

СТУДЕНТ

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ETUDIANT

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

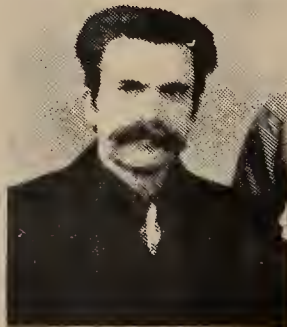
THE STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES

LUKIANENKO APPEAL

The investigation into the case of Lev Lukianenko, the well-known Ukrainian dissident who was arrested in December of last year, will soon be drawing to a close. Lukianenko will be tried under Article 62-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda), and the trial will probably take place in Chernihiv, where he is now held. Unfortunately, Lukianenko's case has not received much publicity in the west. In April 1978 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group addressed an appeal to world public opinion and especially to Ukrainians abroad to immediately organize various actions in defence of Lukianenko.

In their appeal they write: "Lukianenko was the sixth member of our group but was the second most important activist (after Mykola Rudenko) as far as his position and significance in the group is concerned. Actually, they were both equally indispensable. This concerns only his community activity; as a human being no-one can take his place.

"He was arrested on December 12, 1977, and according to Article 62-2, under which he is being charged, he is threatened with a new



Lev Lukianenko

term of punishment — ten years imprisonment in labor camps and five years of distant exile. He was freed on January 10, 1976, after

fifteen years of imprisonment in prisons and camps in the R.S.F.S.R. for an unprecedented act. A young and talented lawyer and journalist,

he wrote a theoretical work on the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union on the basis of constitutional law, following a referendum. He also prepared the program of the "Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union."

"After he was released Lukianenko settled in Chernihiv, where he was submitted to the strict administrative supervision of the militia and the more discreet supervision of the KGB. He soon joined our "Helsinki" group and thus became liable to persecution and severe punishment by the authorities, that is, the KGB.

"We never dreamed that the signing of the Helsinki Act would be a pure formality, and that people who in fact supported the implementation of the act and fought against abuses of human rights would find themselves on the defendants' bench. Not all are being tried at once, but we are being picked off one by one.

"The investigation into the

"case" of Lev Lukianenko has lasted for five months. Many people have been questioned, and it is readily evident that the case is being put together rapidly and that it will not be long before a closed and one-sided trial, with violations of the constitutional law and criminal code of the Ukr.S.S.R., will begin. This trial will confirm the maximum term of punishment — fifteen years!

"He has already been imprisoned for fifteen years, and spent two years under administrative supervision, which differs little from life in a labor camp. Now he will receive a new term of fifteen years, for a sum total of thirty-two years of imprisonment. It would seem that when one considers what Ukrainians are being sentenced for, no-one with a conscience could keep silent. But it seems no-one beyond the borders of Ukraine has heard of Lev Lukianenko. We are losing hope that there are people abroad who can help us in this difficult and unequal struggle."

KGB STAGES PRODUCTION

OPPOSITIONISTS' TRIAL

ORLOV SENTENCED

A SHAM

On Thursday, May 18 Dr. Yuri Orlov, leader of the Moscow Helsinki Group, was sentenced to the maximum penalty — seven years imprisonment and five years internal exile — for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Orlov's trial was marked by repeated violations of Soviet constitutional law. During his four-day trial Orlov was not permitted to present character witnesses in his defense, to cross-examine prosecution witnesses, or defend the contents of documents issued by the Helsinki group. The prosecution sought to establish Orlov's guilt by presenting the Moscow Helsinki Group documents and bringing witnesses to dispute the facts

presented in the documents. Only Orlov's wife, Irina, and her two sons, were allowed into the courtroom; the press and dissident sympathizers were kept outside. The authorities brought in speculators to heckle Orlov, calling him a "spy" and "traitor."

As Orlov was driven away after the sentencing, over 200 sympathizers chanted "Orlov, Orlov!"

On Friday, two members of the Georgian Helsinki Group, Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Merab Kostava, pleaded guilty to anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda charges. They received sentences of three years imprisonment and two years internal exile.

Some further information is now available concerning the trial of the youngest members of the Kiev Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, Mykola Matushevych and Myroslav Marynovych, which took place in the town of Vasytkiv, near Kiev, from March 22 to 29, 1978.

The KGB has been accused of transforming this trial into a pitiful spectacle. Frequent catcalls were solicited from the organized "public" and "community representatives" in order to demoralize the accused, and the judge, H.A. Dysheh, did not make even the slightest attempt to control this "public." Both defendants ignored the provocatory atmosphere and Marynovych ably defended his

activities and his convictions, referring to the Soviet constitution, the International Declaration of Human Rights, and the Helsinki Final Act and demonstrating that there had been nothing illegal in his actions. He was constantly interrupted by the judge, to the accompaniment of applause and jeers from the "public."

Two impressive witnesses on behalf of the defendants were O. Berdnyk and E. Oberbas, who did their best to stand up for the accused but were also constantly interrupted.

News of the trial spread quickly in Vasytkiv and the surrounding area. The genuine Ukrainian community was incensed by the con-

duct of the trial, and a leaflet entitled "Branded with Shame" was circulated widely by anonymous citizens. This leaflet named those stoolpigeons and KGB collaborators who had behaved the most despicably during the trial, and ended with the following appeal: "Citizens, remember these names! These are the individuals who serve the bloodstained KGB!"

The defendants did not plead guilty to the charges laid against them, and did not ask for leniency from the court. As was reported earlier, both were sentenced to seven years of imprisonment and five years of exile.

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AND MORE!



Myroslav Marynovych



Mykola Matushevych

СТУДЕНТ STUDENT ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

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

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

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

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

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EDITORIAL

IT'S A GOOD TIME ...FOR HOW LONG?

In Canada it was once considered not especially desirable to be of Ukrainian descent. "Galicians" were at the bottom of the social totem pole as a docile caste of agricultural workers. Since then our stock has risen considerably in Canadian society. No longer do politicians apologize for our presence here on the basis of the need to develop the country; indeed, they recognize and praise the Ukrainian contribution to Canada's social and economic welfare. We have finally "made it."

However, we would do well to remember that this present stature is the result (the payoff, if you will) of an incredible amount of work. The fact that Ukrainians had accomplished so much by the 1960s provided the necessary safeguard for one to be a proud Ukrainian-Canadian. No one could deny us our just desserts; ethnic pride as a mass phenomenon was inextricably linked to the rise of our social stature. Perhaps this is why it was so long in coming. And why it emerged so strongly, virtually as an explosion in the latter half of the 1960s (this is especially evident by the growth of interest in the visual and performing arts).

One consequence of this process was the fact that one could now reconcile being Ukrainian and being "cool" (in the North American sense of the word). It became "fun to be Ukrainian" while transferring

(once again) his somewhat irresponsible, unrealistic and uninspiring ideas on his audience of sycophants and "odnodumtsi." He revealed that the nation is created by God (!), he stressed the need for a "united front" of all sectors of society in Ukraine to combat the evils of communism (although he is firmly opposed to any kind of democratization or liberalization of the Soviet Union which would allow such a "united front" to congeal), and he called for an open hot war with the Soviet Union since "everything is solved by battle" (even though such a struggle today would undeniably involve the major superpowers and Ukraine, with its heavily industrialized areas and rich supplies of raw materials, would be one of the first areas to be destroyed).

Mr. Stetsko should be perfectly free to make such statements (or even more ludicrous ones) if he is speaking for himself or for his right-wing "superstructures," the Anti-Bolshevik bloc of Nations

mounds of good food from the dinner table to one's mid-waist, drinking numerous toasts straight, smoking dope in the name of kozak legacy, spouting forth corny jokes that not even Ivan from the 'selo' could appreciate and, of course, dancing to one's heart's content. This image of a Ukrainian experience as a constant, ever indulgent celebration markedly contrasts that of going to "ridna slukola" on Saturday mornings while everyone else is watching cartoons, Sunday afternoon concerts, etc., which may be much closer to reality.

Now I am the last person who will deny that one should not celebrate boisterously every once in a while, but I think there should be some basis for it. There is no way we can ever hope to maintain ourselves in North America on the basis of a hedonistic existence. Our people would either become quickly bored or severely burnt out. There's more to "being Ukrainian" than that. The question each person should ask themselves is "how serious are we about pursuing it?" Ukrainian students especially should consider this because the practices they start now are likely to be continued once they become "full" members of our society. And if they have no time for Ukrainian matters now, it is unlikely they will find the time later (the excuse "I have to establish myself first" is used too often as a cop-out).

(ABN) and the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front (OULF). However, he quite pompously insists on speaking for the entire Ukrainian nation and as "its last Prime Minister" at that!

This kind of pretentiousness is of no benefit to Ukrainians anywhere, and in fact works against our interests. In the West, let's face it, often even has difficulty distinguishing between Ukrainians, Russians and "those other Slavs" tends to associate all Ukrainians with the public utterings (babblings?) of even self-appointed and self-glorified Ukrainian "politicians" (how many times have you, dear reader, heard someone say "that book is so right-wing that the only place you can get it is probably at the Ukrainian bookstore"). As a result, many sectors of society simply refuse to treat us seriously.

In Soviet Ukraine the effects are much more serious. Groups such as the ABN and the OULF and the

Obviously a dedicated involvement will tax a person mentally, physically, financially and perhaps emotionally without promising any returns. On the other hand, one cannot expect to reap the full benefits of such a life without putting a great deal of effort into it. We are currently benefiting from the tribulations of our forefathers in Canada. The current generation of Ukrainian Canadians stands in marked contrast to them in terms of degree of national consciousness and dedication to Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian interests, but nevertheless celebrates the same heritage. How long they can continue this without increasing their commitment and involvement in our community's interests is a bonanza question. With whom will we be drinking in ten years time? And why? And will it mean anything?

Thus when we hear a plea or an announcement such as "SUSK Congress in Winnipeg, August 24-28" we should not reckon right away "aaah, PARTY!" Of course there is room for some celebrating at such an affair, but also there is very real work to be done. And not all that much time in which to do it. Above all, we must remember that the success or failure of our ventures depends ultimately upon our attitude towards them.

A.M.

often useless statements of their aging 'statesmen' and ideologues provide the KGB in Soviet Ukraine with no end of easy excuses for increased repression of oppositionists whenever the need arises. The link between the Soviet opposition and these emigre relics is easy to fabricate and propagate in the isolated Soviet mass media. As a result, numerous dissidents have been labelled "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" and sentenced to severe terms in prisons and labour camps for plotting to "violently overthrow the Soviet state."

In fact the 'Bandervitsi' (or more accurately, "Stetskivitsi") have, quite paradoxically, so facilitated the work of the KGB that one may quite legitimately suspect that their organization is infiltrated, at the upper levels, by its agents. One need only look at their long record of doing the wrong thing at

(more JIVE on page 8)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SELO? WHERE?

I feel that much credit must be directed to Jars Balan for his review of "Camp Selo" in **STUDENT** (Vol. 10, No. 45, May). The article was eye-catching, interesting, and seemed to influence the reader to get involved in similar organizations. For young Ukrainians, such as myself, it shows that Ukrainian culture is not dying out, but gradually building itself up. After reading this article, I was interested in attaining information about "Camp Selo," but was unable to find any information pertaining to the Camp. I am writing this letter because many people, such as myself, may also have been influenced by this article.

The article does "Camp Selo" a great deal of justice because it is so effectively written, but also does "Camp Selo" a great deal of injustice because readers are unable to find any information or addresses dealing with "Camp Selo."

I believe the Ukrainian culture and community must continue to expand and because of camps such as "Selo" our culture will expand, upholding the traditions and culture our ancestors created for us.

Thank you for your time.
Christina Cherneskey
Saskatoon

More information about Selo, as well as application forms, can be obtained by writing:

SELO
c/o National Executive CYMK
11024-82 Ave.
Edmonton, Alta.
T6G 4A2

JIVIN' WITH JERRY

A recent conference of the Organization in Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine (the American version of "Bandervitsi") held

recently (December 23, 1977) in New York has illustrated problems in the Ukrainian emigre community which not only your readers but all Ukrainians in the West should be concerned with.

The keynote speaker at this conference was none other than Jaroslav Stetsko, the current leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN-b). Stetsko had a field day unleashing

IF I HAD KNOWN **STUDENT** WAS IN CANADA, I WOULD HAVE COME HERE MUCH EARLIER!

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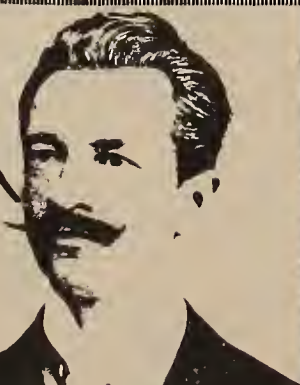
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EMIGRATSIA: QUO VADIS?

What is the role of an emigre community with respect to its mother country? This is an extremely difficult question, and one which has been answered in various ways by different national groups. In the case of Ukrainians in Canada, the very term "emigre" is misleading, for more than 80% have been born in Canada, and the number of those born in the "old country" will continue to decrease sharply from year to year. Likewise, of those Ukrainian Canadians born in Ukraine, many left Ukraine because of wartime disruption or for economic reasons, and cannot be termed "political" emigres in the true sense of the word. Nonetheless, the Ukrainian community can boast of an impressive array of distinctive political, cultural, religious, and social organizations, and many of them have tried to come to grips with establishing a rationale for their existence and determining the nature of their relationships with the Ukrainian S.S.R.

These questions are of great relevance today. On the one hand, in view of rapidly increasing assimilation in their midst, many Ukrainians in the diaspora hope that even tenuous contacts with the Ukr. S.S.R. may help to slow down the rate of this assimilation. On the other hand, increased possibilities for travel to and academic and cultural exchanges with the Ukr. S.S.R. have come about at a time when the Ukrainian language and culture are under heavy

Russification pressure, and when any signs of dissidence are brutally suppressed by the regime. The recent tour of Winnipeg's Koshetz choir in the Ukr. S.S.R. and the various dance and choir seminars held in Canada by Soviet Ukrainian artists, which have been sharply criticized by certain sectors of the community, have highlighted the controversy concerning the nature of the Ukrainian diaspora's relations with the Ukr. S.S.R.

Unfortunately, much of the discussion concerning the above takes place behind closed doors or is laced with meaningless and bombastic rhetoric and polemics. Apart from the occasional article in the Ukrainian monthly Suchasnist, only the Chicago newspaper Ukrainske zhyttia has allowed for the relatively free expression of sharply differing views on this topic. It is also worth noting that the now defunct U.S. student journal New Directions ran several articles entitled "The Tourist Cookbook" which gave prospective student visitors to the Ukr. S.S.R. various useful (and often humorous) hints on how to deal with various situations which could arise, especially since youth from a strongly nationalistist background are often the most poorly prepared for meeting with Soviet Ukrainian "reality."

The poverty of discussion on this topic reflects the isolation of the emigre community, and the inability (or reluctance) of many of its leaders to understand the complex

nature of social processes in contemporary Soviet Ukraine. It would likewise be unrealistic to expect that dissidents in Ukraine would have in a hazy conception of what is happening in the emigre community.

It is thus all the more interesting that a samizdat article entitled "What Do We Expect From the Emigre Community?" by a Lithuanian writing under the pseudonym of T. Zhenklis has recently become available in the west. Although addressed to the Lithuanian emigre community, many of the ideas expressed by Zhenklis should be of great interest to Ukrainian readers, and excerpts from the article are presented below. The section of the article from which the below excerpts were taken was printed in the December 1977 issue of Suchasnist.

Zhenklis's first samizdat article dealt with the death of the First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Atanas Sniechkus, who headed the Lithuanian Communist Party from 1936 on, was trusted by authorities in Moscow because of his ruthless policies towards Lithuanian nationalist partisans after World War II, but later used his authority to gain a number of significant concessions and a measure of autonomy for his republic from Moscow. Zhenklis was attacked in the conservative Lithuanian emigre press for "whitewashing" Sniechkus and attempting to give him an "air of respectability."

Zhenklis learned of this criticism and responded by accusing his critics of thinking only in terms of black and white; white representing all acts opposing the regime in Lithuania, and black representing the regime and everyone who does not openly oppose it. Zhenklis considers that one must distinguish a much wider range of colors, and judge various actions, situations, and individuals according to this wider range. Zhenklis did not, in fact, deny, and even emphasized the brutal acts and subservience to Moscow of Sniechkus, but he refused to disregard the privileges which Sniechkus had gained for Lithuania, and the long-term benefits of his stay in power. Zhenklis was surprised and saddened by the response of conservative Lithuanians in the west, and afraid that Lithuanian emigre circles were becoming detached from the life of their country, addressed some of his thoughts to them in the document presented below.

Some of the ideas expressed by Zhenklis concerning the role of the Lithuanian emigre community may seem naive to the Ukrainian reader. One should remember, however, that the occupation of the three Baltic countries by the Soviet Union in 1940 is not recognized by any Western country, and that the governments in exile of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are still formally recognized in the West. The claim of the Baltic emigre communities to officially represent the

Baltic states now incorporated in the Soviet Union is therefore much stronger than that of the Ukrainian emigre community, and Lithuanians in the Soviet Union quite naturally expect their overseas community to represent their interests abroad as widely as possible. This is the reason why Zhenklis places so much emphasis on the important political role of the emigre community, and downplays the possibilities for political evolution in the Lithuanian S.S.R. itself. Neively evaluating the "democratic" structure of the Lithuanian emigre community, he seems to place far too much hope in its potential for creative political thought. This is, however, somewhat more understandable when one considers the small size of the Lithuanian nation and the proportionately great weight of the Lithuanian emigre community in the West. In view of the ramshackle nature of Ukrainian political parties and coordinating bodies in the West, many of the expectations voiced by Zhenklis have little or no application to the Ukrainian community, and in fact appear almost to be a grotesque satire on the present state of Ukrainian emigre political life.

Nonetheless, the ideas put forward by Zhenklis are valuable in showing how much our community has to mature before it can satisfy even the most modest expectations of dissidents like Zhenklis who hope that their brethren abroad can provide them with some assistance in their struggle.

Мушу сказати, що такого відриву від турбот країни, від її психології, який проявився в статті Антиженкліса, я від представників нашої еміграції просто так не сподівався. Мн в Литві взагалі погано знайоми з життям еміграції. І ось стаття Антиженкліса вперше змусила мене поставити під сумнів вірність створеного особисто мною образу нашої еміграції. Прочитавши цю статтю, я мимоволі подумав про те, що, можливо, як і не вся еміграція, то якась її частина уже відірвалася від Литви, живе в своєму власному абстрактному світі і лише пасивно чекає того дня, коли якнебудь стороння сила перемінить на її Батьківщині чорний колір на білий. Питання, що виникли, нагально вимагали відповідей, а апріорні образи — перевірки. Одним словом, виник у мене інтерес до того, щоб ширше і глибше з'ясувати те, як еміграція виконує свій обов'язок перед країною, як відповідає вона своїй функції активної, передової частини нації.

Надійшов час заступити ілюзії знанням. А для того, щоб вліпше зорієнтуватися в тому, які знання мене (і можу з повною відповідальністю сказати — нас) найбільше цікавлять, спробую в наступних рядках викласти наше тутешнє уявлення про роллю еміграції в житті нації чи, точніше, чою ми, люди країни, від еміграції чекаємо.

Перш за все дозволю собі сформулювати твердження загального порядку. У моему розумінні народ країни й еміграція — це дві, що взаємо себе доповнюють, частини єдиного національного організму. Основна функція народу в країні носить "консерваційний" характер. Ми є плоттю нації і в першу чергу мусимо турбуватися тим, щоб лишитися в живих, а мірою можливості також зберегти свою монолітність і здоров'я. Це дуже різностороння функція. Попри матеріальні елементи — люди, земля, інші багатства країни — не ажякя роля належить у ній її елементам духовним — мові, традиції, освіті, прагненню свободи. "Консервація", крім того, означає не лише збереження, але й певний розвиток усіх цих елементів — у тій мірі, в якій на це дозволяють умови і Бог і в якій це не загроже самому фізичному життю нації. У цьому й полягає наша програма підготовки до завтрашньої свободи, і дай Боже нам її повнотою виконати.

У виконанні цієї місії еміграція без сумніву може подати нам дуже істотну допомогу. Однак, куди важливіше, щоб еміграція зосередила свою увагу на тих завданнях, виконання яких нам в умовах окупації зовсім неприступне. У першу чергу я маю на увазі завдання охорони органічної політичної структури нації і такій її постійний розвиток, щоб ця структура кожної мнті була спроможна стати готовою альтернативою тому станові політичної анігіляції, в якому нині перебуває наше суспільство. Я говорю про політичну структуру в найширшому розумінні цього слова, включаючи в нього і вільну культуру, і вільну пресу, і, розуміється, вільні політичні організації. Тільки еміграція спроможна сьогодні плекати живу душу нації з тим, щоб у відповідний час вона змогла б знову возз'єднатися з своєю плоттю в країні. Сам в цьому й полягає, на нашу думку, основна функція еміграції як органічної частини литовського народу.

Мн внутрішньо відкидаємо твердження редяньської пропаганди про те, що наші представники зв кордоном застряли на рівні 1940 року й обмежуються прагненням до простого відновлення того, що (на жаль чи на щастя) уже не може бути відновлене і безповоротно належить минулому. Якось мені довелося



В. ВІДБИЛОС

ИОНАС КИЖИНСКИС

десь прочитати, що еміграція виступає за відновлення в майбутній Литві чинності Конституції 1938 року. Невже таке може бути правдою? Невже за весь цей час не сталося на еміграції зрушення в напрямі створення бодай проекту нової Литовської Конституції, відповідної потребам сучасності?

Альтернативна політична система, звичайно ж, однією організацією безперервності литовської державності не обмежується. Ми знову ж краєм вуха чули, що на еміграції діють литовські політичні партії, які диспонують своїми окремими пресовими органами і сходяться на спільні форуми, на яких розвиваються критичні і самокритичні погляди як на державну діяльність, так і на програмові й поточні твори і справи. Нам було б дуже цікаво дізнатися, які хвилюючі країну питання і як ці політичні партії й інші громадські організації обговорюють, які позиції стосовно них формують. Це важливе для нас між іншим і тому, що хотілося б порівняти ці питання з тими, які пошелки обговорюємо й ми в колі своїх близьких і довірених друзів.

Стисло схарактеризую ті питання, які здаються нам актуальними і з приводу яких ми часто сперечаємося. Наврнкрлд, хоча б таке питання, як литовське громадянство, яке обговорюється головним чном у зв'язку з тим, кого можна буде вважати громадянином у майбутній незалежній Литві. Або питання про структуру сільського господарства Литви в умовах свободи. Або, сквижмо, питання про долю тієї промисловості, для якої в Литві немає ні сировинної бази, ні ринку збуту. Обговорюємо ми також питання і про роллю Церкви в майбутній Литві, і про долю Східної Пруссії, і про майбутні наші відносини з сусідніми державами; зокрема з Росією, Польщею й Німеччиною, і про місце Литви в Європі й у світі в цілому, і про ті тенденції в народній психології, на основі яких у нашому суспільстві могли б поставити різні політичні течії.

(EMIGRATSIA continued on page 10)

MULTICULTURALISM: PUBLICITY OR REALITY

Alex Tymofienko

Forty years ago, in Germany, the Nazi Government of Adolf Hitler proclaimed that the Third Reich would seek greater unity and contentment among its citizens by means of a campaign of "Strength Through Joy." Forty years later, the Government of Canada has embarked upon a campaign to bring this country "Unity Through Understanding."

In keeping with the new slogan, the federal government has announced that it will increase its funding of projects and activities which are designed to promote the maintenance and sharing of cultural heritages and which facilitate an understanding of Canada's "multicultural reality" among all Canadians.

On March 21, 1978, the Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Norman Caftik, announced new and expanded programs would be funded under the Multiculturalism Directorate. The federal government has promised to set aside fifty million dollars over the next 5 years "to provide equal opportunities to all of Canada's cultural groups to share their rich cultural traditions with all Canadians."

The new programs which were announced are largely oriented towards immigrant groups and reflect the growing concern shown by the government toward the "visible" minorities — East Asians, Pakistanis and blacks — following the large influx of non-white immigrants in the early 1970s. Special consideration will be given to projects promoting the cultural integration of immigrants with special emphasis given to those which aid in group development.

The aim of the new programs grouped under the headings — "Group Development-Cultural Integration Program," "Group Development-Projects Program" and "Intercultural Communications Program" appears to be exclusively integrative in function, designed to inculcate proper "Canadian" values among recent immigrants. For instance, money is available for the organization of conferences designed to "break down barriers in the interest of Canadian unity." One need not stretch the point too far by

suggesting that in many cases "proper" Canadian values are synonymous with those which the Liberal Party believes to be essen-

ding under the program is restricted to an annual maximum of \$20,000 per organization — hardly enough to provide the basis for a strong

training sessions; the development of language teaching aids; the development of creative literature and the performing arts, and several others.

Project money for these programs are available upon application by members of any cultural group. In addition, the directorate has maintained programs which provide ongoing support to the communities. A program for cultural enrichment provides much needed assistance for the teaching of heritage languages in classroom and camp settings outside formally organized school systems. However, while such contributions aid the cause of the *ridni shkoly* in the Ukrainian-language community, the absence of federal support for Ukrainian-language teaching in the public school systems will continue to hamper the success of bilingual programs which have been set up in Alberta and which might be established in Manitoba and Saskatchewan in the future.

The federal position, as enunciated by Marc Lalonde at the recent conference of the ethnic press in Ottawa, is that education is basically a provincial responsibility and therefore the onus is on local or provincial authorities to provide support for third-language teaching where there is a demand for "regional" languages (e.g. Ukrainian in Western Canada, Italian in Toronto and Montreal). Because the development of third-language teaching is left to the voluntary (i.e. private) sector, it therefore lacks the status which the teaching of the official languages can command. Small wonder, then, that governmental bodies, such as the Task Force on Canadian Unity, treat multiculturalism as a rather inconsequential variable in the national picture. Their attitude is one of "show me" how multiculturalism might prove a viable concept for Canada in the future.

Such a task is not at all easy, especially in view of the forces which work toward the cultural assimilation of immigrants and their descendants. A conference held in Toronto on April 22-23, 1978 brought together a large number of

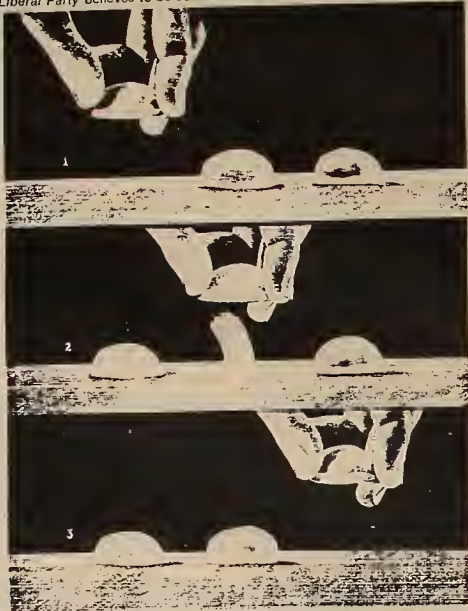
people who have been intimately involved in multiculturalism in Ontario. Jan Duktza, NDP MPP (Toronto Parkdale), expressed the dominant sentiment of the delegates in claiming that "the policy of multiculturalism does not recognize the key position of language. It stresses the external trappings only in a tokenistic and insincere fashion, which ultimately talks-multiculturalism but intends complete assimilation." The consensus of the delegates, most of them representatives of the non-business, non-professional classes within their communities, was that structural changes in the multicultural policy are needed if Canada's seven million "ethnic" citizens are to be shown that the government is indeed sincere.

Several actions were cited as essential for a sincere multicultural policy to be effective:

1) Financing of day-care centres in languages other than English and French.

2) Programs to provide adequate numbers of Canadian-trained doctors, nurses and social workers for all communities.

3) Teaching of languages in heritage programs, both within and outside of the public school system. The demands of the new "multicultural" classes within the large centres like Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver are a matter of concern to all levels of governments in these cities. In particular, the volatile nature of the electorate in Toronto and Vancouver may have been a large factor in the Liberal Party's decision not to risk defeat in a spring election this year. However, delaying the election can best be a stop-gap measure; the discontent among immigrant groups and "ethnics" is not about to go away during this time of economic hardship. Sooner or later, the critical problems posed by the failure of Canadian society to deal with the questions of the culture, language and socio-economic status of its "ethnics" will catch up with the government of the day. That day is one which the politicians of Canada might wish had never arrived.



for national unity. In the final analysis, the government wants to make sure the new arrivals don't "rock the boat."

Under the new programs, money will also now be available to offset the operating costs of certain national and ethno-cultural organizations. However, this money is restricted to helping newly emerging groups who are just beginning to form their own organizations, such as the national Federation of Italian-Canadians or the proposed Portuguese national organization. The amount of fun-

organization. Of course, it is not in the interests of the government to encourage strong ethnic organizations.

For the established ethno-cultural groups, programs which were already in existence will be expanded modestly. Financial aid will be available to groups seeking funds for the following types of projects: conferences or seminars discussing current issues of concern to ethno-cultural groups, ways and means of refining organizational skills, heritage language workshops and teacher

SUSK DEFENCE WORK

WE NEED DA PICKETS FOR DEFENCE

Bohdan Martinek

What is the relation of SUSK's activity to the defense of democratic rights in the Soviet Union? SUSK has a long tradition of defending Ukrainian dissidents who have been struggling against national and political oppression. The question which has to be posed, however, is not whether those dissidents should be defended, but how. In the past SUSK has organized demonstrations, hunger strikes, lobbied the government, in the recent past retained the prominent lawyer J. Pomerants to represent the imprisoned dissidents Matusevych and Marynowych, and participated in organizing the Grigorenko meeting held May 19 in Toronto. Yet the activity of the Human Rights Commission has had little lasting impact on the general public and has failed to relate to its own constituency — the Ukrainian student clubs.

There seem to be several problems. The Human Rights Commission should be understood to be a commission representing the interests of Ukrainian students as a whole. Instead we find the activities of the Commission limited to a small group of individuals in Toronto. This highlights a recurring problem that has plagued SUSK for many years — the split between the activities of the National Executive Committee and the needs and concerns of the local clubs. The Human Rights Commission's focus should not be to execute SUSK's defense work by itself but to stimulate and guide the activities of the various clubs in this

field. If this conception is lacking, then various problems will necessarily emerge; the defense of Soviet political prisoners becomes a burden upon the shoulders of a few individuals, and defense work becomes isolated from the rest of SUSK's activity.

On the other hand, overcoming this isolation is not a straightforward task. Other factors have contributed to the Commission's ineffectiveness. First of all, it is not understood that defense work as a long term practice can only be successful if there is an attempt to mobilize a large base of activists. Otherwise many actions become token gestures, lacking any overall strategy and coordination from project to project and leading to a lack of continuity in the experience of activists. Secondly, there has been no input by the clubs themselves on the Commission's defense work other than the usual discussion at annual congresses, where defense work is treated with the empty respect of a "motherhood" issue. The clubs cannot retreat into a passive attitude, expecting the Commission to initiate all discussion and to formulate all the proposals. If this attitude remains then there is no reason for SUSK to do any defense work. Student has consistently published materials on repression in Ukraine and the rest of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The question is do Ukrainian students want to do anything about the situation? The next SUSK Congress should recommend that

the Human Rights Commission set forth plans for a campaign that would involve all the clubs across Canada on the basis of mutual and continual consultation.

This point leads one to another problem. The idea of a coordinated

experience already exists in Canada. A network of defense committees already has been established and many of its members are former or present SUSK activists. A major problem in the past has been that SUSK has chosen to

work in isolation, ignoring the experience and activities of the defense committees. It is a heartening example that the Human Rights Commission co-sponsored the recent Grigorenko rally in Toronto. If the Commission and the clubs could coordinate their strategy with the existing defense committees, then different sectors of the Ukrainian community can be united in building more extensive and effective campaigns.

Finally, SUSK must begin to understand that defense work is not simply a moral question, but an activity involving a comprehension of the contemporary political situation. What is the most effective way to carry out defense work and whom are we trying to influence? For example, in their search for electoral acceptance the Communist Parties around the world are being forced to modify their views, the rise of Eurocommunism being the most prominent case. This strategy leaves them open to pressure to give practical demonstrations of their support of democratic rights. The mathematicians' committee and other left-wing parties were able to pressure the French Communist Party to protest the imprisonment of Leonid Plyushch, thereby winning his release. Also, the Soviet Union has traditionally tried to curry favour with the labour movement,



(DEFENCE continued on page 10)

BRIEFS ON THE USSR & EASTERN EUROPE

FROM INFORMATION BULLETIN (VOL. 1, NO. 6) PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE IN
DEFENSE OF SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONERS (EDMONTON)

APPEAL TO WESTERN WORKERS

Edmund Baluka, chairperson of the shipyard workers' strike committee in Szczecin during the workers' revolt of 1970-71, along with Victor Fainberg and Vasile Paraschiv, have launched an appeal to Western trade unions to come to the defence of Soviet workers. The appeal is reprinted here:

In the U.S.S.R. Vladimir Klebanov, a Donetsk miner, announced at the end of January that 200 workers had decided to create an independent trade union, explaining that many among them had been sacked without the official unions taking up their defence. This is the first attempt to create a workers' movement independent of the state apparatus. On Monday, 27 February, two representatives of the 200 workers made public the statutes of their trade union organization. In an open letter they asked Western trade unions for their moral and material assistance. The right to organize in trade unions is recognized by the Soviet Constitution for workers in that country; nevertheless, those like Vladimir Klebanov and his comrades who put the right into practice are repressed and interned in psychiatric hospitals. We ask you to urgently intervene for their immediate release.

In the same way, in Romania, the worker Vasile Paraschiv was branded "raving demand maniac" because he had demanded respect for these rights that are recognized in his country.

In Poland, a workers' committee has just been created in Katowice and has launched an appeal to all workers in Poland for the creation of independent national trade unions. In Czechoslovakia, trade unionists have been expelled from their unions for having refused to associate themselves with the political sackings of Charter 77 supporters.

Whatever your appreciation of these facts, they all pose the same question of principle concerning which we ask you to publicly reaffirm your position — on the undeniable right of workers to organize in trade unions independent of their employers, including in the countries which claim to be socialist and where the state is effectively the sole employer.

We urgently ask you to take all possible measures to send international trade union commissions of enquiry to throw light on the real nature of the trade unions in these countries and to take up the defence of those who are fighting so that a formally recognized right be at last put into practice.

You have already on several occasions expressed your concern for the respect of workers' rights in Eastern Europe. Today more than ever they need support from those in the West who struggle against capitalist exploitation.

Signed by: Edmund Baluka, Victor Fainberg, and Vasile Paraschiv.

FRENCH TRADE UNIONS MEET WITH DISSIDENTS TO DEMAND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN THE USSR

In a major development, in Paris on April 18, 1978, representatives of three major trade union councils in France — the C.G.T., the C.F.D.T. and the F.E.N., held a joint press conference with dissidents from the U.S.S.R., Poland, and Romania to highlight their opposition to the repression of workers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The C.F.D.T. representative demanded the immediate liberation of Klebanov and reaffirmed his trade union's support of the struggle for democratic rights in the East. The C.F.D.T. is a trade union

with several million members and is generally sympathetic to the French Socialist Party headed by F. Mitterand.

The C.G.T. spokesperson condemned the "violation of the democratic rights and liberties of individual trade unionists and trade union collectives in the socialist countries." The C.G.T. is controlled by the French Communist Party.

The dissidents present at the conference were Vasil Paraschiv, a former Romanian worker who was arrested and held in psychiatric prison in that country for his protest against working conditions. Others were Victor Fainberg, former Soviet worker and dissident, and Alexander Smolar and Jean Lestinski from Poland.

TRADE UNION STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN THE USSR

Vsevolod Kouvakin, spokesperson for the "Association of Free Trade Unions in the U.S.S.R.," recently announced that despite the repression of some of the Association's members, the unofficial trade union movement is still active and continues its work. Changing tactics, Kouvakin, in a statement released to Agence France Presse in Moscow, wrote that unlike previous statements, the most recent statement was not signed by all the members of the Association "in order not to needlessly compromise our comrades."

The spokesperson also thanked the French trade union movement for the support given to the Soviet group and expressed the hope that the trade unions "will continue to support morally and materially" the Soviet workers.

CALL FOR INTELLECTUALS AND WORKERS TO UNITE

Valentin Ivanov, a Soviet dissident and worker who recently arrived in the U.S.A., has launched an appeal to Academician A. Sakharov asking him to encourage Soviet dissident intellectuals to unite in common action with the "Association of Free Trade Unions in the U.S.S.R." Noting that "five academicians cannot change the U.S.S.R.," Ivanov regretted the lack of cooperation between intellectuals and workers in the past.

SIRY WRITES TO ILO

According to a press release from the New York Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, on March 27 the Ukrainian worker Leonid Siry wrote a letter to the International Labour Organization, all independent workers' unions, and AFL-CIO president George Meany asking for moral and financial support for members of the independent workers' union in the U.S.S.R. and their leader Klebanov.

Siry was detained by the KGB in Odessa on April 6 and warned not to participate in the human rights movement or get in touch with the West. The KGB also told Siry that Klebanov's group will not be allowed to expand its activity, and that it would be crushed. Siry's wife, Valentyna, said that she fears that her husband may be arrested.

MAY DAY IN PARIS

Over thirty dissidents from the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe currently residing in Paris marched in the May First demonstration carrying banners demanding respect for "trade union rights in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe."

Some far-left groups, notably the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, had as one of their central slogans carried by their 5,000 strong contingent, calls for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.

KLEBANOV IMPRISONED

According to the latest information received from Moscow, Vladimir Klebanov, an unemployed miner and founding member of the "Association of Free Trade Unions in the U.S.S.R." (founded December 1977), has been transferred to a prison in his native city of Donetsk in Ukraine.

On February 10, 1978 Klebanov was arrested by KGB agents and sent to a psychiatric hospital in Moscow, and later transferred to a similar institution in Donetsk. Moscow sources indicate that the KGB, unable to pin "madness" on Klebanov, changed tactics and decided to send him to a prison.

LABOUR EXECUTIVE CONDEMNNS OROVTRIAL

The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party has passed a unanimous resolution expressing its deep disturbance over the trial of Dr. Yuri Orlov, the Russian physicist, and calling on the Soviet Union to release him and all others charged with monitoring Soviet performance in the field of human rights. The resolution was proposed by Miss Joan Lester, chairman of the N.E.C., and seconded by Mr. Eric Heffer, M.P. for Liverpool, Walton. Both belong to the left wing of the Labour Party.

The East European Solidarity Campaign, a group of British Socialists concerned about human rights in Eastern Europe, has written to all constituency Labour parties urging them to send letters of protest about Dr. Orlov's savage sentence to the Soviet Ambassador in London. Dr. Valentin Turchin, an exiled Russian scientist, has appealed to Western scientists to boycott all official cooperation with the Soviet Union as a protest against Dr. Orlov's trial.

FRENCH TRADE UNIONS IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET WORKERS

The trade union of the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies in France, members of the C.G.T. (Communist party controlled trade union council) recently adopted a resolution calling on the "formation of a large united" campaign to defend the rights of workers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A demand for the immediate release of Klebanov and others was also issued.

The Paris Profreaders Union, also members of the Communist controlled C.G.T., adopted unanimously on April 25 a resolution demanding the immediate release of Klebanov and other workers imprisoned in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. The Union also called on the C.G.T. and the C.F.D.T. (the two largest trade union councils) to initiate and lead a campaign against political repression in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe.

'UNITA' HITS AT SOVIET PERSECUTION

The Italian Communist Party organ L'Unita, which has been reporting with increasing regularity the persecution of dissidents in the Soviet Union, suggested that these could no longer be considered as isolated incidents but appeared to be part of a concerted campaign.

A front-page article signed by Signor Giuliano Procacci, a historian on the board of Institute Gramsci, the party's research centre, said Italian democrats and Communists felt perturbed and offended by the grave and seemingly unjustifiable sentences inflicted on people like Dr. Yuri Orlov. Such incidents, which the writer said the party newspaper would continue to denounce as hitherto, "confirm the general impression that these are not isolated episodes, but are cases of a determined and precise concept of the relationship between authority and the citizens."

PETER VINS ARRESTED: LIKE FATHER LIKE SON

Peter Vins, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, was sentenced April 6 in Kiev to a one year prison term on charges of "parasitism." Vins joined the Ukrainian group in early 1977 after Soviet authorities had begun arresting group members.

The charge of "parasitism" is used to persecute dissenters who have been fired for criticizing authorities and are subsequently without jobs because they are refused other employment.

Vins is the son of Georgy Vins, a leader of the dissident Baptists in the U.S.S.R., who is now serving a ten year term for his unofficial religious activities. Peter Vins was detained last year for a month during the Christmas and New Year period. He was seized by KGB agents on a Kiev to Moscow train on December 8 and bibles in his possession were confiscated. He was beaten up and taken to prison, and sentenced to 15 days detention on the charge of "hooliganism." At the end of this period he was sentenced to a further 15 days on the grounds that he refused to work!

The Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group was organized November 9, 1976 to "foster compliance with the humanitarian provisions" of the Helsinki Accords. The group has collected information on violations of these provisions and has attempted to publicize these cases.

Four other members of the Ukrainian group have been convicted on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced: M. Marynovych, M. Rudenko, and M. Matusevych (each to 12 year terms) and O. Tykhyy (to 15 years).

In March 1978, Gngory Goldshstein, a member of the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group, was sentenced to a one-year term on a charge of "parasitism."

BELIEVERS' RIGHTS

The Christian Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers in the U.S.S.R. in Moscow has collected 57 pages of documentation concerning the persecution of the church and believers in the Ukrainian S.S.R. Consisting of copies of letters, protests, appeals, etc., this documentation testifies to the increased repression against believers in recent years. Various methods are used by the regime to suppress religion and to close down places of worship, the church hierarchy, controlled by the KGB, appoints priests who collaborate with the KGB and lead an immoral life; although, according to the Constitution, the church is separated from the state, there is active government interference in the organizational life of parishes; government representatives attempt to divide and undermine religious communities; churches are desecrated and closed down despite the protests of believers.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN GEORGIA AND ARMENIA SCORE SUCCESS

Opponents of Moscow's policy of Russification in the Georgian and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics forced a victory in mid-April. They forced the authorities to retain Georgian and Armenian as the official languages in these republics.

Pushing through new draft constitutions for all fifteen republics of the USSR, Soviet authorities had hoped to drop from the constitution the clauses guaranteeing the republics the right of each of their native languages as the republic's official language. Opposition to this move

brought hundreds of protesters into the streets of Tbilisi, capital of Georgia, on April 14. The protesters marched from the university campus about a mile through downtown to the steps of the government building where the Georgian parliament was meeting to adopt the new constitution. They carried placards demanding their "native language." Similar demonstrations took place in the Armenian republic.

Confronted with such opposition the authorities backed down and restored the clause guaranteeing the indigenous language as the official language of the republic. On April 15, a revised draft of the proposed constitution was published. It stated that "the state language of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic is Georgian."

Shortly after the demonstrations in Georgia, a filmmaker, Avtandil Imanaza, was arrested (April 25) for his role in the language protest.

INCREASED PERSECUTION

Several documents which have recently reached the West describe the persecution of the families and friends of human rights activists in Ukraine. The brother of former political prisoner L. Lukianenko, was again arrested in December last year, has been under constant surveillance by the KGB for several months, and his wife has been summoned several times to meet with KGB representatives after she signed a protest in 1976 in defence of Ukrainian historian and political prisoner Valentin Moroz. Other members of their family have also been questioned and harassed by the KGB.

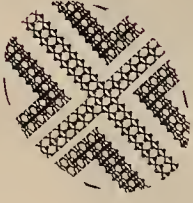
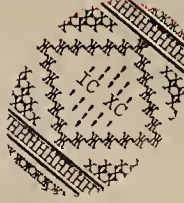
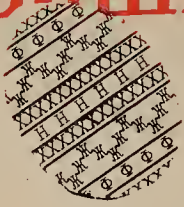
Former political prisoners are also kept under heavy surveillance. Vasyil Ovsienko, who was released from a Mordovian labor camp after being sentenced in 1973 to four years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," has not been allowed to work as a teacher, his profession. He is continually threatened with new imprisonment for participation in any form of political activity.

BAHRO

Rudolf Bahro, a Marxist imprisoned by the East German government, is receiving growing international support. Bahro has been held in prison since he was arrested in August 1977 for publishing in West Germany a book called *The Alternative — A Critique of Existing Socialism*. Bahro is charged with espionage and reports indicate that a secret trial is about to begin. Following are some examples of the activities undertaken in defence of Bahro:

- In West Germany a group of university professors is demanding Bahro's release and is seeking permission to visit him in prison;
- In Britain supporters have issued an open letter signed by Tamara Deutscher, Jan Kavan, Ken Coates, the National Organization of Labour Students, and others, asking organizations in the workers' movement to join the effort to win Bahro's release;
- In West Berlin, the Committee to Free Rudolf Bahro is gathering signatures on petitions, organizing public meetings, and conducting a campaign to publicize the case in the press;
- In France a defense committee has been formed and has issued an appeal to many prominent individuals. Jean Elleinstein, a leader of the French Communist Party, and Simone de Beauvoir were among the first signers. A rally is planned for May 31 in which exiled East German poet Wolf Biermann will participate.

ВИШИВАНИЙ ПАПІР: Шість віршів Яр



Письменний Писанкар

НЕГРИЧ АНДРІЙ

20 вересня 1913

23 вересня 1913

В.Й.П.

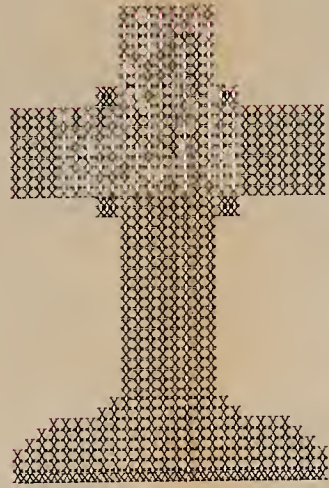
Поема відкрита на цвинтарі в околиці Давфіну (Манітоба)

НЕГРИЧ АНТІН

23 вересня 1915

3 березня 1916

В.Й.П.



КАМІННИЙ ХРЕСТ



The poems on this page — they are poems, not graphics — consciously belong to a tradition of poetry that extends back through the ages, in varied but related forms, to the civilization of the ancient Greeks. And although this literary legacy may be said to embrace picto-poetic manifestations in a diverse range of cultures — encompassing, for example, the calligraphy of the Middle and Far East — the particular poems reproduced here are most properly placed within the European world. More specifically, they are the direct descendants of several extant verses composed in Greece more than three hundred years before Christ and chiselled by craftsmen into slabs and disks of stone, the arrangement of words producing easily recognizable images. One such poem is in the shape of an axe-head; another is arranged in the shape of an altar.

But it could be argued, with some justification, that the real roots of these "visual" poems go back even further, to a time before the first alphabet, the hieroglyphs and ornamented *pysanky*, to the roots of writing itself. For in pictorial accounts from the lives of our primitive forebearers — whether the events recorded have historic, mythic or magical objectives — we find the seeds from which writing sprang. The child-like pictures drawn with twigs on sand, and the often skillfully executed scenes done on cave walls with charcoal and time-resistant dyes, mark the first tentative steps that humankind took on a long road that eventually led to a schematized visual codification of speech. Although spindly prehistoric figures dancing with spears around a bison may seem to be far removed from the words on this page, it should be remembered that both do essentially the same thing in a very similar way: namely, record and communicate human experience by visual means.

Some of the pictographic sources of writing can still be detected in the written languages we use today, especially in those of the Orient. Have you ever wondered why — or is it just a coincidence — the letter "o" mimics the shape that your mouth makes when you utter the corresponding sound? Admittedly, most of the symbols in contemporary European writing systems have been stylized to the point where the original image latent in many letters is no longer discernable to the inexperienced eye; research, however, has managed to establish the history of a number of familiar sound designations, and in many instances the evolutionary thread goes back to a pictured object.

More immediate and obvious ancestors of the poems accompanying this brief explanation are the pattern poems of George Herbert (1593-1633) in the English tradition and the "labyrinths" and other verses of Ivan Velychikovski (167-1701) in the Ukrainian tradition. The uninhibited appreciation that these and other poets of the late Renaissance had for poems



КАМІННИЙ ХРЕСТ

НЕГРИЧ РОЗАЛКА

II грудня 1919

10 жовтня 1920

В.І.П.

НЕГРИЧ АНІЛКА

4 листопада 1922

30 березня 1923

В.І.П.

НЕГРИЧ ВІРА

8 жовтня 1923

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„Хохол” Голота

(портрет)

as aesthetic objects — to be enjoyed, like paintings, in their totality — and their fascination for words as syllabic constructs, are part of the heritage that a number of leading modern poets have consciously drawn on. Though scholars have long dismissed the work of these poets (and Baroque art in general) as trivial, excessively ornamental, and not worth serious study, there are indications that established opinion is beginning to shift and that poets such as Herbert and Velychkovski are about to be re-appraised by cultural historians.

This revived interest and respect for the literary aspect of the Baroque is in part attributable to the enthusiasm generated by the most recent manifestation of the visual tradition in poetry, loosely described as the "concrete" movement. It should be noted, however, that the term "concrete poetry" is somewhat vaguely applied to a wide variety of experimental verse, not all of which is visual in the sense of the poems on this page. Oral, sculptural and conceptual poems — are also included in the genre of the "concrete." The present revival of the Baroque sensibility in verse can be traced with some explicitness back to the immediate post-World War II period and the experiments of a poet (living in Switzerland) named Eugen Gomringer, and several Brazilian writers known as the Noigandres group. Since their initiation of the literary current now known as the concrete, other poets around the world have taken up the form.

Although it is foolish to even begin to explain some of the factors behind the concrete phenomenon, restricted as one is by the narrow columns of words on this page, a few observations might be helpful for initiates. First, it should be noted that part of the impetus towards the concrete comes from a feeling that language is being exhausted from overuse (we are subjected to an increasingly intense barrage of words transmitted to us through the mass media of TV, radio, newspapers, tapes, records, magazines, and books, books, books) and debased by misuse, the chief villains being advertisers, politicians, bureaucrats and academics. Hence, the formalism of much concrete poetry and the escape of many poets into the sensuous realm of shapes and sounds. Another factor contributing to the current explosion of the concrete has been the relentless advance of technology. Computers, multi-track recording techniques, electric typewriters and letraset, besides radically altering the environment we live in, have dramatically amplified and extended the range of poets, providing them with the mechanical voiceboxes necessary to speak to the citizens of a technologically sophisticated age. As one Canadian poet, bp Nichol has exclaimed, "the language revolution is happening all round you." I hope these poems in *Student* attest to that fact.

Jaroslavl Balan

A note about the author

Jaroslav Balan (jr.) is a Toronto poet presently doing an M.A. in English literature — his focus of interest being concrete poetry — at the University of Alberta, in Edmonton. His poems have appeared over the years in various Canadian literary magazines and journals, and he has written lyrics for two popular half-hour musicals produced in Toronto, for Caravan, by the Odessa Group. A former student of Creative Writing at the Banff School of Fine Arts — he received a Canada Carmén Award for Poetry in 1971 — he received a Canada Council Grant in 1974 to spend five months writing on the Ukrainian-Canadian experience, past and present. The poems from "Embroidered Paper" date from this period. At the moment he is editing manuscripts for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and preparing for the course he teaches in Ukrainian literature (in English translation) each summer at Selk. He hopes to have several selections of his poems ready for publication in two-three years.

BABA

Raymond Serwyo

There she sat, a sagging heap of chest and arms. With the smallest movement, braile-like blue veins squirmed silently in the elephant legs and work-worn hands. On her belly her great maternal breasts, like bottom-filled sacks, tinnily found a resting place. The dead mass of hair, recently posed by her daughter-in-law, lay on her head. Baba often had her hair set by Karen; always for events she had been only incidentally invited to. But this day was to be unlike any of those others. Today, the family was gathering because of her.

"Seventy years — to the day! — she's been here." Karen frowned, wrapping and unwrapping the telephone cord about her fingers. "She still can't speak more than twenty words to me!" Baba had settled in Swan River, and that, or rather the corridor which stretched from the farm to Winnipeg, was Canada to her. A four hour drive — and Baba never really understood how a country could be much larger. From her home town in Ukraine, such a lengthy drive in any direction would have meant passports and armed guards. The night hazed by years and miles, a vision of her father, after he had tried to sneak across the western border, convulsed Baba in her seat.

Baba had now lived in the city for the last ten years. "Ivan asks her at least once a week to move in with us — God, how we fight about that!" Karen's lips were drawn tight. She stared at the back of the old lady's head, watching it bob forward. "I'll give her credit for that, though. She's never accepted. I told her: 'Baba, you're doing the right thing. You've got a nice home of your own.' Baba lived in the North End, close to the parish church. Those were her two patches of Ukraine: a house that smelled of her home village; the walls continually giving back the odours they stole from countless numbers of pyrohy; and St. Sofia, the second Ukrainian church founded in the city, a pioneer that was soon to be either renovated or destroyed, depending upon who told the story. Along with five of six other matricarchs who had no place to go, Baba spent all her mornings in the empty nave. It was their morning ritual; they didn't have to waste their lime sending children off to school, or brushing their own toothless gums. Baba smiled when she opened her eyes. She saw her son's wedding picture sitting on the television cabinet in front of her. He had been married in



St. Sofia's. Between church and home, Baba had to travel through foreign land. Down MacGregor street east on Selkirk Avenue, and two blocks north on Churchill Road. On the way back she would make stops for her bread, milk, and fruit. "No, she still has a bit of garden in the backyard — you know, carrots and onions, tomatoes. She rarely had to buy vegetables. She even brings us some ... The chickens?" Karen laughed. "God, no! She had to get rid of them a long time ago. Mrs. Weimar reported her ... you know, the one who lives across the lane. Yes, she did. She reported Baba to the Department of Health. Ivan had to go down and help the poor guy explain it to her. She never understands what's going on." Baba now got her eggs from a Menonite farmer. Every Tuesday he would park his truck in front of Mrs. Weimar's place, and it would stay there the entire morning. During her shopping strolls Baba used to rest at the Prince

George Hotel, but no longer. She used to love her two draft, quickly washing down her parched throat with one, even before she took off her babushka. Dragged down so suddenly, the head of foam would lay ravished on the insides of the entire glass. The second beer lasted longer, and the white velvety head gradually melted into the golden ale. Baba never bought more than two beer — sixty cents was her limit, yet it was no longer worth it. Three years ago a shirtless drunk was flung into her table, and knocked unconscious. "Listen to this," Karen laughed, switching the phone to her other ear, "Baba said ... she said she never went back because the bartender wouldn't replace the two beer that got smashed! Can you believe that?"

The extra sixty cents Baba saved now went to the church. Every Monday night she and Mrs. Svarich played bingo — a quarter a card, and the extra dime to phone Karen when it was all over. Baba stretched her hands to the edge of

the arm rests. She thought how stupid that was: Phoning was a waste of time and money! If it wasn't for Mrs. Svarich's bad legs, Baba would have certainly walked home. "Look, Josie, every single Monday night I'd come there at eleven o'clock — sharp — and sit and wait in the damn car, just sit and wait until she finally decided to waddle out of that bingo hall. That Special-Any-Two-Across-Twenty-Dollar-Jackpot-or-whatever-you-call-it was the last straw. I'm not her chauffeur! I just couldn't wait any longer." Baba had wanted to walk home, but Mrs. Svarich insisted that she phone. She had won that night, and even offered to pay for the call from her winnings. Baba laughed to herself, remembering how Svarich always farted whenever she yelled out 'Bingo!' It was one of the hazards of her winning. Ivan finally picked them up.

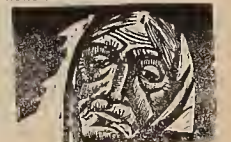
The vertical hold had slipped ten minutes ago, yet Baba still stared at the floating image, continually rising anew upon the televi-

sion screen. Against her wrinkled cheek she now pressed a darkly spotted wad of tissue. The sore bled where she had picked it. Her son had not been unlucky, she thought. There were pretty Ukrainian girls back on the farm, though not one would have been a better wife for Ivan. But better daughter-in-laws? Without Ivan, Baba had no one to talk to. Karen didn't understand her, and if she had had the language, she didn't have the patience. She felt it was enough to do Baba's hair. "Let me tell you, Josie, it's no picnic. I just hate touching those crusty strands of hair."

"Nu, Neeschoh!" sighed Baba. And she was right — it didn't matter. As long as her Ivan was happy. Her life no longer mattered. Baba tried to find a dry spot on the Kleenex, to blot her streaked cheek. She was getting tired waiting for her son. He should have been home from work by now. The party for Baba was his idea. Again Baba began to doze off, letting her hand fall from her face. Her chin sank slowly onto her chest. She dreamt of the rusted freight boat, bringing her and her lover across. Pain grimaced her face, and jerked it up. A saturated pad slid from her jaw onto her sequined collar. Still not here, she murmured. Baba's head now rolled to the side, and wedged itself into the corner of the chair. Her useless veins seemed still and dark, snow blue. The old hands and feet had stopped aching, anesthetized by cold.

"Ok, I've got to go, Josie." Karen jumped and smoothed down her slacks. "Maybe she wants something. I'll call you tomorrow ... Sure, I'll tell her ... but you could do it yourself next weekend. She's not going anywhere. And she's still as strong as a horse ... You'll see — she'll outlive us all."

Karen began clattering the dishes onto the supper table. In the living room all was quiet. Images no longer flitted up and down the television screen, but remained fixed. The porch door slapped shut, and Karen went to meet her husband. The old lady's head hung to one side, and the waxy hair, so recently set by Karen, stared like a clump of icy lead. The six o'clock news droned on and on.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR — (continued from page 2)

JIVE

(continued from page 2)

the wrong time to confirm this suspicion. The OUN-b inspired "Dobush affair" sparked the huge 1972 wave of arrests in Ukraine. When Leonid Plyushch came to Canada in the fall of 1977 as the official representative of the Helsinki monitoring groups in the USSR, the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (LVU) went into convulsions and vetoed the invitation extended by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to Plyushch to speak at its Congress (in fact LVU boycotted the Congress because of the "threat" that Plyushch might even attend the Congress, as a guest), thereby effectively destroying the solidarity of the Ukrainian community in the West with the opposition in the Soviet Union. Most recently, the carefully staged arrest of the British student Klymchuk for smuggling "anti-Soviet" materials into Soviet Ukraine and the linking of his case to the OUN-b was followed by a renewed series of arrests of Soviet oppositionists. The machinations involved in this case were so obvious that even the respected

British Journal *The Economist* (January 14-20, 1978) has come to the conclusion that "the Banderite organization has been deeply penetrated by Soviet agents; the fact that the KGB appears to have known all about Andrei Klymchuk before he set foot on Russian soil suggests this view."

One should not, however, make the mistake of assuming that because the politics of its leaders is questionable that the various "Banderite" organizations are of no use. Its rank and file members in fact often oppose (albeit weakly and not often) the unilateral decisions of their leaders, and their children couldn't care less (as long as they can socialize and have a "good time" they are happy). Their existing network of organizations is potentially of valuable social service, if it is not allowed to be permeated by the anachronistic politics of the upper crust. As the old Ukrainian proverb goes, "a fish smells from the head down."

The question of possible KGB infiltration of Ukrainian emigre organizations (and also why they would be doing so) is certainly one which should merit discussion at the next convention of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. The question of who, if anybody, is

empowered to speak in the name of the entire Ukrainian nation should also be considered, if only to discourage the leaders of a few thousand summer camp organizers from assuming the voice of fifty million people. And finally, the role of the Ukrainians in the West must be discussed and re-evaluated, if only to prevent the tragedy of hundreds of fervent nationalists spending their entire lives battering their heads against the "iron curtain" only to find that their children would rather go to a disco than learn Ukrainian.

In solidarity,
Pavlo Bilyk
London

SEMOTIUK TAKEN TO TASK

Andriy Semotiuk's article, "The Ukrainian Community is Undemocratic," which appeared in the March-April issue of *Student*, seeks to offer alternate directions for the Ukrainian community.

Semotiuk argues that the plethora of problems facing the Ukrainian community today will be resolved once the organizational

structure of the community is democratized. His solution to our community's problems is to transform the nature of our organizations until they reflect the democratic environment we live in. The questions we are forced to ask Andriy are: Is democratization a community need, and whose interests will be served by making the KYK praeidium available to anyone who has the pull?

These questions are not rhetorical. KYK, along with other representative Ukrainian organizations, has been actively promoting community interests at all levels of government. The reward for over three decades of this "responsible representation" has been the gradual assimilation and disintegration of the Ukrainian community. Does the Ukrainian community need more of this "responsible representation"? Whose interests have been served by KYK?

Andriy attempts to resolve the first question by rhetorically arguing the second. He shows time and time again in his article that the formal juridical nature of Ukrainian organizations keeps alive an old guard. What Andriy fails to mention is that at one point in time this old guard was a vibrant part of the

community; in fact, the elite. Now that the community has changed, the need for the contemporary elite is to take over these leading organizations. Yet the inability to perform this changing of the guard arises because the social change within the community is held back by formalistic limits. This tension is reflected by a crisis within the community.

The crisis stems from competition for the control of the organizational structure of our community. This competition is being waged across Canada within the Ukrainianelite. On the one hand the political and social leaders of the last immigration serve as 'spokesmen' for the community, because they control the legitimate organizational structure of the community. On the other hand the most successful group, the business and professional elite, has attained a higher social standing within the general society. Thus it, also, claims to serve as a 'spokesman' for community interests. The struggle between the two limits the effectiveness of our

(SEMOTIUK continued on page 11)

META: WEDLOCK OR DEADLOCK?

A Ukrainian dating-marriage service called "Meta," which has been active for at least five years under the patronage of the WCFU (World Congress of Free Ukrainians), has recently come under severe criticism.

Mr. O.M. Tyshovnytskyj, who heads the organization and has been pushing the idea of voluntary Ukrainian dating service for fifteen years, feels that mixed marriages are a major factor in the assimilation of young Ukrainians. In response to this, he has suggested that the "Central Bureau of Ukrainian Marriage — Meta" could introduce young people to each other on a voluntary basis. **New Perspectives**, the monthly English language supplement to **Novij Shiyakh** (Toronto), criticized the Meta idea in its April 29, 1978 edition, stating editorially that Meta's purpose was, "in simple terms, to introduce nice Ukrainian boys to nice Ukrainian girls with matrimony being the ultimate goal," and that, "one cannot help but be amazed at the sociological and psychological naivete that is embodied in this type of effort."

The type of criticism levelled by **New Perspectives** is somewhat unwarranted in that it sets out to belittle the efforts that Meta has made. **New Perspectives** states that an increasing number of Ukrainian marriages will occur only if Ukrainian endeavours are extended into the day to day fields of work, school, sports, recreation, and entertainment." This analysis suggests that endogamy (in-group marriage) is not the key variable to maintaining our community as a cohesive social grouping. **New Perspectives** takes the position that "institutional completeness" will create proper conditions for relating or reversing the assimilatory process. In fact the idea of primary group relationships (informal relationships with friends as op-

posed to formal "business relationships"), being the key assimilatory variable was brought together into a comprehensive theory of assimilation by Milton Gordon (Assimilation in American Life, Oxford, 1964). This theory is now viewed with hesitation by many sociologists, although all acknowledge the importance of Gordon's contribution to the study of ethnicity.

The process of assimilation is multi-dynamic and combatting it involves many more variables than just endogamy or institutional completeness. Nevertheless endogamy is a very important factor, and for Ukrainians presently is crucial as the number of mixed marriages is increasing sharply.

The idea of a Ukrainian dating service is a good one, and appears to receive quick support in our community, even among the university crowd. I informally quizzed. The efforts of Meta be congratulated yet the approach is incorrect.

It is generally true that our community's mores and values stress marrying within the Ukrainian community for nebulous patriotic reasons, including the racist concept of keeping the Ukrainian people "pure." People who do not conform to the pressures of family and ethnic group to marry Ukrainians are "excommunicated" in various ways from the community.

The social reality of our situation, with respect to the marriage problem, calls for a more practical and different approach than that which the organized Ukrainian community takes presently. Meta's

* The theory has been used as a model in very few empirical studies over the last fifteen years — the relationship of the variables is unknown and successful operationalization of the theory may be impossible. Some have criticized different parts of the theory, whereas others feel it is on the whole a fruitless tautology.



main goal should be to stress endogamy not as a patriotic service, but as a socially desirable goal. Meaningful relationships can be

built with any individual, but rewarding family experiences for children and for the children's grandparents will probably be enhanced in the

case of a marriage within one's own ethno-social group.

Meta's second priority, barring the success of the first, should be to remove the present negative sanctions against mixed marriage couples which by various methods of ostracization force them out of our community. This concept is one alternative not considered by "Meta" or **New Perspectives**. One way of doing this could be by the preparation of educational materials which a non-Ukrainian marrying a Ukrainian could read to become familiarized with the Ukrainian community, traditions, obligations etc. Meta could also work with the Ukrainian churches (Metropolitans of both large churches have already offered their blessings) to propagate the use of religious rituals which would formally "legitimize" an outsider's entrance in the community. This would be a recognition of the fact that is not strictly blood designated. Mixed marriages do not necessarily have to destroy our ethnic group if the children of mixed marriages are educated, socialized, and treated like the children of so-called "perfect Ukrainian couples."

An organized effort must be made, but not on the basis of marriage as a patriotic service. In the case of mixed marriages it would be much more desirable, in terms of our ethnic group's continued existence to ensure that when a Ukrainian marries out of our community, the weight of the community will be thrown behind the couple, and not against them. **New Perspectives** is doubly faulted for unwarranted criticism and for not developing the alternative they offer on how to get Ukrainian endeavours into the work place, recreation, sports, schools and entertainment.

Vera Dumyn

TORONTO RALLY IN DEFENCE OF SOVIET WORKERS

THE GENERAL AND THE SPECIFIC

More than five hundred people in Toronto attended a rally May 19 in solidarity with the Association of Free Trade Union of Workers in the USSR.

The rally was held in the midst of a new wave of crackdowns on Soviet dissidents. A day earlier the chairperson of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group — Yuri Orlov — was sentenced to a twelve year sentence.

The rally was organized by the Toronto Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (CDSP) and the Human Rights Commission of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK), and received endorsement from a dozen local unions, Amnesty International, the NDP, and the CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions). Speakers included Terry Meagher (secretary-treasurer of the Ontario Federation of Labour), Michael Cassidy (leader of the Ontario NDP), Norman Penner (labour historian and author of *The Canadian Left*), David Orlikow (MP for Winnipeg North, NDP), and James Lockyer, national secretary of Amnesty International (Canada). The main speaker was Petro Grigorenko, former leading human rights activist in the USSR.

Grigorenko, whom another dissident, Leonid Plyushch, described as a "Leninist-Bolshevik," joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1927 and received the rank of major-general in the Soviet army. Grigorenko began his dissident activities in the early 1960s when he publicly accused Khrushchev of re-creating a new "cult of personality," and subsequently founded the Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism. Grigorenko was placed in a psychiatric hospital for the second time in 1969, at the height of the first recent wave of arrests, and remained there until his release in 1974. Grigorenko co-founded both the Kiev and Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Groups. He was stripped of his Soviet citizenship while on a visit to the U.S. in February, 1978. Currently, Grigorenko is campaigning to be admitted back into the Soviet Union.

The rally was highlighted by the labour representatives' support, in their speeches, of the current working class opposition in the



Will the good general please make up my mind.

Soviet Union. Most of David Orlikow's speech was a commentary on the recent revelations of illegal activities of the RCMP:

"We realize that we don't have a complete democracy in Canada. We regret that. We have noticed with dismay the unwillingness of the Trudeau government to speak up on behalf of dissidents in Eastern Europe and in other parts of the world. We regret that very much."

Michael Cassidy's speech was one of the better articulated statements on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that the NDP has made to date. He characterized Soviet society as being not a form of socialism, but of state capitalism, and drew attention to Chile and South Africa:

"We must... (dissolve) the impression that some right-wing forces in the West have conveyed that we are somehow less strongly opposed to the harsh treatment which is meted out to individual human beings in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat... I'm pleased to associate myself and my

party with these trade union representatives, those brave few hundred who are in the Soviet Union and with those representatives who are here tonight in expressing our commitment to free collective bargaining and the rights of workers both here in Canada and in the Soviet Union..."

Norm Penner gave a spell-binding speech:

"There is no Socialism without democracy, and, as Marx insisted, there is no socialism that does not liberate the human spirit and uplift human dignity. The theory of socialist democracy that Stalin developed, and that the present leadership repeats, holds that what is important is not so much the formal aspects of democracy but the economic base — namely the social control of the means of production. This was the just of Stalin's famous speech of November 25, 1936 in launching the new Soviet constitution. With that kind of argument Stalin was able — shortly thereafter — to launch this new constitution which he claimed was the best and freest in the whole world. He was also able to launch one of the biggest purges and massacres in human history whose victims were mainly communists and supporters of socialism. What this illustrated in such a tragic fashion was that the so-called formal aspects of democracy are just as important as the economic ones. Without political rights, the social control of the means of production is an abstraction, for without political rights, this control is exercised by the party leadership..."

Grigorenko's speech followed Penner's. He began by disassociating himself from the NDP:

"I want to start by disagreeing with the representative of the NDP who talked about socialism combined with democracy. My experience shows that there will be either socialism or democracy (applause). I cannot im-

agine democratic socialism (applause)."

Grigorenko's views are reminiscent of those put forth by Soviet human rights activists in the mid-1960s such as Andrei Sakharov and Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Grigorenko calls for observance of the laws that exist in the USSR:

"There are many bad laws in the USSR. We want even these bad laws to be observed. At this stage, we are not ready to demand a change in these laws. We demand that you observe the laws you yourselves have made. The worst law is better than no law..."

Grigorenko's views are by no means representative of the current opposition in the USSR. For those active in defending the rights of all political prisoners in the USSR, Grigorenko's views have raised several important questions:

1. How did Grigorenko's views evolve from "Bolshevism-Leninism" to the far right in such a short period of time?

2. How are we to understand the contradictory role of his views — in the USSR Grigorenko played a positive objective role while in the West, he does not.

Grigorenko's crude caricatures and racist comments throughout the evening were a source of embarrassment even to the right-wing element in the audience. Unfortunately, discussion and debate was not allowed. Some of the rally's organizers publicly disassociated themselves from his views, while simultaneously affirming the necessity to defend the democratic rights of free speech for all dissidents in Eastern Europe and the USSR, regardless of their political orientation.

Grigorenko is scheduled to speak at this year's SUSK Congress in Winnipeg. An attempt should be made by the organizers of the Congress to allow Grigorenko the opportunity to discuss and debate with student activists his perspectives for defending the Soviet opposition.

Я не буду викладати тут тих думок, які висловлюються під час цих обговорень, який зміст суперечок, які при цьому виникають, і тому под. Це могло б послужити темою для окремої статті (і не однієї). Тут я хотів би лише підкреслити, що при обговоренні подібних питань неминучим приспівом у нас завжди звучить усе та сама думка: "А цікаво, що ж вони там, на еміграції, думають щодо цього питання, вони вже напевно підготували на них не вмоторські, а обгрунтовані відповіді: і вже в усюкому разі обговорення в них відбуваються не на нашому, а на відповідному професійному рівні". І ще одна: "Як було б цікаво узяти ті думки, які опрацювала еміграція, про ті її справи, які в цьому напрямі вже довершені". Однак, хоч і як це прикро, інформації стосовно цього від вас ми не одержуємо зовсім.

Чому ми так покладаємося на еміграцію?

Поперше, тому, що на Заході існують вільні умови для обговорення всіх питань, і при їх обговоренні еміграція диспонує можливістю користуватися незмірно більшою, ніж ми, кількістю інформації.

Подруге, тому, що еміграція професійна й організована: адже зрозуміле, що раз на еміграції існує професійна функційна литовська політична система, то й питання, що стоять перед нею, теж обговорюються професійно; можливості ж широкої й вільної організації повинні, як нам здається, забезпечити достатню масовість і дієвість цих обговорень — достатню для того, щоб у їх наслідку була досягнута така політична структуралізація еміграційної громадськості, яка являла б собою більш-менш адекватне відображення потенційної політичної структури суспільства країни.

Третя дуже важлива обставина стосується тих надій, які ми пов'язуємо з литовською молоддю, що виростає і формується в демократичних умовах західного суспільства; позбувшись неминучого для нас провинціалізму і пов'язаних з ним забобів, опанувавши новий соціальний і політичний досвід, ця молодь, як нам здається, може внести в нашу політичну культуру західний досвід, зокрема так конкретно потрібний нам дух терпимості.

Почетверте, тому, що, будучи вільними представниками нашого народу, емігранти й їх організації у вільному світі можуть вільно налагоджувати зв'язки з так само ж вільними представниками інших народів (російського, польського, німецького, латиського, естонського, українського і т. д.) та їх організаціями; подібні зв'язки дозволяють закласти основи для кращого взаєморозуміння, для узгодження спільних позицій і, більше того, для спільних дій як у роботі для досягнення спільних для нас усіх цілей у сучасному, так і в пошуку основ міцних добросусідських відносин між нашими країнами в майбутньому.

Поп'яте, сьогодні в емігрантське середовище все ширше вливається нова кров, нові люди, що добре ознайомлені з сучасним становищем у країні і мають достатню кваліфікацію і зацікавленість, щоб на повну силу включитися в усю цю діяльність еміграції.

Не закінчення хотілося б сказати ще кілька слів про визвольну діяльність, яку, як теж неодноразово доводилося чути, ведуть наші емігрантські організації. Нам не зовсім зрозуміле (тобто зовсім не зрозуміле), як ви на еміграції це поймаєте — визвольна діяльність — тлумачите. Чи означає ця робота, наприклад, те, що ви сприяєте створенню в Литві підлітків організації опору? Ми діяльності таких організацій не відчуваємо, і я мушу одверто признатися, не дуже з цього приводу хвилюємося. Крови уже було пролито більше, ніж треба, число жертв дійшло близько третини всієї нації, а їх наслідки? Звичайно, славні (і то не завжди) сторінки історії. Звичайно, орієнтири, на які ірарод, здобувши свободу, може ривитися. Але в ім'я цих цілей можна було принести в жертву і менше життів. Що ж! Історію вже не переробиш, але вивести з неї науку кінечно потрібно. А наука ця здається їм дуже ясною, власними силами нам радянського

тоталітаризму не позбутися, так само, як не могли його позбутися власними силами ні східні німці, ні угорці, ні поляки, ні чехи з словаками, хоч і намагалися. Не допоможе нам у цьому й Захід (згадані народи його допомоги теж не одержали), бо для нього тепер найважливіше закріпити політичний статус quo, тобто ту зрівноважену силою ситуацію, яка уклапалася в сучасному світі.

Отож, висновок можливий тільки один: доля всіх уярмлених комунізмом народів (у тому числі й російського народу) єдина, і вирішуватися вона буде в одній точці — а Москві. У межах цього листа немає потреби в тому, щоб обговорювати ті можливі шляхи й форми, в яких ця доля буде вирішуватися, чи те, який вклад у це вирішення може принести наш невеликий народ. Важливо лише підкреслити, що радянська влада приречена на загибель силою внутрішніх законів свого власного розвитку.

Треба також усвідомити й те, що світканове проміння свободи автоматично іділії нам не принесе. Протягом довгого часу стримувані під тяжким пресом глобальна сили і пристрасті, вирвавшись на волю, неминуче будуть виявлятися в руйнівній дії. Викликані цими силами конфлікти й сутички можуть коштувати нам багато крові. І, не дай Боже, їй надовго затемнити проміння сонця нашої свободи, що сходить. Наше єдине спільне завдання, видно, полягає в тому, щоб не допустити такого розвитку подій. Таким чином, головний профіль визвольної роботи, як я її розумію, зміститься в тому, щоб уже тепер почати належно готуватися до завтрашнього дня свободи, готуватися так, щоб прийти до нього максимально врівняно, максимально організовано і при мінімумі втрат.

Ми, ті, що перебувають у кривні, зобов'язані робити все можливе для того, щоб зберегти в оптимальному стані для цього завтрашнього дня плоть нашої нації. Ви ж, на еміграції, повинні були б з мого погляду, готувати нові соціально-політичні основи існування нашої нації в умовах свободи (спільно, звичайно, з еміграціями сусідніх з нами народів). А разом з тим (уже сьогодні) треба робити все, що лише можна, щоб ви краще пізнали нас, а ми вас. Ввезення вашої літератури і преси в країну, належно організовані радіопересилання, підтримування постійних інтенсивних зв'язків між тими, що призять погостювати на Батьківщину, емігрантами і нашими людьми в країні — ось що тепер, по-моєму, практично найважливіше.

Я хотів би, щоб цей мій лист був сприйнятий як заклик до максимально налагодженого і напруженого розвитку цієї роботи, для початку ж хоча б у вигляді відгуку на те, що в цьому листі прямо запропоноване, як заклик подати нам новішу інформацію про вас і розгорнути обговорення поставлених у ньому проблем. Тільки на основі такого навіязаного між країною й еміграцією діялугу, тільки на базі нашої спільної праці плоть нашої нації в годину свободи зможе органічно воз'єднатися з своїм племям на еміграції розумом і душею і здобути таким робом потрібну повноту й гармонійний зміст.

З пошаною і надією Т. Жвнкліс
Січень 1975

DEFENCE

(continued from page 4)

students and other progressive organizations. In many ways the Soviet Union and its allied Communist Parties are more effectively influenced by these organizations, in which they have tried to build a base of support, than by the ritualistic anti-communist pronouncements of President Carter. Therefore this perspective involves SUSK taking the issue of the defense of Soviet political prisoners into students organizations, labour federations, etc. attempting to win support for human rights. Such a perspective takes defense work out of just the Ukrainian community and forces it to be relevant to Canadian society as a whole. Years of government lobbying by the traditional Ukrainian organizations have left us with nothing but 'discreet inquiries' and empty proclamations. SUSK is a student federation, an important component of the overall student body; there is no reason why the Ontario Federation of Students or the National Union of Students couldn't be persuaded to take a stand on this question, just as they have spoken up against the repression of Chilean and South African activists.

The next SUSK Congress will be a decisive congress for defense work. Pyotr Grigorenko has been invited to speak, and this should provide the opportunity for a thorough going discussion of the need for defense work, the state of the opposition in Ukraine, and the strategies which SUSK should adopt. I have raised these points in a preliminary way; hopefully the discussion will continue.

CONFERENCE NOTICE

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies is organizing an academic conference in Ottawa on September 15-16 dealing with "Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians." On September 17 SUSK will be organizing a workshop to discuss the concrete implications and ramifications of the presentations at the above conference, and to evaluate the role SUSK and Ukrainian youth groups have played and can continue to play in community development. Some of the position papers for the workshop will be discussed at the SUSK Congress in Winnipeg, August 24-27.

If you would like to have more information about the workshop, or would like to contribute to it, contact the SUSK National Office, 11246-91 St., Edmonton, Alberta, T6B 4A2.

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SEMOTIUK

(continued from page 8)

organizational structure, since both are fighting to appear as the responsible representatives of the community.

Semotiuik's ideological explanation of the democratic movement's goals places him in the camp of the business and professional elite. On the one hand Semotiuik seeks to pursue new channels of social power, while on the other he seeks to develop a new Ukrainian community within this society. Both of these projects are inimical to the old elite. For them the question is not the pursuit of social power, but rather its maintenance. Also for them the question is not the development of a new community, but the maintenance of the old.

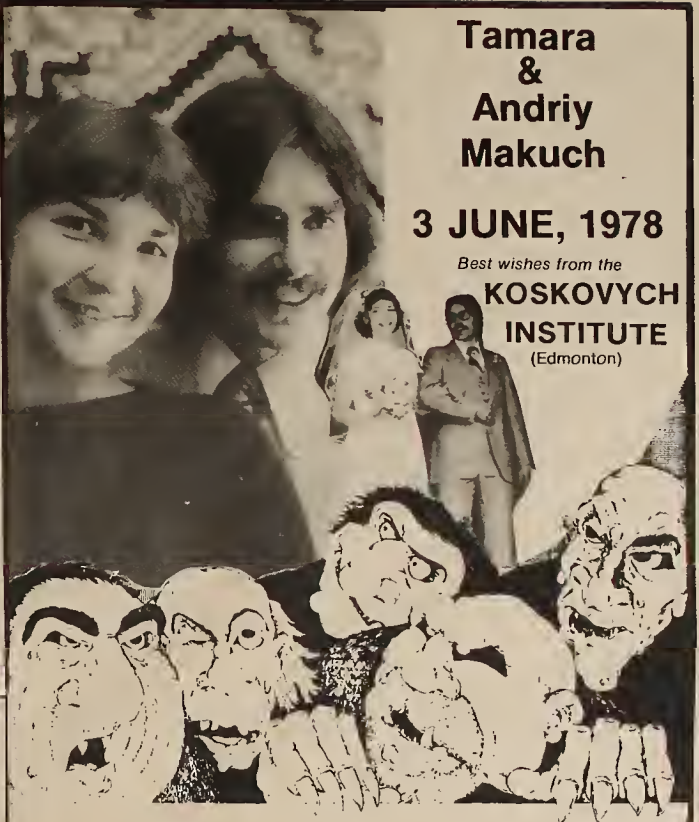
For the professionals and businessmen the contrary is the case. This group seeks to develop its control over the established organizations. Also they seek to mobilize the community behind themselves. Both of these projects are vital to their success. Control over organizations legitimizes the social distance between this elite and the rest of the Ukrainian community, and the mobilization of the community around vital and visible ends enables the new elite to play the role of power brokers. This is vital for the elite's advancement within our Canadian society. However the new elite is opposed by the old, thus there arises a political crisis, the visible aspect of

which is the absence within the community of an authoritative social and political voice.

Within the babble of competing voices, Semotiuik stands out. The reasons for this stems from the fact that he not only provides an ideological justification for the new elite, but also because he seeks to politically mobilize the community for the elite's project. Semotiuik's arguments suggest he is a good mouthpiece for the new elite group's interest. His narcissistic references to Hitler's *Main Kampf* and his bitter denunciation of 'one' of the leftist Ukrainian currents, highlights Semotiuik's desire to be amenable to our capitalist society. The central feature of Semotiuik's desire for accommodation within our Canadian society is visible if we examine how he wishes to mobilize the community. That is, Semotiuik seeks to mobilize the community to maintain its responsible representatives, such as KYK.

After over thirty years of 'responsible representation' at all levels of the Canadian government, can the Ukrainian community survive another thirty years? Furthermore, if the community is to be mobilized, who will benefit more, the community or another self seeking elite? The problem that you address, Andriy, is only that one facing the new elite in its climb to social power!

Yours Truly
J. Strybunetz
Peace River



Tamara
&
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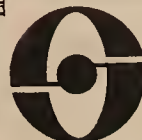
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