with them. Hopefully, it will be possible to order these debts and deal with them in a consistent fashion. At the very least, it is hoped that SUSK's financial situation will be clarified, and that some guidelines can be drawn up to help regulate SUSK's financial activities in the future.

Please address any correspondence you may have concerning SUSK financial affairs either to the SUSK National office 11246-91 St., Edmonton, Alberta, T5B 4A2, or to the Toronto (regional) office, 191 Lippincott St., Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2P3. There will be more details about the upcoming financial conference in the next issue of STUDENT.

SUSK WESTERN CONFERENCE

FEBRUARY 17-19, 1978

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
PLAN NOW TO ATTEND

—MORE DETAILS SOON—

CAROLLING

Every year it is a tradition of Ukrainian Students' Clubs to go carolling during the Christmas season. In addition to bringing Christmas greetings to the Ukrainian students to the Ukrainian community at large, *Koliada* serves as a major fund-raising event. We hope that those of our readers who are visited by carollers will greet them generously. All donations will help support worthwhile student activities at the local level and the work of SUSK at the national level in the areas of multiculturalism, human rights and coordination of Ukrainian student activities across Canada.

If student carollers are unable to visit you, please consider sending in a donation to the SUSK National Executive, 11246-91 St., Edmonton, Alberta, T5B 4A2.

KLYMCHUK (continued from page 1)

Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalist organizations." [Excerpts are reprinted here not out of any political motives -Ed.] The article gives an account of Ukrainian nationalist organizations' activities which.

Is marked with bloody stains of servile services rendered to almost every foreign secret agency.

and gives a "chronicle of the nationalists' atrocities" during the German occupation of Ukraine, where they

assisted their masters (German Gesteapo) in exterminating about two million civilians.

Klymchuk Sr.'s motives for "volunteer[ing] to save the fascists faithful" was "to save his lands and the wealth gained from people's grief" [Klymchuk Sr.'s father, had some 26 acres of land - Ed.] The article states that the atrocities of these organizations were even greater and more "inventful" than those of the Nazis, who threw "lively children onto the corpses and torched adults to lie on them and then shot those lying there." As examples of this "blood-thirsty mania" of these nationalists which far outweighed the Nazi exterminations the article cites numerous examples of villagers being sliced into pieces, etc., etc. It was thanks to the "mighty blows of the Soviet Army" that the Ukraina was "liberated from the terror, plunder and violence, and brutal vengeance imposed by the nationalists." The article concludes

History prepared for the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists the fate they

deserve - to continue rotting on the garbage heaps of history. Neglecting no means and methods, the worst leeches of Imperialism...are ready to sell themselves to one and all and to do any kind of dirty work for miserable pay. The offspring of the Klymchuk family, for example, undertook such a job but failed disgracefully.

WHY KLYMCHUK?

The article is reminiscent of Soviet attacks on opposition groups and individuals continuously employed since the 1930's. The fact that the same campaign against "bourgeois nationalists" exists today is only an indication that internal opposition to the regime continues, and that the regime lacks "inventfulness" in dealing with these currents. After 60 years of "socialism", the bureaucracy would be hard pressed to explain the assistance of "bourgeois nationalist organizations" in Ukraina. Therefore, the Klymchuk case.

The Klymchuk case has also given rise to the question - why emigre nationalist organizations and defanca committees have not taken up the defence of Klymchuk? Recently, the president of the NUS in Britain, Sua Slipman, who is also a member of the British Communist Party appealed to Brezhnev in defence of Klymchuk. At a time when a broad sector of the left is campaigning for his release, nationalist organizations are silent, while socialists defend the son of a nationalist.

SOVIET (continued from page 4)

generally economic sanity. After 60 years of growth the Soviet Union is far from the socialist maturity as Brezhnev and his toadies fulsomely claim, but rather, as in the terminology of Ernest Fischer, is suffering from angst, the angst of material and spiritual bankruptcy. A rather succinct categorization of the Soviet Union today, circulating in Samydyav, is depicting it as at the stage of economic menopause, in so far as fertile development of Soviet society, increased growth, advance in technology and industry, ability to divert resources to consumer good production is presently impossible due to

bureaucratic centralization, repression, inability to self-criticaize, etc.

Thus Stalin's heritage is now Brezhnev's reality. Although the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy may indicate a direction diametrically opposed to that on the historical path towards progress and democracy, fortunately the working class and intelligentsia of the Soviet Union are not quite so undialectical as their *vozhd*, Hitorical end material reality are the allies of the peoples of the Soviet Union, thus they will not be robbed of their earned reward.

SPAK

(continued from page 8)

Moving to a more general discussion of art, we touched upon the role of traditions "If you're going to be an artist in any kind end speak for people - for other human beings - you have to be aware of where you come from. You have to be aware of that backlog - that subconscious instinct you have somplace behind you. And the more you get to understand that, the more you gat to understand that, the more you gat to understand yourself. And the more interesting it becomes." Which brought to mind a comment that Hervey had made earlier in our discussion: "To discover that there was a tradition of filmmaking in Russia end Ukraine - for 40-50 years- that they in fact had baan making films before Hollywood and had pioneered techniques that were copied by the Americans - that to me was really a revelation."

Although he hasn't had the opportunity to see any of Dovzhenko's films, Hervey has read The Poet as Filmmaker end seen many of Eisenstein's films. Another remark he made early in our conversation helped put what he was saying in perspective: "There was a time I think when I didn't want to be Ukrainian anymore, after I got out of high school, I didn't want to speak Ukrainian, I even wanted to change my name. It took a little while to sort of try to understand

that the whole thing was really something that you should look into, because it was very rich in mythology and very rich in traditions end had a really romantic past." He began to read books about Slavic heritage, starting with a study of Cosack traditions entitled History of the Cosacks. Four years later he is still trying to understand, both his encyclopaedist end himself in terms of that past.

Something he said just before I left him clings to me like a burr: "It's a nowhere time, people have no parochialities. They're just fucking looking to make money and war four hundred dollar suits, and go to eat lunch at Olivar's. I mean that's not life, that's fuck ell. Life is not real estate, although ell of people look ell that way. So in away, getting close to ell these old traditions end becoming aware of them is creating a counter-culture. Because our grandfathers end our fathers were counter-culture people. They came from the Old country, they wore sheepskin coats, they were gentle, they had all these rituals at Christmas time. And that was in direct opposition to the establishment in Canada."

One is tempted to try to capture him in a phrase - "The emmergent-filmmaker," or "the gentle rebel of Two Hills" - but somehow it doesn't work. If you want to know the real Hervey Spak you'll have to meet him yourself.

KURELEK

(continued from page 8)

First, is life worth living for any one? In the earth's long history nations end races have come end gone, but men has remained....

...For as long as I had tried to be loyal only to the Ukrainian cause, I was bound to be disillusioned. Ukrainians, whether as individuals or as a group, cannot be idealized. They are human beings end as such are just as prone to weakness as all other descendants of the first men.

My work took somewhat the same course. When I did resume painting after my recuperation end conversion, I had given up specifically subject matter. It is true that many of those elements were still evident, but my over-riding ambition was to do religious art....

...After ten years of searching in vain for acceptance by galleries end critics, the breakthrough had come. But I still refused to ballava my good fortune or to think of myself as a full-fledged artist. I said I was a picture trader end an illustrator, a religious propagandist. For God had given me the job in picture framing too, at the Isaacs Gallery.

Here was yet another lesson in the healthy development of an ethnic artist. For the person instrumental in the second biggest break in my life (after Margaret Smith) was also a non-Ukrainian. Mr. Isaacs is of Jewish origin, end most of the buyers at my first few shows end the critics who acclaimed my work were either Jewish or Anglo-Saxon. My second show at the Isaacs Gallery, entitled "Memories of Farm end Bush Life", established me as a "farm" painter, one who relates the history of pioneering people developing the new lands of western Canada. It was brought to my attention that I spoke for ell ethnic groups not just the Ukrainians. In my third show I returned to works of religious propaganda end unveiled a series which I called "Experiments in Didactic Art". These paintings were not as popular with the public or with Av Isaacs, but they were a revelation none the less as far as my development was concerned. On the strength of previous shows, people still came end looked....

Several other things happened...One of these things was that the first Ukrainian Canadian made a purchase at a one-man show of my works. It was a night scene of a Ukrainian Easter vigil in Alberta to which I could remember going with my parents. It also had a Ukrainian carved frame which I had made, being naturally drawn to Ukrainian crafts. This was obviously a Ukrainian subject, that of a Bukovinian straw-thatched house before which my father bids farewell to his parents, was purchased by an English company for their board room. There were very obvious signs that the Ukrainian community was interested in my work, even though few paintings were actually bought by Ukrainians. Av Isaacs explained that, as far as buying, they had to be given more time; they had had a hard struggle and were just beginning to become financially secure. He suggested that they had to go through a period of material acquisition before they would feel secure enough to begin adorning their homes with less material things like art.

Another development of that exhibition led me into an even deeper commitment to the Ukrainian community. When the exhibition ended, four executive members of the Ukrainian Women's Committee of Canada approached me with a request to depict the part of the Ukrainian women in the development of western Canada. They promised that they would persuade their group to acquire the series. With

my acceptance of that commission I was only one or two steps away from total awareness of the ethnic role that had been cut out for me.

The four women gave me moral support as my research-interviews, photographs end a three-week trip to western museums end the actual painting progressed. Unfortunately they failed to communicate their vision end enthusiasm to the rank-and-file members of their group end so they bought only one-third of the series. This didn't bother me because, with Av Isaacs' salesmanship, it was a sellout anyway....

After my fifth show the Ukrainian community began to buy in earnest. As I found confirmation of Isaacs' evaluation of the community's progression of values, the greater number of those who bought proved to be new Canadians. They had arrived after the last war practically destitute. Yet in an amazingly few years they had acquired money. Since most had educated end cultured backgrounds in the Ukraine, they spent a considerable portion of their wealth on art. I bring up the matter of patronage because I follow the rather simple view of art held in the Middle Ages, that art is not something esoteric end sacrosanct, but a craft end a commodity. As a craftsman the artist produced what he was commissioned to do or what was sellable for that was his livelihood. Like the medieval artist, I rely on, end try to satisfy my customers in subject matter, size end medium. The result is that since I now have a large number of Ukrainian buyers who often buy Ukrainian themes, I automatically find myself producing ethnic art. It's as simple as that....

...they [Mykola end Olga KollanKivsky] led a cultural group tour of the Ukraine, end I went along. This visit helped me to answer the question I'd put to myself some twenty-five years earlier: "Am I Ukrainian or Canadian?" In my case the answer was not to be found in the cities where the Soviet authorities led us to see the showpieces of Ukrainian Art. It lay in the small villages.

Fortunately, with the help of the KollanKivskys, I obtained permission to visit my father's village. Although this visit lasted a mere four hours, I felt that it was well worth putting up with the annual of the three-week-long conducted tour. In those four hours I saw, however fleetingly, the houses in which the peasants lived, at the food they ate, photographed the village pond end talked the language of my forebears. It was like living a lifetime in one day. Here were my ultimate roots. For those herd-working, simple (you might almost say naive) people reminded me so much of the Ukrainian farm people I knew in Alberta. This was the real Ukraine, not the attenuated vision I had worshipped in my nationalistic days in Winnipeg. And it excited me as Van Gogh's *Peasants Eating* excited me, but Van Dyck's portraits do not....

...as my fame spread I observed that the Ukrainian community came into our home more than ever before. They came to buy, to get advice, to invite me to address their organizations or endrears to talk. I found that the more I talked that culture, the more I came to love it. Some of my happiest moments were, end still are spent listening to Ukrainian music as I paint. I was getting closer to my heritage end further from my wife end family for the simple reason that they did not share my interest in the Ukrainian heritage - I mean an interest that would spontaneously drew them

to it, to taste end be nourished by it.

In a strange way my disappointment has helped me. I have become more keenly aware of the differences between the two cultures end better able to represent that difference in my painting. Secondly, I have become more sympathetic with the emigre Ukrainians' concern over the Russification of his motherland. Finally, my experience has helped me to appreciate how fortunate I end other people of various origins are to be living in Canada. Although we cannot always share our heritage, we can at least express it in freedom.

This then is the story of one man's odyssey toward ethnic awareness...each reader is free to extract his or her own set of conclusions, but I venture to offer my own conclusions in the hope that self-analysis may be of value.

1. Ethnicity cannot be manufactured any more than morality can, be legislated. It is there by birth or experience and can only be uncovered or nurtured.

2. I would advise the ethnic artist not to feel sorry for himself end not to wait until his people have organized to give him practical assistance. If help is offered, accept it end be grateful and use that assistance honestly. If not, go to the government or any ethnic or public-spirited groups willing end interested in helping.

3. There is no longer any excuse for anyone in this country to be ashamed of his cultural background. Canada has a multicultural society. The days of Anglo-Saxon domination are gone, or nearly gone. The English have their own virtues end culture. We must not forget those virtues, for in the days of their domination they gave our ethnic culture at least a breathing chance.

4. Harboring bitterness toward individuals or groups who deny you development or expression is a mistake. Bitterness poisons the soul end does little, if any hurt to the oppressor. If at all possible, go somewhere where you do have opportunity for development end do your thing for your people there.

5. Art is not the most important thing in the world, neither are race or nationality. Human beings - individual human souls - are the most important. The prima activity of each individual, whether he be talented or ordinary, is saving his soul end helping others save theirs. The reason is elementary: we have only a few short years here, but ell eternity in the next life....

6. Put God first end your nationality or ethnic origin second. If you really practice this priority, He will be more than generous in helping you in your work for your people.

7. Give love end energy towards some work for the whole family of man, whether it be for individuals or less fortunate groups.

8. Just as it is wise to know yourself end to face up to your own weaknesses, so it is also wise to recognize the deplorable faults or your race. But don't dwell on those weaknesses. It's better to work at eradicating them. As for the opposite mistake - worshipping or attributing ideal qualities to your race or country - It should be fairly obvious that no such ideal people exist!



REAL ESTATE

total service:
homes
commercial
acreages
farms
leasing



HERITAGE TRUST
10166 - 100 STREET, EDMONTON
TELEPHONE 429-6656

chequing
savings
loans
retirement savings
investment certificates
trust services
mortgages

FINANCIAL

A GIFT SHOP
NEW TO THE EDMONTON COMMUNITY

Mrs. Catherine Chichak
proprietor

is pleased to announce that she has now opened

Kashtan Ceramics & Gift Shop

at
8805 - 118 AVENUE, EDMONTON T5B 0T3
Tel: 479-7715

Crystal, Glassware, Ukrainian Ceramics
Pottery, Metal Sculptures, Macrame, Etc.

Hours: Mon. - Sat. — 9:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.
Thurs. 9:30 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.

A SPECIAL INVITATION
FOR YOU TO COME IN AND SHOP

CHARGE/VISA SERVICES AVAILABLE

**VENDING
WINNIPEG WHOLESALE
GROCERY AND CONFECTIONERY LTD.**

• CIGARETTES • CONFECTIONERY • FOOD • DRINK
• GAMES • MUSIC • SUNDRY • 24 HOUR SERVICE
• NEW & USED MACHINE SALES • REPAIR & SERVICE
OVER 60 YEARS SERVICE

942-5469

128 JAMES AVE. — BEHIND CONCERT HALL

ВЕСЕЛИХ СВЯТ *Off. 942-0148*
ТА ШАСЛИВОГО НОВОГО РОКУ

Сергій Радчук *L.L.B., LL.M., D. Jur.*
Barrister and Solicitor

No. 1114, Bank of Montreal Bldg.
330 Portage Ave., Winnipeg, Man. Res. 339-6155

★ Українська Книгарня ★

UKRAINIAN BOOK STORE

10207-97 Street - EDMONTON, ALTA.
P.O. BOX 1640 T5J 2N9

НАЙБІЛЬШИЙ СКЛАД УКРАЇНСЬКИХ
КНИЖОК, ПЛАТІВОК, КЕРАМІКИ.

TEL: 422-4255

UKRAINIAN BOOKS and PHONOGRAPH RECORDS
also: EMBROIDERY CLOTH and THREADS — WALL CALENDARS



R. CHOLKAN & CO. LTD. - REAL ESTATE
527 Bloor St. West, Toronto, Ont. (532-4404)
2336 Bloor St. West, Toronto, Ont. (763-5555)
4984 Dundas St. W., Etobicoke, Ont. (236-2666)
3601 Lawrence Ave. E., Scarborough, Ont. (431-4111)

R. CHOLKAN & CO. LTD. - GENERAL INSURANCE
2336-A Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ont., (763-5666)



ПОСИЛКИ НА УКРАЇНУ-

Висилаємо всілякі посилки з на-
шого великого складу товарів,
який маємо найкращий,
а в Україні найбільш придатний.

Пересилка триває 6 тижнів.
10219-97 STREET
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

ТЕЛ: 422-5693

MAKE WINE & BEER
AT HOME!



EVERYTHING FOR THE
HOME WINE & BEER
MAKER

WINE INFORMATION
CENTRE - 422-1397 OR 422-1463

MARKET DRUGS LTD.

ВЕЛИКА УКРАЇНСЬКА АПТЕКА
Борис А. Фербий і п-і Леся Івасюк
10203 - 97 вул., Едмонтон - Алберта

УКРАЇНСЬКА (ЕДМОНТОН) КРЕДИТІВКА

Savings (Life Insured to \$2,000)
Loans (Life Insured to \$10,000)
Chequing Service — No Charge
Registered Retirement Savings Plan
Travellers' Cheques
Guaranteed Term Certificates

OFFICE HOURS

Mon.-Tues. — 9:30-12:00, 1:30-5:00
Wednesday — 1:30-6:00, 7:00-9:00
Thurs.-Fri. — 1:30-5:00
Saturday — 10:00-1:00

Ukrainian (Edmonton) Credit Union Ltd.
9710-108A AVENUE
EDMONTON, ALBERTA T5H 1C4
Phone 424-1054

Phone: (403) 422-5708

Ukrainian News Publishers Ltd.
A COMPLETE PRINTING SERVICE

M. R. (Myron) TARNAWSKY

10967 - 97 Street
Edmonton, Alta.

КРЕДИТОВА СПІЛКА ПОСТУП

ВИМІНА ЧЕКІВ — ДАРОМ

PROGRESS Credit Union Ltd.

627 SELKIRK AVENUE
WINNIPEG — R2W 2N2 — MANITOBA
Phone 589-7849.



FOR INFORMATION WRITE OR PHONE

HERITAGE FOODS LIMITED

5512 - 127 AVE. EDMONTON, ALBERTA T5C 1P3
PHONE (403) 475-5688 or 478-8951

"33 роки успішної фінансової служби Українській громаді"

УКРАЇНЬСЬКА КРЕДИТОВА СПІЛКА в ТОРОНТО
UKRAINIAN (TORONTO) CREDIT UNION LTD.

ЦЕНТРАЛЯ: 297 College St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1S2
 Tel: 922-1402
 922-2797

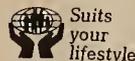
ВІДДІЛ: 2397 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ont.
 Tel.: 762-6961

ВІДДІЛ: 3635 Cawthra Rd. (біля укр. Кат. Церкви)
 Tel.: 272-0468

Корисні умови для вкладів і позичок. Наше завдання помагати членам в економічних справах порадами і фінансово

НАША СПРАВА: СЛУЖИТИ ЧЛЕНАМ

CARPATHIA CREDIT UNION LTD.
950 Main Street
Winnipeg, Man., R2W 3R4



Ощадна Кредитова Спілка
 "Карпатія"

Бажає всім українським студентам найкращих успіхів у своїх студіях, щастя та здоров'я в новому році!

Serving Members of Ukrainian Descent in the Greater Winnipeg Area Since 1940
"IT'S WHERE YOU BELONG"

ВЕСЕЛИХ СВЯТ РІЗДВА ХРИСТОВОГО І ЩАСЛИВОГО НОВОГО РОКУ

EMPRESS HOTEL

під управою А. і Г. ЛУЦАН
 Симпатична атмосфера — українські пісні і музика.

684 MAIN STREET
WINNIPEG, MAN.

Phone — 942-8653

ВЕСЕЛИХ СВЯТ та ЩАСЛИВОГО НОВОГО РОКУ

бажає

Cravats Tailors & Formal Wear

SUITS MADE TO ORDER AND READY TO WEAR
 LATEST STYLES IN FORMALS
 PHONE 586-2776

1050 MAIN STREET

WINNIPEG, MAN. R2W 3R3

Радісних Свят Різдва Христового та Щасливого Нового Року

Dr. B. William Bohonos
 Optometrist

573 Mountain Ave.
 Winnipeg R2W 1K8
 582-3286

EYES EXAMINED
 CONTACT LENSES

Michael's Formal Wear

RENTAL OF WHITE, BLACK, GREY, BURGUNDY AND BLUE TUXEDOS
Superbly Fashioned
All Accessories

584 SELKIRK AVENUE (Near McGregor St.) WINNIPEG

Радісних Свят Різдва Христового та Щасливого Нового Року

Phone 586-6352



TEL: 423-2351

Astro Travel Service



10211-97 Street, Edmonton, Alberta

PHONE: 589-4751

ВЕСЕЛИХ СВЯТ РІЗДВА ХРИСТОВОГО І ЩАСЛИВОГО НОВОГО РОКУ

HLADKY'S TAILOR & CLOTHING

MEN'S WEAR
 LOWEST PRICES IN THE CITY
 ALL WORK GUARANTEED

943 McPHILLIPS ST. WINNIPEG 14, MAN.
 MIKE HLADKY, PROP.



Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year from

Phone 774-0485

Mario's Pizza

- Take Out and Delivery
- Italian's Best Pizza
- Party Service

841 Ellice
 Winnipeg, Man.

Call 633-7446 DAILY

Res. ALEX 247-7756

Res. ADAM 769-4785

Parkway Auto Body

COMPLETE COLLISION SERVICE
 MECHANICAL & ELECTRICAL — GENERAL REPAIRS

1974 DUNDAS ST. WEST
 TORONTO, ONT. M6R 1W6

Phone 531-1227
 531-1324

SWYSTUN & COMPANY
 BARRISTERS and SOLICITORS

Y. JOHN SWYSTUN, Q.C. (1948-1966)
 NESTOR W. SWYSTUN, Q.C.
 JOHN J. KEELY, B.L., B.C.L.
 JOHN S. PETRYSHYN, B.A., LL.B.
 JOHN H. RESTALL JR., B.A., LL.B.

390 Nanton Building — 292 Portage Ave., Winnipeg, Manitoba
 Postal Code No. R3B 2A1 Area Code 204 Telephone: 942-5191

Свиточний привіт від
 УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ТОВАРИСТВА
 "ЗДАЇМНА ПО ПІЧ"

UKRAINIAN FRATERNAL SOCIETY OF CANADA
 235 McGregor Street
 Winnipeg, Manitoba R2W 4W5

the DONUT place

52 Varieties

Take Out

Coffee

Restaurant

2184 Bloor St. West, Toronto
 1 block east of Runnymede in the new "High Park Place"

Open 24 Hours

CHICKEN KIEV

Biggest Snack in Town

ONLY \$1.45

2137 Bloor St. W., Toronto

Phone 769-9446



COMMUNITY TRUST

R.S.P. — Self Administered

R.S.P. — Guaranteed Investment Certificates

CONTACT US NOW AT 763-2291 OR
 2299 BLOOR STREET WEST, TORONTO