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ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

75c

CANADA'S NEWSPAPER FOR UKRAINE & STUDENTS



"TELL HIM TO SAVE IT 'TILL NEXT YEAR —
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CTV NEWS

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A visit to Rideau Hall

Mykhailo Bociurkiw

Prime Time Caroling

Millions of Canadian television viewers had a chance to celebrate Christmas Eve with Canada's first family, during a program called Christmas at Rideau Hall, broadcast coast-to-coast through the CBC Television Network on 24 December. The evening featured a star-studded cast of Canadian artists, including the well-known Ukrainian-Canadian singer, Ed Evanko. For most Canadians, it was their first look inside the official residence of the Governor General.

Two weeks later, almost one hundred members of Ottawa's Ukrainian community came to celebrate a Ukrainian Christmas at Rideau Hall. It marked the third consecutive year that Ukrainian Christmas was commemorated at the official residence of the Governor General, and although the proceedings have never been broadcast nationally, Ottawa Ukrainians take great pride in the fact that they are given an annual opportunity to have an exclusive interactive celebration with Canada's first family.

As in previous years, the festivities took place on 7 January, Ukrainian Christmas day. The even was sponsored by SUSK, under the direction of its Ottawa-based Executive member, Mykhailo Bociurkiw (V.P. - Multiculturalism). In the past, organizers of the gathering had presented exclusively local talent for the concert portion of the program, incorporating Christmas carols, traditional greetings, and last year, Ukrainian folk dancing. But for this year's celebrations at Rideau Hall, Governor General Schreyer and his family were treated to some of the best Ukrainian-Canadian talent available.

At five o'clock, under the blinding rays of television lights and amidst the whir of cameras, a group of carollers entered the Ballroom of Rideau Hall, led by the traditional star, and singing

the carol, 'Dobryi Vechir Tobі'. They presented the master of the household with a *Kolach* and a sheaf of wheat. Ukrainian Christmas greetings were then recited in English, French, and Ukrainian by two of the carollers, Nadia Novostavska and Nadia Zwetkova of Montreal. With all participants now assembled in the same room, the festivities commenced.

Governor General Schreyer,

'conception' of impresario Bohdan Tymyc, combines the talent of the Cheremshyna Vocal Ensemble with a collective of Montreal-based musicians. The thirteen member group had its debut in the fall of 1981, with the release of a Christmas album, *Sviato Rizdva*. The enterprising Tymyc produced and directed the album, and so far, reviews in the Ukrainian press have ranged

sounds of Cheremshyna to that of 'angels in Heaven'. Not a bad review from someone who had just entertained some of Canada's top talent but a few days earlier!

Mykhailo Bociurkiw, who emceed the program, thanked the Governor General for inviting the Christmas delegation into his home when the evening drew to a close at six o'clock. His excellency

Following these remarks, the performers presented the Schreyers with Christmas gifts, and everyone then had a chance to meet the couple, formally being introduced in a receiving line by the vice-regal aide-de-camp. After a brief photo session, all retreated to another part of the residence for an informal reception.

And so, another Ukrainian Christmas at Rideau Hall drew to a successful conclusion. Many rushed home to catch the coverage of the evening on local newscasts, while others embarked on their rounds of Christmas carolling. Mykhailo Bociurkiw, coordinator of the event, seemed especially pleased with the celebration; the idea of supplementing the local talent with a few important unquestionably improved the quality of the show, as even Governor General Schreyer observed. The Rideau Hall celebration marked the second time in two months that the Governor General had met with Ottawa-area Ukrainians. In November, Schreyer attended Ottawa KYK's famous Parliament Hill banquet (on occasion of the 90th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement), where he was showered with an array of gifts that included a blue and yellow bicycle, a Mike Bossy hockey shirt, a set of Ukrainian encyclopedias, and some traditional Ukrainian puppets. He was also treated at that time to some good 'ol home stumping hospitality that included generous portions of Kolomeyka Vodka, *osyltedsi*, *holubtsi*, *kovbasa*, and speeches.

One can only conclude that for Schreyer, such events provide him with a welcome break from the same stuffer company he has to endure in the nation's capital. He quite obviously thinks it's fun to be Ukrainian, and seems quite at home within our community.



Kiev — 1500

T.V.

dressed in his embroidered Ukrainian shirt, sat in the front row with his wife Lillian and their youngest son, Toban. Ottawa's Ukrainian Massed Choir under the direction of Lavrenti Ewashko, began with a selection of carols which they performed with their usual precision and intensity. It was their third year entertaining the first family.

But without a doubt the high point of the evening was the performance given by Montreal's newest up-and-coming Ukrainian vocal/instrumental ensemble, Yevshan Zilya. This latest

from good to excellent.

Members of the ensemble travelled to Ottawa on their own time and expense, but seemed to feel the trip was most worthwhile. They certainly upheld the reputation of their album, giving a half-hour performance that was tightly executed and contained a good balance between vocal and instrumental selections. Even the normally mischievous Toban Schreyer sat in rapt attention throughout Yevshan's performance. Speaking in Ukrainian in his remarks at the conclusion of the show, Schreyer likened the

cy the Governor General then took a few minutes to address the audience, speaking in English, French and Ukrainian as he reminisced about his Ukrainian Christmas visit with Queen Elizabeth two years ago. Being firm believers in Ukrainian traditions, the Governor General and his wife prepared a seasonal serving of *kutia* for a dinner at Buckingham Palace. The dish appeared to have survived the Royal taste test, but Schreyer noted that the Queen Mother thought it might go better with apple pie!

A sour tasting name

Restaurant in a pressure cooker

Does the term "hunky" discriminate against members of British Columbia's Ukrainian community?

That's the question to be resolved by the province's Human Rights Branch at a public hearing set for June of this year. The case involves an action by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional Business Club of Vancouver against Hunky Bill's, a locally-based Ukrainian fast food franchise.

Hunky Bill's is operated by Hunky Konyk, a tough-minded Winnipegger who has incorporated his firm's name, and resolutely opposes changing it.

"I was called Hunky Bill when I was a kid in the north end of Winnipeg while I was growing up," says Konyk. "Hunky is an affable term. In the north end of Winnipeg you were either a Hebe or a Hunk. I was called a hunk like

most of the Ukrainian people who came to Canada."

Despite Konyk's unself-conscious memories of his prairie youth, many Ukrainians are indignant about his insistence upon using the term "hunky". To older Ukrainians it is a reminder when words like hunky and bohunk were slurs against Eastern European immigrants. To their children it provides evidence that ethnic stereotyping is still tolerated in Canada.

The controversy around the company's name has been swirling for the twelve years that it has been operating, but it was only since 1977 that the Ukrainian community has had the confidence to register formal complaints. The forthcoming hearings were initiated in the spring of 1980 after a concerted campaign by the Professional

Business Club and other organizations of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

When it became known that a presentation had been made to the Ministry of Labour (which incorporates the Human Rights Branch) for a hearing, the issue flared up as a media event. Letters appeared in major newspapers condemning Konyk's position. Complainants pointed out that the dictionary defines hunky as a derogatory term, and that Ukrainians were only reacting as would any other ethnic group if names were used such as "Hebe's Deli", "Chink's Food" or "Wop's Pizza".

Several prominent Vancouver columnists, including some who know Konyk personally, defended him as being a hard-working businessman whose only "vice" was success.

Some segments of the Ukrai-

nian Community itself opposed official action against Konyk. They agreed that Hunky Bill was a questionable choice for a company name, but felt that the publicity given the case would only increase the firm's business.

In response to the campaign the Human Rights Branch appointed an officer to investigate the complaint, and subsequently the Labour Minister announced that the question merited a formal hearing.

"Obtaining permission for the hearing is just the first hurdle," explained W. M. Swystun, the lawyer acting for the P's and B's. "I still anticipate a long legal fight."

This is not the first time that Hunky Bill's label has caused him difficulty. In June, 1980 Konyk lost the catering contract he had held with Dauphin's Ukrainian Festival for five years. A Manitoba

firm was hired after Konyk had failed to remove the word Hunky from his advertising following two formal letters asking him to do so.

Despite his critics, Konyk is determined not to budge. He said that he has spent thousands of dollars building up his image, and with estimated assets around \$1 million and plans for prairie franchises, he is not about to abandon it.

And how does he feel about concerns that hunky is a slur against Ukrainians?

"If you can't laugh it off, my friend, then we live in a sick, sick society."

With the June hearing the Ukrainian Community will have its official reply. But with twelve years of use behind him, Konyk is sure to put up a stiff fight against the legal challenge.

Inside: Winterpeg, Ireland and the Ukrainian Question . . .



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

A French Selo?

Je suis un jeune francais d'origine ukrainienne, et je veux vous parler de la "Tchornohora", l'un des rares camps de vacances en France.

Depuis 1974, je passe une partie de mes vacances d'ete pres du village de Rochepeule en Ardeche. C'est vrai que vous ne pouvez pas connaitre, alors peut-etre que si je vous dis que c'est a 100 km au sud-ouest de Lyon, ou alors a 500 km au sud de Paris, vous situez un peu mieux (c'est petit la France! elle rentrerait plus de 18 fois dans le Canada)? Donc, c'est la que sont organises les cours de vacances pour les jeunes d'origines ukrainiennes. Si ce camp a pour nom "Tchornohora", c'est que la region rappelle, pour ceux qui connaissent, les noires montagnes des Karpatas. Beaucoup de collines boisées ou couvertes de paturages. Il y a meme une petite riviere a proximite du camp. La maison elle meme servait a l'origine a filer de la laine. Chaque annee, des modifications sont apportees par des benevoles afin d'ameliorer le cadre de vie.

Jusqu'a maintenant, il y a eu chaque annee deux camps distincts; habituellement, c'est le

camp des "jeunes" qui precede celui des "anciens". Si ces derniers se reunissent pour discuter et se rappeler du bon vieux temps, les jeunes sont la pour apprendre (bien sur, pas que pour ca!). A la fin du camp, un petit spectacle est organise et la qualite du spectacle nous montre qu'en 3 semaines, on peut apprendre pas mal de choses. Il ne faut pas non plus oublier qu'il y a 2 a 3 fois plus d'ukrainiens a Toronto que dans toute la France, une ambiance ukrainienne est donc plus difficile a trouver, alors cette periode de 3 semaines par an est une bonne occasion de raviver ses origines. Les cours de langue ne sont pas superflues car malheureusement peu de jeunes sont capables de s'exprimer en ukrainien. Il y a aussi des cours de chants, de danses, de meme que des travaux manuels tels que la broderie, les perles, les Pysanka, les dessins...etc.

Ces dernieres annees, 70 filles et garcons entre 7 et 18 ans sont venus assister aux cours, encadres par une vingtaine de cadres benevoles afin de perpetuer le folklore ukrainien en France. Et si cette nouvelle generation ne sait pas parler en ukrainien, elle gardera quand meme une ame ukrainienne.

V. Kostenko
Paris, France

Franko's Children

Підо впливом первичного Студента, прошу Вас і мене стерога (6В років), записати у студенти, бо Вашу газету у студію. Нові люди, нові ідеї, методи — настільки цікаві і оригінальні, бо це пригледело мені дівчі часів, ще коли неші батьки були радником, університету і русинами, ми молоді внесли щось наше власне, саме так само, як це робите Ви. Він бо лідер того ґрунту, який зготував Вам Ваші батьки. Тож записати мене як переплатника газети.

Я конче хочу вірніти виступ пені Костяш, яку вже знаю із П. "Усі бабні діти", що її читав я з захитом, том лише мовляво її прошу сердечно вітати й гратулявати за все. Як Ви часили, що взелгі маєте таких гарних авторів, без вибітки, усіх! Оригінальні ефоризми, як от "не всі свині ходять на чотирьох ногах", оголошення: "будьте шигуном! Студентів "Гомоде дівалед, ривачі й якіночний заїт про конгрес СУСК і колонка "КГБ" (Менедін Гусєвський)", для мене свіжий подув оригінальних й цікавих вісток. Якщо б придалося, розповім КГБ дещо моє особисте.

В червні ч.р., я Іхавз з моєю сестрою автом до Квебеку, ми згубили орієнтацію в Монреалі. Як українці ми схвильовано розмовляли дещо зголосоно, а до нас придивлявся якийсь чоловік. Я спитав його англ. мовою, чи не казав би він нам, як вихитати на гайвей (не пригадую котрел).

(cont'd on page 8)

Slightly over 10 years ago our favourite baby was born unto that still hot rock group of the Sixties "Our Father P.E.T. and His Liberals". Although none quite knew what it meant, they called the little nose-picker "Multiculturalism". Shortly after the birth the Father was seen showing the Baby to all the relatives: the Ukrainians in Winnipeg; Italians in Toronto; and Chinese in Vancouver among many others. The relatives were all joyous. The Baby had all their best characteristics, and they knew that as it grew their hopes would be fulfilled. For although they had worked hard in the past, there were many things they could not have: but Baby would.

It soon became clear however that Father P.E.T. did not spend much time with Baby Multiculturalism. Instead he spent all his time with Multiculturalism's sister Bilingualism. In fact, some of the relatives began to wonder if Father P.E.T. wanted to have Multiculturalism in the first place, or whether he tolerated her only because Bilingualism needed someone to play with. And so, Multiculturalism was sadly neglected by Father P.E.T. The Minister was over a year late in arriving for her christening. Father P.E.T. had had a Statue made for Bilingualism in her image, in Ottawa. All that Multiculturalism got was an old doll from the Sally-Ann called a Polly-See. Bilingualism was growing and Father P.E.T. gave her all kinds of lavish gifts that glittered, including T.V. and Radio. He even had all the clowns in Ottawa retained so that Bilingualism could understand them, and then he made his silly servants do the same. Father P.E.T. clearly took a very personal interest in Bilingualism, as he spent over \$200 million per year on her education alone. Multiculturalism had to make do with only \$10 million for her total well-being. She rarely had the money to get into any school. The students hardly knew who she was!

Well, by this time Multiculturalism's relatives were not only getting worried about her neglect they were getting angry at Father P.E.T.'s treatment of her. But Father P.E.T. refused to do anything. He felt that Bilingualism looked more like him and she had his mouth, so he favoured her as did Bilingualism's relatives him. And so Multiculturalism's neglect went on. For over 10 years now Father P.E.T. has refused to be seen anywhere in public with his daughter Multiculturalism. He hasn't been to any family gatherings, banquets, conferences, or anywhere else with her. He even refused to speak to the Council of Consultants he appointed to look after her. In fact, since Multiculturalism's birth Father P.E.T. has not once spoken about Multiculturalism to anyone!

Today, many things have changed, but the rock group "Our Father P.E.T. and His Liberals" continue to play the same music they did in the sixties. Multiculturalism's relatives all live in the same house so when someone cranks up the stereo they all sing along. Multiculturalism's relatives are spread out across the country and they are getting tired of hearing the old refrains. Most don't even remember the words to the "Just Society" Even those that have been "Father P.E.T." fans for many years are switching preferences. Many are keeping pace with the times and are going to some of those "New music parties", while those that were always conservative in musical taste are becoming more so. So the moral of this story is: Continued child neglect in this case as in all others, is a revolting thought no matter how you look at it.

Dmytro Jacuta for Student

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

STUDENT is an open forum for fact and opinion, reflecting the interests of Ukrainian-Canadian students on various topics — social, cultural, political and religious. The opinions and thoughts expressed in individual signed articles are the responsibility of their authors, and not necessarily those of the STUDENT staff. STUDENT's role is to serve as a medium through which discussion can be conducted on given issues from any point of view. Letters to the editor are welcome. We reserve the right to edit materials for publication.

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Weathering Winter

After 5 years in exile from the friendly confines of North-western Ontario, I have at long last come to the conclusion that the only bad part about living in Winnipeg is the winter. Now I don't mind a little snow, windy conditions or even reasonably cold temperatures, but the past two months of December and January have been absolutely and unbearably frigid! I mean, like *duzhe zymno!* And the worst thing is that it's so damn unpredictable in terms of the weather forecasting here. For instance, whereas October proved to be cold and snowy November turned out to be clear and relatively warm. So no one really ever knows what to expect.

Take, for example, last winter. A "piece of cake", right? No problem: nothing at all to worry about. Decent temperatures, not too much snow — just a great winter all-round. If that was a typical Winnipeg winter, I'd take it any year. Conditions are a lot worse down East, what with their annual blizzards, high winds, and heavy snows — they can keep 'em. As for the neighbouring province of Manitoba, we are just not blessed with that kind of predictability in our weather. All that we know for sure is that ours is a continental climate of extremes here on the Canadian prairies, which includes most of Manitoba and Saskatchewan but not those sneaky oil barons of Alberta who have imported chinooks from the Far East to help moderate their wintry weather. Funny how those warming winds very rarely make it out this far east — must be another clever Loughheed plot, no doubt.

At any rate, I knew something was brewing this year when it got so unusually cold here in October that almost every kid ended up an Eskimo for Halloween. But my concern soon abated when November turned out to be such a pleasant month. Subconsciously, one tends to put the certain upcoming miseries of the season out of his or her mind and hang on to the false hope that winter will never come.

Well, by now we all know what really transpired this year. The winter has been meaner than J.C.'s junkyard dog and colder than the deep-freeze at Canada Packers. Ultimately, most of us have become a lot sadder and a little wiser over the past couple of months. With respect to the harsh elements of nature, a bitter cold snap seems to teach people much quicker than most Science and Geography professors. There's nothing like a real-first-hand experience to sharpen up the mind. I did say 'wiser'.

Jerry Iwanus

since I've developed some effective ways of coping with the wintry conditions. I'd like to pass these on to you in hopes that we'll all make it through to April and get to see another Easter. Here they are, conveniently arranged in numerical order:

i) The standard Gregorian calendar shows that the winter season begins in December and ends in March: it lies. Winter really gets under way on the first weekend you catch a death of a cold and waste away in bed, or the first workday your vehicle won't start. N.B. Listen to the radio for the Sears Die-Hard battery commercials: they're a dead giveaway that winter has begun — "Good luck tryin' to start your car this morning!"

ii) Winter weather is made up of three main components: wind, cold and snow. If any two of these are present at any one time, watch out because you're in trouble!

iii) For those of you still unsure of the newly-adopted metric system of measurement and have not yet mastered the differences between the old Fahrenheit and current Celsius scales, don't worry as winter will come as a relief to you. It's simple. All you need to know is that anything below 0° is cold. And, best of all, at 40 below, both scales become exactly the same — great, eh?

iv) The Wind chill factor is another potential problem area. It was designed by meteorologists to make you feel uneasy about the weather, just in case you were getting used to the temperatures. A simple rule-of-thumb exists here: if the wind chill factor is higher than the year in which we are presently living, then do not go outside.

v) Under no circumstances give in to the temptation to turn on your TV and find out what the weather is like in other cities. The momentary joy you may feel at discovering it was up to -13 today in Saskatoon will be swiftly dashed when you learn it was only +30 in Los Angeles.

vi) Whenever you've convinced yourself that this must be the coldest weather ever recorded on a particular day, Environment Canada will always let you know that it was even colder back in 1891, when the first Ukrainian pioneers braved the Wild West, *pravda?* The reason this is done is because there's no one still around from those times to tell you otherwise. In fact, January '82 was reported to be the third coldest January of the past century — take it or leave it.

vii) The weather forecasters, who make up fine 'class' distinctions like "light snow", "blowing snow" and "snow flurries", are the same kind of people who'll call the colour red "scarlet", "crimson" and/or "vermillion". Do these subtle differences really matter that much? Red is red, and snow is snow!

viii) People who can afford to go to 'exotic' winter vacations (i.e., any place further south than Minnesota) are self-indulgent, decadent and not the type you want to associate with. If God had wanted Canadians to have sunbats, he never would have invented Bronzer, right? Lucky *#%?*\$!

ix) Bus drivers, who say idiotic things, like: a) "Cold enough for you?"; b) "At least there are no mosquitoes!"; or c) "Sure gets your blood going!", all deserve to be left up in an open field somewhere north of Thompson, until they understand that cold weather is not so funny.

x) No matter how much weight you may have gained over the holidays, do not, repeat, do not try to lose it by dieting. Case in point: Dauphin is full of people who were completely normal until they looked at their roast pans of *holubski* at 40 below. A mass hunger strike ensued and many are now suffering from malnutrition and exposure. In light of this news, medical experts have proven that garlic, rye bread and brandy are the only efficient ways of keeping the body warm and in good health during the Prairie winter. Dauphin is now being slowly 'nursed' back to health.

xi) Winter clothing is not supposed to be either distinguished-looking or fashionable, it only has to be warm. Therefore, watch out for chic items like designer toques by Steve Podborski, and Toller Cranston skating suits. How can they make effective winter wear? They've never lived in Winnipeg.

xii) Finally, there are two schools of thought about wearing fur in the wintertime: a) If someone buys it for you, it's tremendous; b) If you have to purchase it for someone else, forget it! Then it's cruel, senseless and too expensive.

In conclusion, just remember that winter will eventually end, and when it does, you'll learn the best part of it — like beating your head against a solid brick wall, it feels so good when it finally stops. Hence, the only bad part about living in Winnipeg is the winter. *Slava Bohu!*

A Con-Job: Selling Out Our Rights.

We have probably seen more written on the Canadian constitution in our country's newspapers in 1981 than we did altogether in the ten years previous. However, very little of what we did read showed any insight, or even any real understanding of the issues and the options involved. Consequently, there was never really any meaningful dialogue on the subject among Canadians, because only a minority of us ever actually understood what was at stake. Discussion among ordinary people seemed to centre on whether Prime Minister Trudeau could and would proceed with his "dictatorial" plans, and on whether the federal government and "the provinces" could come to an agreement on patriation, amendment, and a charter of rights — as if anyone ever gave them the power to seek one in the first place. Very little of what has been written deals with what the future may hold in store for us as a result of the new agreement.

One of the few writers to deal with this question adequately is Frances Russell in an article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* (10 November 1981) titled "Provinces will now rule Canada." In it, she deals with two fundamental problems which arise as a result of the new constitution, and would like to discuss them here.

I am especially concerned with the first one, which is the legislative override of fundamental rights (otherwise known as the "notwithstanding clause"), because after much thought, discussion, and study, I am firmly convinced that there are certain rights which must be placed beyond the reach of simple legislative majorities. This is not exactly what emerged from the accord, as Legislative bodies, including Parliament, will be able to override any right already "given" to us, if they see fit, with the condition that the law will expire after a five-year period. The politicians (especially the premiers) claim that such measures would be too politically risky in most cases anyway, so Canadians need not worry. The problem here, however, is that precisely when political risks would be at a minimum, constitutionally-entrenched protection would be needed most. An excellent example of such a situation occurred during World War 1, when there was a great public outcry for the government to "do something about the enemy aliens

(continued on page 12)

Daniel Rodier. Scholarship student. Dedicated to becoming a marine biologist.

Will he make it?

No, he won't.

Danny's a brilliant student. There's no end to what he wants to learn. Yet Danny's no hermit. He really enjoys a good time.

That's the problem. It's not that he sets out to drink too much, but once Danny starts he often forgets he has a limit, and then it's too late.

Danny would be wise to see a doctor, except he says it's just a phase he's going through. His work hasn't suffered yet. But if Danny doesn't change, it soon will.

And, no, Danny won't make it.

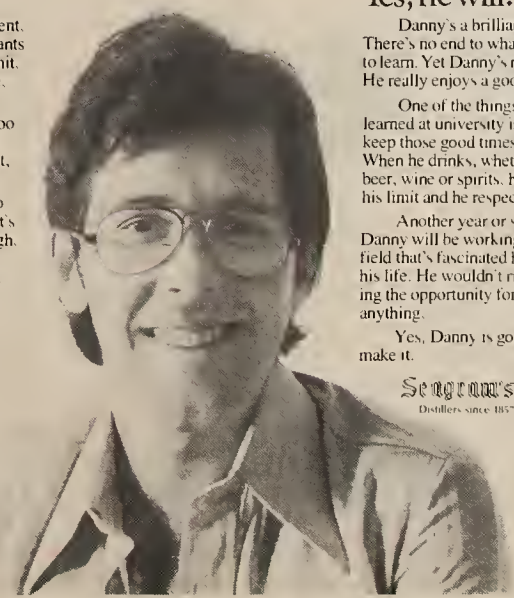
Yes, he will.

Danny's a brilliant student. There's no end to what he wants to learn. Yet Danny's no hermit. He really enjoys a good time.

One of the things Danny's learned at university is how to keep those good times good. When he drinks, whether it's beer, wine or spirits, he knows his limit and he respects it.

Another year or so, and Danny will be working in a field that's fascinated him all his life. He wouldn't risk spoiling the opportunity for anything.

Yes, Danny is going to make it.



The Irish Situation

Anyone who has read Irish history will know that it is extremely similar to that of the Ukrainian people. Like our struggle against the Russian empire, their struggle against British domination has been long and bloody. We present this update on the Irish situation to shed some light on recent developments, which have as always been presented in simplistic and sensationalist ways in the mass media to the detriment of the cause of Irish patriots. Like them, we as Ukrainians are fighting against the same imperialist disease, and we should therefore be fully informed and committed to their struggle to make Ireland a truly just and independent nation.

When Bobby Sands died last spring, both Lech Walesa and the Soviet government condemned the British for not responding to the demands of republican prisoners in Northern Ireland. The international solidarity that developed was not only in response to the individual heroism of the hunger strikers, but in recognition of the many thousands of Irish people who mobilized behind the republican prisoners and the National Smash H-Block and Armagh Committee. The hunger strike was not simply a protest against prison conditions, but was the latest phase in Ireland's 800-year resistance to foreign rule: a challenge to Britain's repression in the North, and to the traitorous conservatism of the Irish government in the South.

The institutionalized discrimination represented by the Northern state has been documented elsewhere.² A relative stabilization of the 26 count lies in the South was achieved in the 1920's after two major acts of suppression which extend even to this day: violence and murder by the British Army, who crushed the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin, and class warfare inside Ireland, where conservative nationalists drove militant republicans underground in exchange for formal political independence from Britain. Catholicism became the state religion in the South, while Britain maintained economic predominance and partitioned off the North. This all blatantly violated the election results of 1918, when Sinn Fein³ republicans won a majority on a program of national independence and communal ownership of land, resources and major economic enterprise.

The Orange state in the North⁴ represented a vital aspect of British control of all Ireland, but it has also introduced permanent instability. The popular upsurge of the last fifteen years provides only the most recent illustration of this fact. In the 1960's, the nationalist people of the North demonstrated their civil rights against discrimination in jobs, housing, and political freedoms. These discriminatory practices are institutionalized in the administrative procedures of local councils, which are controlled by Protestants (loyalists) through the gerrymandering of electoral districts.⁵ The corresponding privileges are backed up by loyalist trade unions which periodically expel Catholics from major job-sites; by loyalist political organizations which defend the status quo in alliance with the right wing of the British Tory party; and by the various military-police organizations of the armed loyalist population. These include the local militia of the British Army — the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) — the police — known as the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) — and semi-legal forces like the Ulster Defense Association (UDA) and Ian Paisley's goons.

When the nationalists protested this situation, the loyalists reacted with violence, and the British Army arrived en masse, supposedly to maintain the peace. Although their first kill was a Protestant, their true colours were graphically revealed in the Bloody Sunday massacre of nine peaceful protesters in a 1969 civil rights march.

The Sinn Fein republican movement responded to the British repression with an armed defense campaign in the North, which re-vitalized their military wing, the Irish Republican Army (IRA). These campaigns resulted in the establishment of republican "No-Go" areas in Belfast, Derry, and along the border — virtual

centres of alternate people's power — where the British could not go. British laws like the Special Powers Act, modelled along the same lines as Canada's War Measures Act, then resulted in the arbitrary arrest and jailing of hundreds of nationalist prisoners, who were locked up in the H-Blocks in Long Kesh and in Armagh women's jail.

Amnesty International and the European Court of Human Rights both established in the late 1970's that torture was systematically used against these republican prisoners, who were convicted and sentenced (usually based on "confessions") in special legal proceedings conducted without juries, known as the "Diplock courts". Prison conditions became a public concern, especially after 1976, when rights granted ordinary prisoners and republican prisoners were taken away from new arrivals in H-Block and Armagh.

A political re-grouping has taken place as a result of developments in the last decade and a half. The civil rights movement was largely led by People's Democracy, a group with an orientation of mass public protest. The subsequent repression renewed the credibility of armed struggle, but the Sinn Fein-IRA were also affected by the class conflicts which divided both Catholics and Protestants, North and South. Differences arose between republicans who rejected social struggle, socialists who abandoned the national struggle, and revolutionaries who combined the two.

Some leaders of the 1960's Sinn Fein-IRA began promoting "marxism," in alliance with the small Irish Communist Party. These Stalinists renounced the armed struggle in favour of Soviet-style "communism" and Protestant-Catholic "workers' unity." Unfortunately, they did this just when loyalists and the British Army were murdering Catholics in Belfast and Derry. Armed units of the IRA split, giving birth to the Provisional Sinn Fein-IRA, popularly known as the Provos.

The Stalinist "Official" Sinn Fein-IRA continued their evolution away from the mass movement through the 1970's, and suffered another pro-republican split with the formation of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP), who maintain their own guerrilla force, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA). By the late 1970's, the "Officials" (Stalinists) were bogged down in short-sighted projects to reform the northern state, while the Provos (Sinn Fein-IRA), the IRSP-INLA and the People's Democracy (now Trotskyist) were all committed to an independent, united, socialist 32-count workers' republic.

Their energies became focussed on the demands of republican prisoners in British-run jails. They formed the National Smash H-Block and Armagh Committee, linking up with community groups, the Relatives' Action Committee, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, and others. The prisoners' campaign became a mass movement, North and South, and reached a peak with the hunger strikes (imposed on the movement by the desperate prisoners). This movement was expressed in the mobilization of tens of thousands for protests and funerals, and the election of Bobby Sands and Owen Carron to the British Parliament, of People's Democracy and IRSP candidates to Belfast City Council, and of Sinn Fein members and hunger striker Kieren Docherty to the Irish Parliament in the South.

The reaction to British rule in the North has once again destabilized politics in the South. The Irish government (dependent on its "republican" image and now on the votes of nationalists in jail in the North) is in the awkward position of being forced both to negotiate with the British and to repress activists in the South. Several anti-H-Block militants face trial this winter after being arrested when Irish police attacked a demonstration held in July in Dublin. Meanwhile, when Bobby Sands died, thousands of workers walked off the job in the South.

In November and December, Sile Darragh toured Canada and Quebec, speaking on behalf of the National Smash H-Block and Armagh Committee. She is a member of the Provisional Sinn Fein, having been released in August after five years imprisonment in Armagh women's jail, for "membership in the IRA." Her

(continued on page 10)



- We have some sad news out of the Soviet East concerning the fate of the Union of Ukrainian Students of Poland (SUSP). According to reports circulating in Western Europe, the organization has been dissolved (at least formally) and one of its leaders arrested in the wave of repression unleashed by Jaruzelski's putsch. On the brighter side, organized underground opposition to the regime is said to have emerged at many Polish universities. For more information on the history of SUSP, see *Student* Vol. 14 No. 73, October 1981.

- Twelve Czech women connected with the Charter 77 movement have put together an anthology dealing with problems of daily life in the dissident ghetto. Contributors include a former member of parliament, Gertrude Sekaninova, and members of the pop group "Plastic People." A leading Czech writer, Eva Kanturkova, has written the afterword to the volume, which is to be published in Vienna in April 1982 by Langen-Mueller under the title *Verbotene Buerger* (Forbidden Citizens).

- One of our agents couldn't help noticing that the Unification Church headed by the Korean businessman, (His Holiness) Sun Yeh Moon, is a member of the World Anti-Communist League. So is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), a front organization of the Banderite Wing of the Ukrainian community. However, he couldn't determine if it were true that the "Moonies" and "Sunies" were going to exchange camp counsellors for a summer, or if large quantities of incense and flowers were being delivered to the Ukrainian Youth Association temple on Christie Street in Toronto.

- Approximately 500 - 600 young and "very young" Parisians took to the streets on 16 December in response to an appeal by the French national committee of *Solidarite avec Solidarnosc*. The demonstration took place near the Polish embassy, provoking massive traffic jams in the heart of the city when the protesters managed to occupy a major thoroughfare for over an hour. The slogans they chanted were "Freedom for Solidarity!" "Liberate Walesa, Liberate imprisoned Unionists!" and "Long Live Free Poland!" Poland, Ukraine, the same Struggle!" To that we can only add, "Long live the youth of France."

- Makhno lives! — at least in spirit, anyway. Three Lada automobiles were recently set ablaze in a Perpignan garage owned by a Lada dealer. The next day the Agence France Presse received a phone call from a group claiming responsibility for the attack. The message: "The Perpignan garage — that's us, the Sons of Makhno. Happy birthday Mr. Brezhnev!"



Nestor Makhno.

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THE UKRAINIAN QU

Ми часто чуємо, що ціль нашої боротьби є українська держава і тому не треба займатися іншими людськими проблемами що з українською проблемою не мають нічого спільного. Якщо так то якби я бачив, що бють біля мене якусь людину, я не мав би нічого робити, бо тоді сказав би собі „він напевно не українець, то я не маю мішатися у ці справи.“ Якби я це сказав, то не було би згідне з людською, християнською етикою, коли ти бачиш, що когось убивають — ти не маєш права нічого не робити, навпаки треба кликати поліцію або пробувати обороняти заатаковану людину. У Франції як ти нічого не робиш, тебе карають за „не допомогу людині у небезпечній ситуації.“ Тому ми морально проповідати, що тільки треба займатися українською проблемою. Певно, будучи виховані в українському дусі є нормально і конечно, що перше за все ми займалися українською справою, але це не значить, що ми маємо бути сліпі щодо інших проблем людської спільноти.

Поняття „нація понад все“ є негативна. Для „добра німецької нації“ Гітлер знищив мільйони німців висилаючи їх нищити інших націй. Наша мета має бути „права людини понад все“, а не як деякі кажуть „нація“ або „людина“ понад все і тому я гордий, що Франція у 1789 р. проголосила „декларацію права людини і громадянина“. Не можна ділити націю від людини. Нація складається з людей. Тому боротися за самостійну Україну — це також боротися за суспільний лад, що дав би змогу більшості українському народові вибрати своїх представників. Я твердо вірю, що Україна в майбутньому буде самостійною — і тому я бажаю українську державу з демократичним устроєм, де могли відбутися вибори з різними партіями так як вони відбулися у Франції, де більшість народу вирішив змінити лад суспільства без пролиття крові. Тому я не є за такою Україною, де одна частина українців мала б переслідувати іншу частину українців за їхні політичні переконання. Так само як правозахисний рух в Україні ми маємо підкреслити, що ми боремося за демократичний устрій у самостійній українській державі.

Ті, що кажуть „людина понад все“, як і „нація понад все“ належать до такої самої категорії ідеалістів. Про „націю понад все“ людина, яка це проповідає, має поняття нації як якогось нового бога, для кого треба бути абсолютно віданим. Так само як для німецького Гегеля філософа ідеаліста ця віданість мала б зводитися до держави-нації, ми маємо відкидати таку категорію ідеалізму, що веде нас до тоталітаризму. Тому не може бути згідний з Романом Зваричем, коли він пише (читай бюлетень СУСТЕ за грудень 1980): Нація може жити тільки політично цієї одчайдушної одержимості: „ділити все на біле і чорне“. Життя є складнішим, щоб могли його ділити на „біле

або „чорне“ і коли шеновний автор пише далі: „В цій площині неутральність не знаходить місця — то цікаво підкреслити, що термін „неутральність“, „біле і чорне“ є абстрактними поняттями. Вони не мають дійсного якогось значення крім того, що Роман Зварич хоче нам дати.

Чоловік який не числить тільки на себе, але також на інших знає, що то не тільки своя ідея є предметом дійсності мусить числитися ізозвітною дійсністю, ту яку він не має під своєю контролею (наприклад для християн є Бог і все, що він створив.)

Тому ми молоді українські студенти маємо числитися з дійсністю. Ми маємо перейти дівачий політичний стан української еміграції. Багато кричать, що совети перевернуть і фальшують історію. Коли читати різні кварталники або часописи, що виходять на еміграції — то не бачимо з'ясування дійсності, якою вона є, але якою наші „політики“ хотіли б, що вона була. Берім два приклади: перший — це акт з червня. Безперечно акт з червня матиме багато ваги в історії українського народу. Цей акт є міжнародно відомим, він є зареєстрований в архівах різних країн світу, находитися у міністерствах закордонних справ. Відношення самостійної української держави показало німецьким наїзникам так само, як усім іншим народам, що український народ б'ється за право мати свою незалежну державу. Тому мало що не всі члени уряду, що проголосив цей акт, були арештовані. Позитив є також у тому, що він відкрив очі українському народові, який покладав багато надій на німецького наїзника. Тому аргументи типу, „що всі українські політичні середовища не були присутніми“, не виглядають серйозними. Коли Де Гол видав свій заклик 18 червня до Франції, „щоби продовжувати боротьбу з німцями“ він також не мав із собою багато французьких політичних чинників...

Аргументи людей що не визнають 30 червня, дуже часто закращені партійними емоціями або персонального наставлення, а тепер щораз більше усвідомлюється позитивне значення цього акту, чи нам подобається або не подобається особа Ярослава Стецька. (Теперішній голова ОУН-р).

Другий приклад: Проблема сучасного українського визвольного руху України. Люди, які належать до середовища ОУН-р вимагають, щоб очінувати розсудливо 30 червня, але вони не оцінують так сучасний український визвольний рух на Україні. Вони дали проповідати тезу, що ОУН в Україні є тепер далі найважливішою силєю. Коли уважно слідкувати за різніорядними джерелами або за пресою, ми бачимо, що всі ці агенції та організації про ді ОУН практично не чути, тільки коли ідеться про засуди осіб, які колись належали до ОУН і до УПА...



MEHRON 87

I would like to discuss some aspects of Ukrainian Independence Day and how it is commemorated by Ukrainian Canadians. Of course, I realize that not all Ukrainian Canadians participate in this observation — it is limited primarily to the strongly-nationalist sector of the community (especially those arriving after the Second World War). But it is not just the observation of this day which I hope to examine. I wish to look mainly at some of the assumptions on which these commemorations are based. These are, I believe, shared to varying degrees by all segments of the Ukrainian-Canadian community, with the one notable exception of the pro-Soviet faction. As every rationally-conscious Ukrainian knows, *Sviato Derzhavnosty* is observed on the 22nd of January. Usually this commemoration takes a singular form: the raising of flags before municipal institutions (as in Saskatoon and other cities), concerts featuring a variety of patriotic songs, and above all, speeches which inevitably contain a good deal of fiery oration and elicit spontaneous applause when the speaker has said those things which the faithful have come to hear. Should you suspect that I am somewhat skeptical about this annual ritual let me put your minds at ease: I am. This is not to say that I do not believe the 22nd of January to be a very significant day in Ukrainian history (I would not be here otherwise), nor is it to imply that I disagree with the concept of a self-governing Ukraine free to choose her own destiny (I endorse that idea whole-heartedly). I simply find it difficult to accept two things which, rightly or wrongly, I associate with this celebration in Canada. The first is the almost exclusive concentration on the question of a fully-independent Ukrainian state, and the second is what I term the "loud noise" syndrome where every year people should "hurrah" for an independent Ukraine, then go home to sit quietly and passively until the next such celebration. I will deal with each of these aspects separately.

First, let us examine the effects of a total focus on the question of a fully-independent Ukrainian state. This aspect can be further broken down into two parts, namely that of statehood *per se* and of that of *full* independence. I think that the over-concentration on the question of achieving Ukrainian statehood leads to a distorted view of Ukrainian history, and even of Ukraine's political legacy. It simply chooses to ignore what I would actually consider the more relevant question regarding the Ukrainian Revolution: What sort of a state did the Ukrainians wish to establish? The answer comes out making the Ukrainian People's Republic look very good — especially in the context of its times. The fact is that Ukrainian leaders were actually less concerned about establishing a state *per se* than they were with assuring that Ukrainians would be governed in a democratic and humanitarian fashion. A Ukrainian state was only seen as a means of assuring this goal. Traditionally, this has been the mainstay of Ukrainian political thought, and yet it is largely ignored in Canada in favour of questions concerning the spread of a Ukrainian "consciousness" and its manifestation in a political or statist form. The other aspect of this question of a "fully-independent state" — the goal of complete independence — could also, in my opinion, be examined more critically. Stressing the complete independence aspect implies that because *total* independence ultimately was not achieved, the Revolution must have been a *complete* failure. In other words, the issue is painted in black-and-white terms, with no room for discussing grey areas which "do not exist". The ultimate effect of this is to make it exceedingly difficult for us to deal with the question of a Soviet Ukraine in a realistic (i.e., non-emotional) manner. Its formation can, however, be viewed as a "grey area" in the entire matter. The Ukrainian Revolution was not a complete failure: the establishment of a Soviet Ukrainian state, in fact, could be and should be viewed as a so-called "compromise of history," a half-way point between the desires of Ukrainian separatists and Soviet centralists. Certainly, neither side had anticipated the outcome at the outbreak of the revolution. It is only later, with the coming of Stalin and Stalinism, that the tenuous balance initially struck with the Ukrainian SSR's formation was wiped out feeding the opinions that its creation had been from the beginning the result of the failure of the Revolution. I feel that we must look beyond these sorts of opinions. There is no doubt that without the coming of the Bolsheviks to power, the achievements of Ukraine to date would probably have been greater than what they have been until now. Nevertheless, I think we would be dishonest if we denied the achievements of the Soviet Ukrainian state in economic, social, and cultural affairs. In other words, the question of a Soviet Ukraine is a difficult one to deal with, but we cannot simply dismiss it outright.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Andriy Makuch



THE HUBBLES

I think my second misgiving, my "big noise" theory, should be self-evident. Why make a lot of noise about something which is generally ignored for most of the year? If you will permit me the analogy, I almost view it as a situation where a wake is being held (i.e., for our Ukrainian dreams) while our patient (Mother Ukraine), though ill, is far from dead.

In short, I think that despite the best and often truly sincere intentions that go into the observation of *Sviato Derzhavnosty*, these efforts are misguided. There is, I suspect, a historical explanation for why this unfortunate situation has developed, but that discussion I will have to save for another time.

Rather than reiterating the points I have just made, I would like to conclude my presentations by making some new ones. The events

AN QUESTION

Bohdan Mytrovych



MEHRON '82

IS TO DONE?

Andriy Makuch



McKRON '82

surrounding Ukrainian Independence Day and its subsequent development as a Ukrainian national holiday (n.b., the latter being the part I did not deal with) are more closely related to the early 20th century than to the 21st century we are rapidly approaching. They occurred at a time when the dream of a fully-independent Ukrainian state was a realizable possibility. In fact, it came very close to happening. However, I am sorry to say that, at least for the immediate future, this dream is unlikely to be realized. This does not mean we should stop dreaming and hoping. But, I do think we should reformulate some of our ideas about *Sviato Derzhavnosty* in particular, and about Ukraine in general (the former in many ways simply being an accentuated version of the latter in which many Ukrainian Canadians view the latter). Now, I realize it would be most unfair to make a sweeping statement like that and then to not back it up with some concrete suggestions. I therefore would like to offer the following proposals for consideration:

- 1) that we, as Ukrainian Canadians, re-examine our attitudes towards Ukraine and try to view it in a non-statist fashion; in translation this means that when we consider Ukrainian history or Ukrainian political thought, we should keep in mind that it is not a chronicle of the attempts to form a state, but mainly the history of a people and a chronicle of their struggle for humanitarian and democratic treatment (of which a state of their own was but one aspect). This can also have a parallel in our thinking towards Ukrainian-Canadian organizations and institutions: we should think of them not as existing on their own, but being there to serve the people in them and the broad mass of Ukrainian-Canadians who are not involved in them.
- 2) that we take stock of our attitudes towards Soviet Ukraine, and try to recognize the situation there for what it is. After that we should a) try and gain an understanding of daily life in contemporary Ukraine, so that we can get in touch with our fellow countrymen and truly appreciate their lot, and b) approach any political questions vis-avis Ukraine in a consistent and realistic manner (e.g., cultural exchanges, *Veryovka* boycott)
- 3) that we should undertake lower-profile, but ultimately more effective ways of helping our countrymen in Ukraine. These can be understood in terms of a) giving political support to the oppositionist movement in Ukraine, b) knowing enough about the current situation in Ukraine that (a) could be done not blindly, but with an appreciation of its significance. This would necessarily involve actually keeping in touch with recent events in Ukraine, and reading materials from there, c) giving financial support for doing the one thing in the West which can be called the most realistic way we can materially aid Ukraine (i.e., doing something which Ukrainians cannot themselves do), namely, publishing underground materials (*samydav*) in the West (and reading them). I can off-hand point to three viable publishers worth supporting in this respect: *Smoloskyp* (Baltimore), *Suchasnist'* (Munich, W. Germany), and *Diyaloh* (Toronto), d) becoming more knowledgeable about Ukrainian history and literature — even if this means taking a course from the Slavic Studies Department at the university or buying and then reading *Borys'* study of the Ukrainian revolution which I had earlier mentioned (and the stress being on you, not on getting your children to do this, and e) maintaining and developing a Ukrainian-Canadian community beyond the basic *polka* level (the very existence of conscious Ukrainians in Canada and elsewhere is a real bugbear for Soviet authorities).

As for *Sviato Derzhavnosty* (January 22nd) itself, I would suggest that we take and implement some of the recommendations I have made, and modify the way it is observed. Perhaps it could be renamed "Ukraine" or "Ukrainian Day" and become a day when Ukrainian Canadians could reflect upon their Ukrainian heritage (as a counterpart to Ukrainian-Canadian Day on September 7th). We could then look at what has happened in Ukraine since the time that the majority of Ukrainians here had left the Old Country for Canada.

I realize I have covered a lot of territory in a brief span of in making these remarks, and that some of the things I have mentioned represent significant changes — even challenges — to the way things have been in the past. But, I ask you to consider these suggestions and see if they may just be reasonable ones for the way we might view "Ukraine Day" and Ukraine in the future.

Зете дуже багето говориться про Українську Гельсінську Групу (УГГ) і про дві організації які створилися доволу УГГ тобто УНВР — Український Неціональний Визвольний Рух* і УПР (Український Патріотичний Рух). Просте питання, чому ОУН-р вимагає то що вони самі не здбіли створити? Справді є час, що політичні середовища на еміграції змінили спосіб свого наставлення до важливих проблем, що торкаються українського майбутнього. Тому було би добре, щоб на студентському форумі як на СУСТЕ і на ЦЕСУС-і існувала якась дійсна гармонійна співпраця між різними своїми членами, які б не неруваилися емоціями, а фактами. Отже українські студенти повинні цікавитися сучасними подіями на Україні.

Придівімся як виглядає ситуація із українським визвольним рухом. Тепер припадає п'ятнадцять заснування УГГ, коли дивитися на їхню діяльність можна відмітити, що гострі репресії цієї групи виторили дві інші групи, які рагіше згадано.

УГГ: УГГ поклинаючись на гельсінські угоди діала легальним способом. Мета її була дати змогу українському народові вибрати свій власний шлях, що мав би переміняти фінтвину державу УРСР на дійсну самостійну державу. Знову ж це підкреслено за словами її члена Ю. Литвина ось так: „В Україні рух за права людини має свою особливість. І це зрозуміло. Україна належить до тих націй, які знаходяться у великому державному конгломераті на думке хитких і неповних засадах. Офіційно Україна — держава, фактично — сама держава й її права — звичайнісінька фікція...“ (Опубліковано у бюлетень УГГ ч. 4).

Тепер майже всі члени УГГ є заарештовані і тут можна запитатися, як будуть виглядати вісімдесяті роки на Україні. Можна передбачити радикалізацію у вісімдесяті роках. Вже початки страйків коло Києва на початку цього року і масові маніфестації в Івано-Франківську показують, що Україна в майбутньому може пережити польський феномен, де соціальні заворушення можуть замінитися на дальшу мету на загальнополітичні тобто і на національні. Наша мета молодих, які тут вирости на еміграції, шукати якнайбільше зв'язків із зовнішнім живую Україною тобто з людьми, які там жили або живуть у сов'єтській дійсності. Коли не мати тих зв'язків то сенс дійсності губиться і приходиться не це місце абстракція і мітологія. Ми молоді українці на еміграції за багето призвичаєні слухати і чути справи про Україну, що часто не вірно представляють дійсність. Тому неручується теперішніми обставинами треба йти працювати у тих організаціях, що займаються правими людьми, наприклад є міжнародна амністія. Це теж нам дає доволі досвід, щоб бути більш компетентними у справах, що

торкуються оборони українських політв'язнів. Певно, ми тут на еміграції не є рішальним фактором боротьби, але це не значить, що ми не потрібні для наших братів на Україні. Уповноваження від „Українського Національного Визвольного Руху“ (УНВР), щоб СКВУ репрезентував його інтереси тут у діяспорі, показує ясно, яку увагу накладають діячі визвольного руху на Україні. Тут маємо завдання мобілізувати усі сили, які боряться за розвал російської імперії. А мобілізацію можна тільки робити через мінімальну координацію різних українських сил. Між тими силами треба досягнути компромісу. Чуюмо багето про безкомпромісовість, але коли думати про політику то бачимо, що вона є у деякій мірі і мусить бути компромісовою. Той компроміс у демократичній системі це засада права, якого кожний громадянин є примушений триматися, щоб не применшувати права свого ближнього.

У нас українців деякі вживають слова в негативному значенні у тому, що компроміс значить скомпромітувати себе. Тому не припадає, що люди, які тримаються „культу сили“ тобто засади „око за око“, „зуб за зуб“ думають екслюзивними поняттями. Для них компроміс виглядає не раз як зрада, капітуляція. Політика „культу сили“ це реакція, що сховатинашу слабкість: хахольство, що вже принесло нам невдачі у визвольних змаганнях із своїми всіма „отаманами“ і братобивства у минулій другій світовій війні. Серед української діяспори потрібні різні українські сили, щоб такі установи як СКВУ або ЦЕСУС могли успішно сповняти свою роботу і так само у майбутньому буде потрібно компроміс, щоб українська держава змогла тривало існувати. Сила має бути тільки одним засобом боротьби, а не концепцією. Наша концепція має спиратися на право, тобто у нашому становищі право на самостійну державу. Ми маємо рішуче підкреслювати правозахисний характер української проблеми й зміст боротьби. У теперішніх умовах світу було б найблизьким думати, що тільки силою можемо щось здобути. Що більше можна навіть підкреслити, що тепер аргумент сили стає негативним для всіх людей, які усвідомляють, що світова війна може тільки принести занепад цілого людства. Тому демократичний устрій у самостійній Україні є наслідком цієї правозахисної боротьби, що тепер ведеться на Україні.

Париж 18/07/81

* Різниця між ЧНВР і УПР та, що останній кладає наголос більше на соціальні проблеми при тому беручи в оборону українського шахтаря з Донбасу (продовження — Ф.Ц.)

Клебанова. Обидві формції висунули справу деколонізації України на форумі О.О.Н. (Об'єднані Нації).

KOLUMN-EYKA



For all intents and purposes, *Veryovka* is technically flawless. No other folk group in the world can ever reach the perfection that they have achieved in dance, instrumental performance, choral singing, artistic direction and administration. The program is staged flawlessly: a *viazanka* of hellos and goodbyes, a padded intermission (climactic points before and after), a play on the audience's emotions and responses (to the point of almost monitoring their feedback) and a completely logical variation in costumes, dance, song and instrumentation. Even the staging is crafted to the last second of the show. Critics go as far as to claim that the audience leaves feeling completely fulfilled by the production. Need any more be said?

Of course. Perfection can be sterile. Perfection can be dull. Perfection can be static. And unfortunately, *Veryovka* has reached this pinnacle of achievement. The show is 'safe' - there are no risks taken with a repertoire of familiar *narodni piseni* and guaranteed applause-winning dances. Indeed, *Veryovka* is so formal and rigid in deciding what can and cannot be done that the image of a friction-free revolving door keeps coming to mind.

The spontaneity from within, so necessary for any successful performer, seems to be completely lacking in *Veryovka*. They are so well-rehearsed and mechanical that their technique comes off without dynamism, elasticity or even a flicker of individuality in terms of the relationship to the audience. Everything is routine: performance is another technical exercise at the barre or in the music studio.

There is an unmistakable quality of insincerity in all of this spit and polish. Such stereotypical songs and characters are portrayed that we are led to believe that this is all there is and was to Ukrainians and their culture. The male role is as narrowly defined and limited as the female role: a man is either a *kozak* or a *selianyn*, and that's the extent of it. The people aren't real, but we are given the impression that this is Ukraine, past and present. It is analogous to watching the Brady Bunch on the tube and believing that all American families are just like this piece of electronic fiction. At least with television we can pull away and move back into reality, but *Veryovka* insists on claiming that this is Ukrainian culture. Yet their show has remained basically the same for thirty-seven years. The photographs in the program of joyous *kozaks* and spontaneous, improvisational rehearsals all cultivate the myth that *Veryovka* members are typical of Ukrainians today and represent the entire culture. A promotional blurb makes the claim that "The company's artists continue to visit various areas of the Ukraine to study song and dance folklore," making the group appear to be oh-so-up-to-date. But look at a videotape of a thirty-year-old show, and you'll see virtually the same show. It's all very safe, very static, very predictable.

But Ukrainian culture is not and has never been frozen in time. Culture is always growing, always dynamic and ever-changing in reflecting peoples' needs, desires and activities. Clearly, *Veryovka* has missed the boat. They've taken a collection of all niceties from across historical Ukraine, recorded it exactly as it was and then perfected a presentation of it with the aim of touching that melodramatic weak spot in us in pushing a wonderful but false concept of Ukrainian reality upon us.

Sure, *Veryovka* has evaded the cute 'ethnic' look that many non-ethnic audiences stay away from. They've become more than family entertainment — something most folk ensembles in Canada have not yet been able to accomplish. But so much more could be done. They could, for instance, take the jagged but sparkling edge of folk dancing (with its spontaneity and realism because of its functional roots) and represented it in Ukrainian National Dancing by polishing off the jutting teeth to a sharp edge and a brilliant shine in creating a truly dynamic fine art. Instead, *Veryovka* has polished the unrefined edge but made it dull in the process: precise, but hard and flat.

How much longer can audiences flock to see this same, stilted spectacle? Why not invest in a video and watch *Veryovka* whenever it's convenient? The theatre atmosphere adds nothing to the performance and besides, we could have fun with an arbitrary guessing exercise as to which year of their thirty-seven-year-old repertoire we're witnessing.

Their high artistic level of achievement is unquestionable and unchallengeable. The social and administrative structure of the company is impossible to compete with in putting on a show as technically perfect. In Canada, we must satisfy our desires for a new and interesting interpretation of Ukraine's rich heritage of songs and dances, by developing something other than a fantastic but sterile level of artistic achievement. What we cannot hope to acquire in flawlessness of technique we can make up for by refining individual talents and encouraging personal dynamics between the audience and the performers to create genuine electricity on stage. Thus, we can take risks and make the performance of Ukrainian culture an adventure: something *Veryovka* seems incapable of doing.

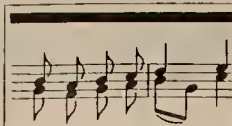
Danovia

Stanyslav Liudkevych, *Kavkaz* (the Caucasus) Symphonic cantata to the words of T. Shevchenko. State Choral Capella "Trembita" and Symphony Orchestra of the Lviv State Philharmonic, M. F. Kolessa, conductor. Melodiya D-011719-20.

As the year 1914 was approaching all conscious (svidomi) Ukrainians, whether they lived in the Russian or Austro-Hungarian Empires, were preparing for the centennial of T. Shevchenko's birth. Some projects could be completed on relatively short notice, but more grandiose ones took years of preparation. Musical compositions of large dimensions fell into the latter category.

Such may have been the case with S. P. Liudkevych. As many artists were attracted by the powerful imagery and message of Shevchenko's *Kavkaz* it is hardly surprising that this then youthful composer took up the challenge and decided to put this mighty poem to music. The nature of the poem is such that it would not do simply to set it to music in a choral arrangement: a full symphony orchestra had to carry the emotional impact of the composition along with a chorus. The task was a difficult one, and the composer worked on his *Kavkaz* from 1905 to 1913. The result was a monumental symphonic-choral work in four movements: 1. *Prometei* (Prometheus); 2. *Ne nam na prju* (It is not for us to challenge Thee); 3. *Khoriam hochym slava* (Glory to the running dogs); 4. *Boristia!* (Struggle!) The work was premiered in 1914 under the composer's direction.

The cantata begins with a somber orchestral introduction that sets the mood of the work as a whole, and it at once conjures



Konsert Meister

up a vivid image of the gloomy, cloud-covered Caucasus, the site of Prometheus' punishment. This theme is then picked up by the chorus and continued until the words "ta ne vyple zhyvuchoi krovy" (but he cannot drink the vivifying blood). At this moment the mood changes to a joyous hymn to the invincibility of the human spirit.

The second movement is somewhat subdued, reflecting the words of submission to the Divine Will. But even this spirit of resignation yields again to one of faith. Truth will be victorious, and although rivers of blood flow now, freedom and justice will reign.

The atmosphere of the third movement is distinctly satiric, for although the words seem to be a hymn of praise, the song actually derides various lackeys and running dogs of the tyrants of this world. Liudkevych achieves this effect primarily through the use of rapidly moving short vocal lines. They seem to run into each other, creating a sense of disharmony, and, above all, pettiness. A second theme of this movement explains why these sycophants are "praised" - it is a profoundly moving expression of the injury that they had wrought on the defenceless. The composer then returns to the first theme of the third movement and concludes it with a repetition of the mock panegyric.

The fourth movement begins without a pause after the third *attaca*. It follows logically the preceding movement and serves as a crowning conclusion to the whole work. The theme is victory after the struggle, because God is on the side of the oppressed. Thematically, but not melodically, this section harks back to the second movement. However, whereas there the theme was one of submission to the Divine Will, here this Will gives strength to those that struggle against oppression and ensures their ultimate victory.

The recording of this work is a fine rendering of the cantata. The "Trembita" Capella, a high calibre ensemble, conveys all the nuances of this complex work with its great emotional range. The symphony orchestra, under the capable direction of M. F. Kolessa, functions very well both independently and in accompaniment to the chorus. A milestone in the development of Ukrainian concert music, this Soviet Ukrainian recording offers a good interpretation of this monumental work and will enrich the musical library any serious collectors of Ukrainian classical music.

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Letter

(cont'd from page 2)

А він каже до мене: в мою мовку ви хочете інформацію: французькою, англійською, чи може українською? Що це значить для українсько-австралійського провінціала, догадуйтеся... Може через *Студента* я подякую йому в цей спосіб, бо часу на знійомство не було...

Випало б сказати дещо про себе, хоч це мабуть ні для кого Вам потрібне, але ми подивили споряднені гезтарством. В 1949 році (12.7.) я залучаткував видання першої української газети в Австралії — *Вільна Думка* і досі є у ній фріленс кореспондентом усі 32 роки... Досвід: „Український читач читає, рідко хвалить, но все ладі...“

Безію Вам, щоб якийсь, як Ви тем кажете по-тихому, старий "Бонні" оставив Вам тестамент на видання *Студента*.

З великим признанням і справинькою пошоною до Вас —

Богдан Подоланко
Сідней, НСВ Австралія

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The Spark Still Sputters.....

Zustrich Svitanku Iskra

Iskra Records
AK 281

- 1) Viazanka
- 2) Podarui meni nizhnist
- 3) Marusia Harna/Ivanku
- 4) Ne shumy kalynon'ko
- 5) Tsvite teren
- 6) Kozak

- 1) Iskra
- 2) Dai meni sertse
- 3) Khmeliu
- 4) Mamu
- 5) Lyudy

Bohdan Kuzyszyn — drums, percussion, electric lead guitar, vocals
Oles Bundziak — bass guitar, electric rhythm and lead guitar
Jaroslav Palylyk — organ, accordion, mellotron string synthesizer, Crumar string and brass ensemble, synthesizer, lead vocals
Oles Kuzyszyn — grand piano, Fender Rhodes piano, clavinet, Crumar brass ensemble, synthesizer, electric rhythm and lead guitar, acoustic 6 and 12 string guitar, lead vocals.

More than a decade's worth of involvement with contemporary Ukrainian music tends to temper one's views and opinions with a certain amount of inescapable cynicism, especially where personal claims of accomplishment and distinction are concerned. Take, for example, the press releases which often accompany the release of a new album. Filled with stock phrases exalting levels of musical achievement never before attained and promising audio delights which will leave the listener dazzled, the promoted product seldom lives up to its rave notices. In fact, a listen or two will often lead you to wonder whether you and the writer of said press release had the same album on the turntable. Certain allowances, of course, are to be made for the vagaries of promotional hype — that comes with the turf. Too often, however, marketing strategies fall victim of assuming too much naivety on the part of their targets. And once they are so exposed, the cynicism which ensues is unavoidable.

As a case in point, let's consider the press release which accompanied the appearance of Iskra's latest album, *Zustrich Svitanku*. To paraphrase, the notice claims that over 300 hours of studio time went into the making of this disc. Now it's doubtful that so many studio hours have ever been previously devoted to the making of any Ukrainian album anywhere. Doubtlessly, the New York foursome could produce receipts from having paid a hefty studio bill to back their claims. But costs notwithstanding, the quoted figure conjures up certain images of what to expect from the end product: either a work of art unparalleled in scope and production values, or an at best half-hearted effort, because the band was entirely unprepared and quickly became lost in and overwhelmed by the technological jungle of the recording studio. In Iskra's case, unfortunately, the latter appears to be all too true.

Zustrich Svitanku constitutes Iskra's second offering to the record-buying public. Purveyors of *Ret Sends Ya* may recall that in reviewing the band's first album (see *Student*, February 1980), I indicated Iskra had the potential to go on to bigger and better things, given the group took a more creative bent, found a comfortable repertoire, a feel for its music, and then the drive and depth to go with it. In take two, none of the above materializes, and it could be it's time for this reviewer to start eating his words. Overall, *Zustrich Svitanku* represents little more than Iskra's next stumble along the continuum of benign mediocrity.

At the risk of belabouring the point, whatever went wrong with Iskra's first album carries over directly into the second. The group's choice of repertoire, especially where *narodni pisni* are concerned, demonstrates Iskra's continued misunderstanding of this form of folk expression. Every *narodna pisnia* recorded on the album would have better been left to someone who knew what they were doing. Original arrangements for tunes like "Khmeliu" and "Marusia harna/Ivanku" sacrifice intensity and flow for speed, resulting in a tedious exercise of chopppiness and vocals playing catch-up to the instrumental accompaniment. The beautiful folk lament "Tsvite teren" in Iskra's hands turns into a bad parody of a Viennese waltz. And even the group's attempts in "Viazanku" to mimic Kobza, masters of the stylized Ukrainian folk song, fall short of the mark as Iskra simply lack the finesse and vocal talents to carry it off with any degree of conviction.

Where Iskra fares somewhat more successfully is in taking on more contemporary soft-pop or estrada material, be it their own or that of other writers. The band's rendition of the Shamo/Lutsenko classic "Ne shumy kalynon'ko" stands out as one of the album's few bright moments. Arranged tastefully both vocally and instrumentally, it features some solid if not outstanding lead guitar work and strong keyboard technique. "Podarui meni nizhnist", recorded originally by Kiev's *Charivni Gitary* almost a decade ago, falls into the same category. The danger of excelling in this musical category, however, becomes all too clear in "Mamu" (to which Oles Kuzyszyn lays dubious claim of having composed the music to), when the bounds of schmaltz are overstepped, indeed trampled. As far as Iskra's other original material is concerned, it represents a veritable mixed bag which achieves varying degrees of success. Oles Kuzyszyn shows signs of becoming a writer of some talent, particularly when influenced by the early 1970's pop

(continued on page 10)

Shumka

It was Saturday, 13 February, when the latest production of Edmonton's dance ensemble premiered at the Jubilee Auditorium. The new program was essentially divided into three major parts, consisting of "Ukrainian Spirit", choreographed by John Pichlyk; "Malanka Prelude", a collective creation by the ensemble; and finally "Napad", which was also choreographed by the group. The music for the show was by Eugene Zwodzesty, the musical director of Shumka. Unfortunately, the program notes did not provide any details of the history of Shumka and its achievements. As such information can be both interesting and beneficial to the audience, I will provide a brief sketch of the ensemble's background.

The group Shumka came into existence around the year 1959. Over the years, the group has travelled widely in Canada and the United States, as well as other countries around the world. Among the group's more memorable shows were those performed in Tunisia at the Spruce World Fair; Expo '67, and Japan. In 1979, Shumka finally toured across Canada, visiting such cities as Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Calgary. Another Canadian tour is once again underway, with stops in Vancouver, Hamilton and Toronto, and it is likely that the troupe will also be paying a visit to Hong Kong in the near future. All-in-all the group is composed of well-seasoned travellers and veteran performers.

The group's dedication must be taken into consideration before any final judgements can be made of Shumka itself. Prior to the initial performance, months and months of vigorous rehearsal time was expected of each dancer. As the group is only semi-professional, each dancer either works or attends school. However, dedication remains strong and the dancers persevere, coping with daily life as well as laborious evenings spent sweating in a gymnasium or a rehearsal hall. In this, of course, Shumka members are not unique, for students of Ukrainian dance around the country are equally familiar with the demands of dancing part-time.

Similarly, Shumka as any other group, has its outstanding members who may spend an entire summer or even an entire year devoted exclusively to the study of dance. Such devotees of Ukrainian dance spend a lot of money travelling to workshops in the States or Canada; or in increasing numbers spend a year in Ukraine immersing themselves in the original roots of Ukrainian dance and culture.

This leads me to the opening of Shumka's new program. Typically, the concert began on an up-tempo beat with many colorful costumes from various regions of Ukraine. The movements of the dancers were deft in delineating the striking contrasts between the different characters and their attitudes. The concept behind the choreography was innovative and exciting but many difficulties such as opening night jitters and the additional stress of trying out something new on an expectant audience served to somewhat undermine the quality of the performance. In fact, the choreography was consistently fresh throughout the entire show a commendable feat that provided welcome relief from the boredom of many drawn-out dances, the different themes and ideas brought out every aspect of our Ukrainian culture, showing us that indeed, being Ukrainian involves more than vodka and polkas. Yet the music at times failed to support the dancers' intended effects. The orchestra was not as tight and concise as concert-goers have come to expect it to be. At times endings were sloppy and entrances were hesitant, attributable no doubt to the lack of rehearsal time available to the orchestra and the director. Fortunately, most of the music did work well with the movements on stage, and one can only feel grateful that the arranger took the

time to properly prepare the score for the professional musicians hired for the occasion. The use of a live orchestra is to be heartily encouraged over pre-recorded music, as it adds immeasurably to the enjoyment of an audience and simplifies staging problems considerably.

In general, the technical difficulties that arose on the show could have easily been avoided, had there been more time and effort put into production qualities. Among the obvious faults was that the group tended to be off-centre in terms of on-stage. Also, because there was so much stage to fill, the dancers tended to overcompensate by taking larger steps which looked awkward from the point of view of the audience. What was especially distracting was that there would be two groups of dancers on opposite sides of the stage making it difficult to follow the movements of both as center stage was left open for a soloist to fill. This was almost confusing because one was not able to look in three directions and follow all of the exciting action. A way to remedy this three-line circus problem would be to put a spot light on the soloist, drawing the focus of attention to him or her. That way the audience's peripheral vision would be able to observe the action behind while following the brighter light. Another solution to the problem would be to put more space between the soloist and the group behind. During several dances, the intricate sequences of steps were lost as it took several seconds to determine what the soloists were doing first. If the soloists had simply come forward, on stage, this difficulty could be easily overcome. A technical matter, it should have been worked out before the initial show. I think that performance time should not be a practise time for the audience to observe mistakes.

These technical problems notwithstanding, I would like to say that at times during the show I was completely involved with what was happening on-stage. The action was so intense, that I became just as wrapped up in it as I would at a good movie. The personal thrill I obtained was very satisfying, and as I saw the performance twice, I was able to compare the total effect of each show. Many problems were overcome by the second performance, but others still remained and hopefully were dealt with before the show hit the road. It is unfortunate that Shumka will not be having a return performance in Edmonton after their tour, as I know that the difficulties will be cleared up after repeated performances. Practise can only make perfect, and perfection is something only a small few are able to attain.

All-in-all, I was very pleased with this latest Shumka offering. The entire effort of the group can only serve to glorify the true culture of our ancestors and our Ukrainian community today. The mistakes made on stage show that the dancers are, indeed, human, but we all know that a good thing can always be improved upon.

The best of luck to you, The Ukrainian Shumka Dancers, and may you continue to have success. As there are many Ukrainian dance companies in Canada, complications may arise. But I believe that these complications can be overcome if each dancer, musician, or artist realizes and remembers that the road to self-satisfaction is full of frustrations. More rewarding yet is the fact that we are able to share the culture that our ancestors bestowed upon us with our fellow Canadians. We are truly fortunate in this, as we can unself-consciously demonstrate to others that we are proud of who we are.

The Shumka show was especially effective in this regard, as it showed that we as Ukrainians and as an ethnic minority, can proudly put forward our ideals. For that reason and many, many more, I applaud The Ukrainian Shumka Dancers and hope to see this kind of effort again from any group that can display similar dedication to the art and craft of Ukrainian dance.

Christina Chernesky

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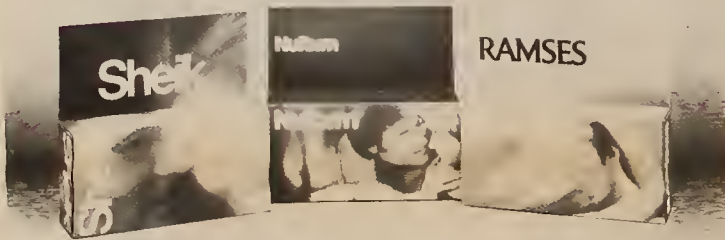
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—Ret Sends Ya—

(continued from page 9)

sound a la David Gates and Bread; the parallel is nowhere more obvious than in his "Dai meni serts". Lyrically competent if at times sappy, Kuzyszyn's compositions are catchy and full of hooks. Too often, however, they strike such a reminiscent chord of something heard somewhere previously that they're ultimately forgettable. His penchant for musical preludes could serve in good stead were there a more tangible flow between the prelude and what follows, as illustrated in "Iskra". That lack of connection or flow is again evident in Jaroslaw Palylyk's instrumental "Kozak". The album's closing cut, another Kuzyszyn original called "Liudy" (music set to words by Symonenko), is a self-indulgent attempt at heavy rock, complete with wailing synthesizers and guitars. The genre was never Iskra's forte and is one the group should make every effort to steer clear of in the future.

Instrumentally, I still maintain that Iskra is one of the more talented groups around. If only they used their arrangements to emphasize their strong points, such as Kuzyszyn and Oles Bundziak's lead and acoustic guitar work as well as Palylyk's synthesizer prowess, they'd be that much further ahead. Last time around I suggested hiding Bohdan Kuzyszyn's cymbals and high hat before the band ventured into the recording studio again. That advice having been ignored, I'll recommend taking away his sticks and providing him with brushes instead; he wields too heavy a percussion hand, a fact which becomes increasingly obvious and annoying after repeated listenings. Vocally competent by and large, Iskra still lacks the dynamic range of emotion or enough harmonic variation in their singing to be completely convincing.

From the production end, a fair job but not great; certainly not what one would expect after 300 hours in the studio. Mark Sydorak's production influences again prevail, along with his contributions in synthesizer programming and special effects. Seems the man is rapidly becoming to Iskra what the late Murray The K once was to the Beatles.

All in all, a rather uninspired effort from Iskra. As before, the problem lies in unfulfilled potential and lack of creative direction. If they finally got it all together, I maintain Iskra would be capable of making more than a few heads turn. Oh well, maybe next time.... On the Ret Sends Ya 4 Star Rating Scale: Zusirich Svitlanku scores**.

Next issue: A fulfilled expectation at long last, with the latest from Montreal's Veselka — Vid Dushi

Ireland

(cont'd from page 5)

experience symbolizes the republican movement today.

She grew up in a small nationalist ghetto in Belfast. In 1969-70, when loyalist thugs attacked her community, volunteers of the Provisional IRA came to the defense of the local population, no doubt while their leaders (the "Officials") were off reading books from Progress Publishers in Moscow. At the age of eleven, Darragh witnessed the Bloody Sunday massacre by British soldiers against a peaceful civil rights march. She was first arrested at thirteen, and again at sixteen, and her brother spent three and a half years in jail with no charges being laid. At eighteen she was herself incarcerated in Armagh jail for five years. She participated through her entire sentence in the protest against British-imposed prison conditions, supporting also the first hunger strike of 1980, which included three women in Armagh.

On the breaking of this year's hunger strike, she says: "The blame rests on the people in power who worked to end the hunger strike instead of working to end the conditions in the prisons... these prisoners are people who are innocent, who signed a statement under torture.

The male prisoners have now won the right to wear their own clothes, as the women prisoners and 400 of the female prisoners always could. Their objective now is to secure the remaining four demands for all republican and other prisoners: the right to refuse prison work, to receive one letter and one parcel per week, for normal sentence reduction for good behaviour, and for access to education facilities. The men and women prisoners are now maintaining the no-work protest.

The campaign in their support continues around the world. It is a campaign of special importance because it is a militant struggle against unjust and violent repression by a major world power. Moreover, it is led in Ireland by a democratic grass-roots coalition of nationalist and revolutionary marxist forces, which is not controlled or even influenced by Soviet sympathizers. Indeed, the old "Official" movement is now discredited and marginalized by its identification with the loyalist state against IRA "terrorism." The National Smash H-Block and Armagh Committee is a real united front, whose participants work together in support of the prisoners and against British rule, while maintaining complete freedom to pursue their own independent political activity.

The Irish struggle represents one possible link in the international solidarity between anti-imperialist movements (which are often manipulated by pro-Soviet sycophants in places like Latin America) and anti-stalinist movements in places like Eastern Europe. Sile Darragh's parting observation about Irish justice can be easily applied to El Salvador or Ukraine: "In Ireland very few people walk out of court."

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Long Distance

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1. Republican prisoners are kept in the H-Blocks in Long Kesh Prison (The Maze), and in Armagh with women.
2. The Orange State, by Michael Farrell.
3. Sinn Fein means "Ourselves Alone," i.e. the Irish republican party.
4. The Orange Order is a sectarian Protestant organization that is, among other things, anti-Catholic and anti-Slav.
5. Gerrymandering keeps a minority under-represented through careful drawing of electoral boundaries.

Constitution

(continued from page 3)

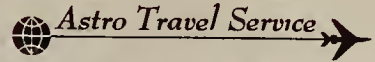
and the government went ahead and disenfranchised many new Canadians who had the misfortune of having come from an area which was occupied by one of the Central Powers at the time. With this "notwithstanding clause" in the new constitution, the politicians could just as well have saved themselves the trouble of including the Charter of Rights in the agreement in the first place.

The second problem area that I wish to discuss is the "opting out" provision. This will allow up to three provinces to disregard an amendment which the other seven and the federal government have agreed to. This gives us a situation where Canadians will have more rights, privileges, and protections in one part of the country than in another. Essentially, this lays the groundwork for increasingly sovereign provinces and the incremental separatism which this would breed. At a time it seems more important than ever to break down the barriers between people in the country, (and indeed between people all over the world), we have opened the door to greater Balkanization than we have ever heretofore experienced.

All this, of course, has come about with

individual Canadians having almost no say in the matter whatsoever. Eleven elitist heads of government, who probably *in toto* do not even remotely represent a majority of Canadians, get together and decide to forge the fundamental law of the land, which we will all have to abide by for the rest of our days. There are no provisions for popular ratification, nor will there be any popular vote on future amendments, such as exists in Australia. In other words, nary a mention is made that the constitution is a contract between the governor and the governed, and not simply an agreement between different representatives of the former. What an absolute travesty of justice!

It is perhaps now clear that Mr. Trudeau should have sacrificed his personal bid for a place in the history books when it became obvious that the pressures from the provincial governments would lead to a constitution which would harm the country more than help it. This, however, was not to be the case. Now, it all really makes no difference anyway, because with the provisions of the new accord we may not have to worry about having a country to govern in the next few generations regardless.



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