

СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT



ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ ONE DOLLAR CANADA'S NEWSPAPER FOR UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

SUSK



25th Anniversary issue

1953-58: "... реалізація об'єднання студентів у централі стрічалася з труднощами ..."

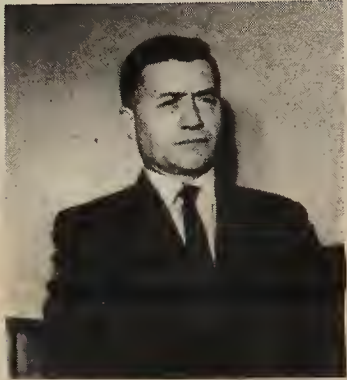
Віктор Денека

Початки більш організованого українського студентського життя в Канаді можна заважати приблизно від 1930 року. Від того часу до 1950 року було засновано кілька товариств університетських студентів. Деякі з них існують до тепер, а деякі припинили свою діяльність по короткому часі свого існування.

Приблизно від 1950 року починається більша активність українсько-канадських університетських студентів і створення нових студентських організацій у більшій кількості університетських міст Канади. Більшість українських студентських товариств, які сприялися до організування студентських центрів, а саме, Канадської Федерації Товариств Українських Студентів Католиків "Обнова", в відтак Союзу Українського Студентства Канади (СУСК) для всіх українських студентів, були організовані саме між 1950-1953 роками.

1953 рік позначився в історії українського студентського руху в Канаді особливо подією, в саме, об'єднанням майже всіх існуючих студентських товариств в одній централі. Хоч думки про потребу об'єднання студентів у такій централі висловлювало вже давно, однак їх реалізація стрічалася з різними труднощами.

Спочатку говорилось про об'єднання товариств, побудованих на цій самій базі. І так, у



Victor Deneka served on the first SUSK National executive for two terms (1953-1955, 1955-58). An architect, he completed his early schooling at the Ukrainian State Gymnazia in Kholm, Western Ukraine. Following four years of studying architecture at the Karl Wilhelm Polytechnical School in Braunschweig (Germany), he completed a further two years at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. He currently resides in Winnipeg, where he is a member of the Manitoba Association of Architects and the King's Architectural Institute of Canada.

1934 році, три відділи УСНО (Едмонтон, Саскатун і Реджайна) злучилися в одну централю на Крайовому З'їзді УНО. Однак ця організація існувала недовго.

На перших організаційних зборах товариства "Альфа-Омега" у Вінніпегу восени 1945 року, була згадка про можливість заснування цього товариства в інших містах і евентуальне створення централі. Однак цей намір не був зреалізований. При кінці 1949 року був заснований у Вінніпегу контактний гурток "Єпископ Пей Соасті", який намагався продовжити до двох років, під головуванням д-ра Ізидора Глінки та проф. Павла Юзюка, навізати контакт навіть з відлюдними працями в Канаді. Але вислідом різних труднощів праця цього гуртка припинилася. Мабуть не буде помилкою припустити, що деякі з інших студентських гуртків, що були засновані і коротко існували в традиційні і сорокових роках у Канаді, теж мріяли про дальший розвиток і про об'єднання в централю, але очевидно, скільки авторів цих рядків відомо, не змогли того осягнути.

Щодо українських католицьких студентських товариств, то хоч вже при заснуванні т-ва "Гамма Ро Каппа" у Вінніпегу в 1945 році передбачувалося створення подібних товариств при інших університетах Канади та пізніше пов'язання з ними, то всерйоз думка про створення централі виявилася в антигній формі щойно при кінці 1952 року, коли кільканадцять членів то-

вариства створили Організаційний Комітет, який зайнявся підготовкою Першого Конгресу Українських Католицьких Університетських Студентів Канади. Цей комітет, по кількомісячній праці під головуванням п-на Віри Жаровської, скликав у травні 1953 року, у Вінніпегу, Перший Конгрес, на якому представники п'ятиох товариств українських студентів католиків Канади створили свою централю, яку назвали Канадська Федерація Товариств Українських Студентів Католиків — "Обнова". Конгрес відбувся успішно і про нього доволі обширно писала українська преса в Канаді, відмічуючи створення Федерації "Обнова" як поважний успіх у праці українського студентства цієї країни.

Створення цієї першої, більшого, розміру, централі українських студентів Канади дало позитивні наслідки і було заохотою та спонукую до інших студентських товариств реалізувати думку про потребу створення координаційного центру, який охопив би всі українсько-канадські студентські організації.

І так, 1 січня 1953 року, за ініціативою представника ЦЕСУС-а в Канаді, п. Лева Винницького з Монреалю, відбулися в приміщенні Централі Українців Католиків у Вінніпегу сходження представників всіх студентських організацій цього міста, на яких створено т.зв. Підготовчий Комітет для скликання Першого Конгресу Українського Студентства Канади. До цього комітету ввійшли представники таких товариств як: "Обнова", "Альфа-Омега", "Зарево", ТУСМ ім. Міхновського, як різков два представники Т-ва абсолювентів "Альфа-Омега" (Альфа Омега Кредіт Юніон). Головою Підготовчого Комітету була анбрана п-на Віра Жаровська ("Обнова"), заступником голови — Сергій Радчук (Альфа Омега), секретарем — Богдан Волюрчик ("Зарево"), а скарбником — Ярослав Барвінський (ТУСМ ім. Міхновського). Інші члени Підготовчого Комітету були такі: В. Денека ("Обнова"), З. Янківський (ТУСМ ім. Міхновського), М. Козій ("Зарево"), п-на Л. Матвішин ("Альфа-Омега"), проф. П. Юзюк і др. В. Лисак ("Альфа-Омега" — абсолювенти) та Лев Винницький (представник ЦЕСУС-а).

Комітет старався порозумітися з усіми відомими українськими студентськими товариствами поза Вінніпегом для навізання контакту, узгодження дати і програми З'їзду та проекту статуту, запланованого студентського центру. Для покриття видатків, кожна заступлена в Комітеті організація зобов'язалася зложити від себе пожертву. Статут для запланованої централі, який пізніше був прийнятий з малими поправками і змінами на Конгресі, опрацьовано статутною комісією Підготовчого Комітету, до якого входили по одному представникові від складових організацій цього комітету, а саме: В. Денека (голова), проф. П. Юзюк, С. Радчук, М. Козій і З. Янківський.

По кількомісячній праці Підготовчого Комітету, а днів 26-27 грудня 1953 року, відбувся у Вінніпегу, в приміщенні Сейнт Чарлз готелю, Перший Конгрес Українського Студентства Канади, в якому взяли участь представники всіх тоді існуючих українських студентських товариств, за винятком "Альфа-Омега" у Ванкувері, якої делегат не зміг прибути. Студентські організації, що взяли участь у Першому Конгресі, а відтак стали членами основиноюм СУСК-у, були такі: Канадська Федерація Товариств Українських Студентів Католиків "Обнова" зі своїми відділами в Едмонтоні, Саскатуні, Вінніпегу й Торонто; Український Студентський Клуб при Сер Джордж Вільямс Каледж у Монреалі; Український Студентський Клуб при Монреальському університеті; Український Студентський Клуб при університеті МакГілла у Монреалі; Т-во "Зарево" в Монреалі, Торонто і Вінніпегу; ТУСМ ім. Міхновського в Торонто і Вінніпегу; ТУСК "Обнова" в Монреалі; Т-во "Альфа-Омега" у Вінніпегу і Саскатуні; та Український Студентський Клуб у Торонто.

Конгрес викликав поважне зацікавлення визначних осіб, українських суспільно-громадських і наукових установ і інститутів, і взагалі української спільноти, про що свідчили численні привітання. Вітальні Конгресу теж представники уряду провінції Манітоба і низки університетські професори неукраїнці.

На Конгресі виголосило кілька доповідей і відбуло оживлене дискусію, в якій делегати висловилися за потребу створення координаційного студентського центру, й у висліді було засновано Союз Українського Студентства Канади (СУСК).

Конгрес відбувся за підтримкою Комітету Українців Канади, який оплатив деяким делегатам подорож. Іншим делегатам подорожні видатки

оплатили їх власні організації.

На бенкеті, що відбувся з нагоди Конгресу, промовляли: Преосв. Максим Германюк, ЧНІ; бл. п. проф. Леонід Вілєцький і проф. Павло Юзюк.

На закінчення Конгресу схвалено відповідні резолюції та вибрано управу СУСК-у. Першим президентом було вибрано на два роки п-ну Віру Жаровську, делегатку Канадської Федерації Товариств Українських Студентів Католиків "Обнова".

Поміж делегатами різних студентських організацій замінте було почуття єдності й бажання зосереджуватися на справах, які всіх єднують, бо є багато ділянок праці, де всі студенти мають спільні погляди і зацікавлення. Неприродна сепарація, яка перед тим існувала, нікому не приносилла користі, і тому створення координаційного центру було відрадною і позитивною подією в праці українсько-канадського студентства.

Згідно з прийнятим статутом і резолюціями, СУСК мав бути студентською централю, що презентувала б усіх українських студентів канадських університетів, збирала б про них статистичні дані, дала б про них створення спільного фонду для підтримки збудків і незамовних студентів, та заохочувала б існуючі студентські товариства співпрацювати на стаєній базі, сприяючи взаємному розумінню і солідарності. Схвалений на Конгресі статут у своїй першій точці виразно вказував на те, що СУСК має дбати про вихоання студентів на основі християнської моралі та українських національних традицій, а відтак заохочувати їх концентруватися на справах, які їх єднують та сприяють взаємному розумінню і співпраці.

Маючи на увазі те, що СУСК мав бути координаційним центром для різних студентських організацій, створених не кочне на тій самій базі, й об'єднуючих студентів із різними світоглядними переконаннями, основиноюм цієї централі прийняли засаду невмішування у внутрішні справи поодиноких складових організацій та збереження цілісності аполітичності.

Для збереження належної репрезентації в управі СУСК-у всіх його складових організацій, прийнято практику анбирання членів на базі приблизно-пропорційного числа членів кожної складової організації, залежного від загального числа членів даної організації. Це мало б бути запорукою справедливості і рівності всіх організацій у системі СУСК-у.

Для спільної станової репрезентації і влаштування спільних імпрез у містах, де існують кілька різних українських студентських товариств, Конгрес доручив нововибраній управі СУСК-у подбати про створення постійних Контактних Комітетів. Згідно з правильником таких комітетів СУСК-у, що був прийнятий управою 14 червня 1954 року та затверджений пізніше Другим Конгресом Українського Студентства Канади 27 грудня 1955 року, всі рішення прийнятого характеру вимагають одностороннього згоди всіх членів Контактного Комітету, себто представників усіх місцевих студентських організацій, і тільки тоді спільні виступи та імпрези можуть відбуватися під іменем СУСК-у. Коли бракує згоди навіть одній організації, члена СУСК-у, тоді такі імпрези можуть відбуватися тільки під назвою організації, які їх влаштувають, але не під назвою СУСК. Це важке рішення було зроблене на те, щоб забезпечити якнайкращу співпрацю поміж різними студентськими організаціями, уникнути шкідливого тертя і непорозуміння, як різно ж зберетти принципи не робити того, що могло б наурити засаду невмішування, як згаданого агору, у внутрішні справи поодиноких організацій — членів. Подібний принцип зберігас у своїй діяльності Комітет Українців Канади (КУК).

Щодо відношення СУСК-у до Комітету Українців Канади, то хоч КУК допоміг дещо фінансово делегатам, які брали участь у першому студентському конгресі, однак СУСК не відразу вступив у члени КУК. По дошних дискусіях поміж своїми членами, управа СУСК-у щойно на засіданні 25 січня 1955 року вирішила, щоб СУСК став складовою організацією Комітету Українців Канади, а президента і секретаря уповажнила зложити відповідку залу.

І так, як вже згадало, в 1953 році закінчено етап об'єднання українських студентських організацій Канади. Від того часу почався період інтенсивної систематичної праці. Перші два роки існування СУСК-у були роками проб та іспиту. Умовини, серед яких створено СУСК, були доволі несприятливі, бо поважна кількість канадських студентів українського походження цілком не відчувала потреби існування централі та відноси-

(Продовження на стор. 47)

1958-60: "... the greater involvement of Ukrainian-Canadian students..."

Led Wynnyckyj

The period of SUSK's history between 1958 and 1960, like the period that preceded it after the First SUSK Congress held in 1953, was one of determined and purposeful activity in search of new ideas and approaches on how to integrate the European and the Canadian heritage of Ukrainian students into some form of Ukrainian-Canadian identity. The Ukrainian student organizations of that day were a fairly accurate reflection of the diversity and complexity of Ukrainian-Canadian community life in general. This, therefore, included not only the differentiation between the Canadian-born and the European-born but also the splits along religious lines (particularly the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox) and ideological lines (Melnykivtsi, Banderivtsi, etc.), in addition to the problems created by geographical dispersion and regionalism, which all together provided some formidable challenges to unity and cooperation.

The Third Congress of SUSK, which was held in Montreal on 1-2 February 1958 elected a new executive for a two-year term.

The President's report for that period (2 February 1958 to 20 February 1960) and the minutes of the 28 meetings of the executive reveal that this was an active executive which addressed itself to a wide range of current and future oriented issues of SUSK. It re-established the publication of the SUSK Bulletin and introduced a "SUSK Information Service" which reported on current happenings within SUSK. It launched a comprehensive review of the SUSK Constitution which (after having been adopted by the Fourth Congress of SUSK) resulted in a re-classification of the membership of SUSK into different categories differentiating between student clubs and ideological and religious associations, changing the frequency of SUSK Congresses from one every two years to annually, restructuring the executive and defining the responsibilities of each member, and the creation of an Academic Advisory Council.

However, the most significant innovative move of the executive, which aimed at the greater involvement of Ukrainian-Canadian students in the affairs of their student organizations and of the Ukrainian community, was the launching of a series of seminar-type "SUSK

Conferences". Five such Conferences were held as follows:

Conference	Location	Date
First SUSK Conference	Toronto	12-14 September 1958
Second SUSK Conference	Saskatoon	18-19 October 1958
Third SUSK Conference	Montreal	22 December 1958
Fourth SUSK Conference	Winnipeg	10-11 July 1959
Fifth SUSK Conference	Toronto	10-11 October 1959

The first two Conferences (in Toronto and Saskatoon) focused primarily on organizational problems and on issues such as how to improve the relationships between the student organizations, within a University location, and Ukrainian community organizations (like the Ukrainian Canadian Committee), and general issues important to Ukrainian students in terms of their heritage, their career plans, etc. The Montreal Conference was devoted to the theme of Ukrainian studies at Canadian Universities, which was closely linked to the attempts of the SUSK executive to pilot the introduction of Ukrainian studies at McGill University in Montreal. The Winnipeg Conference, was held concurrently with the Sixth Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC). It dealt mainly with issues connected with the role of Ukrainian students in the affairs of the organized Ukrainian community, and made some important inputs into the deliberations of the UCC Congress. The Fifth Conference, held in Toronto, was devoted to the historical review, in a series of presentations, of the 25th Anniversary of Hetman Ivan Mazepa and his period, of the 50th Anniversary of CESUS (Central Union of Ukrainian Students), and of the organized Ukrainian student movement in the world. The conferences were generally well attended, received good Ukrainian press coverage, and provided an important stimulant and an occasion for closer cooperation between SUSK members and individual students.

The Fourth SUSK Congress was held in Montreal 20-21 February 1960, and elected a new governing body.

While this executive continued efforts aimed at closer cooperation among the Ukrainian-Canadian student organizations and held another conference (the Sixth SUSK Conference was held in Toronto 25-26 June 1960), the primary thrust of its activities became "external affairs". Liaison was established with Ukrainian Student Organizations in the United States

(SUSTA), Argentina (SAUS), Australia (CUSA) and the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (in Europe) and a number of meetings and conferences were jointly sponsored to discuss the basis for cooperation and common action.

The Ukrainian student organizations of that time (February 1960) included 24 Ukrainian Student Clubs, Societies and Associations (most of which were, or were becoming, members of SUSK) located in 9 university centers, with a combined membership



Leo G. Wynnyckyj, B.A., B.Comm., M.B.A., R.I.A., was SUSK president for two terms from February 1958 to December 1960. He also served as a member of the organizing committee which convened the first SUSK congress in 1953, and of the first and second national executives. Since his graduation with a Masters of Business Administration from the University of Western Ontario in 1957, Mr. Wynnyckyj has pursued a career in business. Having served in supervisory and managerial positions with a number of well-known Canadian firms, he is currently president of a management consulting firm based in Ottawa which specializes in international consulting projects.

1960-61: "... a diversity of views ... interesting and heated debate ..."

Roman Osadchuk

During the period of my presidency the SUSK executive organized two conferences, one congress and participated actively at the unveiling of the statue and associated centennial ceremonies and activities in honor of Taras Shevchenko, which were held at that time in Winnipeg (6-9 July, 1961). The headquarters of SUSK were transferred from Montreal to Toronto. We had at our disposal

participation with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) in the Shevchenko Centennial ceremonies. To highlight our contribution to this centennial, the executive published a special commemorative publication, "T. Shevchenko 1861-1961" of the SUSK Bulletin (No. 1). This publication was printed in Ukrainian with the exception of the brief address by the SUSK President, which was printed bilingually in

ference), organized by the executive, was held in Ottawa, on 4-5 November 1961.

In order to improve communications and co-operation between SUSK and its member organizations and student clubs, I visited Ukrainian Student Clubs and student organizations in Montreal, London, Ottawa, Saskatoon and Edmonton. As president of SUSK, I had several meetings with presidents of SUSTA (Union of Ukrainian Student Organizations in the United States) and CESUS (Central Union of Ukrainian Students) concerning the possibility of holding a World Congress of Ukrainian Students. We also discussed ways and means of improving communications with Ukrainian student organizations in other countries.

An overview of SUSK and its activities during this period would not be complete without mentioning something about the type of Ukrainian students that attended Canadian universities at that time. In general the students at that time could be divided into two groups.

The first group consisted of students born in Canada and/or attended Canadian elementary and high schools. These students had an excellent command of the English language but their command of the Ukrainian language varied from good to poor. These students had little financial problems as their university expenses were generally paid by their parents who had already established themselves in Canada and did not have as many financial problems as did the new immigrants. Students in this group were more interested in and concerned with the life of Ukrainians in Canada and their

Roman Osadchuk, B.Sc., M.Sc., Ph.D., was SUSK president in 1960-61. After spending a number of years in the metallurgical industry as Chief Research Engineer and Manager of Research and Development, he is now Technological and Scientific Advisor in the permanent staff of the National Research Council of Canada in Ottawa.



one room in the Ukrainian Building at 83 Christie Street, which was used as our office. To meet our goals, we held regular meetings every two weeks.

In retrospect, I must admit it was a very active year. The entire executive worked hard to carry out the objectives and plans which were set at the beginning of my term of office. Our first main task was par-

English and Ukrainian.

The second Bulletin (No. 2), published in the fall of 1961, was devoted to student affairs. It contained articles in both Ukrainian and English, which dealt with student problems and activities. With the sponsorship of SUSK, a student conference, organized by the Winnipeg members of SUSK, was held on 7 July 1961. Our second conference, (Seventh SUSK Con-

ceeding 900. Their listing by location, including additional information on membership and year of establishment, is as follows:

Location/Organization	Year Established	1960 Membership
Montreal, Quebec		
Ukrainian Students Club - McGill University	1951	40
Ukrainian Students Club - Sir George Williams College	1955	30
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - University of Montreal	1950	15
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "Obnova"	1953	30
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "Zarevo"	1952	10
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "TUSM"	1955	16 141
Ottawa, Ontario		
Ukrainian Students Club - University of Ottawa	1955	20
Toronto, Ontario		
Ukrainian Students Club - University of Toronto	1941	80
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "Obnova"	1952	25
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "Zarevo"	1953	10
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "TUSM"	1955	15 130
Hamilton, Ontario		
Ukrainian Students Club - McMaster University	1955	15
London, Ontario		
Ukrainian Students Club - University of Western Ontario	1959	15
Winnipeg, Manitoba		
Alpha Omega Society - University of Manitoba	N/A	30
Gamma Rho Kappa - "Obnova"	1951	90
Ilusion Society	1960	40
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "Zarevo"	1953	25
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "TUSM"	1952	10 965
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan		
Alpha Omega Society - University of Saskatchewan	1930	40
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "Obnova"	1951	90 130
Edmonton, Alberta		
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "Obnova"	1952	40
Ilarion Society	1960	166 206
Vancouver, British Columbia		
Alpha Omega Society - University of British Columbia	N/A	53
Ukrainian Students Assoc. - "Obnova"	1952	10 63
Ukrainian Student Clubs and Societies		338
Religious and Ideological Ukrainian Student Organizations		577
		915

The Fifth SUSK Congress, held in Toronto 24-25 December 1960, marked the seventh anniversary of SUSK. After a new SUSK executive was elected it was noted that the initiative for a new style of SUSK activities was now being passed to a new generation of Ukrainian-Canadian students (none of the members of the new executive participated in the First Congress) and that this augured well for its future. It is indeed a source of satisfaction for us (of the older generation) to look back at those years and note that this effort has not been in vain. New generations have taken over since then and have contributed significantly to the style and meaning of Ukrainian-Canadian student activities.

(OSADCHUK continued on page 10)

1963-66: "... Canada dominated most of our interest ..."

Andrew Gregorovich

Looking back to my term of office in SUSK a dozen years ago, I can still recall the hard work and struggle needed by our executive to keep the union afloat. They were hard times with many signs of apathy among students which created the greatest problem we faced: contact.

The question of whether it was contact or lack of funds which was the most pressing problem we faced is a difficult one, as they are inter-related. We did not have sufficient funds to sponsor the travel of the executive members to create the necessary contacts, and we

participated fully in the debate on Canada's culture and future, emphasizing multiculturalism, by submitting the first SUSK brief to a government on 10 August, 1965, under the title: *The Canadian Nation: Some Opinions of Canadian University Students of Ukrainian Descent*. (Brief presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 1965 by the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union. Toronto 1965. 7 pages, legal size).

This 5,000 word brief represented a major effort of the SUSK executive and no doubt helped create the

strong impact the Ukrainian community had on the B & B Commission and the government which eventually led to the official government multicultural policy of 8 October 1971. Perhaps it should be mentioned here that Canada dominated most of our interest because of the coming centennial and the B & B hearings, while Ukraine was still quiet.

Perhaps the last publication that should be mentioned is the *President's Report to the 8th SUSK Congress* (Toronto, 19 - 20 February 1966, 25 pages with brochures). This was an attempt to leave a record behind of the difficulties and activities of that executive to simplify some of the problems and questions of the incoming executive. (It would be interesting to know if a copy survived the past 12 years, and many moves, in the present SUSK Archives!)

Our last major event followed the excellent lead of President Leo Wynnycky who in 1958 initiated the SUSK Conferences. We held the 9th SUSK conference titled "Ukrainian Historical Conference" at Hart House, University of Toronto, on 30 October 1965. It was accompanied by an exhibit in the U of T Library. During the period 10-29 February 1964 a "Rare Maps of Ukraine 1580 - 1740" exhibit was held in the U of T Library to the amazement of some of the professors.

SUSK had not attended the 7th Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) Congress so it was mandatory for the President to attend the 8th Congress, held 9-11 October 1965. The UCC Executive Director, W. Kochan, said of the SUSK participation "that it was unusually important". During the Congress SUSK made the national news in an interview on CBC Radio. We also broadcast about six programs about SUSK on Toronto radio.

The future of SUSK a dozen years ago seemed to hinge on a transition from the European-born students and a clique of older graduates to Canadian-born students and a broader political spectrum. It seemed necessary to devote a major effort to reaching Ukrainian-Canadian students who were not actively involved in any way with the Ukrainian *hromada*, who had drifted away from their heritage or who had no facility with the Ukrainian language. As I said in the *President's Report*:

"It is a simple fact that, assuming no new Ukrainian immigration arrives in Canada, as it seems certain, SUSK and our Clubs to survive must win the coming Canadian born generations into our activities or fade away as a fossil in Canadian universities."



Andrew Gregorovich, B.A., B.L.S., was SUSK president in 1963-66. Since 1963 he has been a librarian at the University of Toronto and is now a Department Head of library technical services for two colleges, Scarborough and Erindale. Active in many professional and Ukrainian organizations, Mr. Gregorovich is perhaps best known as the founding and current editor of *Forum: A Ukrainian Review*, a glossy illustrated magazine on Ukraine and Ukrainian arts, culture and history.

could rarely afford long-distance telephone calls. Our treasury was \$400 and in those days no government was providing any help. Mail was our major means of contact and the executive's work certainly suffered from this slow means of communication.

I had an excellent executive with some very dedicated members to help in my two years of office (22 December 1963 - 20 February 1966) during which we held 27 meetings.

The handicap we faced of lack of good contacts led the executive to devote much effort in putting our own house in order. Such basic information as a list of members, addresses for contact, a constitution, and information and publicity materials were lacking. We set about filling this gap and attempting to improve the general image of the Union.

A major event and an achievement of our term of office was the addition of three new SUSK member clubs in 1965: Lakehead, Ottawa and Waterloo.

A previous executive had invested in a temperamental hectograph machine which produced purple ink pages from typewritten copy. This remained our major "printing press", but for a while SUSK had its own offset press and we attempted to print some of the material we needed ourselves.

We considered publishing an important activity of SUSK and it was in this field that this executive was most successful although we did not manage to establish a paper like *Student*. A total of eight publications was produced including the first scholarly SUSK work. This was a fundamental work for Ukrainian historiography which included a bibliography: *The Traditional Scheme of Russian History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the East Slavs* by Michael Hrushevsky (Winnipeg; Published for the Ukrainian Canadian University Students Union by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1965. 24 pages). We also published in celebration of his 1966 centennial the *Avtobiohrafia-Autobiography* of M. Hrushevsky (Toronto: SUSK, 1965. 16 pages).

The *SUSK Constitution* in Ukrainian and English editions was organized and published as well as an important booklet *A Synopsis of SUSK* (Toronto 1965, 8 pages). This provided the first basic summary of essential history and information about SUSK.

Perhaps one of the most important activities of the executive was our participation in the Canadian dimension. SUSK became a voting member of the Canadian Centenary Council and had the opportunity to input views and information into the centennial plans which culminated under the next executive in a Ukrainian Youth Day in Ottawa addressed by Prime Minister Pearson on Parliament Hill.

We also did not neglect to make the Ukrainian student voice heard in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism where a SUSK advisor, Prof. J.B. Rudnycky, was a member. SUSK par-

1966-68: "... frenzy of organizational activity got in the way ..."

Lubomyr Zyla

There was a great deal of optimism about SUSK in the latter half of the 1960s. Perhaps too much. The fervour of that decade among students generally had us all convinced that lethargy was dead and that student activism was fashionable, respectable and there to stay. SUSK, the theory was, would go from strength to

strength, simply by channeling what seemed to be limitless enthusiasm.

Although there was certainly no lack of argument about the prime objectives of SUSK, these were of lesser concern compared to the perceived need to organize, to obtain funds (the beginning of the government grants syn-

drome!) and to increase formal membership. In retrospect, I would say that in my term (1966-68) this frenzy of organizational activity as such got in the way of achievement of perhaps more worthy, lasting objectives.

Besides, with the imminent Centennial in 1967, Expo, the release of the B & B Report — all heady stuff — our program was preordained. We would organize a massive SUSK Symposium, whence all manner of worthy achievement would flow.

We did meet — almost 200 delegates from across the country — in Montreal, and for many students it was the first such occasion on that scale to get acquainted. This was undoubtedly a benefit in itself — perhaps the only one to be expected. As for achievement in any other sense, it was like most social/political institutions: they take pride in displaying their intentions now and then at conferences but the real measure of their success can only be taken much later — by those who come after.

There is one afterthought that seems noteworthy. Although SUSK executives and membership are ephemeral, they serve well if they serve the purpose of assuring continuity for an organization which is truly needed from time to time. I have seen several such needs fulfilled since my term.



Lubomyr Zyla was SUSK president from 1966-68. After obtaining a graduate degree in political science from the University of Manitoba, he did post-graduate work at Carleton University in Ottawa. Since 1964 he has worked in five departments/agencies of the federal government, including foreign service as First Secretary, Trade Commission and Consul for Canada in Sydney, Australia. Currently he is in the Privy Council Office, working in the area of Federal-Provincial relations for the Prime Minister.

1968-69: "... СУСК не повинен залишатися виключно координативним тілом..."

Роман Сербин

Краса управа, яку вибрав 9-ий З'їзд СУСК-у в Монреалі 11-го травня, 1968 р. взяла собі за мету зацікавити ширші кола українського студентства та надати СУСК-ові таку форму організації й такий стиль праці, які б відповідали вимогам сучасного українського життя в Канаді. Управа прийшла до висновку, що СУСК не повинен залишатися виключно координативним тілом, але му- сить користатися з появлених студентських рухів у західному світі й повинен брати участь в підготовленні проєктів все-Канадського масштабу. Щоб уможливити це, ще зосередження сил, обмежено календцю управу до одного року і вибрано більшість членів зі сходу Канади.

Обставини так склалися, що більшість членів управу проводили літо в Монреалі й Оттаві — це дозволило організувати низку зустрічей і нарад, які відбувалися під час кількох кінців тижня. В час цих неформальних сходів члени управу мали змогу себе пізнати, зжитися і виробити план праці. Можна сміло сказати, що без цих зустрічей і нарад, більшість проєктів була б навіть і не розпочата.

Один з важливіших вивів спільної активності СУСК-у був три-денний з'їзд (тіч-ін) у жовтні, у Вінніпезі. Головною нарадою було "місце українців у новій конституції". Уже до того часу СУСК на- зв'язав був контакт з федеральним урядом, дав йому до відома, що українські студенти зацікавлені проблемою зміни канадської конституції та всіма справами, які торкаються нас як українців у Канаді. СУСК висловився за правильне визнання французького факту в Канаді, підтримав політику офіційної двомовності і виступив за прийняття багатокультурності. Зацікавлення уряду темою конференції було таке велике, що удалося одержати \$5,000.00 на покриття коштів конференції.

Вінніпезький "тіч-ін" був запланований на той самий час, що і 9-ий конгрес ККУ-у щоб студенти могли взяти участь в сесіях ККУ-у. Присутність студентів була відмічена на концерті, організованому ККУ-ом. Тут студенти демонстративно запротестували проти американізації, яку організатори впровадили в зміст концерту. На сесіях, студенти висунули пропозиції щодо реорганізації ККУ до демократичних засад. Також, на зустрічі з представниками українських церков студенти висловлювались за єдність українських церков.

Вінніпезький з'їзд мав ще одне завдання: це була спроба зкріпити західні студентські клуби та усунути відчуження між східними клубами, де більшість членів належала до нової еміграції, і західними громадами, які мали потенціал в дітях передвостіної еміграції. Успіх вінніпезького з'їзду спонукав управу ринитися за складання 10-го конгресу на другому кінці Канади, у Ванкувері, щоб захопити західні провінції. Щоб як найбільше число

студентів могло брати участь в з'їзді, рішення впровадити традицію відбувати конгрес під кінець літа, на

органу. Рішення видавати не бюлетені, а газету, яка краще відіграє роль джерела інформації про працю і пла-

подіями і проблемами українського життя в Каваді та в світі.

Перше число "Студента" появилось в Монреалі, з датою червень-серпень 1968 р. Воно мало ціль сторінок і було справді двомовним бо половина матеріялу друкувалась по-українському. Статті та ілюстрації охоплювали багато тем: від звіту про з'їзд СУСК-у до карикатури на тему української політичної снестії. Змістом і стилем не була поміклована газета, ліберально-демократичного і українсько-патрістичного напрямку. Хоч великого імпа-

ту в той час "Студент" не зробив (бо управа неспромоглася на витягнення другого числа за цілу зиму, а в той самий час увагу як себе звертало більше сингапійський журнал, "Зозулька"), то все ж таки він зявився як традиція, яка продовжується до сьогодні.

Друге число "Студента" появилось вже аж під кінець літа 1969 р. на пенелотні 10-го конгресу СУСК. Це число вишло в Торонто під редакцією Богдана Кравченка і відзначило нові зміни,

(Продовження на стор. 47)

"лейбор дей вік-енд".

Від самого початку управа присвятила багато часу виданню нового студентського

журналу і поодиноким клубам. Вірніше, що газета допоможе зацікавити українське студентство важливіми

1969-70: "... we focused on community needs and multiculturalism ..."

Bohdan Krawchenko

I was at Bishop's University — a sleepy college on the Massawippi river near Lennoxville, Quebec — when Roman Serbyn phoned in the spring of 1969 to offer me a job as field worker for SUSK. The Quebec student movement, Czechoslovakia 1968, and the writings of Chornovil and Dzyuba had turned me into something of a radical. The thought of organizing for a Ukrainian student organization was therefore an exciting proposition. I moved to Toronto for my first encounter with the SUSK national executive. It took the form of an interview with Roman Serbyn and Roman Petryshyn. I was quite apprehensive about the meeting and even wore a suit for the occasion. At the interview I was given some ideas of what I had to do and why it had to be done. I was relieved. It turned out that the national executive had enough money to pay me for a week or so — the rest I would be expected to raise myself. But that didn't matter — roughing it for the cause was a sign that you had broken with middle class values. I chucked away my suit and got down to work. It was the beginning of a very important experience.

My summit as a field worker ended at the 10th SUSK Congress held in Vancouver in 1970. The congress was an exceptional event from all points of view and it became something of a minor legend among future SUSK activists. There was something new even exciting in the air. Politically, the presence of a delegation of Quebecois students and a teach-in on "The Canadian Student Movement and Social Change" with various Canadian radicals speaking was an innovation. The discussion at the teach-in was heated, and many older members of the Ukrainian community were scandalized by the breaches in orthodoxy. At that congress, notwithstanding my emotional outburst in defence of radicalism, I was elected president.

1969-1970 was a year of frenetic activity. But we had the advantage of not swimming against the current. Our parents, for the most part, were "D.P.'s" — and we were the first generation to have been socialized in Canada. Our national upbringing embedded in us a rather deep loyalty and dedication to things Ukrainian. But having been socialized in Canada, many of us felt the impact of the youth radicalization, then at a high point. The ideas of the general youth movement — militancy, activism, new life-styles, anti-authoritarianism — had penetrated our milieu. We

accepted involvement in Ukrainian questions as an imperative, but we tried to give this involvement new forms and content. On the personal side of things, for many, involvement in the "Ukrainian student movement," as we called it, offered a haven from a stifling home environment. The cross-Canada travel, living away from home, the contact with other students, the interminable discussions, the

ing an analysis and perspectives — that year we focused on community needs and multiculturalism — and by winning students to the struggle for these perspectives, we hoped to be able to channel a layer of activists back to the community. B) We tried to build a multiculturalism movement by articulating what we saw as the needs of ethnic groups, stimulating other ethnic groups

multity animation would help train future Ukrainian community activists, and the programmes that these field workers developed would benefit the local Ukrainian communities. That summer SUSK field workers were on location working, in collaboration with the local student clubs, for Ukrainian communities in Montreal, Toronto, Thunder Bay, and Edmonton. One also worked for the SUSK national office in Toronto. The field work project was unveiled at a rather elaborate press conference for the Ukrainian media. Field workers received training at a grueling ten-day orientation course which featured over forty speakers and Saul Alinsky films.

To be a field worker wasn't easy. They arrived in cities new to them (that was deliberate), they had to find their bearings, establish contact with the community, and start developing programmes. Their activities ranged from organizing multi-ethnic multiculturalism conferences, helping produce Ukrainian radio programmes, campaigning to introduce Ukrainian courses at university, starting up Ukrainian community bulletins and community television, visiting high schools to encourage Ukrainian students to attend university. Apart from Thunder Bay, where the Lakehead University Students' Council was persuaded to help pay the field worker's salary, the students had to generate their own funds.

On the student front, throughout the year we opened and ran independently of any Ukrainian organization a national office in Toronto; published Student, organized two regional conferences (Saskatoon and Toronto) as well as several local conferences; organized and secured government financial support or the very successful CESUS (Central Union of Ukrainian Students) Congress in Montreal with delegations representing Ukrainian student organizations in Europe, South America and the U.S.; sponsored a Ukrainian student bass quartet from Montreal on a Canadian tour; explained ourselves to the Canadian Union of Students and various students' councils across Canada; made films and tapes of our activities; showed some Soviet Ukrainian films in commercial theatres; published two editions of a booklet describing SUSK and organized their distribution at



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sense of doing something important, created an atmosphere of camaraderie which, as it turns out, proved to be an important part of the dynamic.

Our activity that year had three basic orientations. A) We tried to build a student movement which would have an impact on the Ukrainian community not just a student organization. The motor force of a movement is ideas. As students are a transitory social group, it would be the ideas which would lend permanence to this movement. By develop-

ing and Ukrainian organizations to express their demands, reacting rather vocally to the Fourth Volume of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and trying to sensitize the general Canadian public to the reality of multiculturalism. C) We tried to raise the problem of Ukraine and make it a viable commitment for our peers.

The summer 1970 field work project was our major achievement. The thinking behind the project was rather simple: full-time summer com-

(KRAWCHENKO continued on page 10)

1970-71: "... students were not only militants but mediators ..."

Marusia Kucharyshyn

After the 11th SUSK Congress, held at the University of Manitoba in August and attended by over 100 students, the national executive of SUSK — or more accurately, the Ukrainian Student Movement within SUSK — was ready to escalate the level of student activity to an unprecedented level. SUSK had two full time field workers — Marusia Kucharyshyn and Andriy Bandera who worked out of the national office — and a regionally representative national executive. The list of the executive, however, is not a reflection of the people who actually made the organization move. Some executive members lay dormant, while other students came forward from the ranks to take the leadership of local clubs and of national projects.

By September 1970 SUSK had its "Manifesto" — B. Krawchenko's Hart House conference speech "Towards a Development of Multiculturalism" — which was to serve as the basis of its ethnic activism. It was a watershed in the emergence of a new form of political Ukrainian-Canadian consciousness. The speech rejected assimilation, and instead, postulated that ethno-cultural communities were a dynamic and developing phenomenon integral to Canadian society. It also outlined concrete demands and programmes necessary to ensure the development of ethno-cultural minorities. On this basis, one of the main tasks of the year was to fight the battle for official government acceptance of a multicultural, rather than narrow bicultural definition of Canada. The fight for multiculturalism required the propagation of these ideas within SUSK itself, within the Ukrainian community nationally, to other ethnic groups and to elected government officials as well as civil servants. At the time, the Ukrainian Professional and Business Federation did not have as high a profile in this area of activity as they were to have once the multicultural policy was adopted by government. Thus the government dealt with those who were making the most noise politically, which in this case was Ukrainian students. SUSK was faced with the task not only of following its own

confrontation politics but also of being the agency which had to deal with government in place of the traditional leaders that sat in the national Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) office. Thus students were put into the role of being not only militants but mediators.

In the course of the year every SUSK club across the country was visited at least once by a SUSK field worker or executive member. The field workers and the executive addressed the national conferences of the Ukrainian youth organizations (Plast, SUM) and worked closely with the leaders of MUNO and SUMK. SUSK prepared and helped coordinate the submission of a Ukrainian youth brief to the Manitoba government multicultural conference, "Manitoba Mosaic." The SUSK national office prepared two briefs for the constitutional hearings held by the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons in the fall and spring of that year. SUSK also supplied information and helped other Ukrainian organizations prepare their submissions. SUSK national executive members and field workers attended and spoke at conferences involving other ethnic groups and educators. By that time SUSK activists had mastered the art of the press conference and every significant move by SUSK was marked in the national media.

Without doubt, Ukrainian student activists played a vanguard role in Canada's multicultural action at this time. A rather young group (the oldest activist was twenty-four) SUSK activists functioned with a relatively radical critique both of the cultural definition of Canada, and of the decision-making process in government. In retrospect, however, it is evident the areas that this critique focussed on were too narrow to provide a basis for the understanding of society and politics as a whole. Indeed SUSK leaders had very little political understanding even of the structure of power within our own community. Naïveté on these two questions was to be the basis, first, for disillusionment and later for the emergence of a general critique of

Canadian society, linking this to government policies and the conservatism of the Establishment of the Ukrainian community.

During this year the SUSK movement operated in a climate both financially and politically favourable to it. In reaction to the agitation of Canada's "extra-parliamentary opposition" of the 1960s, the government had instituted a policy of "participatory democracy." This was to serve the function of channelling discontent off the streets and into briefing writing and conferences. At the beginning, this policy fostered the illusion that government was sincerely interested in reform. The publication of the 4th volume of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (with its inadequate recommendations on Canadian ethnicity) provided a perfect opportunity for raising ethnic demands as part of this participatory process. Thanks is due to our own government "deep throats" that



Marusia Kucharyshyn-Petryshyn was SUSK president and full-time field worker from September 1970 to August 1971. She holds a Master of Social Science degree from the University of Birmingham in England, and is now a student in the Faculty of Law at the University of Alberta.

1971-72: "... co-opted by the proverbial carrot ..."

Marko Bojczun

The SUSK executive on which I served from September 1971 - September 1972 took office at a turning point in the Union's history. The Thunder Bay Congress and the Ukrainian Canadian Festival of the Arts were the culminating point in Ukrainian student radicalism coming out of the 1960s; at no time afterwards did there exist such dynamism and independence of initiative that characterised the preceding years. Many things accounted for the slow decline which began to set in. Personalities, however, did not play the dominant part in this trend.

The 1970 fieldwork project which took on the task of organising popular support for a multicultural policy was a pioneering effort; fieldworkers raised their own salaries working under conditions more difficult than those their successors faced. The workers

multicultural policy at the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) Congress in Winnipeg. While it did not go as far as SUSK had hoped in its recommendations (notably in education and multilingual broadcasting), the announcement had the effect of deflating the radicalism in the Union, a principal agitator in the movement. It seems that SUSK began to slide into the sterile practice of monitoring the policy's implementation almost immediately after the announcement. No serious critique being attempted of the philosophy, politics and strategy of the multicultural action (except perhaps in the student articles by Mirko Kowalsky, Towards a Political Sociology of Multiculturalism, and Yuri Boshyk, Multiculturalism - Middle Class Sellout, for example) the monitoring tactic appeared as an uncritical reflex action.

technical and funding; the original conception (creating a communications network for the community through cable T.V.) was overambitious; the multicultural policy at the federal and provincial levels did not seem to strengthen the position of any community which was attempting to organise its social and cultural life. OFY looked more and more like a mechanism to pacify rebellious youth. We were not the only ones co-opted by the proverbial carrot.

The other important concern for SUSK was defense of Soviet political prisoners. This campaign really got off the ground during Marusia Kucharyshyn's executive. The January 1971 demonstration in Ottawa in defense of Moroz and the five rallies held in May 1971 to press the Canadian government into making recommendations to Moscow on his behalf were all organised out of the national executive office in Toronto. Throughout the summer, delegations were sent to Ottawa to press for the demands that thousands of Canadians had put their names to in numerous petitions and mass telegrams from the rallies. All of this came to naught, so the new executive decided to launch a hunger strike in Winnipeg to coincide with Trudeau's appearance at the Ukrainian Canadian Committee Congress. The strike by 17 students at the University of Manitoba Student Union building quickly attracted national media attention. By the time the strikers had moved to the Fort Garry Hotel, the Congress site, arousing the passions of the nationalist delegates Trudeau would have to face in his after-dinner speech, the PM had no choice but to meet them. At first his secretary (I believe Ivan Head) tried to set up a meeting between representatives of the strike and Trudeau's subordinates. This failed and all 17 met him; after 40 minutes, (BOJJCUN continued on page 11)

Marko Bojczun was SUSK president in 1971-72. He is currently a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at York University, Toronto.

on the 1971 project had the advantage of a considerable prestige that SUSK had acquired and were consequently not only funded by the Opportunities for Youth scheme but had less difficulty being accepted into the different Ukrainian-Canadian communities. At the same time, the expanded fieldwork project of 1971 provided the SUSK national executive with fresh recruits, people who were prepared to continue working into the fall. It was largely from this broader group that the Thunder Bay executive appeared.

In October, Pierre Elliot Trudeau announced the federal

In the summer of 1972, we were again blessed (damned) with a substantial OFY grant to implement one of the most ambitious projects SUSK had ever undertaken: the production of a series of television programmes dealing with Ukrainian-Canadian life in the Prairie provinces and Ontario. We expected to distribute them through the then-blossoming cable T.V. stations. A great deal of money went into the scheme (\$25,000) yet we were unable to muster the facilities and technical expertise to edit the roughly 80 hours of footage that had been produced. In retrospect, it seems that the problem was not only with

encouraged students in these actions. Without official legitimization of activist politics and the ethnic question, it is questionable whether Ukrainian-Canadian students, who had until then been rather timorous, would have been as militant as they were.

As the year progressed the tiny dingy office at 67 Harbord Street in Toronto became the centre for many projects that involved Ukrainian students from all sectors of the Ukrainian community. Only a documentary history of the Ukrainian student movement, rather than personal retrospective, would be able to accurately list the countless projects which arose in the crucible of the Movement. For example, field work projects were created to channel youthful energy into the community. The programme for this kind of work visualized sending students into the community as animators who would undertake various projects which would contribute to the creative development of the community.

In the summer of 1971 approximately 80 young Ukrainians were being paid by the Opportunities for Youth programme of the Federal government to work on Ukrainian community projects across Canada. The following were the field workers directly coordinated by SUSK: Andriy Bandera, coordinator for Eastern Bay; Marusia Barabash, Larissa Blavatska, Marko Bojczun, Yuri Bodnaruk, Hanja Galan, Oleh Illyvsky, Yurko Kovar, Genia Kotsur, Marusia Kucharyshyn, Halya Kuchmij, Vera Lykhytchenko, Oleksander Rudnytsky, Ludmila Palchevska, Ihor Petelytsky, Volodymyr Korobaylo, Oleksander Olijnyk, Andriy Semotluk, Bohdan Sirant, Olya Khmelivska, Bohdan Hrebnyk. In addition a project called the Ukrainian Canadian Festival of the Arts brought together over 100 artists, writers, film makers, singers, dancers and musicians from all across Canada to Lakehead University in Thunder Bay prior to the 12th Congress. This project was organized by the following student field workers: Darka Maletska, Irene Kunda, Vera Hamiwka, Russian Logush, Ariadna Ochrymovich, Motria Toroshenko, Taras Jurkiewicz, Val Cybenko, Christya Chomiak (coordinator), Zirka Rad, Walter Poprawa, and George Nietefor. A project called "Towards a Canadian Unity" coordinated another 50

(KUCHARYSHYN continued on page 11)

1973-74: ... "consolidation and developing student involvement ..."

Yuri Daschko

The work of the SUSK national executive during the term 1973 to 1974 was one of consolidation and developing student involvement. I came to the presidency of SUSK as an outsider, never having been directly involved with the national executive, and thus, it was hoped, better able to mend old wounds and reopen internal communications. I felt then, as I do now, that SUSK's primary task is to stimulate and assist students in discussing and acting upon educational, political, and social issues. SUSK should encourage students to come to grips, on an individual and collective basis, with the problems they share by virtue of a common role and culture. It should prepare them to take an active part in the wider community after their student days. As with all things in life, the work of the executive had its successes and its failures, some of which shall be touched upon in this article.

Due to communication problems that had been developing for a number of years, the national executive decided that personal visits to the clubs were necessary. I undertook most of the visitations since I was working on a full-time basis for the Union. In many instances, all across Canada, my visit was the first contact of any kind that term between the national executive and the local club. During these visits, the clubs were told about the national executive's plans and activities and the club members' opinions and advice were solicited. Beyond this, some of the visits were aimed at reviving dying or defunct clubs by contacting not only students but also the local Ukrainian community. It is important to note that the decline in student interest and participation in many local clubs at that time was not solely a Ukrainian-Canadian phenomenon. It merely reflected developments in the overall community, i.e. the wane in student activism.

To further combat declining student involvement and bring more students into the organization, a conference of club presidents was organized in Winnipeg in June 1974 in order to insure a large turnout at an annual congress. Financial assistance was offered to those clubs who were unable to pay the full cost of sending a representative to the conference.

The presidents' conference, in conjunction with the extensive visitations, seemed to have borne fruit in light of the large number of participants at the SUSK Congress. Also many of the people who became involved in SUSK during that time continued their involvement, both locally and nationally, for a number of years.

The Congress itself consisted of workshops and seminars dealing with three main areas: both the federal government's multicultural policy and alternative approaches to multiculturalism, dissent in Eastern Europe and SUSK internal business.

An indirect result of the visitations was the submission to the Student Community Service Programme for assistance in setting up an organizational project to assist the local clubs. Unfortunately, despite an intensive letter writing campaign, as well as visits to government officials and members of Parliament, the project was not accepted. Nonetheless, the national executive set up a summer project that developed two handbooks: one dealt with organizing a local students' club, the other with organizing a conference. Also, work commenced on handbooks dealing with dissent in Soviet Ukraine and with the development of multiculturalism as government policy.

The national executive considered many other projects, among them: a conference of Ukrainian-Canadian student writers, a speakers' tour on dissent in Ukraine, and the creation of a catalogue, or perhaps even a tour, of movies dealing with a Ukrainian theme. In some cases, due to a lack of manpower, nothing could be done; in other cases, such as the movie tour, work was terminated because of legal and financial constraints. However we were able to have a showing of Dovzhenko's internationally renowned film "Zemlia" at the Eastern SUSK Conference. Also a videotape was made of the movie "Shadows of Our Forgotten Ancestors" for distribution to the clubs.

In addition work continued on the issue of multilingual broadcasting on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) radio and television networks. During the term, the executive lobbied various members of Parliament and government officials in favour of multilingual broadcasting on the CBC. SUSK submitted a written intervention to the then Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC), in regard to the application for licence renewal of the CBC networks, and attended the Commission's hearings. After the CRTC's decision, which renewed the CBC networks' licence without the stipulation that it commence multilingual broadcasting, the Union submitted a petition to the Governor-General-in-Council asking the Cabinet to rescind the decision.

As a result of the various presentations, including SUSK's, to the House of Commons committee dealing with broadcasting, and to the CRTC, the Multilingual Broadcasting Study Group created the Multilingual Broadcasting Study Group to inquire into the possible format for multilingual broadcasting. Unfortunately, as far as I know, this group has not come up with a positive decision.

An indirect off-shoot of the "CBC Action" was an Opportunities for Youth project which SUSK assisted in forming. It was the Multilingual Broadcasting Study Group composed of thirteen students; some of whom were not Ukrainian. These people surveyed the attitudes of five Toronto ethno-cultural communities (German, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish and Ukrainian) concerning the communities' feelings about the need for multilingual broadcasting.

Finally, protests were sent to, and a meeting held with the CBC concerning one of their programmes. One of the apparent objectives of the programme was to show that people from continental Europe had

brought authoritarian tendencies with them to Canada. Also it seemed to suggest that the policy of multiculturalism promotes and perpetuates old world rivalries in Canada. Unfortunately the CBC took no corrective action.

In order to assist future lobbying activity by the Union and to raise members of Parliament's consciousness about multiculturalism, a questionnaire was sent out on 17 June 1974 to all candidates of the four major political parties in the federal election. In general, it was found of the candidates who responded, the Liberal Party candidates were polarized between those who strongly opposed multiculturalism and those who strongly supported it. The responses of the Progressive Conservative Party and the New Democratic Party candidates were, in general, favourable to multiculturalism.

The question of dissent in the Soviet Ukraine was also dealt with during the 1973-1974 term. Members of the executive met with Mitchell Sharp prior to his trip to the Soviet Union in November 1973. At that meeting we presented and discussed with him a memorandum dealing with the persecution of Ukrainian dissidents in the Soviet Union. This matter was also discussed with other members of Parliament.

Also, SUSK supported the Moroz demonstration held in Ottawa as well as being involved in the distribution of dissent literature.

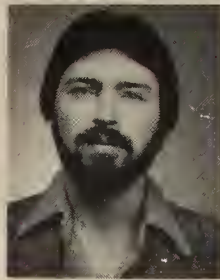
In an attempt to make Ukrainian Canadians and Canadians in general more aware of the history of Ukrainians in Canada, an Opportunities for Youth project, the Ukrainian-Canadian Historical Date Calendar, was organized. The general objective was to illustrate events in the history of Canadians of Ukrainian descent in the form of an English-language appointment calendar. Although most of the research was completed by the end of the summer, problems prevented the actual publication of the calendar.

Members of the national executive attended and took an active part in various conferences, among them the federal government's First Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, the National Conference on Ukrainian Academic Studies, and the Second World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

Besides all the above, there were the ubiquitous fund-raising activities, ranging from the selling of books to the direct solicitation of funds. One of the national executive's greatest fund-raising and social

successes was the student dance organized to coincide with the Second World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

During the term, in many cases, personality flaws and conflicts destroyed or at least crippled what might have been successful projects. There is no way of avoiding this type of problem although it can be alleviated by having people involved who have a fair



Yuri Daschko, B.A., M.A., was SUSK president in 1973-74. He currently resides in Ottawa, Ontario, where he works as a valuation officer for National Revenue - Customs and Excise. He is also author of articles dealing with Canadian immigration policy, the Ukrainian-Canadian press, and Soviet religious policy.

amount of knowledge or expertise in the area concerned. Also I believe it is important there be at least one full-time person working for SUSK who will operate as an organizer cum administrator to allow the executive time to look at policy problems.

Although SUSK's task is to encourage and assist (DASCHKO continued on page 11)

1974-75: "... a new cycle of SUSK activists ..."

Myron Spolsky

The 1974-75 SUSK executive and Student editorial board will remember their year for the major confrontation entered into with the Canadian League for the Liberation of

press around the world. Starting with an article by a former SUSK president and followed up with articles by members of the SUSK executive, the Argentinian Moroz Committee was

eventually from the Banderite press. The issue overshadowed some of the other transition which SUSK was undergoing at that time.

By 1974, the wave of student activism across Canada was dying. SUSK seemed to be one of the few student organisations which managed to keep up some form of activity, with most of the emphasis placed on club development, visits to individual clubs by SUSK executive members and development of programmes coordinated for maximum club involvement. 1974-75 marked the beginning of a new cycle of SUSK activists; the Winnipeg Congress had elected an executive, of which only one member had served in any capacity on previous SUSK executives or Student editorial board.

In previous years, SUSK activities were aimed primarily at providing new vehicles for the development of the Ukrainian-Canadian community; the development of the policy of multiculturalism, activities in defense of Soviet political prisoners, and fieldwork projects all were initiated by previous SUSK executives. There was a tacit recognition, in 1974, that there were few new frontiers to tackle.

1974-75 was to be a year of consolidation for SUSK, a year to wrap up some of the previous year's activities, to reinvigorate club development policies, to wrap up the CBC Action and to launch some small community fieldwork projects aiming at some specific areas, such as education. There was also a recognition that SUSK is an organisation with a transitional membership, and that we could not enter into long-range pro-

(SPOLSKY continued on page 47)



Myron Spolsky was SUSK president in 1973-74. After completing a B.A. (Hon.) in political science from York University, he moved to Winnipeg where, from March 1977 to June 1978, he was Assistant Executive Director of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Mr. Spolsky is currently administrator of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center (Oseredok) in Winnipeg, and is responsible for public relations, fundraising and programme coordination.

Ukrainian regarding the position of the Ukrainian community on human rights in Chile. The roots of the battle were found in the visit to General Pinochet, leader of Chilean junta, by members of the Argentinian Moroz Defense Committee, and a series of articles applauding this venture in the official Chilean press and the Banderite

attacked for its lack of principles and poor political judgement in committing themselves to relations with a leader of a government, whose repressive policies were no different than those employed by the Soviet Union. Following a year of mudslinging the issue was dropped without resolution from the pages of Student and

1975-76: "... The problems have not changed ..."

Sheila Slobodzian

From conversations held with former SUSK activists and a close rapport with students after my term as national SUSK president in the term 1975-76, it has become clear to me that the general factors affecting the growth and development of SUSK in my term were no different than those SUSK faces today or faced twenty years ago, and that they are complexly

culminated in an appropriate year-end friction. In the national UCC women are given no greater role than preparing coffee, snacks, and typing.

Attempts to increase the status of local Ukrainian student clubs were short-lived (this still appears to be a problematic area). Student leaders were few and usually burned themselves out in one or two years. In

representatives, working for campus newspapers or even other non-Ukrainian clubs. Sometimes, those that do become involved are even accused of selling out.

But, Ukrainians are usually the best dressed socialites on campus! This ethnocentricity has produced: a generation of politically naive students, the activists of whom function on thirty hour days; alienated first-generation Ukrainians looking for an alternative to their Ukrainianism, usually as a taste of anglophone life; and a few newly-discovered Ukrainians searching for entry and acceptance into a Ukrainian community with rigid criteria for membership and limited tolerance for unaccepted attitudes and values.

However, modest gains were made. A multi-ethnic panel organized by SUSK on multiculturalism, held in 1976 during the Festival of Life & Learning at the University of Manitoba, was a real breakthrough for campus ethnic politics. The sizeable audience reflected the panel's considerable planning and public efforts. A similar success occurred during the 1976 Western Conference at the University of Calgary where attempts (although favorably received by the Jewish, Chinese and German communities,) to invite participants from other ethnic groups revealed a French-Canadian community unwilling to cooperate in "ethnic" affairs. The Western Conference focussed on education in multiculturalism, particularly on second language instruction and spotlighted the English-Ukrainian bilingual program, then in its early years in Edmonton. It was hoped that Ukrainians and other ethnic groups would recognize the viability of this model and implement it or encourage its implementation in other centres. This conference committed SUSK to a long-term interest in English-Ukrainian bilingual education, in which it is still productively involved. Various summer student projects since then have contributed to recruiting children for the program, studying parental attitudes, working on special summer camps for children in the program, and, in conjunction with teachers, preparing materials for use in the program.

The successful development and contribution SUSK has made in the area of education and multiculturalism is the result of personal expertise, experience and financial backing. Too often, SUSK activity has lulled because students do not understand an issue well enough to deal with it. Gaining experience through amateur attempts has developed a set of resource personnel, but at the expense of the reputations of certain individuals and the organization.

During my two eventful years in SUSK, I often felt intimidated by the romantic legacy of student activism

(SLOBODZIAN continued on page 47)



Olenka Bilash (Sheila Slobodzian) was SUSK president in 1975-76. During this time she was employed as a Ukrainian language teacher and did community development work in Manitoba. She is currently bilingual coordinator at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in Edmonton and is also engaged in an M.A. program at the University of Alberta's Department of Geography.

intertwined with the increased living standards and social mobility of the mainstream of Canadian society and the archaic quasi-realism of the Ukrainian community. Student and public apathy was/was widespread; most people never have to worry about attaining the basic necessities of life. Disinterest in international, national, local or ethnic issues and politics is increasing. In fact, the majority of students do not even know what the issues are. But, a handful of SUSK activists spread out across the country work simultaneously to keep local clubs alive on social events and national SUSK up-to-date on the real concerns.

The problems have not changed since my term. The east-west geographic separation of Ukrainian student clubs was/is enhanced by the superiority complex of Ukrainians from eastern Canada. Distances and isolation result in students surviving from one congress to another, with more concern over where the next congress would be than what would be discussed, by whom, and why. Most executive members carried two or three posts and were scattered across the country in 1975-76 so the left arm hardly knew what the right one was doing. However, moving the executive in 1975 out of Toronto, electing a president from the west, and becoming involved in a few new issues did give SUSK a face-lift.

The "grassroots movement" initiated by Yuri Daschko in 1973-74 remained a priority in 1975-76. UCC (Ukrainian Canadian Committee) - SUSK relations experienced the traditional frustration and tension. Efforts to bring representatives from other ethnic groups together to discuss different aspects of multiculturalism were fruitful but attempts to raise student consciousness and encourage Ukrainian students to become more involved in campus affairs were to no avail. Probably the most significant aspect of the term was the work and interest initiated in education and multiculturalism. In fact, it has generated some profitable and long-term (in student years) gains for SUSK.

However, the grassroots movement was hampered by a swelling debt, insufficient manpower, and postal strikes - all of which made following up gains difficult. For example, a Ukrainian Students' Club formed at Brandon University sent four enthusiastic representatives to the 1976 Western conference in Calgary, but no one has ever heard from them since. The realization that Saskatoon students were being factionalized by adult organizations in that community became frustrating as no local or exportable organizational leadership existed to bring them together to discuss common problems and issues, to develop a voice on campus, to improve their self-image, or to somehow unite these factions. Furthermore, these students needed to develop pride and self-respect and to get to know one another first. Meanwhile, interest within eastern clubs waned. No one had the time, travelling money or diagnostic expertise to treat the ailments.

SUSK continued its verbal criticism of the UCC and its archaic superstructure. But lacking money, people and power, SUSK made little headway. The tension neither grew nor melted. We still faced the "bad reputation" inherited from previous executives. Meetings between the UCC and Trudeau and Munro, then Minister Responsible for Multiculturalism, were as fruitless as ever. Usually the Ukrainian delegation had too narrow a perspective on the issues and spent too little time discussing the points and too much time arranging the appropriate hierarchical seating arrangements, snapping pictures and eating the meal. Under these conditions little could be accomplished.

The regular bi-weekly UCC executive meetings were equally unproductive. The patronizing the chauvinistic attitudes of certain executive members toward SUSK's delegate (a female) were annoying and

addition to their studies and community commitments, they grew frustrated with the apathy of their followers and usually dropped out of sight. With the possible exception of Edmonton, local clubs lacked the continuity of manpower to develop any long-range strategy.

The realization that Ukrainian students must get more involved in campus politics grew. Ideas and volunteers were by themselves not enough to sensitize the general community. But conferences, panel discussions, workshops, or seminar series, were usually only attended by the committed. And without campus funding or moral support, efforts seemed in vain. Some clubs even gave up office space because they did not know who to lobby, what to say, or why. Unfortunately, this situation has changed little. Few Ukrainians are found on student councils, as faculty or departmental

1976-77: "... SUSK is what has been ..."

The executive council on which I served was elected by a large body of delegates attending the very successful Scarborough SUSK Congress in 1976. We were given a mandate to boost the organization financially, a goal to which all other activities were to be subordinated. Unfortunately we made no spectacular financial gains, but we did keep the ship afloat and managed several projects as well - all on a shoestring budget.

All that was accomplished in 1976-77, though, was made possible through the commitment and long hours invested by members of the executive, Student staff, and our numerous friends, especially Halyna Hryn and Oles Cheren of Cataract Press. This must be said to dispel any impressions that SUSK is a creature with a life of its own. It is what you make it, and always has been. If there is only one person burning the wick in the office, then the result will be a one candle-power operation. And nobody has the right to complain unless they are willing to apply a little *sitzfleisch* themselves.

In every year there are issues which leave a certain imprint on SUSK. In 1976-77 there was human rights and the international organization of Ukrainian students - CeSUS (Central Union of Ukrainian Students).

A month before the Belgrade Review [of the Helsinki accords], Conference, Amnesty International (Canada) and SUSK co-sponsored a demonstration protesting Soviet violations of the Helsinki Accords. Author Marco Carynnyk, the keynote speaker, called upon all peoples to unite against Soviet tyranny and oppression. During the summer the executive and local Ukrainian Stu-

dent Clubs (USC) across Canada prepared a cross-country speaking tour for the former Soviet dissident and mathematician Leonid Plyushch. The subsequent birth of local Committees in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (CDSP) was an important offspring of the tour. One step forward in the cause of human rights was Plyushch's appearance and testimony before the World Mental

the winter of our discontent. After a disappointing congress in Philadelphia in 1976, where SUSK (although the largest constituent national organization) was excluded from the inner sanctum of the executive and being thus left with no voice in CeSUS save for a nominal position on the panel of vice-presidents, relations deteriorated further. A meeting of the CeSUS

Marijka Hurko was SUSK president in 1976-77. She studied journalism and Soviet and East European Studies at Carleton University in Ottawa. Since 1976 she has been employed as a Story Producer by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Radio) in Toronto.

Health Association Congress held in Vancouver, August 1977, where a resolution condemning Soviet abuse of psychiatry was adopted and carried to the congress of the World Psychiatric Association held September in Hawaii. A number of important contacts were made by SUSK which will hopefully be helpful in future human rights actions.

CeSUS, on the other hand, was

executive in Toronto in January 1977 did not even approach a solution to the organization's internal problems. When a resolution was passed relieving the CeSUS secretary in Italy of his duties in order that someone nearer could be elected, the President and another member of the CeSUS executive resigned and the Association of Ukrainian Students of Milwaukee (TUSM) pulled out, followed shortly

1977-78: "... We started amidst a storm of controversy ..."

Andrij Makuch

I found it very difficult to write this brief impression of my year as head of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union. The events are still very fresh in my mind, and attempting to place them into a wider context has taken a considerable bit of thought and some soul searching on my part. I hope that others will appreciate my observations and even benefit from some recommendations.

Let me begin by saying that behind every myth is a certain amount of truth, while reality is far more complex matter. My year as SUSK president can be viewed in this context. Our executive inherited the legacy that SUSK had been and should continue to be a vanguard among Ukrainian-Canadian organizations. In fact, SUSK was experiencing a very real organizational crisis. At the same time, we were pitted with the myth that "The West is where it's at" — and Edmonton in particular. True, the West was becoming more active, but the hopes for the future of the entire Ukrainian-Canadian community (or at least the student segment of it) could not be pinned on one centre. Although the executive and Student were transferred to Edmonton, we could not, nor did we intend to, do everything alone.

One of the first things the new SUSK executive based in Edmonton attempted to do was to assess realistically what it could do. There were high expectations of us. However, this mistrust of our own legacy came not from any disagreement in principle that the Ukrainian-Canadian student movement should address itself to a variety of important issues, but from a recognition that a serious assessment of SUSK's situation had been long overdue.

Since 1975 SUSK had been set up similarly to a cabinet whereby executive members held portfolios. It was not foreseen that such an arrangement needed the following requisites to advance evenly and effectively in all areas: an operative financial base (certainly without debt); executive members with a commitment, if not an understanding in their field; a small body of available people from which two-or-three-person committees could be formed around a given portfolio; a strong administrative core in the centre (president, executive co-ordinator, secretary, treasurer); and a strong working group around Student (although this is a whole area to itself). Never had all these requisites been met, yet Congress resolutions continued to be passed based on the expectations of a very ideal SUSK. The result was either a) certain portfolios were functionally dropped or b) an attempt was made to keep things going in all areas to the extent possible, which meant minimal effectiveness in most areas, and no impact by SUSK in any area.

Obviously, this could not go on for long without

serious ramifications. By the summer of 1977, the situation had reached crisis proportions, and Toronto — the centre which had carried SUSK for many years — looked dismally incapable of another round. So, the torch was passed to Edmonton.

We started amidst a storm of controversy. The recent Leonid Plyushch tour, several Congress resolutions — particularly those supporting Quebec's right to self-determination and censuring the leadership of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, and the reappearance of a strong Student had turned many heads. These tensions threatened to cause an ugly scene at the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) Congress in October 1977. Although the League for the Liberation of Ukraine went so far as to boycott the event, a bitter end was avoided by some careful diplomacy on SUSK's part, handled by the VP External Liaison, Taras Pawlyshyn.

Despite such a "roaring" beginning, our actual aims were much more modest — to have Student appear regularly, to remain (or become) financially solvent, to re-establish good contact with member clubs, and to sponsor regular SUSK business conferences. We were most successful with the first. Student appeared an unprecedented ten times that year, largely through the efforts of editor-in-chief, Nestor Makuch. Although Student is an independent body, the SUSK interest and input into it were essential — a forum like Student is needed to maintain the integrity of any sort of a Ukrainian-Canadian student movement. One might say that SUSK activities took a back seat to Student that year. In fact, before the 1977 Congress (in Vancouver), a core group from Edmonton had indicated to the SUSK executive in Toronto that it was willing to take over the publication of Student. And with the election of the Edmonton executive, it was stated outright that Student would be SUSK's first priority for the year, as it was. Executive members contributed articles regularly, Student funds from SUSK dues were turned over promptly, and SUSK became Student's strongest booster. We did not, however, attempt to interfere with editorial policy, so that co-operation between the two bodies remained excellent. Undoubtedly, Student was the highlight of the year.

Our finances and our club communications were not such a shining picture of success. We kept a balanced budget and did manage to eliminate a chunk of the SUSK debt, but never came to grips with the larger problem of establishing a solid financial base for SUSK. A financial commission to look into this matter was formed but disappeared — on paper. Club communications improved in part through the regular appearance of Student, but were still lacking otherwise.

This was due in part to inaction by the executive and in part because no Eastern vice-president had been elected at the Congress. Our executive managed to keep fairly good contact with the Western Canadian USCs, but the East was a write-off. Past-president Marijka Hurko made a very conscientious effort to maintain ties, but could not handle this alone.

The conferences which we sponsored that year were good, although not outstanding. The Eastern Conference, a symposium on the defence of human rights in Ukraine, was perhaps the best in quality of material presented, but had the fewest participants (even many of those who were there had a minimal current involvement with SUSK). The Western Conference dealt with the question of a Ukrainian-



Andrij Makuch was SUSK president in 1977-78. Following his graduation from the University of Alberta in 1978 with a B.A. (Hon.) in history, Mr. Makuch was employed for a year on a Ukrainian-Canadian history project. He is now pursuing a M.A. degree in history at the University of Alberta.

you make it and always

Marijka Hurko

by the Union of the Ukrainian Students of the U.S. (SUSTU).

A provisional executive was then created, and an Extraordinary Congress was organized the following summer at which SUSK was systematically excluded from every congress committee — including the verification committee. SUSK abandoned the Congress in protest. Although our sister organizations in CeSUS invited us to return, promising to give us representation, the die was cast. We maintained that there was a fundamental problem within CeSUS, the resolution of which the Congress should devote itself to instead of ratifying reports and electing executives. The idea was rejected and SUSK stayed out. At the 1977 SUSK Congress it was resolved to launch a review of CeSUS's role in order to ascertain whether SUSK should continue to be a member. The only positive word that can be said about this whole fiasco is that everyone was finally confronted by the gravity of the problem — a condition which is the first step toward building a healthy CeSUS.

An important activity of SUSK that year, and every year, is fostering and servicing the local clubs. For this reason, the Eastern and Western Conferences are organized. The Queens University USC hosted the Eastern Conference with a warm welcome from the entire Ukrainian community that will not be soon forgotten. Its theme was "Problems of Small Ukrainian Communities," of which there are many in Ontario. Problems cited were the lack of communication via media and press in the Ukrainian language, as well as of educational, cultural and social institutions. One solution formulated was resource sharing among the

communities, which may be practical in the dense area of Southern Ontario. In February, the Western Conference, organized by the Winnipeg USC, offered a variety of interesting topics: "The Sociology of Ukrainians in Canada," "Multilingual Broadcasting," and "Dissent in Ukraine: Accounts of life in Ukraine by two young recent Ukrainian emigres highlighted the conference.

The national congress in Vancouver must be mentioned here because of its historic resolutions recognizing the right of national self-determination for the Quebecois, and condemning the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine's boycott of Leonid Plyushch. The congress was expertly organized by the coordinators and the Vancouver USC.

Raising money through pubs, dances and *Kolada* occupied the rest of our hours. We kept a balanced budget (no mean feat these days), settled some debts, and even managed to leave more in the bank than we found.

And that in a dry nutshell was the year 1976-77. Of course, there was excitement — for instance, when three of us drove madly through the night to New York with some CeSUS people to intervene at the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in regards to the closing of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians' United Nations human rights bureau and the resignation of its head. On the way home we were harassed by police in Liberty, N.Y., who refused to let us out of town to find a garage to get our rented car fixed. We made frantic midnight calls to a sleepy N.Y. consulate and tried to find a lawyer.... There was always something to laugh about that year, but mostly it was

work.

As one of the three women presidents SUSK has seen, perhaps my comments would be interesting on this aspect. On the whole few problems arose because of my omission to look into this matter which was termed "camaraderie" or rapport with our *hromada's* predominantly male leaders which some male SUSK presidents did before me. Secondly, I think that men generally receive better training in cooperative skills than do women, which makes administration easier for them and more work for us, or at least for myself. But practice makes perfect, and if more women took positions of responsibility and leadership they would quickly master the skills of cooperative effort and handling power.

Today, as I look into the future from the crest of SUSK's 25th anniversary, I am optimistic, for I feel SUSK has been rejuvenated by its move to Western Canada. However there is a continuing life or death challenge SUSK faces in that it must remain as an active movement and not an organization. Because of their economic conditions, students will probably never have more than a band-aid organization, but being in a dynamic state of learning, building and change, they are ideally suited for the role of social activists.

The key to success is to have a handle on the community's pulse and ability made SUSK a great student movement a decade ago when the banner of multiculturalism was raised. For the '80s I think there is another banner waiting to be hoisted — the cause of human, social and economic rights.

Canadian culture and was informative, but came to no resolution. A highlight of this latter conference was a group session to determine the problems facing SUSK. An Eastern Presidents' Conference in Toronto in Early May proved to be a fairly dynamic and intense affair which echoed the group session at the Western Conference. The Congress in Winnipeg was a "mixed bag" with something for everyone. Unfortunately, General Petro G.igorenko and Ludmila Aleksieva, who were to speak at a human rights session were unable to make it to Winnipeg as an air strike had grounded them. Our last conference of the year took place when, in fact, our term of office was over. This was a workshop on the future of Ukrainians in Canada which was held in conjunction with the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies' "Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians" conference held in Ottawa, September 1978. The workshop brought forth many good points for consideration and a number of concrete recommendations from the various speakers.

As one might gather, it was a full year. However, I do not feel that SUSK should have existed after the 1977 Vancouver Congress in the same form as it had previously.

I would favour there not being a SUSK president per se; two vice-presidents, or co-chairpeople if you will, heading co-ordinating committees in the East and in the West would be a far more reasonable arrangement. The co-ordinating committees would act as resource, development, and agitation centres for the Ukrainian Student Clubs (USC) in each part of the country. The various vice-presidencies would act as resource personnel, aiding those USCs undertaking projects in their area of specialty rather than launching projects of their own. Student would be a completely autonomous body, and the Congress would remain the highest authority. Ultimately, this would mean a return to stressing the local level as the most important area of activity.

I have never favoured a highly-centralized SUSK because, a) I have never seen a situation where such a body would not alienate its member clubs, and b) a national executive would usually siphon off many of the most talented and most dedicated people from local USCs, often with disastrous results for the locals. If local USCs continue to weaken and become increasingly alienated from a national executive, dissolution remains only a matter of time.

Let me end with a plea to those who are involved with Ukrainian-Canadian student activities: DO IT! True, there are always problems, but still, there are rewards (some more invisible than others). And valuable experience and friendship are things which cannot be bought or put off to some future date.

SUSK National

1953-55

President Vera Zarowski
Vice-President Bohdan Bocoturkiw (Winnipeg)
 Paul Hlek (Saskatoon)
 Paul Palienko (Toronto)

Secretaries Victor Deneka
 Zenon Pohorecky
 Iaroslav Barvinsky
 Konstantin Zelenko

Treasurer Iaroslav Barvinsky

Organizational Affairs Konstantin Zelenko

Academic Affairs Ievhen Roslytsky
Publicity Nestor Oliinyk
Social Halia Breneshstul
CeSUS Liasion Leo Wynnyckyj
Controlling Commission Bohdan Lesak
 Volodymyr Zborovslyk
 Serge Radchuk
 Luba Sliuzar
 Zenon Iankivsky

1955-58

President Vera Zarowski
Vice-Presidents Bohdan Hanuschak (Winnipeg)
 Mary Bodnaruchuk (Winnipeg)
 Konstantin Zelenko (Saskatoon)
 Osyph Mushyk (Montreal)
 Rosa Dastliuk (Toronto)
 Alma Kossar (Winnipeg)

Secretaries Iuri Babiy
 Anne Herman
 Volodymyr Kudryk
 Bohdan Czernemynsky
Treasurer Roman Kostliuk
Organizational Affairs Iaroslav Barvinsky
Academic Affairs Serge Radchuk
Publicity Edward Lechmann
 Eugenia Pohorecky
Social Leo Wynnyckyj
CeSUS Liasion Ivan Tronik
Controlling Commission Volodymyr Papirchuk
 Clara Zemezukoiff
 Zenon Pohorecky
 Donna Pavlyshyn

1958-60

President Leo Wynnyckyj
Vice-Presidents W. Blyk (Montreal)
 Ivan Kuziv (Ottawa)
 Olya Canylak (Toronto)
 J.A. Klymyshyn (Saskatoon)

Secretaries Luba Negrych
 A. Fenyk
 C. Turczeniuk
 G.B. Panchuk
 O. Maryniak
 S. Naza
Publicity M. Troliamiak
 Z. Pylpysyhn
 B. Shulakewych
Student Welfare Anatole Kryvoruchko
External Affairs D. Shlohyrn
Controlling Committee W. Chamutzky
 M. Switucha
 R. Zuk

1963-66

President Andrew Gregorovich
Vice-President Boris Sorokivsky
 Ihor Slesar
Recording Secretary Marta Yurchuk
Corresponding Secretary Marta Folly
 Christina Solonyynka-Sabat
 Oksana Baranovslyk
Treasurer Roman Maksymiv
Librarian Anastasia Shkilynyk
Press Bob Sorokolit
Cultural George Musy
Auditing Committee George Dzioba
 Natalia Bandera
 Eugene Chorostil
 Yaroslav Kit
 Michael Wawryshyn

1966-68

President Lubomyr Zyla

The structure of the remainder of the executive was unavailable at time of printing.

1968-69

President Roman Serbyn
V.P. External Affairs Yarema Kelebay
V.P. Internal Affairs Stefan Gonyk-Berezowsky
Secretaries Nina Maksymiv-Duszara
 Nadia Keryk
Archives Oksana Serbyn
Finance Walter Myhal
Press Natalia Daskiw
Student Affairs Roman Petryshyn
Cultural Affairs Lubomyr Shulakewych

1972-73

President Andriy Semotluk
V.P. Western Andriy Ogarenko
V.P. Eastern Don Sadoway
Secretaries Genia Keryk
 Natalia Chomiak
 Ihor Broda
Treasurer Vera Yuzyk
Student Affairs Bohdan Barabash
Cultural Affairs Vasyly Balan
UCC Representatives Borys Gengalo
 Halia Kuchmij
Special Events

1973-74

President Yuri Dashko
V.P. Western Vera Yuzyk
V.P. Eastern Don Sadoway
Secretaries Halyna Hryn
 Lida Hnatkiw
Treasurer Walter Petryshyn
Cultural Affairs Marta Oliynyk
Student Affairs Volodymyr Kuplowsky
Student Conferences Lidia Kuctaryshyn
Special Affairs Olya Kuplowsky
UCC Representative Zorianna Hrycenko
Controlling Committee Natalia Chomiak
 Genia Keryk
 Myron Spolsky

1974-75

President Myron Spolsky
V.P. Western Sheila Slobodzian
V.P. Eastern Manjika Hurko
Secretaries Margaret Pohran
 Maia Huska
Treasurer Jurij Fedyk
Student Affairs Rostyslaw Surowy
Cultural Affairs Lesia Savedchuk
Special Affairs Bohdana Rozdolsky
UCC Representative Anne Wotoszyn
 Boris Hwozdulych

Osadchuk

(continued from page 3)

identity as Canadians or Ukrainian-Canadians than with the life and problems of Ukrainians in Ukraine or abroad. They were usually much younger than the students in the second group.

Students in the second group were born in Ukraine and attended schools in Ukraine and in Europe. They were immigrants who had to learn the English language before they could be admitted to universities. They had greater financial problems and most of them had to work before they could enter university. Being much older, these students had a more mature outlook on life. Furthermore these students had experienced the tragedies of war and persecution by Russians. Consequently they felt that they had a mission to perform in Canada, namely, to expose communism and Russian imperialism and to bring to the attention of Canadians as well as to the rest of the world the violations of human rights and persecution of Ukrainians in Ukraine. They had an excellent command of the Ukrainian language and used it in expressing themselves at SUSK meetings, conferences, congresses and in publications.

This mixture of the two groups of students produced a diversity of views and resulted in some interesting and heated debates concerning the activities and objectives of SUSK. At times it was difficult to find a suitable compromise to satisfy the two groups without the risk of alienating one of them.

The problems facing the SUSK executive during my presidency were probably similar to the problems facing

the present executive. They were as follows:

1. Lack of co-operation of some student clubs and organizations.
2. Poor communication with some student clubs and organizations.
3. Apathy of some clubs towards SUSK or lack of appreciation for the need of a central organization such as SUSK.
4. Lack of adequate finances.
5. Lack of interest of the students in the activities of their clubs and of SUSK.

The executive spent a considerable amount of time and effort in attempting to find ways and means of strengthening the organization of SUSK. The constitution and by-laws of SUSK at that time presented some problems and required changes in order to facilitate the work of the executive and to strengthen SUSK's structure.

Not being up-to-date on the activities and problems of present-day Ukrainian-Canadian students, it is difficult for me to give valid opinions on the future tasks facing the Ukrainian-Canadian student movement. However, I believe that maintaining, preserving, as well as developing the identity of the Ukrainian-Canadian student will be one of its most important tasks. Other tasks include the preservation of the Ukrainian culture and language, encouragement of Ukrainian students to take Ukrainian and Slavic studies at universities, and encouraging students to participate in the activities of Ukrainian student clubs and organizations.

Krawchenko

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universities across Canada; wrote two dozen briefs for various projects; visited clubs across Canada; raised money; initiated and maintained contact with U.S. and South American students.

At the local level, the clubs were equally active. Some organized *Dozvenko* evenings, others the sending of parcels to the stricken Ukrainian areas of Yugoslavia, Krutyday demonstrations, Quebec Winter Carnival celebrations, and even pickets to protest the lack of Ukrainian instruction at the university level. Based on club lists, our membership was around 2,000.

On the community front we took a good deal of interest in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC). Through our representatives in Winnipeg we followed the ins and outs of that body. At the UCC Congress we intervened with an extensive position paper analyzing the community and suggesting programmes to ensure its survival. We raised money for the UCC and received a much appreciated grant from them in return. We campaigned for the *Patrnachate* by publishing and distributing thousands of copies of a special Ukrainian language issue of *Student*. Youth groups were contacted with the result that CYMK, UCY and MUNJO field workers attended our orientation course. We convinced the Toronto Ukrainian Professional and Business Club to hire two student field workers for the summer months. To our membership we preached com-

munity involvement.

Pressure on the Federal government to adopt far-reaching multicultural policies occupied much of our energies. We met on more than one occasion with government officials and told them of the needs of ethnic groups. We lobbied Ukrainian M.P.s in the House of Commons to win them to our perspectives on the issue. Our field workers contacted many ethnic groups, and Ukrainian organizations in an effort to strengthen the base of the multicultural movement. In countless speeches, members of our executive tried to mobilize Ukrainian students to an acute awareness of the struggle for minority rights. We organized impressive university-community conferences in four cities to evaluate the Fourth Volume and government policies vis-a-vis ethnic groups in general. We worked out an analysis of the Fourth Volume, some broader theoretical questions on the multiculturalism issue, as well as concrete demands and presented them to these conferences. Our positions were reported in the local and national media. And through our dealings with governments we developed a minor storehouse of information about grant possibilities and tried to tunnel this information back to the Ukrainian community.

On the question of Ukraine, we carried out some educational work. Dissent was discussed at two regional conferences. (For the Saskatoon

conference, we flew in a speaker from New York.) We participated in two demonstrations, and were involved in the publishing of a report on the Ukrainian opposition. But this was a weak area of our activity. For most of us the phenomenon of dissent was still relatively new, and we lacked information and analysis. It was clear to us that before we could go much further on this issue, we had to become better informed.

The term of office of the 1969-1970 executive ended at the 11th SUSK Congress in Winnipeg. Like the Vancouver congress, this was a memorable event. Attendance was excellent — around 300 students present — and spirits were high. The Ukrainian student movement that we had worked for had materialized. We had faced many frustrations and a good deal of opposition, but we had also experienced some success.

Throughout this brief report of activity at the national level I have used the pronoun 'we.' I have written this from my perspective — others of the 'we' may not agree. But 'we' included: R. Petryshyn, the *eminent* grise of the Ukrainian student movement, H. Kowalsky, M. Kucharyshyn, C. Chomiak, A. Bandera, C. Hnatik, G. Senkiv, H. Galan, M. Borodach, Y. Boshyk, V. Poprava, E. Boychuk, M. Sliotluk, I. Kucharyshyn, H. Chomiak, R. Andriyovych, S. Kuz, D. Antonyshyn, A. Tysiak, Y. Kelebay, A. Semotluk, M. Pidhirna, O. Novakivsky, and many more.

Executives, 1953-78

1960

President Leo Wynnycky
V.P. External Affairs Anatole Kryvoruchko
V.P. Internal Affairs Ihor Diakunchak
Vice-Presidents R. Hucal (Montreal)
 S. Charko (Ottawa)
 Mykola Lypowczyk (Toronto)
 A. Kozak (Hamilton)
 S. Lasarowsky (London)
 S. Pidsony (Saskatoon)
Secretaries S. Kushnir
 R. Kwawoska
 H. Jykawy
Librarian Jaroslav Czechut
Treasurer Andrew Gregorovich
Publicity R. Karpishka
Student Aid and Welfare L. Zuk
Cultural and Educational M. Switucha
Controlling Committee W. Bilyk
 K. Kit
 O. Mushka
 B. Turczeniuk

1960-61

President Roman Osadchuk
V.P. External Affairs Oleksy Sahaydakiwsky
V.P. Internal Affairs Oles Babiy
Vice-Presidents Ivan Hykawy (Montreal)
 Stephen Kharko (Ottawa)
 Ivan Kuziv (Toronto)
 Anne Stepaniuk (London)
 Andrew Gregorovich (Toronto)
 Vasyly Lysy (Winnipeg)
 Stephen Pidsony (Saskatoon)
 Mykola Zaiats (Vancouver)
 Oksana Vitushynsky
Secretaries Uliana Bihus
 Ranata Holod
 Georgia Borys
 Natalia Tysiuk
Financial Tatiana Kalymon
Cultural & Educational Vasyly Yanishavsky
Publicity Oresta Dzhyulynsky
Student Aid Oha Danliak
Controlling Commission

1962-63

President George Borys

The structure of the remainder of the executives was unavailable at time of printing.

1969-70

President Bohdan Krawchenko
V.P. Western Marusia Kucharyshyn
V.P. Eastern Stephan Kuz
Secretary Halyna Kowalsky
Treasurer George Sankiw
UCC Representatives Andriy Bandera
 Chrystina Hnativ
 Daria Antonyshyn
Student Conferences Yuriy Kalabay
Special Events Roman Petryshyn
Student Affairs Alex Tysiak

1970-71

President Marusia Kucharyshyn
V.P. Western Yuriy Boshyk
V.P. Eastern Iwanka Lawandosky
Secretary Irane Okpniuk
Full-time Staff Andriy Bandera
Cultural Affairs Zorianna Hrycanko
UCC Representatives Ihor Kalitynskyj
 Myroslava Fidihrnyj
 Andriy Semotiuk
Student Conferences Roman Petryshyn
Student Affairs Walter Petryshyn
Special Events

1971-72

President Marko Bojczun
V.P. Western Irena Kuszka
V.P. Eastern Yuriy Tarnowetsky
Secretaries Halyna Kuchmij
 Ola Chmyrnyk
Treasurer Slawko Fitchko
Cultural Affairs Ihor Sechylo
UCC Representatives Borys Gengalo
 Bohdan Krucko
 Bohdanka Cmoc
Special Events Yuriy Kovar
Student Affairs Irena Kunda
Student Conferences

1975-76

President Sheila Slobodzin
V.P. Community Development Michael Davids
V.P. Multiculturalism Myron Spolsky
V.P. Human Rights Yarema Kowalchuk
Secretary-Treasurer Irene Wellesch
Executive Coordinator Maria Swidersky
 Bohdan Kupyecz
Congress Chairperson John Shalagan
UCC Representative Sheila Slobodzin

1976-77

President Mariika Hurko
V.P. Multiculturalism Volodymyr Kuplowsky
V.P. Human Rights Roma Andrusiak
V.P. External Liaison Yarema Kowalchuk
V.P. Community Development Stefan Huzan
V.P. Cultural Affairs Irika Iwachow
Secretary-Treasurer Roma Kuplowsky
Executive Coordinator Volodymyr Dashko
UCC Representative Taras Pavlyshyn

1977-78

President Andriy Makuch
V.P. Multiculturalism David Lupul
V.P. External Liaison Taras Pavlyshyn
V.P. Human Rights Roma Andrusiak
Secretaries Olenka Lupul
 Marusia Yanush
Treasurer Ivan Jaworsky

Student Editors

1968 Roman Serbyn
 1969 Bohdan Krawchenko
 Chrystia Chomiak
 1970 Yuriy Boshyk
 1970-71 Zenon Zwarych
 1971-72 Irika Okpniuk
 Andriy Bandera
 1972-73 Halia Kuchmij
 1973-74 Myroslav Shkandrij
 1974-75 Anhelyna Szuch
 1975-76 Lubomyr Szuch
 1976-77 Bohdan Kupyecz
 1977-79 Nestor Makuch

Kucharyshyn

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fieldworkers in Plast, SUM, SUMK and MUNO projects. Energy, enthusiasm and commitment abounded in these projects and provided a big boost for the Ukrainian community, however, they did not compensate for the lack of expertise in actually carrying out the more ambitious projects. Despite many difficulties, there is no question that the field worker involvement had a profound personal effect on its participants and on some of the communities where they worked.

Concurrent with the SUSK national executive's concentration on multicultural politics and community social animation, serious work was also being done on defence of Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR. Two student-led committees were created — the "Set Them Free" Committee and the Committee in Defence of Valentyn Moroz. On 30 January 1971 the first SUSK led mass demonstration in defence of Valentyn Moroz brought out over 1000 participants in Ottawa. Organized by two young SUSK militants, it signalled a Canadian oriented and activist posture on the question of Ukraine. Turning away from the crude anti-Soviet approach often used by immigrant Ukrainians, student defence activity had positive and concrete demands. The demands for the release of Ukrainian political prisoners was made on the basis of human and civil rights, and was aimed not only at the Soviet embassy but also at the government of Canada that SUSK felt had to intervene on its behalf.

Prior to Prime Minister Trudeau's visit to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1971, the defence committee organized 7000 signatures and sent several student delegations to the Department of External Affairs to assure Trudeau's intervention on behalf of Valentyn Moroz. Trudeau's refusal to do this, and his statement on returning to Canada comparing Moroz to FLO terrorists, resulted in a national press and Ukrainian community uproar. In the subsequent negotiations between the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Prime Minister, the UCC leadership attempted to back down from any confrontation with the government on the matter of principled support for the dissent current in Ukraine. The UCC did this in the face of opposition from the new leadership in the community rising from the ranks of Ukrainian professionals and businessmen. SUSK members of the delegation were torn between maintaining the militant line of the Committee in Defence of Valentyn Moroz and maintaining a "united front" with the traditional UCC leaders. Ukrainian students had been taught that political fractionation had been the cause of all Ukrainian historic defeats, thus the maintenance of a united front with the traditional leaders was not as absurd in their minds as it turned out in practice. During those negotiations, the contrast between the politics of the Ukrainian Student Movement and that of the UCC leadership became very

clear. In subsequent actions confrontations involved not only the government but the Ukrainian-Canadian Establishment as well.

The year 1970-71 in SUSK was one in which events moved very quickly. Although the Movement we had been involved in may have been small and less dramatic than other upheavals at that time, it was significant. It helped bring about government policy changes regarding ethnic minorities as well as changing the concepts underlying the ethnocultural definition of Canada. Forcing Ukrainians (i.e. the UCC) into Canadian national politics and multiculturalism activism brought about a new degree of cohesion and consciousness in the Ukrainian community as a result of being forced to face the daylight of Canadian, rather than simply ghetto, politics. The experiences and lessons of the Ukrainian Student Movement became the source for the re-emergence of an independent left-wing political current among Ukrainian youth that had been absent from Ukrainian politics for two decades.

It was a year when much was accomplished yet, due to our unpreparedness, much was left unfinished. We did help to change things but in turn were more changed by them. The Ukrainian Student Movement had a profound impact on the personal lives of the students swept into its vortex and on the many more affected in its periphery. Although some were burned out and embittered in the process, the Ukrainian Student Movement produced specimens, who transformed and informed by experience gained in the interim, remain active and hopeful today.

Daschko

(continued from page 7)

students to become involved in the student and Ukrainian-Canadian community, the Union by itself cannot be used to reorganize the overall Ukrainian-Canadian community. SUSK does not have the power to bring about such changes since, as one celebrated community organizer stated, any social surgery requires the scalpel of a stable, disciplined, mass-based power organization which will maintain its form and force over an extended period of time. SUSK is not such an organization. Its long-range concern must be to involve students in Canadian society at various levels (i.e. student, Ukrainian Canadian, etc.) so that they may eventually become involved in organizations that will be able to bring about changes in Canadian society. Its immediate concern is to help students tackle the various problems facing them as students and as Ukrainian Canadians.

The organizing and activating of students is a Sisyphean task. This is the task of SUSK.

Bojczun

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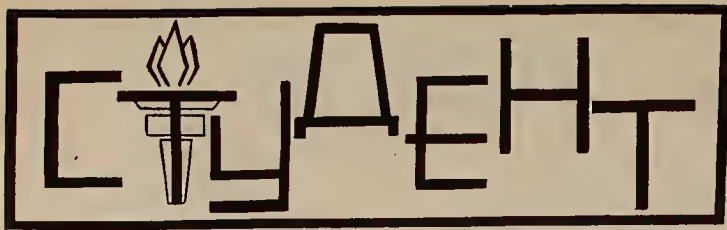
Trudeau agreed to raise the plight of Moroz with Premier Kosygin.

But Moroz remained in prison, and the lack of results from these actions caused many defense activists to question the political and tactical foundations of the Moroz action — implicit reliance on a Ukrainian nationalist base of support, seeking the help of governments to pressure the Soviet Union, a humanitarian perspective devoid of the political themes raised by the Ukrainian oppositionists we were defending. Our appreciation of the relations between Canada and the Soviet Union had matured as had our understanding of the nature of the oppositional struggle. Ivan Dzyuba's work, *Internationalism or Russification* was one of the more important stimulants to the evolution of the Set Them Free Committee, creating a lively discussion among all the activists working out of the national executive office. This process of re-evaluation led to a split along political lines, the great majority (17 out of 19) of the Set Them Free Committee members moving towards a left, anti-Stalinist orientation. While the rightist minority was left in disarray and confusion, the left wing moved on to create a new committee — the first Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners (CDSPP) in Toronto — in October 1972 which took up the popularisation of the oppositional struggle in Ukraine

and its demands among the public at large as its principal aim.

The left-right split in defense work reflected itself more deeply in SUSK at the national executive level, and its results can only be called contradictory. On the one hand, a progressive-democratic perspective in defense work was born, the harbinger of the network of CDSPPs created in the wake of Plyushch's release from Dnepropetrovsk psychiatric hospital in 1976 and his tour of North America. On the other hand, the exit of these activists from SUSK as such left the new executive under the presidency of Andriy Semotiuk with few experienced members. The latter problem had its most disastrous effect in the nearly total lack of attention the new Ukrainian left wing devoted to the multicultural question, leaving it to the lobbyists and "monitors" of later years.

These few lines represent a personal view of SUSK's internal history, so to speak, between 1971 and 1972. All of the larger social processes — the decline of the North American student movement, and the conservative resurgence on 76 campuses, for example, form an important backdrop to these events. Perhaps some enterprising research into the SUSK files deposited at the National Archives in Ottawa will bring this evolution into a clearer perspective.



(No. 1, July-August 1968)

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

We are building on the solid foundations laid by our predecessors and we are conscious of the fact that our present and future success was made possible by the achievements of the past generations.

Every generation seeks new solutions to all the problems be they new or old. Change goes hand in hand with progress. True progress does not always demand a radical and complete break with the past-it rejects only that which has become anachronistic and a hindrance to further growth. In like manner we shall strive to derive inspiration from the achievements of our elders and to adapt all that is worthwhile and precious in our Ukrainian heritage to our needs as Ukrainian-Canadians. But, as there are shortcomings in the social, religious, economic, and political life of our community, we consider it not only our right but our duty to criticize these shortcomings. The STUDENT, therefore, will gladly carry articles or letters to the editor with critical or polemical content in the firm conviction that dialogue makes man think and that a thinking person is a better citizen.

The STUDENT will be published every two months. Although primarily a bilingual publication, it will also contain articles in French. The material in the various languages will not repeat itself but rather be complimentary. The STUDENT will be sent free of charge to all members of SUSK; non-members can obtain it from Ukrainian bookstores or directly from the administration.

Roman Serhyn.

LETTERS... LETTERS... LETTERS...

(No. 5, January 1970)

THE FUTURE OF UKRAINIANS

Dear Sir:

A superficial consideration of the Ukrainian community in Canada would lead one to tag the system of beliefs which are common to its members with the label, culture.

Such a charge is perhaps not unfamiliar to the more perceptive members of that community, who would reply that though such might once have been the case there are now manifestations of a viable Canadian-Ukrainian culture.

However, a defense such as this can be disrupted on two bases, for it demonstrates a lack of awareness of both the elements which are essential to a culture's development and the degree to which an artist will be willing to accept a limitation in either his subject-matter or his financial rewards.

In reference to the latter il-

lusion, it is unreasonable to assume that any fairly skilled author would restrict himself to the Ukrainian language when a much larger audience is at hand. But for the sake of argument let us suppose that a writer does indeed limit himself to the life of Ukrainian communities. His subject-matter will give him a basic appeal to the initiated reader, but what purpose does his work have in the general cause of Ukrainian culture?

It is here that we approach the crux of the Ukrainian community's dilemma in Canada, for how can the artist perform that vital function of re-integrating to his readers their essential social and political characteristics, when their lives are so impinged-upon by the enveloping Canadian society.

It is in this sphere that the ideal of Canadian-Ukrainian culture encounters its nemesis,

Viewpoint by W. Asper

IMPERIALISM IN OUR SOCIETY

(No. 3, October 1969)

EDITOR'S NOTE:

This section of the paper is devoted to individual opinions. The ideas expressed are not necessarily those of the editorial board. We encourage you, the readers, to use this page for voicing your opinions.

"Imperialism" is often a much maligned and overgeneralized phrase bandied about without any actual reference to reality. This short article is concerned with the lethal imperialism which our mass society exerts on minority groups. It is the imperialism arising from a technological society wanting to simplify its total environment, and which as a result, is intolerant of diversity.

This intolerance manifests itself in many ways which concern university students. Because we reflect, in microcosm, the social and cultural diversity of our total society, we can therefore justly strive for that diversity's continued existence.

Of late, one manifestation of society's intolerance was shown in the fight against the acceptance of the French language and culture. Since this struggle has been successful with the passing of the Official Languages Bill, the feelings of bias now run even stronger against considering similar action for the following three other minority language and cultural categories:

1. the native populations indigenous to this land (Indians and Eskimos)

2. the ethnic groups which have maintained their languages and cultures over many generations (Ukrainians, Jews, Germans)

3. newly arrived immigrants to this country (Italians, Portuguese)

It is the contention of this article that in principle all languages within the boundaries of our country must be given equal consideration. In principle, therefore, the French language must be considered as a cultural contribution equal to the English language, which in turn, must be considered with Iroquoian and German as equally valuable to the to-

tal cultural product of the overall society. To judge one culture and language better than another is to make false decisions which are imperialistic and racist in nature.

Viewed from this basis of equality, we may better understand why consideration can and must be given to honouring, through legislation, other minority languages and cultures. If the mass society does not lend effort to supporting those languages and cultures which exist in society, then by its absence of action it condones their inevitable death and assimilation. Just as our society dealt with threat to the French language and culture, it now must continue to choose humanitarian values over those of economics and technology. "More than most countries, Canada is a creation of human will."

By this analysis, the present laws and future Canadian Constitution must view, in principle, all languages and cultures as equal. (It is only from this initial assumption that the Government of Canada can then further go on to define the necessity of two major working languages - English and French)

Thus far, however, technological efficiency and our mass cultural need for simplicity, have relegated varying linguistic-cultural values to a minor role. This imperialism of our society has taken two forms of action:

1. Government is ignoring the contentions of these minority groups, and by its silence, approves of their gradual assimilation.

2. Government, when directly challenged, rebuffs attempts to legislate for their continued well being.

The most recent example of the latter occurred during the debate on Bill C-120, which is now the Official Languages Act.

Clause 38 reads: "Nothing in this act shall be construed as derogating from or diminishing in any way legal or customary right or privilege

acquired or enjoyed either before or after the coming into force of this act with respect to any language than is not an official language." This is a negatively phrased catch-all clause. It legislates nothing, and offers nothing to protect the languages and cultures of the one-third of our population which is neither English nor French. Mr. Baldwin, House Leader of the Opposition, moved the following qualitative change to Clause 38, on June 20, 1969: Clause 38 "1. The right to speak a language other than either of the two official languages shall not be restricted or restrained in its natural development in any way. 2. The Governor in Council may, through order in council, enter into an agreement with the government of any province which has been authorized by legislation so to do, for the purpose of encouraging natural development of any such minority language especially as regards the use of such language in matters of education."

Terence M. Connor

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NEEDED — RAPID POSITIVE ACTION

W. Roman Petryshyn

The Lakehead University Ukrainian Club, Port Arthur, Ontario, is a good example of the overall evolution occurring in the Ukrainian community. Due to its central geographical location, that club consisting of twenty-five students is in the way of that assimilatory wave sweeping from west to east.

Superficially, the club is active enough, having a balanced program of educational material along with casual entertainment. Indeed, it was responsible for the initiation of a first-year-level Ukrainian language course which is still maintained. As well, it has a series of educational functions covering a broad range of topics. However, underneath this level of activity are two emotional currents which seem basic to all Ukrainian university student clubs within our Union.

The first of these is student vagueness. There does not appear to be any cohesive purpose or long range policy. Membership is transient and in fact, the existence of smaller clubs is a seriously debated question every fall. The second undercurrent is student feeling that club membership is non-relevant for students who a) are not interested in the political situation in Ukraine, and who b) do not speak Ukrainian. It appears that without adeptness in both of

these qualities, one does not see any reason for donating time to such an organization.

As a result, there have developed small organizations of bilingual individuals. With such a restricted area of operations, of course SUSK is weak. What organization wouldn't be? And what future is there for this kind of system? Although such a simplified analysis has omitted many exceptions, it does indicate some of the feelings that are in existence.

The Lakehead University Ukrainian Club, striving to broaden and expand the working basis of the clubs in SUSK, produced a paper which was submitted to the IXth Congress in May of this year. Basically, the paper asks for concrete action by SUSK to counteract the increasing speed of assimilation resultant from the two causative factors mentioned. The project, modelled upon the Company of Young Canadians, suggests that monies be found to hire SUSK field workers, who, after a training of 3-4 months, would be posted to live in centres across Canada. The fieldworkers would for a year, fully expend their energies in promoting and coordinating the activity and expansion of Ukrainian student clubs and youth groups. Serious stress would be put on making Ukrainian Canadian life relevant to

those many students who could easily be participants in our community, but who need to be personally approached by other young persons offering researched knowledge of the many contentious issues in the Ukrainian community. As well, this field worker would be a key individual in the development of long-term policy and in the SUSK information and coordinating system.

After being presented with this idea, the SUSK executive has been endeavoring to determine if the full plan can be actualized. The compromise which is being considered is that enough finances be raised to hire university students, not for a year and 4 months, but for the period May-September, the university vacation period. It would be a far more productive thing to have Ukrainian students working for the Ukrainian community and learning of these problems than to have those students devoting their time to non-creative jobs. Their activities among other students would make real issues of the English-French question, the Taras Shevchenko Foundation, expansion of Ukrainian-Canadian culture etc.

The value of such a fieldworker service is inestimable, not only in prestigious reactivation within our community, but also in the absolute work which can be accom-

plished. Compounded with this is a number of factors which demand rapid and positive action for the formation of such a plan:

- We are now benefiting from the post World War II baby boom, and at the moment our youth organizations are as strong as they will ever be if they are just simply left on their own.
- The French-English dispute being settled now will be the solution for many future generations. We must establish our position as being aware that the French have won the revolution and that we are fully intending to support a bilingual nation.
- The Ukrainian community is proportionally the third lowest group in Canada to have students in universities. SUSK must, in some way encourage more Ukrainian young people to attend university. The future success of our community will be heavily depend-

ent upon qualified and respected individuals. It will be individuals, and not mass organizations that in the future will unify our community effort and offer dynamic leadership.

All of the above factors cry for the expansion of SUSK into a more formidable organization. Possibly the concept of a fieldworker service may provide the best media for a reinvigorated young push against that assimilatory wave, and give purpose and relevancy to Ukrainian-Canadian university students. Because of SUSK's apolitical and areligious principles — it stands high among all of the existent organizations in offering some positive action for the future. The Lakehead University Ukrainian Club standing exposed to that wave, feels that the increased professionalization of SUSK is a desirable and most necessary project.

MOTHERHOOD AND HOLUBTSI

(No. 6, February 1970)

by ХРИСТЯ ХОМ'ЯК

like it all happened one day but it was a long time coming it all began once upon a time and like there were all these ukrainian type students and like they were all going through these hassles and running around town and getting everyone out to go out to this thing like in Vancouver so i read my maps and sure enough it was really beside the ocean and like hell there were kids flying by plane going by boat and rail and everyone really coming and boy like i took my hag and i got all undressed up and decided to go too and man like everyone had this really groovy time and like all these hepped-up cats got up there but like man you know i don't know what the hell i'm doing in it yet so i shake my head and say yeah that's it and meantime all these cats are getting together like they all groove away on this ukrainian high and do their own thing in the old ukrainian way and man like i dig these cats anyway like the local type toronto club well they planned this meeting thing one night and like it's a long time coming about but the coffee is sweet and well like this super-straight cat he gets up and two more super-straight cats get up and like they had a debate on like whether we should like

commemate this day when three hundred students took this power trip against the red army and like they found out that flower-power doesn't pay like this one cat at the debate in toronto gets up and he starts flaying away at this other guy and like i don't think they love each other and i was sure glad their mothers weren't there because the things they were saying were terrible and pretty soon the first one sat down because he got all embarrassed because he lost the page in his book and he was sure going to read it to us so he tried another page but it just wasn't right and so like he sat down meanwhile this guy in the middle kept looking at his watch and it must have been through one of those torture tests because ever so often he would tell everyone that it was still going and what time it was and anyway the other got up and says man like this is just a marriage-market and like who the hell are we fooling anyway like man what the hell what the hell have we got to bitch about and anyway Christ like he was flaying his fists all around and like he had this too tight jacket on and like i'm really sure he was choking on his tie cause like his face was sure red and he kept screaming

about what our parents gave us and look how hard they worked for us and all the while i was trying to hide this big rip in my pants and by and by this other cat gets up like i mean he was really far out and he picked up his book like he had done before and he swayed and swayed and i was getting scared that he would fall right over on the tape recorder which was right beside him and boy me and the other kids were sure glad that he finally stopped swaying and declaring himself for motherhood and holubtsi and sat down so again the other one rises and like he keeps talking about how phony we all are and how none of the groovy turned-on people are here anyway and like i don't know what's happening and like i decide to go cause i really don't like marriage and i was on this diet and so i was staying away from motherhood and holubtsi and so like a couple of days later i see the movie about these greek cats and they keep fighting for freedom and all those straight cats who only care about motherhood and marrying and i keep thinking about those three hundred ukrainian students and those straight cats in the debate and i really don't know what they're fighting for

EDITORIAL

(No. 6, February 1970)

A CHALLENGE

It is with a great deal of pleasure that we see labour taking initiatives for focusing public attention on the subject of Canada's ethnic groups. As evidenced by the February 14th Conference, both Federal and Provincial government services are scandalously inadequate — from immigrant solicitation in various countries to the woeful inadequacy of reception and integration services once immigrants come to this country. In view of the fact that Canada receives 200,000 people a year, (and we have been doing so for last 15 years!), it is just about time that someone took responsibility for implementing an effective system to ensure the best way of incorporating these people into our society. It is ludicrous that our Immigration officials overseas cannot speak the language of the country they are in; in Toronto which today has three quarter of a million first generation immigrants, the Metro Police make little effort to have bilingual officers in appropriate areas; except for Quebec no Provincial government has a Reception Centre for New Canadians. It is glaringly evident that Mr. Fox, the new Chairman of the Metro Ethnic Labour Committee is going to have a tremendous job in trying to shake Federal, Provincial and Municipal lethargy, as well as trying to effectively coordinate the meagre services that are available.

However, there is still another major side to this question that will call for Mr. Fox's attention. Once the "hard" services of housing, jobs and unionizing are accomplished, the Labour Council should be aware of the second phase of the struggle for justice. Ethnic groups remain together through generations. By their existence they change the quality and nature of our country. This cultural pluralism is a desirable goal — but will only be accomplished by political action. The present power structures control education and thus far have resisted the inclusion of multi-cultural courses in our schools. The teaching of ethnic languages has been rejected more than once, while the ethics of British colonialism still linger on. Why does a British citizen get preferred citizenship status? Why doesn't the Canada Council support the development of ethnic arts? When is Canada's international appearance finally going to be recognized as multi-cultural? Immigration is not the only problem — the intolerance of the present power structure for cultural pluralism has already had strong fight with the wishes of the contemporary population. Our efforts must be geared to making Canada a country international in flavour which is not only tolerant for pluralism but enthusiastically courts the rest of the whole world as its own. To this end we give Mr. Fox our wholehearted support. We encourage him to co-opt first generation citizens into his committee and with their intense concern we trust his effort: will challenge the present power structures.

MULTICULTURALISM

(No. 10, Decmar 1970)

З ЖИТТЯ
ІВАСЯ СМІРЧЕНКА
ВІДВІДИНИ

14th Volume and Ethnic Suppression (University of Alberta — Ukrainian Students Club — Position Paper on the 14th Volume).

We, as Ukrainian Canadians, totally reject the position of biculturalism as presented in the fourth volume of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism entitled The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups.

A double melting-pot policy will not build up a Canadian identity. It is a discriminating action against non-British and non-French ethnic groups. It will lead to a blur in the distinction between Canadianism and Americanism. We are not short term residents. We are not immigrants. We are Canadians.

The development of a cultural identity other than British and French is not non-Canadian. We wish to be full participants in the development of our country, Canada.

The fourth volume concentrates exclusively on the past contributions (something given) of the other ethnic groups. The present plight of the ethnic groups is largely ignored — the future barely contemplated. Only four of the fourteen commissioners were of a non-British, non-French origin.

This Commission, therefore, is hardly representative of Canada's true ethnic composition. But, what is even more important, the Commission could not fully understand or appreciate the existing situation of other ethnic groups. Retention and prearrangement are no longer enough — we did not desire to become historical artifacts.

The lack of proper publicity and access for the general to the fourth volume is an indication that the Commission itself considers the report to be of little consequence and that the Government wishes to have little public awareness of the other ethnic groups as functioning components of Canadian society. It must be realized that participating in

Until now all creative energies of the ethnic groups have been channelled into preservation — not development — of their cultures because of the prevailing repressive atmosphere. In order that non-British, non-French cultures flourish, a conducive atmosphere must be established.

The quiet revolution in Quebec should have opened the door for the other ethnic groups, that is, a new attitude of acceptance should have developed. What has happened instead? Biculturalism was introduced to temporarily appease the French. Now ethnic minorities face two overbearing culture groups, the British and the French.

Central to a bicultural position is a rejection of all that is non-British, non-French. Of necessity it relegates the native peoples, the Slavs, the Italians, the Chinese to an inferior secondary status.

the development of any ethnic group (other than the British and French) is also a positive contribution to the development of the Canadian identity.

The Government must take an official position of multiculturalism in order to make Canadians aware of the multicultural aspects of their country.

We demand that not only restriction be removed, but rather that the emphasis of the Government become conducive to our development.

Culture and knowledge are not instinctively acquired — rather, knowledge of them is gained through learning experience. These learning experiences are acquired within the ethnic community.

In order for the various ethnic communities to continue developing on an ever higher level (that is, not only with tokenistic expressions of culture such as folk dancing and cuisine) they must receive massive federal financial support.

We are asking that the federal and provincial Governments change their attitudes toward non-British, non-French groups in Canadian society: To stop regarding them with indifference, to realize that they have made, are and will continue to be making great contributions to further developing and enriching Canada's cultural, political and social life.

Ethnic groups must not be merely tolerated but encouraged to thrive and develop.

Приходять льонг віканд і я думаю похитати до моїх фольксів на фарму. Життя а місті є прітлі гуд, алє я є льонлі. Я скоро спакував саої беги, сів у гару та гіт де ровд. Під час дороги подумав собі, як моя фамілія буде серпрайд, як я приду. І а таких думках час скоро вент бай.

Мій дедді мене райт еаєй зрекогнайзував та зачав крччати: "Стара, гаррі ап! Санні прихайв!" Я запаркував гару та авіс. Тоді я побачив, що мам була дуже муд. Сльози падали їй з очей, як аона мене ввзла в ембрєйс.

"Джонні! Це справді ти? Але ти є файний ситі бой!"

І ми пішли ісайд. Зараз вислали аони Мері (нашу мейд), щоб закликати всіх нейборса, бо їх санні прихайв з калєджу.

Ми пішли до льінг руму і скоро зійшлися наші нейборн.

"Як лайкуєш калідж?" "Як є лайф у біг ситі?" "Чи любшиш учителі?" "Чи знайшов собі герль френд?"

"Чи місуєш фарму?"... Помало я авім відповів квещені і аони асі були гетті. Тоді я сказав їм про наш студентський клуб і про наш перший мітінг. Я думав, що асе було оль райт. Але, як я побачив льонг феяс у нейбора Черрі, і казни Джим, і мої фолькс

почали бляшнїг, то я шат ап.

Райт еаєй анкел Джарі почаа на мене крччати, і всі нейборса за ним.

"Що ан собі думаете?" "Вони нашу моав не юзують!"

"Може був містайл Його до каліджу посилати?" "Чому ан на мітінгах по англійськї гоаорите?"

Тоді мій дед підіс руку і всі були сайлент. Сказаа ані усїм, що це не буа мій фот, аа фот президента клубу. Бо, як президент на шось такого пермішен дає, то лїаше нехай він резаїт. Тоді дед скїнча сайї спїч слоаами:

"Моав рїдна, слово рїдне, Хто аас забуває, Той у грудях на сер-децько, Тїльки камїнь має".

Я пішов тоді до свого руму, і не міг спати цілу ніч. Я знаа, що я мої фолькс завстїдав, але я не знаа як. Цїлий вікєйя я думав над тим і пришоа до конкляжен, що дедді буа райт про моаву. Я повинне буа сказа-ти їм райт еаєй, що я є з третєго дженерашїши, і, що я не хочу чути англїйської мови на скодних. Але я тоді не маа доснть гатє. Але тепер я маа аже і аже ніколі не забуду слїа батька:

"Моав рїдна, слово рїдне, Хто"

Івася Смірченко

"А В ТОЙ САМ ЧАС
У ВІННІПЕЗІ.."

ДОБРЕ СМІТЬ,
ЧИ НІ? ЯК
ВИРОСТЕ ТО
НАПЕВНО
БУДЕ НА
"ПРЕЗІАНІ КҮК"



(No. 15, Novambar 1971)

ІВАСЯ СМІРЧЕНКО

THE MESSAGE IS TO WIDEN YOUR UKRAINIAN CONSCIOUSNESS:

(No. 15, November 1971)

The message is to widen your area of Ukrainian consciousness. In the words of Valentyn Moroz in his polemic essay "Among The Snows": "Let us look around: are there many conscious Ukrainians in the Russified, shattered Kiev? To increase their number means to fight really against Russification. Without it our work loses all meaning. A Russified, ruined Ukrainian, a persons without his own I, stands before us. What will awaken his sleeping Ukrainian soul? Arguments? It has not happened yet that an apostle converted anyone by arguments to his faith. Rhetories and eloquence are powerless in this case. Christian apostles had neither".

The Christian apostles were described by E. Heran as follows: "Limited, narrow-minded, uneducated, without any experience in the matters of propaganda, Jesus' disciples were small men in the full sense of the word". "And", Moroz continues, "those uneducated people without experience made the Roman Empire-Christian within a short period of time. The Apostles! The present-day Ukraine needs apostles, not well-fed opportunists — realists — with their arguments! No spiritual revolution happened without the apostles. Nor is the present-day Ukrainian rebirth possible without them".

How easy it is to build an analogy between Russified Ukrainians and assimilated Ukrainians. Let me reread the words of Valentyn Moroz with a few minor changes:

"Let us look around: Are there many conscious Ukrainians in the assimilated, urbanized Toronto? To increase their number means to fight really against assimilation. Without it, our work loses all meaning. An assimilated, ruined Ukrainian, a person without his own "I", stands before us. What will awaken his sleeping Ukrainian soul?"

Yes, that is the burning question of our survival. What will awaken his sleeping Ukrainian soul? We can not just be anti-assimilation. We require an alternative. And, in Canada, the alternative is multiculturalism, in which our Ukrainian culture, including our heritage and language, develops and spreads, along with all the other cultures of Canada. But, for this to occur, we require apostles — with clear convictions and the simple realization that they are Ukrainian.

But this analogy cannot be really made. There is one major difference between Russification in Ukraine and assimilation in Canada. In the Ukraine, Russification is enforced outright on the people — they know what's happening to them and are willing to follow the apostles. In Canada, assimilation is occurring covertly, like a silent, slow serpent engulfing all in its path. The Ukrainians in this free and democratic society are unsuspecting and even oblivious to the fact that slowly but surely their culture will stagnate, disintegrate and disappear. The Ukrainian community in Canada also requires those apostles who realize what is occurring around them and are willing to strive to awaken that sleeping Ukrainian soul. We cannot just be anti-assimilation. We require an alternative.

! COMMUNITY ACTION !

THE CONCEPT

Students of Ukrainian descent in Canadian Universities today have a double responsibility: participating in the development of the Canadian society; but, equally important, developing and enriching the Ukrainian community in Canada.

These two major tasks have taken on new significance for Ukrainian students as they have observed and participated in the contemporary university student movements. Ideas such as **participatory democracy, involvement with society, are concepts** which took on an expanded meaning when our student members reinterpreted and adapted them to their Ukrainian community.

The existence of a minority within a larger society is an extremely complex relationship. Young people who live in such a bicultural situation are confronted with daily series of challenges and problems which are exclusively experienced by students participating in a minority culture. These range from questions of voluntary bi-lingualism and dichotomous personal relationships, to definitions of double social responsibilities.

There is a great need for the development of resource people within our community who can aid young people towards resolving some of these difficulties which arise out of a bi-cultural life style. To deal with the special problems of Ukrainian-Canadian youth and to assist this community to deal with their common problems SUSK - The Canadian Ukrainian Students Union, has developed a programme of summer student field-worker involvement.

The DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIELDWORK PROJECT* A HISTORY

May 1968 - At the IX SUSK Congress, held at McGill University, a motion was accepted to the effect that the national executive should examine the possibility of hiring recent graduates to work as social animators within the Ukrainian community and the overall Canadian society.

March 1969 - A Presidents' Conference, attended by 14 universities, held at the University of Toronto, ratified a proposal that one student should be engaged as a fieldworker during the summer of 1969 as an experimental pilot project.

May-September 1969 -

One fieldworker was engaged and involved in community projects.

September 1969 -

The X SUSK Congress held at the U. of British Columbia accepted the report of the summer fieldworker. The constitution was altered to allow the National Executive to expand this project in the summer of 1970.

April 1970 - Members of the National Executive chose 5 applicants. A ten day orientation course was organized and attended by 14 fieldworkers from various organizations.

September 1970 - At the SUSK Congress the constitution was revised to enable the National Executive to hire 2 full time fieldwork staff, to work for the entire year.

Summer 1971 - The National Executive has recently announced that the summer fieldwork project will be expanded. Twenty-five fieldworkers will be chosen and the possibility of an increase in the full time staff for 1971-2 is being presently considered.

WHAT IS A FIELDWORKER?

Defining the role of such a resource person is extremely complex. Often he/she must act as a social worker, information agent, social development officer, and social animator. Perhaps the work done by previous fieldworkers will help to illuminate these functions more concretely.

FIELDWORK PROJECTS UNOBTAINED - SUMMER 1970

The policy established by the student fieldworkers is that they must respond to the needs and wishes of the local communities in which they are working. Some of the projects undertaken were as follows:

1. A number of multi-ethnic conferences to evaluate the recommendations of the "Other Ethnic Groups", the fourth volume of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, were organized in Edmonton, Thunder Bay, and Toronto.

2. A campaign in Thunder Bay was undertaken to introduce accredited Ukrainian language and culture courses into Lakehead University curriculum.

3. In order to encourage financial interaction among Ukrainian businessmen and professionals, a community directory was begun in Toronto. The Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen Club of Toronto hired two full time fieldworkers for the duration of the summer.

4. Community newsletters and newspapers were started in Thunder Bay and Montreal.

They also arranged an all-Canada public concert tour by an Austrian Bass Quartet.

into unfamiliar communities for the summer.

The date of the selection will be on April 15, two weeks after the deadline March 31, 1971.

SELECTION OF PERSONNEL

The selection of the fieldworkers will be on the basis of the detailed application form and on the basis of two references sent along with it. The National Executive will make the final decision in consultation with the community hiring the prospective fieldwork applicant. This is absolutely necessary since a conscious effort will be made to relocate fieldworkers

ORIENTATION COURSE

The people selected after this date will be required to attend an orientation course in Toronto on May 4th. At this twelve day course the emphasis will be on developing a critical analysis as well as a comprehensive body of knowledge about the Ukrainian community and the necessary tactics and resources required for fieldworking.



SUSK - Field workers - Summer 1970.

Tear here

APPLICATION FORM

Name

Address

Faculty and Year

PLEASE CHECK:

I am interested in - I - the summer fieldwork project

- II - full time fieldwork project -

- Sept. 1971 - Sept. 1972.

Request for a detailed application form should be sent to:

SUSK NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

c/o George Beshek

87 Harbord St.,

Toronto 175, Ontario.

our telephone 1-416-921-8544

deadline March 31, 1971.

LETTERS TO "STUDENT"

(No. 14, October 1971)

Unencumbered by formal banquets, balls, cruises, concerts, and a host of speakers claiming to represent the genuine interests and aspirations of the Ukrainian community while spouting the traditional oratorical platitudes, the Twelfth Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian University Student's Union, held at Thunder Bay's Lakehead University from September 3rd to 6th, was a definite reflection of the newly kindled enthusiasm to assert their Ukrainian heritage and stand up for their oppressed brothers in the USSR and in the "free world", which has captured a considerable segment of the Union's more conscious membership.

Highly indicative of the new spirit which pervaded the 4 day deliberations was the chairman's exclusive use of the Ukrainian language — a step which created an atmosphere appropriate to a Congress of Ukrainian students genuinely dedicated to the preservation, cultivation and development of Ukrainian culture and language in a multi-cultural Canada.

Conspicuously absent from the congress proceedings were the traditional gestures of obsequious gratitude displayed with religious solemnity at all other Ukrainian-Canadian congresses: no toasts to the health of Her Royal Majesty and the Royal family, no references to the splendid good fortune which has befallen the Ukrainian community in Canada, not even a single word about the glorious traditions of democracy, free-speech and equality which attracted our forebears to Canada. Instead the delegates devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the issues at stake: what stance should SUSK assume with respect to the struggle for national independence in Quebec; who should be held responsible for the fiasco concerning P.M. Trudeau's apologetic apology during his audience with representatives of the U.C.C.; is the FREE-MOROZ campaign to continue, how can the Ukrainian community counteract the forces of assimilation which threaten to extinguish its life; Very often the sessions lasted well past their scheduled conclusion — the Friday evening session with the 20 SUSK field-workers lasted until midnight, the Sunday session lasted from 1:00 PM Sunday until 4:30 AM Monday morning with only a 90 minute break for supper.

The one major potential source of tension within the proposed Ukrainian student movement which did surface and which will have to be eradicated if SUSK is indeed to become a student movement encompassing all students conscious of their Ukrainian heritage was the apparent divergence between the conception of SUSK and its fundamental tasks held by students who are first-generation Ukrainian-Canadians and students who are third and fourth generation Ukrainian-Canadians. The latter whose Ukrainianism is strictly parochial and religious in nature and who for generations have been taught to disdain nearly everything Ukrainian, can hardly be expected to appreciate the aspirations of first-generation Ukrainian-Canadians who are attuned to problems of multi-culturalism in Canada and the struggle of Ukrainian patriots and intellectuals in the Ukraine. The fact that most fourth generation students come from a rural Western background while first generation students are exclusively urban and primarily from Eastern Canada promises to complicate the problem. Thus the major task confronting the new executive and its secretariat will be to bring the third or fourth generation Ukrainian student into

the mainstream of Ukrainian life thereby acquainting him with as many aspects of Ukrainian life and culture as possible and enabling him to identify with the aspirations of his more conscious first generation brothers and sisters. Otherwise if the first-generation students lose their leading position within SUSK the movement as such will lose all sense of direction.

O.M.

How many times since Mr. Trudeau's acceptance of KYK's invitation to attend their Congress have we heard the Ukrainian Free Press Media laud the Ukrainian public in Canada for its most participatory and active interest in the Canadian political sphere? How many times has the media stated that "Mr. Trudeau, because of his acceptance to attend the KYK Congress in Winnipeg, has finally realized the worth and value of the Ukrainian Community to Canada?" Let's not fool ourselves.

The Ukrainian Community under KYK has been an inactive, inert mass of apathy to the Ukrainian identity on a national level since its inception. With the emergence and activity of a newly formulated political thought in CYCK on a national level, activity has been unparalleled in Ukrainian student history and will remain thus only if the national representative of the Ukrainian Community — KYK — responds with intelligence and knowledge of Canadian Foreign Affairs and Soviet totalitarianism of today and not exhibit the lapdog attitude of the past. KYK has always received secondary representation from the Liberal Government, and during many instances, no representation at all. Was it not Trudeau who stated in sympathy with the Soviet Government upon the imprisonment of Ukrainian Communist Intellectuals that "his position in the Soviet Union or Canada is that anyone who breaks the law to assert his nationalism doesn't get too much sympathy from him?" Was it not another prominent man in the Liberal Party and foreign affairs who also stated "better Red than dead". Was it not also during the rule of the Liberal Party in Canada that our people were shuffled into box cars and transported out west to settle lands, and eke out a subsistence farming for their first few years on land that was given up by British and French settlers, in repayment for their work on the railroad, because of its almost impossible task in respect to agricultural suitability?

I am in no way attempting to defame the Liberal Party in the Ukrainian Community's eyes, as it is doing a good job itself but, find it very strange that after promising on June 7th, 1971 to meet with the national body of CYCK, or one of its subcommittees to enlighten him on the persecution of Ukrainian Communist Intellectuals in the USSR, Mr. Trudeau had the rudeness to reply by letter, on June 23rd 1971, that he "regretfully declines our request" to meet in the near future as he had "become extremely committed for the next three months."

I have noticed that with his acceptance of KYK's invitation to attend the Congress our nationally representative body is again happy as a pig in shit, omitting to remember its most embarrassing policy towards Mr. Trudeau's comments on the comparison of Ukrainian Communist Intellectuals to the FLQ. Again our community has been appeased by this most honourable gesture that Mr.

Trudeau accords us — curiously enough, dangerously close to Mr. Kosygin's visit to Canada. I wonder if Mr. Trudeau will take the KYK Executive out to lunch before this Congress and try to console our position in Canadian Society, reminding us that we were always a peaceful people on the Canadian political scene (except for a couple of broken windows at the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa which threw the Liberal Party into chaos) and that an international incident might be frowned upon by the Liberal Party Machine and resulting in a hardy wrist slapping. My real fear is that KYK — in an attempt to feather personal beds — might promise Mr. Trudeau this peace and quiet and thus, remove one of the best chances we have of expressing to Mr. Trudeau and Kosygin our true feeling towards the discrimination reaped us by the Liberal PM's and also the uncertainty of imprisoned Ukrainian Communist Intellectuals whose only crime it was to bring to light the unconstitutional and totalitarian impetus of Russification in the USSR.

- Ivan Kanuchak -

Apparently the esteemed delegates of the Ukrainian organizations which are represented on the Presidium of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee have as yet been unable to extricate one of the most unpropitious remnants of "medievalism" from their interpretation of political realities. Subjugation by a long succession of oppressive foreign regimes, absolutist and totalitarian, has imprinted the Ukrainian emigre mind with an ineradicable combination of fear, respect, adulation and timidity before every form of governmental authority, each of which is held to be inviolable as if sanctified by a Divinity enjoying exclusive rights to question and judge the motives and actions of government. Consider, for example, the ritual of inviting Prime Ministers to every congress of Ukrainians in Canada practised with submissive regularity by the Presidium, but reciprocated as of the last Congress only once.

This year as in the past, Prime Minister Trudeau has been invited to attend the Xth UCC Congress scheduled for Winnipeg during the Thanksgiving weekend. The imminent presence of Mr. Trudeau at this year's Congress gives it a special flavor and threatens to divide the Ukrainian community (if only on a generational basis) due to Mr. Trudeau's recent, well-publicized and thoroughly tactless statements concerning the struggle of Ukrainian intellectuals in the USSR to retain their national dignity and gain constitutionally guaranteed rights for their people. In a letter presented before the Presidium on September 21, SUSK has protested against the invitation extended to Mr. Trudeau. Since a press conference with the Presidium was held immediately after this meeting it was possible to assess the esteemed Presidium's reaction to SUSK's rather revolutionary expression of a dissenting opinion.

The Presidium, a rather taciturn assemblage of elderly gentlemen and one lady, seemed unperturbed by our dissenting view, and were quite content to sit back and listen to the Executive Director quote statistics which were meant to impress the Press with the amount of work carried out since the last Congress. With respect to the Congress the Executive Director informed the press that one of the featured soloists Miss Myhal insisted on singing one aria from her

favorite composer Offenbach (?), and, after being shown one of the official posters announcing the concert which is scheduled for Saturday evening, we were informed that the lettering on the posters displayed outside the Centennial Concert Hall is in blue and yellow!

Your correspondent's inquiry whether the Members of the Presidium foresaw a possible split within the Ukrainian community resulting from the invitation extended to Mr. Trudeau was met by a firm "No". When asked whether the decision to invite Mr. Trudeau had been unanimous the reply was a firm "Yes". Indeed, when asked whether any protests had been received from any of the organizations represented on the Presidium your correspondent was told that no protests had been received (with the exception of SUSK's).

Disregarding the glowingly optimistic view of Mr. Trudeau's forthcoming visit shared by the members of the Presidium, none of whom actually know what the P.M. will speak about, one is obliged to suspect that this visit will not be of great advantage to the Ukrainian community.

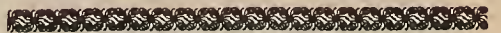
-O.T.M.

STRAIGHT AHEAD

western Canada arise, break your chains and take over, SUSK commitee!

-I.P.

WRITE ON



Щоб популяризувати працю наших митців і рівночасно здобути фонди на культурні проекти Союзу, Культурна Репертуарна Союзу Українського Студентства Канади видрукувала дві картки сучасного українського мистця, Любослава Гуцалюка. Рисунок на картках під назвою "Поит Нью" і "Р. лише". Продаються по 25¢. — Прощу замовляти картки, пишучи на адресу:

ZORIANA HRYCENKO,
799 Cambridge Street,
Winnipeg 9, Manitoba



festival smash festival

(No. 14, October 1971)

**UCFA, An Expression
of our true Culture
- Chryslia Chomiak -**

The Ukrainian Canadian Festival of the Arts took place at Lakehead University from August 30th to September the 3rd. It was a free expression of culture for the artists of Ukrainian descent in Canada, and for those who are concerned with the development of our culture in Canada. It was truly an experience, a total involvement. But in order to tell you what happened one must understand why and how it happened.

The idea of community development is a rather new idea to some of us. What it means to the Ukrainian community in Canada, however, is an opportunity to survive as an integral part of the general Canadian society.

When we look at our community in Canada, we see that it has been forced to rely heavily on preservation and not on the development of its Ukrainian Canadian culture. In order to promote our language and traditions a number of groups and

organizations instituted activities and projects to enrich and preserve our cultural life. The activity, except for a few cases, was done on a part time voluntary basis, and was usually limited not only to a particular town or city, but also to the members of the organization. We had reached a level of amateurism in promoting our culture and that is where it has remained.

Also, the community has only stressed and supported the traditional forms of artistic and cultural expression, such as Ukrainian folk dance. Not to say that these forms of expression are not valuable, but for our culture to be truly dynamic we must incorporate and support contemporary forms of expression, and encourage experimentation, if we are to capture the essence of our culture and express it in terms that are part of our life style. We live in a modern technological society, and our culture in Canada must speak to our condition, not only reflect our folklore.

The organization of the festival started in May of this year. Before that time, a brief was submitted to the federal Opportunities for Youth

Project, who gave the festival committee initial funds to work with. This money was used for salaries of the organizers and administration.

The organizers of the festival went through a two week orientation course in the beginning of May. The purpose of which was to form a working body, that could function well together. For that, the orientation course was a valuable experience.

Then the organizers went to work. Dividing into two sections, one group being responsible for general administration, and the other group for the programme.

Darka Maletska, the co-ordinator of the visual arts program, travelled extensively through the west during the month of June. The rest of the artistic panel worked out of Toronto or Montreal contacting people in those cities and acting on the information sent from Darka. In her travels she contacted three different groups of artists. Those that had left the community, those that are still functioning in the community, and those that have become the symbols of culture not only within the Ukrainian Canadian community,



Three of the Artists
1. Slawko Novitsky
2. Mr. Hnizdowsky
3. Roman Kroiter



but also have reached recognition in the general Canadian society.

The administrators functioned out of Toronto, and were responsible for collecting finances, and co-ordination. One of the administrators, worked out of Thunder Bay, and was responsible for publicity and getting the facilities necessary in Thunder Bay.

The following people worked on the festival: Darka Maletska, Irene Kunda, Vera Haniwka, Ruslan Logush, Ariadna Ochrymovich, Motria Toroshenko, Taras Junkiewicz, Val Cybenko, Chryslia Chomiak. These people were joined by Zirka Rad for the month of August, and Walter Poprawa, for the last two weeks of August. George Nitefor was the designer for the festival, designed the symbol and was responsible for the display.

The festival: How does one describe a feeling? I must try to express the spirit that existed at the festival. The program that the festival committee had prepared was excellent, for it not only gave the guest artists the opportunity to express themselves in any way that they wanted, but it also gave them the freedom to say whatever they

wanted about what they were doing, and how they saw our culture in Canada. The program also included lectures on the basis of our culture and its history.

The days were divided into three periods. In the morning, workshops were scheduled, while lectures and demonstrations took place in the afternoon. Film showing, general meetings, performances and the pub took place every evening. At the festival, participating artists and public became totally involved. One of the artists decided to make a video tape of the festival, the artists helped in putting up the display, they were given the opportunity to freely exchange ideas, and they took the responsibility to make this exchange as meaningful as possible. This was the first time that any community in Canada had organized a chance for the artists to meet. This was their festival and they made it happen.

As a result of the festival, a number of concrete resolutions were passed, and a number of projects started.

The visual arts people want to see a travelling Ukrainian art show.

The choreographers have established a national group that

will be responsible for communicating new ideas, and exchanging information among all the dance groups in Canada. They are planning to organize provincial conferences in all the provinces to discuss ways and means of establishing a Professional Dance Company.

The drama section has established a body of four people with plans of establishing a research center for the Study of Ukrainian Theatre in Canada.

The music section would like to see permanent workshops in all fields of music during the summer months.

The literature section wants to publish an anthology of Ukrainian Canadian Writers.

Because the artists saw the need for a coordinating body and because they wished to see stimulating events, such as festivals planned for the future, they elected an executive body that would form the Ukrainian Canadian Arts Council. This body will be having its first executive meeting on October 23rd in Toronto at York University and then will begin building on the foundation of Thunder Bay's festival.

THE MAGIC FORMULA: SOLIDARITY WINS OUT!

(No. 15, November 1971)



On Wednesday, October 6, 1971, eight students from Toronto started a Hunger Strike on the campus of the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. We held the hunger strike in support of a 6-page letter sent to Prime Minister Trudeau prior to the hunger strike, in which we outlined certain demands listed in the last issue of "Student". The formula for action used by the "Set Them Free" Committee was the following:

GIVEN:

1. Prime Minister Trudeau to speak at the banquet of the Tenth Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, in Winnipeg, October 9, 1971. Trudeau's speech was to be strictly on the Multicultural policy of the Federal Government.
2. Premier Kosygin's arrival in Canada, October 18 for an 8-day visit.

PURPOSE:

The release of Valentyn Moroz from a hard labour camp in Moravia.

RESULTS:

Therefore pressure has to be applied to Trudeau, in order that he make personal representation to Kosygin on behalf of Moroz.

METHOD:

Start the Hunger Strike in Winnipeg four days prior to Trudeau's arrival in Winnipeg, in order to get press coverage. Continue it until Trudeau agrees to meet with the strikers, to discuss the issues and to comply with our demands.

By Wednesday evening, our hunger strike was covered on the radio and TV, which resulted in our being joined by a professor of that

University, an older gentleman who is a "ukvizynyk", and who personally experienced the hardships of prisoners' camps. This greatly boosted our morale, as did likewise the solidarity shown by seven other students from Winnipeg. The media continued to cover this event quite extensively, and a great deal of interest was aroused on the side of the student body. The most exciting happening during our stay on campus was a confrontation with a Ukrainian communist, who kept trying to convince us that we "were making fools of ourselves".

On Friday evening we moved from campus to the Fort Garry Hotel for the opening of the Tenth Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. I was distressed to feel that the general reaction of the delegates to our strike was less positive, than that of the students at the University. Only the people who knew us personally dared to approach us - I imagine others had to find out whether their organization supported us or not. Therefore I am happy to add, that on Saturday the Congress voted to support us, and in solidarity no one at lunch that day.

On Saturday morning, Oct. 9th, a meeting was arranged for that afternoon, 3 p.m., between a delegate of the strikers, Dr. Kaliba, and Mr. Thompson, an assistant to the Prime Minister. At 4:30 p.m. the strikers were notified that Prime Minister Trudeau would meet with us at 5 p.m. in his private suite.

Exactly at 5 p.m., after 85 hours fast, we entered the suite of Mr. Thompson, and then proceeded to the suite of Trudeau, who was awaiting us with six of his advisors. His first question was "Why did you choose Valentyn Moroz? Why not Karavansky, or some of the other political prisoners?" Trudeau seemed to be very perturbed when we informed him that Moroz has become a symbol of intellectual perseverance in Ukraine, that a protest movement has been built up around him in Ukraine itself. He stated explicitly that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of another country (Bangla Desh is another affair) and that if what we wanted was his intervention on behalf of one person only, i.e. Moroz, he could do this on humanitarian grounds. Trudeau refused to entangle himself in a critique of the political system. (This could harm

future relations. Anyways, we can't expect him "to carry the burdens of the whole world on his shoulders" (quote). After a 45 minute interview, Trudeau finally agreed that we should draw up a statement of exactly what we wished him to express to Kosygin, and assured us that he would present this during Kosygin's visit to Canada. The statement was drawn up, and Trudeau did speak to Kosygin about Valentyn Moroz. Here is an excerpt of the telegram that we received from the Prime Minister's office, on October 21:

"I wish to inform you that I made such an appeal to Premier Kosygin. Mr. Kosygin replied that he had not heard of Mr. Moroz and that under these circumstances he could not commit himself to any specific course of action. Mr. Kosygin did however promise to acquaint himself with the case of Mr. Moroz so that he would be able to enquire whether the appeal could be granted."

We answered this telegram with a letter to Ivan Head (Special

Assistant to the Prime Minister) asking whether Trudeau would follow up his personal appeal to Kosygin. This is the reply we received on November 4, 1971.

"Thank you for your note of October 27th. I do assure you that the Prime Minister will pursue this issue with Premier Kosygin as he has agreed to do with respect to the other questions which he raised concerning the reunification of families, and the immigration of Jews (how he will choose to follow these questions up has not yet been decided but the decision will be taken on the basis of whatever will be the most effective means. I'm not therefore able to be more specific.

Premier Kosygin did indicate that a response would be forthcoming from him. When this is received we shall be in touch with you again."

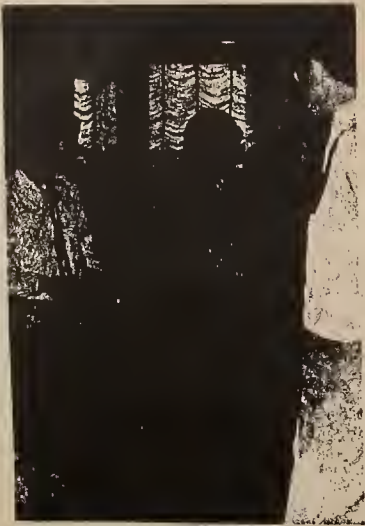
As probably many of you are aware, the Hunger Strike action was a very expensive one. Although we raised some money at the Tenth Congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, this did not even cover one-third of the expenses. We appeal to you to send in donations, in matter how small, to the SUSHK Office: 67 Garbora St., Toronto 4, Ontario. SUPPORT THE ACTION!

Halyna Kowalsky



ГОЛОДІВКА

Як Вам всім відомо, Комітет "Звільніть їх" відбув 4-денну голодівку у Вінніпегу, яка скінчилася зустріччю з Прем'єром Трудо. Він представив справу звільнення Валентина Мороза Прем'єрові Косьгінову, під час його поїзду в Канаду. Ця акція була успішною, але тепер Комітет має дуже великі довги. Просимо Вас, наша Громадо, підтримати нас фінансово, щоб покрити ці кошти.
(Бюро СУСК, 67 Гарборд вул., Торонто, тел.: 921-8544).



"What do you mean I'm 'wishy-washy'?"

He's a STRIKEBREAKER

THE UKRAINIAN STUDENT AND NESTOR MAKHNO

(No. 16, December 1971)

In the course of the Ukrainian Political Theory Workshop, I have become aware of some interesting facts about Ukrainian history, the most interesting and disturbing of which is, that I and many others, knew less about our country's past than we deemed possible. It did not take me long to discover that my ten-years' experience of Ukrainian educational systems provided me with only a superficial and rather distorted image of Ukrainian history. I had a definite feeling of somehow having been cheated and manipulated, that the interpretation of Ukrainian history I had received was far from objective and encompassing in its perspective. It seemed as if there was a lot that had been deliberately left out. The truth of the matter is that the "Ukrainoznavstvo" one receives at any one of our overly-divided organizations is just as factionalized, biased, tendentious and impoverished as we all recognize these organizations to be. It is fundamentally a matter of intellectual honesty, integrity and truth in presenting ALL the facts of our people's history without subjecting them to semi-polemical, ultra-nationalistic misinterpretations and distortions. Furthermore, there is the damnation of silence, the conscious neglect of important people, movements and ideas in our political social and intellectual history. As students, we want to know ALL there is to know about our history. We want to be able to decide and evaluate for ourselves. Unfortunately, what we should know has already been decided for us. It is not so much a question of what we have been taught but of what we have not been taught. This form of indoctrination and censorship is aimed at depriving the Ukrainian student of the right to think independently, to weigh facts and perspectives and to arrive at his own conclusions about our confused history. We have been taught to accept, but not to think analytically. It is not surprising that many Ukrainian students learn more about their own history by studying that of Russia. A student's Ukrainian consciousness must, unfortunately, be stimulated outside our parochial educational systems.

Once the Ukrainian student becomes aware of the intellectual imprisonment imposed upon him, he has given himself the freedom and responsibility to free his mind from the narrow perspectives of many of our so-called educators. This can only be done by exposing oneself to new ideas and new experiences, by confronting the political realities of one's community and history, by putting it into some form of a conscious perspective. This awareness is both personal and political, for it implies and necessitates both the freedom and responsibility of thought and decision.

This awareness demands to know ALL the facts about our history and it is up to the student to obtain them. Read Hrushevsky, but also read Vernadsky, E.H. Carr and Trotsky. One would find it hard to believe that they are talking about the same thing. It is a simple matter of political perspective, but this awareness necessarily forces the Ukrainian student to reconsider his strictly narrative knowledge of Ukrainian history and to be much more analytic with the tendentious interpretations of our history. The facts of our history cannot be changed but the interpretations can and must be reassessed. Appreciating the fact that there is a profound lack of understanding about Ukrainian social, political, economic and intellectual history, the various



interpretations must be seen in the light or the darkness of their particular political perspective. This must be constantly kept in mind when dealing with any aspect of Ukrainian history and especially when attempting to come to grips with the many ill-known facts of the years of National Revolution 1917-1920. A full and proper understanding of this highly complex time cannot be explained simply in terms of Petliura, the Rada and the Proclamations of January 22nd, 1918, for the Ukraine was involved in both a national liberation movement and a social and political revolution. There is a profound lack of attention devoted to the social and political characteristics of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle and the history of the nationalist movement is not the sole history of the period. The various forces operating in Ukraine during these years represent all shades of the political spectrum, ranging from the extreme right with feudal monarchists and hetmanites to centrist liberal republicans and democrats, to all parties of the left, such as bolsheviks, mensheviks, social revolutionaries and anarchists. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian student knows very little about the political breakdown of this period in Ukrainian history and there is much work to be done to fill this sorry vacuum in our historiography and our knowledge. What is worse is that he is actively discouraged from even attempting to learn more about the political forces of this period other than

those of the nationalist right. If it happened, we want to know about it. We must decide and think for ourselves.

One of the best examples of this is the intellectual persecution in the case of Nestor Makhno and the Anarchist movement during the Ukrainian Revolution. In my attempts to learn more about his relation to this period in Ukrainian history, I most often met with a wide variety of negative attitudes in the books and the people I consulted. The usual comment was sneering, "Why do you want to know anything about that bandit?" The simple fact that I just wanted to know seemed insufficient. The very hostile and emotional attitudes elicited just by the very name of the "black spirit" were often directed at me personally. One old man even threw me out of his store for invoking the memory of the black hand! Yet once in a while I met some people who remembered Makhno as a sort of Ukrainian Robin Hood and they talked about him as the only man in those revolutionary times who cared at all about the common people. Clearly there are different criteria for assessing the role played by Makhno and the anarchy.

The controversy surrounding the otaman has been intensified by the lack of reliable and concrete information and this has served to increase the interest in the already legendary Bat'ko Makhno. Not surprisingly he is the subject of a number of literary works such as A Nikolaev's Nestor Makhno and Bat'ko Makhno and

most recently he figures in Honchar's Sobor (Kiev, 1968).

For all the interest and passions he arouses, there is remarkably little factual material to be had and in the case of Makhno, it is quite difficult to separate fact from legend. The few articles available reveal more about their authors' political and nationalistic biases than they do about Makhno and Anarchism. Most studies of the movement are openly polemical works by Bolshevics or anarchists and Ukrainian material on Makhno is at best, hate literature. Ukrainian studies of Makhno are invariably evaluated strictly in terms of whether he supported or opposed the creation of a Ukrainian national state and the importance of his role in regards to the Independence Struggle itself. Even from this limited perspective, not all authors are in agreement for example:

In the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle, Makhno's role was so negative and destructive that he deserves only to be ignored." F. Meleshko.

"Bat'ko N. Makhno was a capable leader of the Zaporozhian faction of our National Liberation Movement and led an unceasing struggle against the enemies of our people, without surrendering under any circumstances, without betraying his people and without sparing his own strength or life." V. Dubrovsky.

However, if we are to come to a political analysis of Ukrainian revolutionary history, it would be a mistake to evaluate it in terms of the national independence movement alone, for this perspective refuses to take into account those forces operating within the context of political and social revolution. This nationalist form of historical interpretation operates solely within a middle class political and conceptual framework. It is only a measure of the paucity of political analysis of Ukrainian history. It is absurd to deal with Makhno, an ideologically committed anarchist in terms of his relation to the creation of a Ukrainian state. His political and personal philosophy was anti-theoretical to groups seeking to set up a state of any type regardless of what his own national self-identification might be.

Makhno himself was a russified peasant with a background of primitive and spontaneous anarchistic revolutionary activity dating from 1905. His imprisonment in Moscow's Butyrka prison exposed him to Russian anarchists who effectively entrenched his cultural Russification. His spontaneous peasant rebelliousness was given form in a primitive understanding of an anarchist political philosophy that was culturally Russian. It is ridiculous to think of Makhno as culturally Ukrainian and it is thus impossible to ascribe to him any kind of a role in the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle. His center of operation was Huliai-Pole, overwhelmingly Ukrainian in population, but close to the Russified centers of Katerynoslav and Oleksandrovsk, which were the backbone of the culturally Russian and predominantly urban form of intellectual anarchism in the Ukraine. Makhno was a brilliant guerrilla tactician but an ideologist he was not. His limited conception of anarchist theory was shaped through his association with the Nabat group of anarchists, most of whom were from Moscow. These Russian anarchists dismissed the question of nationalism as irrelevant in the face of the more important

questions of the quality of social and political life. Like his mentors, Makhno was interested only in social revolution, not in a search for national consciousness. To him Ukrainian consciousness was only another bourgeois ideology to be combatted. The anarchists in Ukraine suffered from a total non-perception of the problem of Ukrainian consciousness. It did not fit into their theoretical categories except under the headings of "socialist chauvinists" and "bourgeois reactionaries". The distinction between political activity for a Ukrainian state and the mere assertion of one's linguistic-national identity as Ukrainian was very vague during this period. This was especially true in Katerynoslav Gubernia, where Ukrainian political and cultural life was particularly underdeveloped. To assert oneself as "Ukrainian" at this time was a political position in itself, which in Makhno's limited theoretical framework was viewed as a bourgeois political movement of the village intellectual class. Makhno's anarchism and Ukrainian nationalism were simply diametrically opposed to each other. Between Makhno who placed all stress on the needs of social revolution and the Ukrainian forces who placed great emphasis on Ukrainian cultural and national aspirations, there could be no common ground.

An interesting fact is the attempted Ukrainization of the Makhnovschyna, for the need to communicate with the Ukrainian peasant masses, which constituted the majority of Makhno's following, was an obvious necessity. Ironically, the leader of this attempted Ukrainization was Makhno's wife, Halyna Kuzmenko. Unfortunately, her efforts and those of other Ukrainian anarchist intellectuals would not overcome the powerful influence of the Bat'ko's Dostoyevskian personality. While Makhno appears to have given little thought to his own national identity or the Ukrainian re-awakening during the Revolutionary Period, he did so while in emigration in Paris. He came to see himself as an Ukrainian anarchist and believed that it would be necessary for any future anarchist movement in Ukraine to be culturally Ukrainian in order to secure mass support.

Clearly when dealing with Makhno one must be aware of his political philosophy, his cultural background and the underdeveloped state of political and national consciousness of those times. The Makhnovschyna was more in the tradition of spontaneous, peasant rebellions of Stenka Razin and Pugachov, for the political awareness of the peasant following was non-existent and Makhno himself was no more than a primitive rebel with an elementary anarchist education. When trying to analyze the diverse political and social realities of national revolution in Ukraine, we must avoid making the facile judgements that abound in most of our historical material. It is much easier to bend the truth than to straighten it. Makhno is only an extreme example of such superficial and inadequate analysis, which appears all too frequently in the space of a student's formal Ukrainian education. As a case in point, it is not simply a question of Makhno the Bat'ko or the Bandit, but of Makhno the fact.

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MULTICULTURALISM & UKRAINIANISM:

MIDDLE CLASS SELLOUT

(No. 15, November 1971)

Note to the Editor:

I want your readers to understand that this was written in haste, anger and with bitterness. Such a combination of factors has led to some rambling and gross grammatical injustices and for this I beg the reader's pardon. Nevertheless, the events of the past few months within the Ukrainian community and Trudeau's response to the recommendations of the Fourth Volume of the B&B Commission have forced me to speak out against what I feel has been the middle class sell-out by some of our leaders both in youth and in other organizations. My arguments are directed not at them personally but rather to their lack of analysis or more precisely, their high acceptance of a comfortable analysis, which has prompted them to act as they have without fully realizing the consequences. Because of this shortcoming I feel that they are leading us down a rosy path to extinction while offering us nothing in return but hypocrisy.

Although it hardly necessitates repeating, I think it obligatory to also point out that the opinions expressed below should not be taken to represent either the position of "Student" or that of the "Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union". I take full responsibility for what appears below and welcome the opportunity to defend it on all grounds. Let us once and for all get down to the real issues!

THE BACKGROUND

It is about time to finally expose multiculturalism and Ukrainianism to the test of reality. In this article I hope to explore some of the problems that we have not as yet begun to examine in detail. It will be the argument here, that because of the substance of the Federal Government's reaction to the Fourth Volume, the Ukrainian community is now forced to re-examine its possibilities of survival either within or without the present economic, social and political system. Thus I will personally explore the nature of the Federal Government's response, and secondly, analyze the operative alternatives open to us within that framework.

For more than two years now, various members of this Union, including myself, have worked hard to bring this issue to the forefront of Canadian concern. Based on a humanitarian conception of ethnicity many of us felt that our dehumanizing technological society would have to provide reference groups for individuals already alienated both from themselves and from their society. Needless to say we thought that multiculturalism, the strengthening of ethnocultural ties would best serve this purpose. Government support was sought so that this process would be guaranteed by continued financial aid from the major Federal Government agencies dealing with cultural affairs. Our reasoning being, that ethnicity and an individual's participation within his ethno-cultural group were not subject to the same voluntary exigencies such as free choice common to all voluntary associations. Even more important we felt that with such guarantees a more realistic identity would emerge for Canada taking into account the continually increasing numbers of the so-called "Third Element" who are neither of Anglo-Saxon nor of French-Canadian heritage.

All along there were protests from the neo-colonial Anglo-Saxons and

the parochial French-Canadian middle class. The former was greatly insulted that we "ethnics" were refusing to dance and sing at their teas in those "charming" and "pretty" folk costumes. The latter group who should have considered itself our strongest ally has understandably fought hard to legitimate their linguistic aspirations in order to be able to continue to maintain a foothold on Canadian financial riches while retaining their cultural identity. At the same time however, they have continued to exploit the Quebec workers, but this time in French. So, both groups considered our demands as threats, endangering the status quo they were so desperately trying to protect — as if we wanted a piece of their rotten pie!

Being pressured from all sides to finally acknowledge the real Canada, our Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, announced before the House of Commons that the Federal Government would implement "a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" and that it would provide support in three ways.

"First, resources permitting, the government will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, and a clear need for assistance for the small and weak groups no less than for the strong and highly organized."

"Second, the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society."

"Third, the government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity."

Yet despite the tone of paternal condescension so evident in his speech the question still remains: Multiculturalism for how long and for whom?

MULTICULTURALISM

FOR HOW LONG?

Ukrainians, if some, feel they will benefit enormously from such a policy, but the truth of the matter is that Trudeau's programme denies the fundamental tenet of multiculturalism. For the fact is that multiculturalism will remain the official identity of Canada for as long as the ethno-cultural groups involved can "exhibit a desire for survival and development". Thus, we as Ukrainians, as a viable entity, have been relegated to the status of a voluntary organization. Having made no definite commitment to guaranteeing the existence of ethno-cultural groups in Canada, Trudeau has decided to wait patiently until we die out!

But really! Should we be surprised by this man's position: a man, who has prided himself on his "politique fonctionnelle" — functional politics? To illustrate by an example, Dr. Lupul from the University of Alberta, in the summer of 1963, at a conference in Charlottetown, P.E.I., asked Trudeau, then an unassuming academic, what he thought about Ukrainians and their demands for linguistic and cultural equality. Pierre, in his usual manner responded by asking Dr. Lupul: "How many of them are there and how long will they last? At least the man has the virtue of being con-

sistent, but not the humility to admit, as one sage has said, that he could be consistently wrong.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that unlike the Federal Government's definitive commitment to French Canadian linguistic and cultural demands, Trudeau and his cohorts have given us a temporary stopgap measure in the hope that we will very soon solve his problem. But even despite his efforts, it appears to me that we have already given Trudeau the solution to his problem not so much by accepting, uncritically — like dogs — the bone that has been tossed to us by a hypocritical master, but rather by the shortcomings within the Ukrainian community, more specifically that of its leadership. It is in this woeful unpreparedness to be a dangerous challenge — the challenge of our continuing survival — to which I would like to address myself in the following paragraphs.

As I see it, we are not ready to deal with external financial assistance for the simple reason that we do not, as yet, have a collective Ukrainian consciousness. I realize that this is a hackneyed observation but I want to argue that this shortcoming springs largely from a lack of analysis, i.e. the inability on the part of our leadership and of our intellectuals to integrate the forces and issues in the life of every Ukrainian Canadian and to conceptualize these processes into a total and humanistic idea of Ukrainianism. In short, we have failed to channel these forces into a dynamic consciousness, an awareness if you will, which would transcend the intuitive sense of community that we all share. In Martin Buber's language, an "Essential We".

"By WE I mean a community of several independent persons, who have reached a self and self-responsibility, the community resting on the basis of this self and self-responsibility, and being made possible by them. The special character of the WE is shown in the essential relations existing ... between its members."

I do not believe that the lack of even an attempt to conceptualize our experiences is a result of intellectual poverty, but rather of an unwillingness to be self-critical in this spirit. In order to open the discussion, I attempt the following critique.

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE

"The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting ..."

Firstly, it's a worn but frighteningly valid cliché that "money kills". The examples are numerous but the most vivid one is from the recent past: the petty and paranoid "RUMK" squabbles over which youth organization should get more money — insane and selfish divisions at a time when creative activity and feelings of solidarity should have been in their height. Instead, money provided by the Federal Government served only to divide us and perpetuate bitterness. And even a short while ago, at the Ukrainian Canadian Committee Congress in October of this year, various members of youth organizations, which, openly showing some concern for our future in Canada, were nevertheless,

them of INTERNATIONALISM OR HUSBANDRY? Will you instead argue the point that Dzuba is perpetuating the original and only revolutionary tradition of the VYZVOLNI ZMAHANYA, and cloaks his terms in socialist terminology in order to remain legitimate in the U.S.S.R.

This newspaper is put out by young, conscientious and critical students. They are prepared to learn from all sources of knowledge and refuse to be streamlined into narrow political observations that are

wallowing in the sublimated hostility and self-pity of that bitter experience. Yet how paradoxical that they remained unwilling to take the necessary steps to rectify the situation for the future by evolving a strong "RUMK" executive which would speak for all groups before the bureaucrats, politicians and the Ukrainian community.

We often hear people refer to historical examples to try and explain why Ukrainians do not have a nation-state of their own. Usually the analysis ends with the conclusion that we have been too selfish, too narrow-minded, within our partisan attachments, to consider the broader perspective so crucial to a true "national" consciousness. With this in mind and with the evidence of the most recent past I would like to add that these leaders are again doing the same thing — leading us all down the path to unnecessary division and "obscurement". In this instance we don't have to be "bought out" by promised funds from Ottawa; we will serve Trudeau's purposes best by just continuing to destroy ourselves!

REPRESSIVE FORCES

To fight this pettiness and to develop a collective consciousness is not an easy thing. Having grown up in a society, which from the very beginning tries to emasculate us by tearing out our cultural roots, it becomes very clear that this type of repression has serious consequences for individuals. Many times torn by doubt as to our identity, we continually ask: "Are we Canadians or are we Ukrainians?" Most of us have answered this. The two are not mutually exclusive but rather concomitant to one another. For those who are not satisfied with this, I challenge them to begin to reflect on just who is a Canadian?

But this aside for now. The point is that when we meet, either as representatives or friends there remains this same conditioned feeling of uncertainty, of inferiority and doubt. Is it asking too much then, that we begin to realize that many of the barriers to solidarity are artificial, forced down our throats at an early age by those condescending public school teachers who tried to make us "Canadians"? Damn them all!

The sterilizing process doesn't stop there. In a society which thinks nothing of perpetuating fear among the working class by waving the threat of unemployment under their noses, and tolerates the steady alienation of man from man, it becomes painfully obvious that this kind of system has no conscience. This alienation and opportunism, which results from the often meaningless tasks which we perform in the economic and educational system becomes transplanted into the interrelationships among us all. And how evident it becomes when we sit down together to talk about our mutual problems and their possible solutions!

HUMANISM AND UKRAINIANISM

Please do not misunderstand me, my argument does not in any way condone a total separation from these dehumanizing forces. That would be pure escapism. Rather, I am trying to point out that we are well on our way to escaping if we continue to stress that multiculturalism and Ukrainianism

will be a truly humanizing experience, that participation in ethno-cultural affairs will somehow give us a sense of individuality and fulfillment in a technological world dedicated to "technique" and to fabricating hollow men. Let us awaken to the fact that by spouting multiculturalism we are in fact creating islands of retreat from the bitter realities of a repressive society. Nothing serves the interests of the ruling class better than if these islands of retreat bring humanity to the hearts of those very same people they so unscrupulously exploit!

And even from another perspective it has become painfully obvious that despite the line touted by former SUSK presidents, participation in Ukrainian community life is not an enriching experience. You can be assured that you will profit more by joining fraternities, T-groups and by finding a guru. For like Michiavelli's exhortation to the "innocent and pure", politics, and therefore an active desire to change the direction of the Ukrainian community in Canada, takes tremendous effort and selflessness, sometimes to the detriment of what is euphemistically called "self development". For involvement necessitates making a decision as to whether or not you are satisfied with the present condition of society and by extension of the Ukrainian community in Canada. Unless you are seriously conscious of your commitment, then for God's sake, don't become president or what-not in any organization, not to speak of the Ukrainian community. This lack of critical self-awareness plays into the hands of the ruling class, who you can be assured, have a definite purpose in life.

THE ALTERNATIVE

The alternative to this state of affairs, is not only obvious but absolutely necessary. We must begin to see that pollution, abortion, exploitation of the working class Ukrainians too, dear reader! the Vietnamese, the growing alienation, are a part-and-parcel the products of values of the ruling class which will never, never allow the creative development of human potential. And there is no question in my mind that we, as Ukrainians and human beings, must tackle these injustices in order to better understand the human condition. Then, and only then, will we think and act in a totality and not within an artificial "cultural" ghetto. In other words, our Ukrainianism must be total. For what good is it to me if my children will be able to speak Ukrainian in the schools if the same injustices and the same exploiters continue to repress the full development of these children and of all mankind?

Ultimately, the whole question of our development in Canada and indeed the Ukraine must be put in the light of whether or not we choose to live standing up or crawling on our knees. Like the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, a growing number of my contemporaries are choosing to rebel rather than accept comfortable ideologies and the false promises that go along with them. Let us restore our human dignity and end this shameful humiliation of mankind!

— To be continued —

Part II will deal with our Analytical Poverty. The legitimizations of our middle-class.

Yuri Boshyk

(No. 16, December 1971)

READER'S COMMENT

Much criticism was levelled against the last issue of STUDENT. As you read through this issue, you may notice that the people who criticize seldom have the courage to put their thoughts on paper, so that

they, in turn, may be subjected to similar scrutiny.

We do not mean to imply that everything that was said was either illogical or of a biased nature. For example, we agree with others that the polemic by Leon Trotsky THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION should have been introduced with an explanation regarding its value and the reason for its inclusion. Such practice will be observed upon an emotional oration to the effect that "Trotsky was not Ukrainian,"

"Trotsky killed Ukrainians," "Trotsky's works are of no value to us" should result upon a few of the following questions: What are the sources of your knowledge? Do the lives of certain philosophers totally negate the value of their work? (Of course, one's life has some bearing on one's professed philosophy). Will you condemn all political perspectives other than those "approved" by predominant emigre political organizations? Or perhaps you will demonstrate for Dzuba in Ottawa but refuse to discuss the

them of INTERNATIONALISM OR HUSBANDRY? Will you instead argue the point that Dzuba is perpetuating the original and only revolutionary tradition of the VYZVOLNI ZMAHANYA, and cloaks his terms in socialist terminology in order to remain legitimate in the U.S.S.R.

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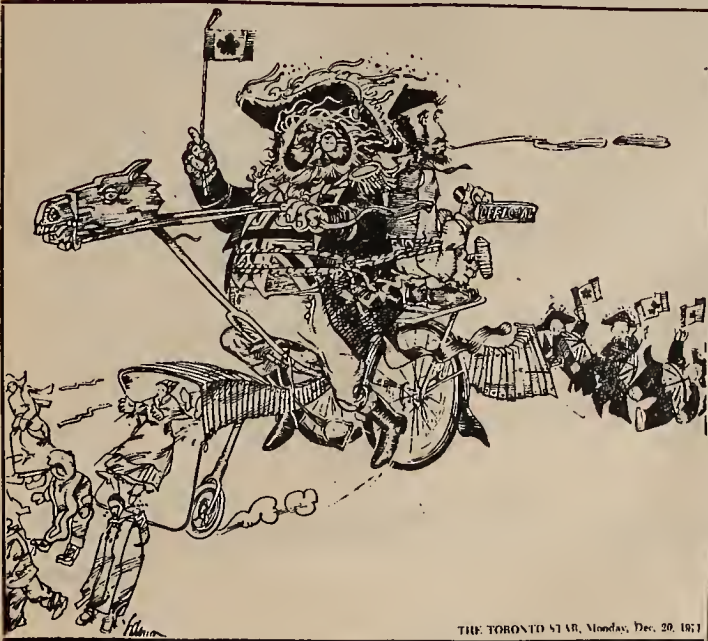
without the backing of solid contemporary analysis. They also expect readers to be critical and informed, not just Ukrainian and emotional.

As it is with the Multicultural concept, our generation will take the best of the traditions of our fathers and incorporate them into our life. But the philosophies with which our generation will live shall be of our own choice and of our own making. "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a thousand voices speak."

MULTICULTURALISM & UKRAINIANISM:

(No. 16, December 1971)

MIDDLE CLASS SELLOUT PART II



THE TORONTO STAR, Monday, Dec. 20, 1971

In the last issue of *STUDENT* we tried to summarize the concept of multiculturalism. The argument was basically that Ukrainians, Poles, Italians and other minority ethno-cultural groups should not treat the question of their survival and development as being paramount, to the exclusion of the more fundamental questions of social change, economic equality and political democracy. The article went a bit further, and tentatively, in fact even timidly, proposed the idea that multiculturalism according to its genuine consequential meaning could not be fully realized within a society which espouses crass individualism and judges culture by the standards of the market-place. We further argued that the leadership in the Ukrainian community (or the most successful upwardly mobile individuals) were channeling the community's human, political and financial resources in a very limited direction. Their only vision of Canadian society was one in which every Ukrainian would be given the opportunity to "make it" in all fields of endeavour without dragging the chains of social prejudice and minority group stigmatization. In itself, this objective can be considered noble and positive, but when linked to the more essential problems in our society, it begins to sound ethnocentric and static.

At the same time, the "leadership" (and I use "leadership" only out of politeness) also wishes the potential careerist to actively maintain his ethno-cultural ties, despite the fact that in our present Canadian society upward mobility and minority group allegiance are mutually exclusive variables to the building of one's career.

It seems then, that we have come to the paradox of multiculturalism, quite rightly pointed out by John Porter; given the fact that our society is unresponsive to both upward mobility and minority ethno-cultural allegiance, does not multiculturalism by strengthening ethnic group maintenance, solidify and perpetuate the inequality of opportunity? The few paragraphs which follow below will try and examine how both the Federal governments and Ukrainian intellectuals have responded to this

thesis, for inevitably the logic of Porter's argument remains correct (if not static) and poses for us two fundamental questions: does multiculturalism preserve one's ethno-cultural background to the detriment of upward mobility or is the concept of multiculturalism dynamic and far reaching enough to seriously bring into question social, political and economic inequalities and thereby present a model of a more just and egalitarian Canadian society?

Let us first consider the Federal government's reaction to this potential problem.

After deciphering what Northrop Frye has called "federal prose" one is immediately struck by the Trudeau government's "double-talk" and lack of commitment to the policy of genuine multiculturalism. On the one hand, Trudeau, when announcing the policy said that Canada is a "classless society" adding that the government must do everything possible to root out present inequalities. Taking his analysis, we are led to presume that these inequalities do not stem from what is usually referred to as a Marxian economic analysis of society. Therefore there must be other factors at stake. It seems that one of these determinants to upward mobility is ethno-cultural association, as proven by Porter et al. Now, if we are to take Trudeau's concern for greater equality and opportunity seriously then his government's policy would suggest to us that he not only saw benefit in ethno-cultural maintenance but also saw the need to break down the barriers to social mobility. Rather than lacking both issues, the Trudeau government decided to endorse upward mobility and to encourage on ethno-cultural group survival. How else can we interpret the Federal government's response that one can choose one's level of activity in an ethnic group. Thus to guarantee its survival would be undemocratic to those that don't want this stigma. In this way he has signed the death warrant of all minority groups in Canada, because when given the choice between upward mobility and one's community group activity the past has shown us that most opt for the former alternative; yet when these

ethnics try to "make it" they realize that it is all a delicate subterfuge, for one is treated as neither Ukrainian nor Anglo-Saxon, but as a sell-out. So let's not kid ourselves about the Federal government's position; it is ultimately designed to maintain the status quo by neither eliminating the ethno-cultural bias nor opening the gates to careerists who have reneged on their background. We are arguing therefore that Trudeau could have done both by guaranteeing the survival of minority ethnic groups and thereby legitimizing diversity and careerist aspirations.

The other area to be yet examined in detail is how Ukrainian-Canadians see the resolution of this dilemma. We think it obvious that most people see that multiculturalism in both its aims and methods will have some political and social implications for Canadian society. Examples abound about how we have mobilized our resources to disseminate the idea and put the theory into action. Yet, when one looks at the arguments presented one cannot help but feel that no one really knows where it's all leading to. It comes to mind that three ideas have been put forth on the ultimate objective of a multicultural Canada, 1) the establishment of inter-group tolerance; 2) the humanizing influence of ethno-cultural groups in a post-industrial society; 3) and finally, that multiculturalism will lead to a more decentralized, less impersonal and therefore a more community-oriented government. I propose to spend the second part of this article on analysing the strengths and weaknesses of these arguments and from there to a critique of how we are dealing with multiculturalism politically.

"Repressive Tolerance"

In the recent past, some of our intellectuals, specifically Messieurs Krawchenko and Semotnik, have, in their papers, purported that a tolerant society "will not only accept cultural and linguistic variation, but also other differences that distinguish other minority groups in our society." It is true that both gentlemen made allusions to economic, social and political quality as being necessary contingencies to

the full development to this idea but they did this in a sloppy and half-hearted way, glibly passing to what they thought was the more important factor — ethno-cultural survival. I give these men their due, but their naivete about the dynamics of a society overwhelmed me. Presumably then, this idea can also lead us to a tolerant attitude towards the plight of the poor, which in Toronto alone, number 10 percent of the population.

To illuminate why we feel that to bank on the idea of tolerance is purely utopian, at this stage, allow me to quote a section from Herbert Marcuse's *Repressive Tolerance* who to my mind has presented one of the most devastating critiques of this concept: "...tolerance is an end in itself only when it is truly universal, practised by the rulers as well as by the ruled. As long as these conditions do not prevail, the conditions of tolerance are 'loaded'; they are determined and defined by the institutionalized inequality... i.e. by the class structure of society. In such a society tolerance is de facto limited on the dual ground of legalized violence or suppression (police, armed forces, guards of all sorts) and of the privileged position held by the predominant interests and their connections." No one is suggesting (as does Rabbi Kahane of the JDL) that the potential revolutionary force in North America will be the Third Element and that the rulers will have to resort to armed suppression. What is suggested, rather, is that appeals to tolerance fall on deaf ears on one who is a victim and on receptive souls when it is expedient.

Mystical Utopias

Just as the appeal to tolerance is utopian, so the idea of ethno-cultural groups somehow humanizing a post-industrial society becomes comically utopian and pseudo-Marxist. One is reminded of the East European Marxist economists who patiently await this post-industrial society, in order that the "new man" can at last fulfill himself. Such an appeal to the future totally neglects the present condition of man by distorting even the present. For example, can anyone seriously believe, that "Man today has been freed from the struggle of surviving." We may indeed someday, solve this problem but to argue that multiculturalism should be encouraged and accepted on this level, smacks of a mystical retreat from reality.

The most serious argument is really the equation made between multiculturalism and decentralization of political power.

Is Community Control the Answer?

The people who maintain such a thesis conclude that "taking multiculturalism to its logical conclusion this concept advocates community control over its resources to ensure the freedoms of the lifestyle of the group." Looking at this carefully, we come to realize that this conclusion, on the contrary, is not logically explained, and even more important, this thesis falls prey to an exaggerated view of citizen participation. For example, this concept raises, but does not answer certain fundamental questions, such as, what is the significance of concentrating our resources on attaining influence in lower levels of government and education if the higher levels of government do not substantially change their hostile attitude to ethno-cultural groups? If we are interested in upward mobility as well as ethno-cultural group allegiance the more advantageous alternative is to obviously channel our strength into influencing the upper echelons of decision making in government and education administrations. One of our main tasks at this time then, must be to pressure the federal and provincial governments to work out an "umbrella" clause between themselves,

to make a definite commitment to the preservation and development of ethno-cultural groups. Only then will these minority ethnic groups be protected against the fluctuations of public opinion and social prejudice on the lower levels of governmental administration.

Furthermore, this idea of community control, as the ultimate conclusion of multiculturalism can be penultimately the biggest "loophole" for the established groups in our society, for the simple reason that community control does not address itself to the upwardly mobile professionals and intellectuals of the particular ethno-cultural community. Quebecois intellectuals for example, found that the parochial education they were receiving did not equip them either conceptually or realistically to deal with the larger society outside of Quebec. The danger then of community control of schools, is that because of its provincial emphasis, there could arise the very same dilemma.

When considering community control by itself, without the federal-provincial agreement, these observations become only signposts to potential crises. This nevertheless, should force us to reconsider the consequences of some of our political activity. Taking the case of trying to get Ukrainian into the schools of Ontario, it becomes obvious that many of us treat this as the sole purpose of the activity. In all honesty, however, can we expect someone who is interested in a career to seriously consider studying Ukrainian? Parents of such children would be operating in the child's self interest to question such an alternative. So we are left to ensuring that Ukrainians (and all ethno-cultural minorities) will be protected by law, against discrimination and minority group interests.

In conclusion the most important argument presented has been that the two factors of upward mobility and minority ethno-cultural group allegiance, must be considered when referring to the ultimate objectives of multiculturalism. The point must be made that if we accept the present state of Canadian society, by not challenging it, then our stress on active participation in one's ethnic group can be to the detriment of our long interests. We therefore have to ally ourselves, on the local level at least, to the more progressive and crucial social movements of our time. In addition, we must seek federal and provincial guarantees on the continued survival of our culture and language. In this way we will not only challenge Porter's static concept of Canadian society but also fulfill the humanitarian objectives we have set for ourselves.

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1. See John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press). A more recent study appears in the *Canadian Journal of Anthropology and Sociology*, 1970, by Mary Jo Kerner on the permeation of Toronto's elite by "ethnic" groups.
2. Speech given by Bohdan Krawchenko at the Hart House Multicultural Canada conference in 1969. See also Andrew Semotuk's unpublished paper *Multiculturalism: A Three Dimensional Perspective*.
3. Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 84
4. Bohdan Krawchenko's speech
5. Position paper presented at the Eastern Canada Presidents' Conference on December 27, 1971.

SUMMER FIELDWORK '72

(No. 16, December 1971)

This summer, as in previous years, the Ukrainian-Canadian University Students' Union will be continuing the field-work project. To those of you to whom the concept of field-work is new or unfamiliar, perhaps I can clarify any misunderstanding by presenting you with a brief outline of what a field-worker is, his function and aims, background and past history, future plans, and my own subjective opinions of field-work as I see it.

The field-worker in the role of social organizer and community organizer, acts as a catalyst for community action and involvement. A field-worker does not work on projects, but organizes others to work on them and thus through community involvement instills a sense of community in these people. Hopefully, this sense of community would extend to a feeling of responsibility and concern for all Ukrainians.

The process of field-work is twofold: First, it serves to stimulate the development of the Ukrainian community within the context of the Canadian society and secondly, provides the individual with an opportunity for meaningful social involvement.

The latter point is important — one not only learns about others, one learns about oneself, one's abilities, creativeness, strengths and weaknesses. It is a fantastic learning experience.

The field-work project, sponsored by the Ukrainian-Canadian University Students' Union, has completed its third summer of community work. It began in the summer of 1969 when Bohdan Krawchenko travelled across Canada, animating students and analysing problems within the Ukrainian community. The student movement had begun.

The following summer, seven more field-workers went out into communities, armed with specific projects and issues. The program centered around the promotion of multiculturalism. It was realized that striving for a multicultural society was not an individual fight for the Ukrainian community but required a combined effort on the part of all ethno-cultural communities. A realization came with this new awareness — Canada was multicultural in all but name.

This past summer, through an Opportunities for Youth grant, 20 field-workers set out into their respective communities and

proceeded to activate and sensitize the community to multiculturalism. Field-workers were sent into urban and rural areas. Our numbers were small but we were determined to fight and win. Each one of us had a personal and emotional stake in the consequences.

Projects were undertaken on all levels. Governmental, community and individual. Some of these projects were Lobbying of M.P.'s in government, political forums, student radio programming, summer recreational work with Ukrainian youth (mostly in the rural areas), Ukrainian language course lobbying, information bureaux, Multicultural Conferences. The projects were as many and as varied as there were individual field-workers.

As with any action program, our field-work project had its share of problems: Lack of communication, personality conflicts, apathy, misinterpreted ideologies, lack of commitment, lack of honesty between the field-worker and himself, others and the coordinating committee. Even though there were difficulties, the field-work experience was very worthwhile. By the end of the

summer, we were all more aware of the situation at hand. We knew what it was like to be Ukrainian in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon society, realizing our entanglement in a vicious circle that was never-ending. We experienced and felt discriminations trying to fight intolerance and narrow-mindedness.

In our own Ukrainian community, there were also problems. The Ukrainian language and culture was slowly dying out, particularly in the rural areas. Assimilation was taking its toll. There was general apathy and passivity among the Ukrainian people and most noticeably — a marked resignation to the fact, that if one was an "ethnic" one was a second-class citizen. We met "sell-outs". Ukrainians who had made it to the top of the social and economic ladder and had left the Ukrainian community. We saw the narrow-mindedness of our "intellectual" elite and we felt the lack of highly-qualified persons in certain areas such as education and media. All of these insufficiencies hurt and with the hurt came the desire to act.

This summer, the field-work program will be continued, but

once again, in the light of new and recent developments. As a result, the method and format requires appropriate modification. To ensure maximum effectiveness and a high percentage of community involvement, the focus will be on specific projects and issues. These projects are aimed at implementing Canada's multicultural policy into a working and practical reality.

The next issue of STUDENT will be partially devoted to "Summer Field-work '72", where the specific plans of the project will be disclosed. However, this much can be said: There will be three spheres of field-working — political, cultural and that dealing with research — all crucial and concomitant.

The value and potential of field-work should never be underestimated. It is one of the most, if not the most important means we have by which to work with the Ukrainian people in Canada. I would strongly suggest that each and every student in Canada consider field-work. The time to act is now.

Halya Kuchmij

SUSK Launches Summer Project

(No. 17, June 1972)

The Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (SUSK) has launched a three-month project in the Prairie Provinces. It is entitled "Summer Fieldwork '72" and will entail community organizing around important issues in Ukrainian settlements in Western Canada, as well as the production of audio-visual tapes of Ukrainian-Canadian content. The Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union is a national organization of young Ukrainians and is located on 28 campuses from Montreal to Vancouver.

This summer's project is the fourth carried out by the Union, following similar efforts in 1969, 1970, 1971. It is by far the most ambitious of them all.

Summer Fieldwork '72 is a community development project aimed at raising pertinent issues in the Ukrainian Community and organizing young people around specific activities. Presently operating in Winnipeg, Brandon, Manitoba; Saskatoon and Edmonton, this project differs from the traditional approach to community work in that student organizers will be utilizing video-tape equipment as a catalyst to their work with small groups of students.

SUSK submitted a brief to Opportunities for Youth in March, 1972, requesting a grant in excess of \$100,000 to finance the hiring of 40 students, renting of equipment, etc. under this project. Following a drastic cut in funding from O.F.Y., SUSK decided to carry on the project under adverse conditions.

Sixteen students attended an orientation course in Toronto and Winnipeg which acquainted them with the aims of the project, practical aspects of community organizing, and which immersed them in an extensive study of the structure, activities, needs and problems of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Twelve students were accepted as permanent fieldworkers at the conclusion of the orientation course, May 26.

The aim of the project is twofold: to introduce video-tape equipment into the Ukrainian community, in particular to young people by demonstrating its potential as a tool for organizing people around important issues; secondly, to lay the groundwork for a sophisticated and permanent communications network for the Ukrainian community across Canada, in the form of cable TV programming.

Twelve people are presently working in the field. Six of this

number are operating a video-production centre at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, where they will create a series of documentaries of 1/2 to 1 hour length on various issues of concern to both the Ukrainian-Canadian community and Canadian society at large. These documentaries will include historic themes of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, socio-economic aspects of Ukrainian communities, the state of Ukrainian churches, music, the language issue in the primary and secondary school systems, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, life in the rural areas, the North Winnipeg and Point Douglas Ukrainian communities, etc.

The documentaries, as well as



1972 FIELDWORKERS

Marko Bojcin (Toronto), Ihor Petelycky (Vancouver), Borys Kowalsky (Toronto), Dorio Lucich (Vancouver), Irka Okipniuk (Toronto), Chrystia Laptuta (Toronto), Daria Porochynsky (Edmonton), Roman Tarnowecy (Toronto), Halya Kuchmij (Toronto), Ivan Fecan (Toronto), Petro Melnycky (Winnipeg), Oksana Mazur (Winnipeg), Yuri Kovar (Toronto).

providing an attractive audio-visual presentation of Ukrainian-Canadian life and culture, will also contain serious socio-political commentaries pertaining to the position of the community as a whole within Canadian society. Thematic material will be gathered in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and fieldworkers will seek participation from the communities to ensure a realistic and honest presentation of Ukrainian life in Western Canada.

The second major section of the project involves grass roots organizational work among students by individual fieldworkers. These workers are presently located in Edmonton, Saskatoon and environs,

and Brandon, Manitoba. They will be working on various projects with Ukrainian students. Our Saskatchewan-based workers are presently cooperating with the provincial Students' Multicultural Action Committee. At the same time, they are organizing a Youth Jamboree to be held in July. In Edmonton, the SUSK fieldworker will be involved in, among other activities, the day care issue in the Ukrainian community.

Student organizers in this section of the project will introduce video tape equipment to co-workers in the course of working on specific projects. They will also present documentaries created at the Winnipeg production centre to small

groups of students in order to sensitize them to the needs and issues within the Ukrainian Canadian community.

The SUSK newspaper STUDENT, which is serving as a communication medium to Ukrainian students across Canada, will concentrate on reporting activities of Summer Fieldwork '72 for the duration of the summer.

Ukrainian-Canadian students have a vital role to play in the development of their community, particularly in times such as these, when the forces of assimilation threaten the disappearance of our language and culture. Serious organizational work in the Ukrainian community is a high priority, particularly in light of the fact, that our struggle for survival and growth in Canada must now be fought within government structures, the educational system, the press and mass media, and within a host of other institutions. It is within these centres that the Ukrainian language and our Ukrainian Canadian culture are being denied development.

Youth organizations, SUSK and others have played a leading role in the areas of fighting for recognition and equal rights within Canada. Having the advantage of youth and fresh ideas, these students must maintain this leading role. Under Summer Fieldwork '72, the potentials of video tape equipment will be explored extensively. This medium has a decisive advantage in its applications: it is portable and is an excellent tool in community work; it is easy to work yet its technology is sophisticated enough to produce an audio-visual presentation that is on a par with television. The use of video tape machines in our communities and the introduction of Ukrainian programmes through cable television networks across Canada will have a powerful effect on Canadian society.

The project organizers and participants are confident that the summer activities will raise the level of consciousness in the Ukrainian community, especially in the student sector. Several centres of student activism will undoubtedly consolidate in Western Canada — they should be given all possible support. Those cities which are already experiencing this activism should expect to see a broadening of perspectives vis-a-vis projects undertaken and an intensification of work during the course of the summer.

New Strategy for Multicultural Canada

(No. 17, June 1972)

The objective situation for the development of multiculturalism in Canada has changed considerably over the last two years. Reality has, as it were, caught up with our concepts. A fresh analysis must be made of the new correlation of forces. Policies and tactics must be developed to meet the challenge of a new stage in the struggle for an equitable multicultural programme.

The position on multiculturalism as presented in that paper delivered at the University of Toronto in 1970 was devoted to counter a very specific assertion, namely the cultural hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon dominant interests. This cultural chauvinism defined the Canadian content in such a way that entire sectors of the Canadian population fell outside its perimeters. We on the other hand claimed that "ethnicity" was not "alien", that it was an integral fact of Canadian life, that "ethnicity" as the cultural expression of a collective was a positive development in a society so quick to deny people the opportunities for human self-expression. We were of course to some extent successful in our attempt to Canadianize, or more correctly, to legitimize cultural diversity as the Prime Minister proclaimed Canada multicultural.

But what we did not stress at that time was that this cultural chauvinism, which in Canadian history has been a crucial component of ruling class values, merely asserted in the realm of ideology what the ruling class asserted in the political and economic arenas. The Prime Minister's statement signaled a change in the cultural chauvinist aspect of ruling ideology, but of course, leaves intact the political-economic hegemony of the ruling interests.

The most superficial glance at the Canadian social structure reveals that the large bulk of Canada's cultural minority occupies its

disproportionate share of the lower rungs of society. The immigrant has always provided Canadian capital with cheap labour. The newcomers served as an important factor in preserving the social stability of this country. The Anglo-Saxon working class was of course not upwardly socially mobile, was exploited, but a large number of aliens at the lowest end of the scale gave the illusion of privileged and cushioned the discontent. And if the economy went into a recession, then the effects of unemployment would be first felt by the immigrant. The immigrant served, and continues to serve, as Canadian capitalism's first line of defense in the periodic economic crises.

The social condition of the immigrant, and his economic role of providing cheap labour received its legitimization in the ideological realm in the theory of "Canada-English and indivisible". The immigrant was un-Canadian. This concept was rooted in the social consciousness of the Canadian population for generations. The immigrant worker, with few exceptions, internalized this definition of self. He did not expect the same economic and social opportunities. The ruling class could justify this abhorrent situation without tarnishing the myth of Canada the land of opportunity. Canada was the land of opportunity, but for Canadians, the immigrant was un-Canadian, in time he would become one... after one, two, three generations. The Canadianization of the immigrant had an elastic time schedule which depended on the rate of economic growth, that is, on how many immigrants could enter the mainstream of the labour force without altering the status quo. In times of crises, even the retention of an 'odd' name, when everything else was lost, could still be enough for Canadian capitalism to withhold the

all-important pedigree.

But as the ethnic communities grew in size, an indigenous ethnic capitalism emerged of not inconsequential economic power. Secondly, the post-war economic boom and the rapidly developing technology required a massive expansion in education. This meant that for the first time new lawyers of the Canadian population could receive the benefits of university training. The rise of an ethnic capitalist class and of an educated professional stratum altered the previous correlation of forces. To frustrate the ever growing ambitions of this socially significant sector by cultural discrimination (racism), was to invite serious social unrest. The Canadian ruling class was quick to learn the lessons of the American "hot summers" of the sixties. Equally important was the emergence of the "ethnic vote" as a political power. In a period of minority governments, the fortunes of the Conservatives, and especially the Liberals could be made by a shift of the "ethnic vote" in their direction. The Liberal Party, the least responsive to ethnic population has learned from its errors of the past and consequently Trudeau has spent far more time and effort courting the "ethnic vote" than any of the other previous Liberal Party leaders.

The Canadian ruling class could accede to the demands of the new ethnic elites without altering the socio-economic structure of Canadian society. The demands of the ethnic elite were not of the sort that would alter significantly any aspect of Canadian life. The new elite did not demand an end to the intense exploitation of immigrant labour but merely that every Canadian, irrespective of ethnic origin, be given equal opportunity to become an exploiter. In order for this to be seen as the normal course of events, the legitimization of

identity means the ruling class wishes everyone irrespective of race, colour or creed, to be subject to the same "normal economic law" — the law of the market.

Of course this will take some time to effect — and it is doubtful if the present social order is capable of this task. But the Prime Minister's statement proclaiming Canada multicultural is the signalling of the end of old-fashioned British colonial racism, of the theory of the superiority of British stock. The Canadian ruling class is trying to shed itself of its regal ideological past, and has decided to be guided by economic calculation. Of course "old British stock" will continue to dominate, but every effort will be made to remove traces of its racist ideology which has now become such a serious liability to that domination.

The Prime Minister has legitimized ethnic identity. He has not proposed a serious programme for social, cultural, linguistic, economic development of Canada's cultural minorities, nor does he have any intention of doing so. His statement is to be seen as Canadian capitalism's ideological concession to the merging ethnic elites.

In all of this, the real predicament of the ethnic population has remained unchanged. The socio-economic-cultural deprivation of this sector continues unchallenged. These issues were not on the political agenda of the ethnic elites as it was not in their class interest to raise them. The ethnic elites did of course on occasion use some "leftist" rhetoric against the ruling class. This was necessary in order to stir the home base to gain a power-base in negotiating with governments and to inform the ruling class

of the potential threat if concessions were not made. The bulk of the ethnic population was duped and manipulated in a political trade-off with the ruling class. The tactic of "we will keep the natives quiet if you deliver the goods" has unfortunately been the main one used by the ethnic elites in their dealings with the dominant interests.

For the socially concerned members of the ethnic communities, the political trade-off game represents a complete sell-out of the real interests of the ethnic communities. The situation will only be corrected by breaking the hegemony of representation currently enjoyed by the ethnic elite. This can only be done by a new ethnic political force.

The alternative leadership will, for the time being, have to be developed from the ethnic youth sector. The real needs of the ethnic population —

a substantial improvement in living standards, equal wages, end to discriminatory practices in housing, working conditions, education and unequivocal manner. The first step

is to explain to the mass of the ethnic population, the limited gains that have been made, and to fight the ethnic elite taking its lion's share of the limited services and facilities made available by recent

legislation. This ought to be the starting point of a concerted effort to raise politically the demands of the mass of Canada's ethnic population. In other words, the time has come to introduce class politics into community affairs.

k.h.

Message from the President (No. 20, October 1972)

About two years ago the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism tabled its fourth book entitled "The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups." Like the books before it, the Fourth Volume, declared Canada to be a bilingual and bicultural country.

On October 8th, 1972, Prime Minister Trudeau tabled a policy statement in the House of Commons which, unlike the Fourth Volume, declared Canada to be a multicultural country "within a bilingual framework." The change from biculturalism to multiculturalism was not merely an afterthought, nor did it come out of a vacuum, but was the result of hard work on the part of various ethnic groups.

The difference between the two positions was that one recognized Ukrainian-Canadians as a community and the other did not. It is the all-important question of the destiny of our community to which I want to address this message.

The full thrust of defining Canada as bicultural was to challenge our definition of ourselves as a community. Whereas as an individual Ukrainian in Canada may fit into an "English speaking and French speaking country", the Ukrainian community certainly does not. Quite obviously, the Ukrainian community does not fit into the English speaking or French speaking Canada, and therefore belongs to neither. Therefore, either Canada is not basically English and French speaking or we are not a community.

What then does it mean to say that we are a community?

The word "community" may be used loosely to identify a number of individuals in a society who share a common interest. Thus for example you have a community of poor people. It is at least of passing interest to us that whereas the link in our community is a positive one, (i.e. an advantageous one for the individual,) the precise opposite is the case with many other uses of the word in this wide sense (i.e. a poor person does not want to have the negative link of being poor.) It would be trite to add that a geographical base is not essential to the term. Clearly when we say we are a community we mean more than that we share a common interest.

Unlike voluntary associations or other groupings in our society, our community has various institutions and represents a number of social processes. Within our community we find various archives, museums, and cultural centers, as well as a child socialization process, a social welfare process, and an educational process, etc.

If we remember that our community has a cultural base, and if we remember that ours is a social unit which encompasses both institutions and social processes, then it is easy to understand why biculturalism was so repulsive to our people.

Given that our community has institutions and processes, what purpose do they serve? It is my contention that these institutions etc., serve to help people maintain and develop their "Ukrainianism". Ideally, our community over time will achieve institutional completeness, it will have all the elements necessary to bring a child up to be Ukrainian, or to help anyone who wishes to enter the community. Institutional completeness implies self perpetuity, and coordination of the institutions that exist to fulfill the goal to which the institutions are directed.

While institutional completeness implies cultural institutions that are uniquely Ukrainian, it does not imply isolation from the overall society. In order to achieve institutional completeness, we will have to share certain institutions with the outside society, for example, Ukrainian classes in the public school system. Finally, there will always be many things that affect us as citizens in the overall society which will have nothing to do with our cultural life and therefore nothing to do with the cultural community.



We have said that these institutions etc., help people maintain and develop their Ukrainianism, but what is this Ukrainianism we are developing? To this question I feel I can only give a partial answer, but one that can be practically applied.

Ukrainianism is not citizenship — except perhaps in Ukraine. Culture is not something genetic; it is something passed on through generations and it is always changing as it develops. Therefore, I am not born a Ukrainian, though I was born a Canadian. My Ukrainianism is inherited from my parents and the community. That Ukrainianism is ever-changing.

At this stage in our development, to be Ukrainian largely means to have a shared history and a perceived common fate. This means that Ukrainians in Canada are the same as Ukrainians in Ukraine in extent. We perceive extinction as a common fate. Yet Ukrainians in Canada are completely different from Ukrainians in Ukraine in the sense that we have experienced an immigration and they the repression of the Soviet State. What I am about to say about building a sense of community will also apply to building a sense of nationhood and therefore can involve Ukrainians in Ukraine.

To be Ukrainian today also means to feel a sense of concern and responsibility — in one word — a sense of communion — with other people who define themselves as Ukrainian. Finally, what is most important is that a person can feel more and more Ukrainian by making Ukrainian activities and experiences a large part of his life.

We can now begin to understand what the process of our development entails. It is through the sharing of activities and experiences that people begin feeling a sense of communion with others. It is through that feeling of communion that people begin to define themselves as a community. It is through the community that they relate to activities and experiences in the past, i.e. history, and it is as a community that they begin to perceive a shared common fate.

This type of analysis provides the individual with an understanding framework with which to approach the community. Firstly, as a student in a city like Regina for example I begin to understand my role in terms of a local community, the national Ukrainian community and the nation as a whole. As either an individual, or working through the local students club I see myself as an integral part of the community. Feeling a sense of concern or responsibility for the community whether on a local or national level, I look to see what needs are not being met by the institutions that exist. Is there a *ridna shkola*? Are there courses of *Ukrainosnavstvo*? Are there Ukrainian language and context courses in the public school system? In the High Schools? At the University? Of what quality are they? Is there a communication network in my local community? Are there newsletters? Are there radio programs? Are there T.V. programs? Of what quality are they? Are there social welfare services provided for in my local community? Are there day care centers? Are there Homes for parentless children? Are there legal aid panels for the Ukrainian community? Are there medical clinics? Are there old folks homes? Is there leadership in the community? Is the Ukrainian Canada Committee leading the community in filling these needs? Are there youth organizations in the community that help to instill a sense of Ukrainianism in children? etc.

On a national basis, the same types of questions can be asked. For it is only through the satisfactory workings of these types of institutions that a sense of true communion can be built. Without that sense of communion, the existence of a Ukrainian community is in peril.

Andrii Semotluk

TOWARDS A POLITICAL SOCIOLOG

The last decade or so has witnessed the proliferation of the "multi-culturalism" movement on the Canadian political forum. This movement received its first coherent expression in a maiden speech to the Senate (in 1963) by a newly-appointed member, Dr. Paul Zuyk. In it he argued that it was time for all Canadians to acknowledge the contribution made by the various minority ethnic groups (who, 1961 Census figures indicate, constitute 26% of the total Canadian population according to the criterion of "ethnic origin") to the social, economic and political development of Canadian society and to search for ways of ensuring the survival and development of these communities, their languages, traditions, folkways, etc., within and in adaptation to the overall Canadian "milieu". Having articulated a historically based justification for the recognition of these cultural minorities, Senator Zuyk paved the way for further debates on this issue. Dialogue began within and among the leading circles of these communities and culminated in Thinkers' Conferences and Conferences of Christians and Jews. Such events constituted landmarks for increasingly frequent attempts to define a doctrine, based on an analysis of Canadian history through the perspective of ethnic groups and on the assumption of some humanistic value intrinsic to cultural diversity, which would provide a system of action-related ideas designed to improve the "receptiveness" of the total social system to a growing cultural pluralism. In 1965, Pearson's government came out with the terms of reference for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which evoked a reaction from some of the spokesmen for these minority groups. They claimed that the framework provided for the Commission was too limited and biased in its analysis of the minority ethnic groups, their historical and structural evolution, etc. The contention was that viewing Canada through the perspective of bilingualism and biculturalism ignored the multilingual, multicultural reality of Canadian society and relegated the members of its minority groups to a "second-class" position. (2) The movement gained further impetus with the publication of the fourth volume of the Commission's report (dealing with the "cultural contribution" made by the other ethnic groups) which was purported to have adhered closely to the bias inherent in its terms of reference. This view was especially significant in so far as Commissioner J.B. Rudnycky had still criticized the Commissions' terms of reference as far back as 1967. He had deviated from the main line and published in a separate statement certain steps to be taken towards the preservation and development of the Canadian "mosaic" which were to clash seriously in principle with the recommendations made by the Commission, two years later, in the fourth volume of its report (3). Lobbying began in earnest with the government (the lead taken by the Ukrainian-Canadian group) on both the federal and provincial levels, criticizing the narrowness of the Commission's work and demanding a broader, firmer commitment from the public sector in dealing with this matter. Bohdan Krawchenko (4) and, later, Andrew Semotuk (5), both active leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, were among the first to set down on paper a comprehensive, historically-oriented critique of the Commission's work, the general outline of a programme for the development of cultural pluralism, and an analysis of the role of government, the education system, and the communications media in this process. In response to this growing concern, the provincial governments of Manitoba, Alberta and Ontario, in conjunction with the Citizenship Branch, Dept. of the

Secretary of State, organized conferences and invited representatives of the various cultural minorities to participate in the formulation of concrete policy proposals in this direction. In October of 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau pronounced, first in the House and, the following evening, at the tenth tri-annual Ukrainian-Canadian Congress in Winnipeg, Canada a multicultural nation within a bilingual framework. Despite the seeming responsiveness of the provincial and federal governments, their efforts (with perhaps the exception of Alberta) were written off as mere pacifying, token gestures by some of the more vociferous elements of these minorities (this is especially so with the Ukrainian-Canadian groups). During the summer of 1972, a number of Ukrainian-Canadian students launched an action campaign which centered around circulating a petition, throughout the province of Saskatchewan, among Canadians of non-Anglo Saxon origin. This petition protested the federal government's commitment to its "multicultural" policy both in terms of the parameters of the policy and on the level of policy implementation. Initiative was taken by these students to gain the consensus of all minority ethnic groups in the province for their action. Nevertheless, their hopes far exceeded the actual, final outcome. Their lack of success can be rationalized by more immediate exigencies such as organizational problems, lack of resources, inability to pursue the action to its conclusion because of the incidence of other responsibilities, e.g. students resuming their studies in the fall, etc. However, the failure of this action should be viewed in a larger context, i.e. in terms of the total movement's inability to generate a broad basis of support among all segments of the minority ethnic groups. A detailed historical record of the movement would be replete with examples of actions, such as the above one, enthusiastically undertaken but abandoned half-way through.

It is hoped that the following discussion, focusing on the Ukrainian-Canadian groups as a model for analysis, will reveal certain plausible explanations for the movement's incapacity to generate more widespread support within the group by relating this problem to the political nature of the movement and the sociological characteristics of its participants.

The doctrine of multiculturalism generally rests on the proposition that the existence of minority ethnic groups with their respective modes of community life (educational institutions, churches, organizations, etc.) should not be considered transient phenomena, vestiges of immigrant groups not yet fully adjusted to the Canadian way of life. Instead, they should be regarded as integral, viable cultural entities that have struggled to maintain their distinct identities while adapting to the over-all "milieu" and contributing to Canadian social development. The obverse of this is that the doctrine rejects the traditional association of "Canadianism" with "Anglo-Saxonism", contending instead that to be of Ukrainian descent does not necessarily render one a foreigner, but that one is "the Canadian". The basis of this contention is the fact that membership in these groups is for the most part Canadian born. The Ukrainian-Canadian community, which ranks among the highest of all the cultural minorities in terms of the percentage of its total membership born in Canada, figures in the 80% bracket (this does not include the Greeks and Italians, most of whom immigrated to Canada within the last decade). It is the prevalence of the polarized ideas which implies the equation between being Canadian and speaking English (which, it must be conceded, is still rooted firmly in the

collective sentiments of English Canada, although some are more willing to make allowances for the French language) that, multiculturalism argues, has been responsible for the creation of an environment largely unresponsive to the existence of these minority groups as integrated yet culturally distinct social entities, and, subsequently, for their gradual disintegration. Thus, having established a historically-based legitimation of cultural diversity as a Canadian reality and, moreover, pointing to its intrinsic human value in terms of its capability to counteract the dehumanizing, atomizing forces of a technologically advanced, mass society, the exponents of multiculturalism can therefore proceed to refute any justification of Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony. The government, if it is to represent truly all of the various Canadian peoples, must reconsider its current position and examine how to best safeguard the continued existence and development of these minority, hyphenated Canadian cultures. Concrete proposals made by spokesmen for the movement were typically the following: introduction of minority languages in the education system as languages of instruction; use of minority languages in CBC broadcasting, NFB film production, and private and public radio-programming; and financial government support (in the form of public advertising) of the "ethnic press".

As can be readily seen, the main focal point and rallying symbol of the doctrine has been the question of minority languages. The Royal Commission itself argued that "language is the key to culture; without the language the culture cannot survive." (6) By placing the emphasis on language, the movement's leaders could, therefore, justify their criticism of the Royal Commission on the grounds that the latter, while recognizing the intrinsic connection between language and culture, contradicted itself by not taking up the language issue seriously enough. Hence, the Commission could not adequately fulfill its task of taking steps to "safeguard the cultural contribution made by the other ethnic groups." (7) It is precisely for this reason that Commissioner J.B. Rudnycky bypassed the Commission's terms of reference and published, in a separate appendix, recommendations dealing with the possibility of institutionalizing minority language use on the provincial level of government.

Other recommendations made by the exponents of multiculturalism include typically the following: government funding of projects oriented towards the development of minority ethnic community structures, public subsidizing of "ethnic" organizations and their activities, public aid in the establishment of a university to specialize in minority languages and related cultural studies. In general, therefore, the doctrine demands that the society's resources be distributed equitably among all cultural groups so that none flourish at the expense of the others.

The obverse of this whole issue is, of course, the question of to what extent is an individual's ethnic origin capable of affecting (either enhancing or impairing) his or her opportunities for free mobility within the overall social, economic, and political structures of society. The exponents of multiculturalism frequently point to the existence of a subjective problem of marginality which often confronts the child of an immigrant. They claim the prevalence of discriminatory attitudes on the part of the dominant Anglo-Canadian group against those of minority ethnic group origin, often forcing them to choose between two alternatives perceived to be mutually conflicting with each other: either the renunciation of one's heritage so as to facilitate a higher degree of mobility or the conscious retention and cultivation of one's cultural distinctiveness at

the expense of a lower rate of social mobility. (8) How does the doctrine propose that this inequity be alleviated? Firstly, the government must undertake to legitimate cultural pluralism by sensitizing all Canadians to the fact and value of its existence as an integral part of the Canadian social reality. A very important step in this direction would be the liquidation of all publications (including school texts) which deal with cultural minorities in a "discriminatory" (derogatory) fashion and the replacement by historically "more accurate" publications. Such a program if undertaken by the government (on both levels, each in accordance with its area of jurisdiction) would be to no avail, however, unless it fulfills its responsibility of aiding in the development of all minority ethnic groups and their modes of community life. Thus multiculturalism appears to be a conscious rebellion by certain cultural minorities against the forces of assimilation operative in the Canadian social system. The alternative it proposes is one of integrating these minorities into the over-all political, economic, and social spheres of societal life — i.e., those aspects of societal life which pertain to all individuals regardless of their ethnic group affiliation, — thus minimizing the importance of ethnicity in determining opportunities for climbing up the social heap, while simultaneously enhancing the continuation and development of their traditions, languages, cultural activities, community structures, etc. (9)

The most crucial point recognized by the movement's exponents is the fact that ethnicity plays an important role in determining the individual's chances for mobility within the social system. Yet, their analysis develops this aspect of the issue no further. The inevitable result was a fundamental misconception on their part when, arguing that the German, Ukrainian, or Indian can move freely within the system (depending of course on the extent of his personal abilities and aspirations) so long as he is willing to deny his cultural distinctiveness, they assume implicitly that the choice (albeit an unfair one) is entirely and wholly the individual's. To put the problem in more general terms, their analysis attributes the existence of minority ethnic groups and their respective community structures solely to some abstract "collective desire to maintain a distinct cultural identity." Such a voluntaristic conception fails to consider the significance of other concrete factors and social process which, taken in their interaction with each other and with the "collective desire" variable, all together help to explain the phenomenon of cultural pluralism. It is an analysis of some of the other factors to which we presently turn.

Firstly, immigrants, upon arrival to Canada (a substantial proportion of whom experienced no previous contact with either of the two official Canadian languages) were faced with the initial problem of linguistic and cultural isolation. This, combined with the psychic need to continue their modes of community life, to further adhere to their religious and cultural institutions, organizations, and communication in their mother tongue, drove them to settle in linguistically fairly homogeneous "ethnic enclaves" so as to reduce the exigencies of "cultural shock" and simultaneously to maintain their dislocated way of life. Of course, the degree of cohesion within the "ethnic" community and of its resistance to forces of assimilation is determined by factors such as degree of social class differentiation, variation in political orientations, life-styles and attitudes conditioned by the place of emigration, degree of geographic concentration, length of stay in the host-society, frequency of interaction with other ethnic groups (again to be affected by, and

reciprocally affecting, differences in social class, language, cultural behaviour patterns, inter-group attitudes, etc.)

Of paramount importance in explaining the existence of cultural pluralism in Canada is the relationship between social class and ethnicity. Porter's analysis of the topmost economic, political, bureaucratic and communication elites in Canada reveals them to be almost exclusively of White Anglo Saxon Protestant origin. (10) As well, Merrijoy Kelner completed a study of the various local elites in Toronto based on the theoretical framework developed by E. Digby Baltzell. (11) She found that, although the minority ethnic groups were beginning to permeate the strategic (e.g., corporate, labour, bureaucratic, communications and academic) elites, they were in fact meeting "closed doors" at the highest levels of the social hierarchy — membership in the most prestigious clubs, cliques and associations was still exclusively Anglo-Saxon. (12) Even the Royal Commission hinted at the "marked under-representation of the minority ethnic groups" in the upper levels of the socio-economic scale. (13)

Thus, it is only in the context of the historical development of the relationship between social class and ethnicity that one can comprehend the fact of Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony. The Anglo-Saxon group, having entrenched itself securely in positions of social



control ever since Montcalm's defeat by Wolfe, was able to legitimate the channelling of the society's resources towards, firstly, the institutionalization of its language (as a national language) and secondly, the maintenance and development of, and adaptation to, its cultural behaviour patterns. One need only examine the history of Canadian immigration policy and certain realms of Canadian literature to find ample evidence of the doctrine of "Anglo-Saxon superiority" in practice. (14) Despite the fact that legal and political institutionalization of prejudice towards immigrants and their offspring has today virtually disappeared, (15) the Anglo-Canadian group still dominates the higher economic, social and political strata of society. Consequently, there is little wonder that Canadian-born members of these minority groups (especially the more aspiring ones) assumed the preponderance of the "ideal of Anglo-Saxon conformity". Who, thinking that adopting the dominant cultural patterns of the host-society would be a necessary, but the sole prerequisite for unrestricted movement up the social ladder.

In order to develop our argument a little further, it is necessary to make the distinction, as does Milton Gordon, between cultural and structural assimilation. (16) The former refers to the process of "absorption of the (dominant) cultural behaviour patterns of the host-society." (17) The latter, on the

LOGY OF MULTICULTURALISM

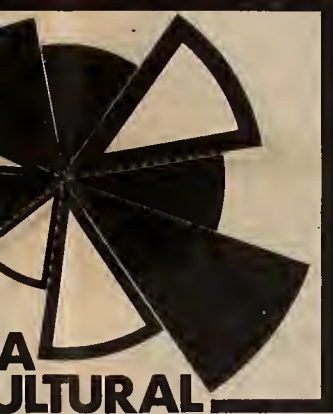
(No. 23, May 1973)

by Mirko Kowalsky

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other hand, signifies the process of permeation of the society's elite structures by the minority ethnic groups. While there has been, in Canada, a strong tendency towards cultural assimilation of the immigrants' descendants, this has not been met with a corresponding rate of structural assimilation. The second or third generation Ukrainian-, Polish-, or German-Canadian, while having been socialized (outside the family and network of primary relationships provided by his ethnic group), through the public education system, mass media, and even through a part of his peer group relations, to adopt the conventions, life-style, beliefs and attitudes exemplified throughout middle-class English Canada, has frequently met with considerable resistance (in some cases insurmountable) on his way up the 'social heap' (this is especially so with respect to the social status hierarchy as M. Kelner has demonstrated). The unsuccessful ones would, in many cases, attempt to alleviate their sense of failure and frustration by returning to their respective ethnic groups and by striving to attain positions of prestige and influence each within his group's community organizations, social structure, etc. More generally, containment of the aspiring "non-Anglo-Canadian" to the periphery of the society's elite structures has, to some extent, counteracted certain (culturally)

values of private enterprise, individualism and achievement. Indeed, the doctrine indirectly works to enhance the viability of the latter two; if cultural pluralism is sufficiently legitimated then each individual's opportunities for social mobility would be determined no longer by certain ascribed characteristics (in this case ethnicity) but by his abilities and achievements. The doctrine's pluralistic orientation is demonstrated by its appeal to the state to respond to the interests and needs of a certain type of social grouping (ethnic groups) coupled with its contention that cultural pluralism has definite humanistic value in terms of its capacity to counteract the dehumanizing, atomizing consequences of modernization, i.e. industrialization and urbanization. The political strategy of the movement moreover, clearly demonstrates its reformist, liberal-pluralistic nature by its affinity for pressure group politics, e.g. lobbying with M.P.'s (and M.L.A.'s) and top-level public service officials, utilization of the mass communications media to generate public support, etc. In general, the strategy reveals a sort of built-in aversion to extra-legal, subversive activity and a willingness to search for a solution within the legitimate boundaries of the present political system. The nature of the movement's strategy is certainly understandable in light of the doctrine's failure to develop a more comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the social class structure and ethnicity and of the consequences of this relationship for any kind of political activity. Quebec, where class, ethnic, religious, and geographical cleavages coincide more sharply than anywhere else in Canada, has witnessed a growing awareness on the part of the French-Canadian people — especially the new middle class and the intelligentsia — of their predicament and a corresponding drive to seek more radical alternatives (as is witnessed by the more militant trade-union movement, student groups, and the FLQ, by the nationalistic-separatist Parti Quebecois, and even by the more intransigent academic profession). Why is it then that the exponents of multiculturalism have failed to recognize and develop the potentially more radical implications of their discontent?



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assimilative forces and strengthened the basis for social structures and behaviour patterns differentiated along ethnic group lines. Thus, it has been demonstrated that the advent of the "multiculturalism" movement must not be viewed simply as the outgrowth of the conflict between "the collective desire to exist as a distinct cultural entity" and the forces of assimilation generated by the "ideal of Anglo-Saxon conformity." Instead, the movement should be comprehended as the outcome of reciprocal determination and interaction between the aforementioned conflict and the society's inability to structurally assimilate (in pace with the rate of cultural homogenization) all of its minority ethnic groups (as expressed by precisely the insufficiency of the "ideal of Anglo-Saxon conformity" as a viable alternative). What therefore can be said of the doctrine of multiculturalism as a whole? Firstly, the doctrine is not an ideology (in the full, Marxian sense of the term) since it does not seek to alter the structural foundations of the total social system but merely attempts to introduce reform within one particular dimension of the society's existence — treatment of its cultural minorities. It accepts the basic values engendered by a modern social system based on the capitalist mode of economic activity (with some state intervention), i.e.

A study of the movement's participants reveals some interesting possibilities for explaining why the doctrine and strategy of multiculturalism assumed the form in which they presently appear. I shall limit this discussion strictly to the Ukrainian-Canadian group for two reasons: a) I am more qualified to speak about this group than any other; b) this group has been far more instrumental than any other in the promotion of this movement. It is probable however that some of the arguments advanced below can be applied wherever relevant to other minority ethnic groups as well. Firstly, upwardly mobile, middle-class aspiring Ukrainian Canadians have shown a greater interest in the movement than lower class, non-noble Ukrainian-Canadians (here class situation could be assessed in terms of level of income, level of education, and ranking on the occupational scale employed by B. Blishen (8).) Secondly, Urban-situated Ukrainian-Canadians are by far over-represented in the movement's ranks while those situated in rural areas have demonstrated, proportionately speaking, a low level of interest. The ratio of first- or second-generation to third or fourth generation Ukrainian-Canadians involved in the movement is much greater than the same ratio for all Ukrainian-Canadians across the country. Thus participation seems to be predominantly constituted by upwardly mobile, middle-class

aspiring, urban, first- or second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians. Moreover, despite the fact that nearly 75% of all Ukrainian-Canadians are situated in the West (especially the prairie provinces), the ratios of urban-situated/rural-situated and first- and second-generation/third- and fourth-generation Ukrainian-Canadians, being considerably greater for the East than for West, help to explain why the former (Ontario and Quebec) has been able to generate just as much, if not more, support for the movement as the latter. This is especially so since well-over sixty thousand Ukrainians presently reside in Toronto, constituting the largest (next to Winnipeg) and most highly-organized concentrations of Ukrainian-Canadians in all of the nation.

Pre-war Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were predominantly agrarian with relatively limited formal education, and had immigrated for purely economic reasons. (19) Few of them had developed a nationalistic political orientation; as a matter of fact many did not even consider themselves Ukrainians but, instead, identified themselves by names of provinces in the Ukraine, where they had lived prior to emigration (e.g. Bukovinians, Galicians, etc.), until they came into contact with the ideas and organizational drive of the later immigrants. (20) They tended to settle in the prairie provinces; (21) the language had atrophied considerably among the off-spring who, with the increasing modernization of Canadian society, began to migrate to urban centres, causing the ethnic enclaves of their forefathers to erode. What was left of these tiny, isolated, rural community structures was still held together by the Ukrainian Church (either Catholic or Orthodox). As it turned out however, the Catholic Church (unlike its counterpart) sometimes appeared more concerned with maintaining the people's religious faith even if it meant, in many cases, the loss of their cultural identity. It is not surprising, therefore, that these "Ukrainian-Canadians" were unable to find much in common with the more intensely nationalistic, highly-educated, urban-based post-war emigré. Despite the efforts of the movement's leaders to mobilize their support, the gains were almost negligible.

The inter-war wave was a little different. A larger proportion of these immigrants was more highly educated and had left the Ukraine for political reasons. Reacting to the Bolshevik annexation of the short-lived Ukrainian People's Republic in 1919, (22) they were more interested in maintaining some form of Ukrainian community life here in Canada and established a Ukrainian press, schools and organizations. Although most of them settled in urban centres in Central and Western Canada, (23) they attempted to extend their work into the rural areas as well. However, their offspring have undergone a considerable degree of language loss and cultural assimilation. With all the above in mind, it is easy to see why there were initially so few third or fourth-generation Ukrainian-Canadians involved in the movement, although recently their participation has increased somewhat.

It is the post-war Ukrainian emigré that has had the greatest vested interest in the multiculturalism movement. On the average more highly educated, (24) more intensely nationalistic, feeling the impending threat of extinction of the Ukrainian nationality, they inculcated into their children more deeply than any of the previous waves of immigration a sense of responsibility for maintaining the Ukrainian national heritage and for working towards the "liberation" of the Ukraine from "Russian oppression." (25) Political differences with previous waves of immigration coupled with the fact that the post-war emigré tended to settle in the

urban centres of Eastern Canada (e.g. Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, Windsor, etc.) (26) engendered the East-West cleavage within the Ukrainian-Canadian community and, subsequently, hampered the development of a unified, nationwide basis of support for the movement.

As was mentioned previously, one of the main focal points of the movement has been the question of minority languages and their role in the Canadian social system. It is highly probable that the language issue would have more appeal as a rallying symbol to the middle-class than to the lower class since those belonging to the former (e.g. doctors, lawyers, teachers, politicians, engineers and business entrepreneurs, etc.) are more sensitive to the use of the language medium in their every-day work-lives. Similarly, "culture" can be argued to be the prerogative of the middle-class since it obtains both the economic means and the leisure time well suited to more esthetic pursuits. For these reasons, the movement has been much less representative of the industrial and agrarian working-classes (their needs and interests) within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Moreover, the doctrine's pre-occupation with questions of language and culture has captured the attention of the post-war emigré and their descendants. And, considering the differences in social, cultural values and political orientation among the various waves of immigration (as depicted above), this helps to explain why many adherents have not been gained from among the descendants of pre- and inter-war immigrants.

Thus, lack of sufficient input from all significant segments of the Ukrainian-Canadian group has led to the doctrine's failure to take adequate account of the real divisions within the community constituted by social-class, rural-urban, East-West differences (conditioned by cleavages characteristic of Canadian society) and differences in values, levels of education, and political orientation among the various waves of immigration and their descendants. The result had to be a misnomer in the application of the term "community" or "cultural group" to the Ukrainian-Canadian group. If one uses either of these two terms to signify a substantial degree of collective consciousness then, in the context of this group, the development of such a collective consciousness or group cohesiveness has obviously been severely hampered. Yet, using these terms indiscriminately, the leaders of the movement could not help but impose their definition of "Ukrainian-Canadian" on everybody who has a Ukrainian surname or whose pedigree reveals a grandmother or grandfather of Ukrainian descent. This has led them to the further mishap of identifying their interests with those of all other Ukrainian-Canadians; and, they frequently argue, if the fourth-generation, rural-situated Ukrainian-Canadian's interests aren't the same, it is because he has been oppressed to the extent of total alienation from his cultural identity.

In summing, therefore, multiculturalism is a movement, liberal-pluralistic and reformist in its political orientation, and mainly representative of the interests of middle-class aspiring, urban-situated, first and second generation Ukrainian-Canadians. Motivations for participation vary with each individual. Many see in the movement a means of satisfying their social needs; in this case multiculturalism becomes the "in-thing" to do and involvement in the movement a standard of group conformity. The consequence of the legitimization of multiculturalism within the middle-class strata of the community is that a number of upwardly mobile third- or fourth-generation Ukrainian-Canadians (students and professionals) who have come into more frequent

contact with more active, vociferous, first and second generation members of the group have recently been drawn into the movement's ranks. Others see multiculturalism as a vehicle of perpetuating their positions of control and high social esteem within the group's organizational and social structures. Still others use it as a spring-board for fulfilling their political ambitions. In general, however, the movement sprang from the need of Canadian-born "marginal men" to reconcile social pressure applied to them through the family, the ethnic schools, church organizations, etc., to continue "developing their cultural heritage" with their aspirations in the "Anglo-Canadian world" by legitimating the former in the eyes of the latter. Multiculturalism, therefore — this point is worth emphasizing again —, should be understood not only as a projection of the "collective desire to exist as a distinct cultural identity." Instead, it should be viewed also, and more importantly, as a reaction against the social systems inability to (structurally) assimilate rapidly enough the growing number of middle-class aspiring, urban-situated members of the minority ethnic groups. By legitimating ethnic distinctiveness, the movement seeks to expand the structural base of society and open up channels of mobility so as to facilitate freer movement by all minority groups within the social system. A valuable empirical indication of this would be the doctrine's clamouring for typically the following: a) the creation of new government agencies and departments (on both the provincial and federal levels) and devise programmes for responding to these needs; b) the opening up of the mass media (especially publicly owned radio and television networks) to include broadcasting in other languages; c) the establishment of a university which would specialize in minority language and related cultural studies; d) the use of other languages as languages of instruction in the education system, etc. The fulfilment of all these demands would necessarily result in the expansion of the high "white-collar" occupational structure, positions in which would be manned by members of the ethnic minorities.

It is the doctrine's failure to relate to the interests of the industrial and agrarian working classes within the minority ethnic groups that has resulted in their lack of participation in the movement. Perhaps, only by emphasizing the role of ethnicity in determining structured social inequality could the movement hope to extend the basis of its support to include the lower social classes. To give a more immediate example, a Ukrainian-Canadian wage-labourer concerned with obtaining a wage raise or with becoming a member of a trade-union elite would not be worried about either his command of the Ukrainian language or the level of his "self-awareness" as a Ukrainian-Canadian. On the other hand, if one were to convince him that his chances of achieving those goals are limited by his cultural origins, then his interest may be aroused. Such a strategy, naturally, has revolutionary implications in that it calls into question the structural foundations of the entire society; for, it is highly improbable that the movement could succeed (in terms of its manifest goals) within the legitimate boundaries of the present political system. As long as the Anglo-Canadian group remains in firm economic, social and political control the other groups cannot hope to develop a sufficient structural basis of power so as to effect meaningful input into the decision-making process governing the allocation of resources for cultural growth.

(POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY continued on page 27)

АКЦІЯ ПРОТИ "СВС"

(No. 23, May 1973)

В неділю, 25-го березня 1973 р., Андрій Семюк і Денно Садовий, члени національної екзекутиви СУ-СК-у, вступили на телевізійній станції "СІТУ" (канал no. 79) і посяли акцію проти "СВС", яка звертається до податкоплатників з проханням, щоби вони здержалися з плаченням частини федерального податку доти, доки "СВС" не змінить свою дискримінаційну політику відносно передач неофіційними мовами. Хоч цю програму показували о годині 11.30 ввечером, все так хтось від "СВС" потелефонував до станції з поясненням, що "СВС" впровадила "багатокультурні" в роді чужомовних фільмів, які появляються в неділю вранці.

В понеділок, 26-го березня, СУСК скликав пресову конференцію, на якій оголосив свою кампанію проти "СВС". Репортери зі "СВС" і "СТВ" зфільмували інтерв'ю з Андрієм Семюком, який мав би повстати на телевізії. Були і репортери з різних радіостанцій та газет. Хоч преса і радіо на заході відгукнулися на цю пресову конференцію, нічого не появилось і на "СВС", ні на "СТВ".

У вівторок, 27-го березня, д-р Ярослав Кальба, директор КУК-у у Вінніпезі, мав цілу серію телефонічних розмов "СВС" і "СТВ", бо вони просили пояснення акції проти "СВС". Саме тоді "СВС" вислав д-рові Кальбі примірник, який подав пояснення щодо їхньої мовної політики. Було домовлено, що зустріч потрібна між "УК-ом" і репрезентантами "СВС".

Наступного тижня виявилось, що окрім франкомовної радіостанції "СКВБ" в Сейнт-Бонафіс, Манітобі, "СВС" перебрала інші радіостанції в Редажні і в Саскатуні, та наказала, щоби всі радіопередачі цих станцій неофіційними мовами були скасовані.

В суботу, 7-го квітня, СУСК оголосив, що у Вінніпезі на студентських зборах більше ніж сто студентів висловили свою прихильність акції проти "СВС", і Андрій Семюк виступив з промовою критикуючи мовну політику "СВС". Нотатки були роздані місцевим радіостанціям, які були прихильно прийняті.

КУК недавно що вислав до "СВС" агенду, пропонувану на згадану зустріч, яка має відбуватися за кілька тижнів. Тим часом СУСК склав оголошення, яке вислано до "СВС" в Торонті, з такою пропозицією: що оголошення має повстися на радіо "СВЛ" (AM) 740 три рази на день в протязі одного тижня, і що СУСК готовий заплатити за кожне оголошення. Покищо не було відповідей.

"СВС" — КОМУНІКАЦІЯ ЧИ ДИСКРИМІНАЦІЯ?

Дня 8-го жовтня 1971 р. прем'єр Трудо формально заявив, що Канада — багатокультурна країна, і представив в парламенті цілу серію програм і дороговказів для імплементації цієї політики. Ми хотіли б висловити декілька заваг про ту частину цього програми, яка відноситься до "СВС" і "СРТС", де він говорить про їх "визнання" багатокультурного характеру Канади.

Ця нова політика склалася як відповідь федерального уряду на рекомендації в четвертому томі звіту Комісії Двомовності і Двокультурності. В ній знаходимо такий дивний уривок:

РЕКОМЕНДАЦІЯ ЧИСЛО 9

Ми рекомендуємо, щоби "СВС" визнавала місце інших мов окрім англійської та французької в канадійському житті, і щоби "СВС" скасувала свою заборону вживати других мов у своїх передачах.

ВІДПОВІДЬ

"СВС" не погодилася ні з духом, ні з наміром цієї рекомендації. Питання передачі не-офіційними мовами розглядатиметься тільки в межах обширного дослідничого проекту.

Прем'єр Трудо, Гансард, 8-го жовтня 1971 р., сторінка 8584.

ЗНАЧЕННЯ РЕКОМЕНДАЦІЇ ЧИСЛО 9

Щоби краще зрозуміти важливість дев'ятої рекомендації Комісії Б. & Б. перегляньмо повне значення оголошеної політики "багатокультурності". Ця політика — визнання культурного "плюралізму" Канади. Цією політикою уряд стверджує, що "не погоджується в ім'я єдності - пристосування жертувати ні одної з культур нашого населення...". Це значне рішення Федерального уряду має глибокі імплікації сьогодні й на майбутнє.

Через двомісяч роки Канада була під тиском і впливом американської масової культури, пропагандованої всесильною асиміляційною силою модерних засобів комунікації т. зв. "мідій". Географічні чинники ставили великі перешкоди все-канадійським зв'язкам, порозумінню і кооперації між канадійцями. Тим більше відчувалось брак порозуміння між різними етнічними групами до такої міри, що постала серйозна погроза всеканадійській єдності. Стало ясно, що тільки свідоме підтримування розвитку всіх канадійських культур може бути справжньою альтернативою до американського асиміляційного процесу. "Бага-

токультурність" буде протидіяти тій фрагментації та ізоляції одиниць і окремих груп в т. зв. "геттах".

Дев'ята рекомендація є важна тим, що вона вказує на і підкреслює головний спосіб, яким федеральний уряд може реалізувати концепт "багатокультурності". Закон радіських і телевізійних передач ясно говорить, що "СВС", як державна власність, є орган, що "має сприяти єдності Канади і постійно відзеркалювати канадійську ідентичність." Згідно з таким завданням і обов'язком, "СВС" не сміє вступати в конфлікт з багатокультурною політикою уряду.

ВІДПОВІДЬ НА РЕКОМЕНДАЦІЮ ЧИСЛО 9

Парламентарні закони самі не створюють порозуміння між всіма канадійцями щодо зrealизування ідеалу багатокультурності. Правильне розуміння цього процесу публікою потребує не тільки законів, але й активної праці й розповсюдження відповідних матеріалів. Тому, що більшість етнічних груп в Канаді не мають географічної бази, "СВС" повинна відігравати подвійну роль: бути органом міжкультурних зв'язків між всіма групами Канади, і бути органом, що в'яже одного члена даної етнічної групи з другим, і таким способом посилювати міжпровінційні зв'язки.

Можна було передбачити, що покликани царі "СВС", цього носія "канадійської єдності", ошланичі грішми податкоплатників, відмовляється від 9-ої рекомендації. Відмова лише підкреслила шовінізм, вузькоглядність і ксенофобію тих одиниць, які хочуть захищати Канаду від американізації, баланкізації, та від других погроз нашої ідентичності такою "канадійською" як програми "The six wives of Henry VIII", "Elizabeth R", "The Forsyth Saga" і так далі.

До певної міри "СВС" задовольнила деякі культурні та географічні потреби, даючи ескісам і тубільним населенням програми їхніми рідними мовами. Але замість того, щоби йти далше по цій дорозі, "СВС" оголосила, що передусім їй обходить дати всім цим канадійцям (1.3% населення Канади) програми в офіційних мовах. Кошт цього буде около 50 міль. доларів. Реальні потреби більшості цього відсотка нашого населення є передачі в їх рідних мовах.

Уже не зважаючи на приципі цієї справи, "СВС" не може виправдувати своє легковажання потреб етнічних груп жодними фінансовими аргументами. Берімо, наприклад, питання радіопередач "СВС" середими хвилями,

"AM". "СВС" має певні радіопередачі по хвилях "AM" розраховані на дуже малу кількість слухачів, в декотрих випадках лише на 500 осіб. Навіть під час найбільш популярних радіопередач "СВС" може розраховувати на публіку кількість на половину меншу, чим українське населення Канади. Одною з них українська радіопередача на тиждень, передає по мережах Онтаріо, Степових провінцій та Бритійської Колумбії, коштувала б 50 тисяч доларів на рік. Коли б "СВС" мала подібні радіопередачі всіма етнічними мовами, які федеральний уряд визнає, — цілий кошт був би менше двох міль. доларів на рік.

За ті гроші, що "СВС" витратила на "The White Oaks of Jalna" (6 міль. доларів) можна було б зорганізувати одногосподню, тижневу програму для кожної етнічної групи Канади на три роки. Іншими словами, щоби дати сімом мільйонам канадійських податкоплатників програми, що відповідалимуть їх мовним і культурним потребам, — це коштувало б менше 1% субсидій, що "СВС" отримує щороку від федерального парламенту.

Подібно виглядає питання телевізійних передач: самі надвншки, оголошені корпорцією "СВС" за минулий рік, покрили б кошт сто одногосподних програм з багатокультурним змістом.

ВІЧНЕ ПОКЛИКУВАННЯ НА ДАЛЬШІ ДОСЛІДИ

Теперішньою порою, "СВС" ховається за претекстом, що часок на вислди обширного дослідничого проекту, що виконує Міністерство державного секретаря; проект, який має нібито розділати "практичність" федеральної підтримки "не-офіційних" мов. Треба просто дивуватися грубошкурості "СВС". Коли діло йшло про рекомендації в першому томі звіту Комісії Двомовності й Двокультурності щодо поширення франкомовних передач, "СВС" скоро відгукнулася — впроваджені кількох років, "СВС" нарешті впровадила повну мережу французьких передач, які з'єднали всіх франкомовних канадійців. Однак виявляється, що рекомендації цієї самої комісії в 4-му томі звіту недостаточні і потребують дальшого дослідження.

Варто згадати, що та частина т. зв. "дослідничого проекту", яка аналізує перепис 1971 року вже повинна бути готова. "СВС" вже має дати про мовні потреби канадійців. Решта проекту відноситься до 5-ох головних міст Канади і зовсім не дотримує потреб сільських районів, в яких находиться якраз та велика си-

ла етнічного населення, що відчуває потребу багатокультурних передач.

Уже понад десять років тягнуться урядові й громадські конференції, переговори і збори, на яких етнічні групи висловлюють свої вимоги і бажання щодо "СВС". "СВС" вже давно повинна була почати дотримуватися згідно з державною концепцією "багатокультурності".

Чомусь приватні станції не потребують таких "дослідів": такі телевізійні станції в Торонті, як "Roger Cable T.V.", "CITY T.V.", радіва станція "CHIN" і багато інших радіо-висильних станцій по всій Канаді вже давно мають передачі не-англійської і не-французькою мовами. Але всі етнічні групи, що одержують ці програми, подвійно оподатковані: вони платять за приватні програми і підтримують "громадську" "СВС".

ЩИРЕ СПІВЧУТТЯ

Можливо, що ще більш справедливим являець у цієї справі є постава наших вивірених політичних представників. Всі політичні партії нашої "багатокультурної" країни, заохочуючи всіх "діяти своєю культурою з другими канадійцями і таким способом збагачувати життя всіх", тільки спромоглися до млявого вияву розчарування державною корпорцією. Підтримуючи бажання етнічних груп тільки перед виборами, "наші" "псевдо-демократичні" представники т о л е р у ю т ь скрити дискримінацію "СВС".

Цим політикам варто підкреслити, що мабуть скоро відбудуться нові вибори. Варто було б і згадати ім, що "СВС" недавно послила свою політику "...служити спеціальним потребам різних географічних районів і активно сприяти обміну культурних і районних інформацій...". Перебравши французьку радіостанцію "СКВБ" в Манітобі, "СВС" скасувала передачі в не-офіційних мовах цієї станції.

Пан Фрейзер, віце-президент "СВС", який відповідає за "корпоративні справи", пояснює, що не має ні фінансових можливостей, ні часу продовжувати 20-річну традицію багатокультурних передач цієї станції. Пан Жуно, голова Канадійської Радієвої й Телевізійної Комісії "СРТС", що регулює всі радіє та телевізійні передачі Канади висловив своє щире співчуття...



Through a Glass Darkly

(No. 22, March 1973)

I am what you might call an "easterner". In other words, I have lived the majority of my life in a point east of Thunder Bay, namely that great metropolitan city of Toronto. For the past two summers I have fieldwork for SUSK in Western Canada. I do not profess to understand and know the West; having lived in Toronto for twenty years, naturally my views of the West are "through a glass darkly" as Bergman would put it.

Living in Toronto is a unique experience. Living in Toronto and being Ukrainian is another unique experience. The city has a population of about 2 1/2 million of which 85,000 are of Ukrainian descent. In a city of this size, most ethnic groups tend to live in distinct geographic sections, for example, practically every second shop between Jane and Runnymede is Ukrainian owned, there is a Chinatown, a "Little Italy", a "Little Poland" and even a sector called the Banana Belt where there is a majority of West Indians and Negroes. Toronto is not really a city in the true sense of the word, it is simply a place where groups of people have come to live. There is no other alternative; one must exist in some type of group to exist at all. In Toronto one becomes accustomed to move and to move fast. People are competitive and basically self-centered; the stress is on the individual and taking time out for another person is considered a foolish error in the race to win. What one wins is yet another matter to consider. These are perhaps rather large generalizations to make, yet in describing the character of a city one must do so. It is an accepted fact that there are many individuals and groups who do not fit into this mould.

principles and culture for materialistic gain. Manipulation of others and especially of your fellow Ukrainian is quite common, and as T. S. Eliot says, putting on a "face to meet the faces that you meet", is truly a reality. Much of the urgency to succeed in Toronto, as it is in any other place, is economically based. The majority of Ukrainians were quite poor when they first came to Canada. Being "successful" in our society is equated to being wealthy. Consequently ethnic culture is subjugated to dollars and cents. In other words, the culture is valuable only when it has been accepted by society in monetary terms. The Ukrainian in Canada often loses sight of the human element in his obsession to earn and make more money. The culture gets lost, distorted or perverted somewhere along the way.

In one sense, it is harder to "make it" in the East than in the West. There are a number of reasons for this. First of all, the majority of Ukrainians in the East are immigrants or first generation; they are still considered "foreigners" in some circles. It is difficult to establish yourself in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon society when you still have a European accent. On the other hand, in the West the majority of Ukrainians are second, third or fourth generation. The Ukrainian Canadian is an accepted fact, as he's been around for seventy-five years or more, and the history of the Ukrainian settler opening up and developing the West is a well-versed legend. There are many more possibilities for upward political mobility in a province like Saskatchewan or Manitoba as presently exemplified by the

is no trespassing. There is much more competition in the East than in the West, simply because there are more qualified people in specific areas. Toronto has become a huge drop-in centre for artists from all over Canada because of the opportunities and resources for development are there. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that the West and indeed the Maritimes resent the East. Energies and resources of creative people from all across Canada are often exploited to feed metropolitan appetites in the East.

Does the West resent the East? As an easterner, I spent two summers in the West, respectively in the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Too soon I discovered that there was a very definite hostility and resentment towards easterners. The fieldworker who came into a western town or city was labelled as an eastern chauvinist, pretentious snob, pseudo-intellectual, etc. This label was affixed regardless of the individual's personality, goals or ideals. Again I must emphasize that I speak generally, as this was not the case all of the time. However, I must admit, that much of the criticism directed towards the easterner was justified. Easterners when dislocated from their natural environment tend to become somewhat patronizing and condescending to others, particularly to the "poor westerners" who they think of as "uncultured, provincial and small-townish", that have to be informed and educated politically, culturally and socially. It brings to mind the myth of Prometheus, who brought the gift of fire and light to those who sat in perpetual darkness. Small wonder that easterners, even well-meaning easterners are looked upon with mistrust. However, it is not strictly a one sided argument. Often, honest and genuine intentions of the easterner are misinterpreted as personal ambition. Too often preconceived value judgments not founded in reality, are detrimental to the development of both groups. Misconceptions are based on clichés, a lack of communication and a lack of understanding. Personal conflicts and petty differences are exaggerated and in time become untrue generalizations. One group, as the other, becomes defensive of its own territory. Consequently, a vendetta of sorts is conceived and carried on by members of both "yours" and "ours". This is presently best exemplified in the East-West conflict found in the organization SUSK, a national Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union. There is talk of an East-West split, there is talk of a

"peasants' revolt" by the West from the "oppressing forces" in the East. It all seems somewhat melodramatic if not ludicrous. True, there are basic differences of opinion and concrete reasons for resentment on both sides, but it really boils down to a lack of communication, and a stubbornness to understand one another. Another factor to be considered is the conscious and perhaps sub-conscious envy one group has of the other, based on the ever fluctuating principles of a love-hate relationship.

However, the dichotomy between the East and the West does reside on some very tangible and concrete differences. This applies not only to Ukrainians but all Canadians in the East and in the West. The East has more power, politically and economically; this is a reality. Moreover, the environment and socialization processes for both groups are quite different, therefore the different and varied orientations

I will never forget my first prairie sky, it seemed so large and vast, I felt so small. I'll never forget hitching on the Trans-Canada between Saskatoon and Regina with the wind behind me and nothing in sight but wheat fields and the occasional grain elevator, eating perogies in a Ukrainian restaurant in Wadena owned by the only Chinese family in a town that was 90% Ukrainian, meeting a Ukrainian motorcycle gang in Precievic, the old abandoned Orthodox and Catholic churches, the deserted and silent cemeteries, monuments to a people that had once passed before, stories of Ukrainian witches in Halford, the legend of "Kid" Krawchenko, the Ukrainian version of Bonnie and Clyde, the living history of generations of Ukrainians who had literally opened up the West and created a unique and beautiful culture of their own. What is there in the East to compare with this? How utterly absurd for a first generation



to life and priorities in life. Toronto is basically a cold and unfriendly city, as even Torontonians would admit. It is a place where one has to adhere to the maxim of "it is what you make it". In comparison, I found western cities and the people in the West to be much more friendly and responsive to the needs of the individual. There is a feeling of belonging, the pace is considerably relaxed than in the East, the people seem less neurotic. While in Toronto one works from nine 'til five and "lives" on weekends, in Winnipeg one "lives" all of the time. In the West, there is a definite contentment seen in the people, their work and accomplishments. Perhaps it is the closeness one finds with nature. As Ms. Kostash writes:

And maybe, prophets of God have always moved more easily in the prairies of the West than through the streets of civilized cities in the East, because, out here, the sky holds the whole earth in one vast, blue embrace. -2

Ukrainian born and raised in the East, to go into a place like Mundare or Canora or Dauphin and tell the Ukrainian people there that they are not politically aware or that they do not have the "right" social perspective and awareness.

The dichotomy between the West and the East will always be there. The only thing that remains is that we try to be a little more tolerant of each other and stop trying to impose our own life styles on others. As the Beate's song goes, "Let it be"

Halya Kuchmij



Ukrainians in Toronto, as any other ethnic group, must work doubly hard in order to "make it", as in a certain respect they do not start the race until all the other competitors have taken off. Consequently, one finds many Ukrainians who are WASP aspirants, who have sold out their

number of Ukrainians in influential cabinet positions. In the East it is considered fortunate if a Ukrainian happens to make it to any political position. The opportunities, politically speaking, are there to be found in the prairie provinces, while in Quebec or Ontario there is a fine and distinct line beyond which there

Political Sociology

(continued from page 25)

Yet an analysis of the relationship between ethnicity and social stratification and a more "left-wing" oriented political strategy is precisely what the exponents of multiculturalism try their best to avoid. It would seem, therefore, that the movement is self-defeating since, by limiting its perspective and, subsequently, its basis of support, it cannot hope to achieve its manifest aim of a growing and thriving cultural pluralism. Such a conclusion would miss the essential point, however, since, as we discovered earlier, the movement should be understood as mainly a reaction of upwardly mobile, middle-class aspiring, urban-situated individuals (of minority ethnic origin) against the social system's inability to (structurally) assimilate them at a rate proportionate to their rate of acculturation. The propagation of cultural pluralism, then, becomes not so much an end in itself but a means of legitimating ethnic

distinctiveness to the extent that the latter no longer is relevant in determining one's chances for social mobility. On the other hand, again, as we assessed previously, it is precisely that "social system's inability" factor that helps perpetuate the existence of distinct ethnic institutional and social structures, a necessary precondition for the maintenance of behaviour patterns differentiated along ethnic lines. Thus a higher rate of structural assimilation would undermine these various community structures (structural pluralism) and further advance the rate of cultural homogenization of all Canadian peoples. The end result? Perhaps, a bigger, better, more powerful middle-class. As for multiculturalism, that would become a myth of the past.

FOOTNOTES:

- (1) For an elaboration of the same theme see Yuzyk, P., *The Ukrainian Canadians*, pp. 3-8, 72-90.
- (2) Royal commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, *Preliminary Report*, pp. 50-52.
- (3) Rudnycky, J.B., "Separate Statement," in *Royal Commission on Bi. and Bi., Report 1*, pp. 155-169.
- (4) Krawchenko, B., "Toward the Development of Multiculturalism: A Three-Dimensional Approach to Canada," p. 59. However, it must be argued that the Royal Commission contrary to A. Semotiuk's belief, was not trying to demonstrate an inseparable link between language

and culture. In fact, the Commission ventured the possibility of culture developing on bases other than language. See *Royal Commission on Bi. and Bi., Report 1*.

(7) The preceding discussion is a condensed description of the doctrine of multiculturalism as expounded in Semotiuk, A., *Multiculturalism: A Three-Dimensional Approach to Canada*.

- (8) Although this point has not been articulated, at least not to my knowledge, in writings expounding the doctrine, it is frequently brought up during discussions among the movement's leaders.
- (9) Semotiuk, A., op. cit., p. 48.
- (10) Porter, John, *The Vertical Mosaic*, pp. 60-102.
- (11) Baltzell, E.D., *The Protestant Establishment*.
- (12) Kerner, M., "Ethnic Penetration Into Toronto's Elite Structures," in Mann, W.E. (ed.), *Canada*, pp. 203-209.
- (13) Royal Commission on Bi. and Bi., "Socio-economic Status and

Ethnic Origin," in Boydell, C. (ed.), *Critical Issues in Canadian Society*, pp. 270-279.

- (14) Porter, J., op. cit.
- (15) Vallee, Frank G., "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada," in Blischen, B. (ed.), *Canadian Society*, pp. 593-603.
- (16) Gordon, Milton, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," in Rose, P.J., (ed.), *The Study of Society*, pp. 435-453.
- (17) Gordon, Milton M., op. cit., p. 449.
- (18) Blischen, B., "A Socio-economic Index for Occupations in Canada," in Blischen, B. (ed.), *Canadian Society*, pp. 741-753.
- (19) Wangerheim, E., "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the Third Force," in Mann, W.E. (ed.), *Canada*, p. 169.
- (20) Ibid., p. 170.
- (21) Ibid., p. 169.
- (22) Ibid., p. 169.
- (23) Ibid., p. 169.
- (24) Ibid., p. 169.
- (25) Ibid., p. 172.
- (26) Ibid., p. 169.

РЕДАКЦІЯ ПРО СЕБЕ (No. 25, October 1973)

Новий шкільний рік: починає свою діяльність нова екіпіровка і здається, що «Студентів» належить висловитися про свою діяльність та про свої плани на майбутнє.

Отже, по-перше повторюємо, що редакція «Студента» незалежна від СУСК-у, має право й змогу друкувати те, що їй видається корисним. Редакція не визнає цензури з боку якого-небудь партійного, релігійного чи громадського угруповання, а покладається тільки на власні зацікавлення та власну розсудливість. Треба тут додати, що редакція вітає особливо твори й статті молодих письменників-журналістів, там більше, якщо вони оригінальні чи порушують нові теми. Кожне суспільство має свій естаблішмент — «Студент» бачить свою роль щодо українського й канадського естаблішментів як

радикальну: порушувати справи й пропагувати зміни, як також друкувати матеріали, промовчані тими ж естаблішментами.

Висловити оці думки було відносно легко (мабуть кожна молода редакція, якщо вона береться за свою працю з ентузіазмом і сумлінням, думає менш-більш так само). Але вже далі, коли приходиться говорити докладніше про характер газети, справа ускладнюється. Ось проблема: закидають нам, що газети бракує українського духу». Ми виправдуємося, мовляв, живемо в Канаді, пишемо про навколишню дійсність, намагаємося давати уявлення про ідеї та діяльність студентів (чи принаймні активної частини українського студентства). Не слід, отже, варіювати на газету, яка відзеркалює дійсність — треба нарікати на саму дій-

сність.

Але давайте приглянемося ближче до самого значення тієї фрази — «український дух». Скажемо по-народному: хто знає кавеню, який оселедець пахне українським духом? Який патріот наважиться на такий еґоїзм, щоб учити інших, що таке «український дух»? А ще доцільніше — хто винайде таку мазь, від якої нісозни скриптіли б в один український лад?

У нашому розумінні, ця національна чи етнічна ідентичність не є щось ексклюзивне. Цей дух, ця ідентичність виробляється впродовж десятиліть, як і виробляється історія й традиції. Було б помилково думати, що тільки концерти, пісні чи етнографічні теми в літературі й мистецтві характеризують український дух. Нам здається, що т. зв. «національна культура», це дуже мала частина того пережитого-відчуженого, що ми називаємо культурним надбанням народу. Ще в 30-их роках Богдан Ігор Антонич писав: «Слід пригадати відому, не один раз висловлювану, проте ще неприбрану й непоширену правду, а саме, що національний характер не творить у мистецтві народна або історична тематика чи наслідування народних або напих давніх способів оформлення мистецького твору. Аж соромно повторювати такі трюїзми, але годі. Мистецтво само про себе є суспільною вартістю, а нація, це, очевидно, суспільство; отже мистецтво само про себе є також і національною вартістю. Мистець є тоді національним, коли признає свою приналежність до даної нації та відчуває співзвучність своєї психіки із збірною психікою свого народу... Національної оригінальності не треба шукати виключно в народності та бувальщині. Їхня впродовж і чистість є дуже та дуже сумнівною, в кожному разі не стовідсотково. Борне Антонович-Давидович у своїй відомій повісті «Смерть» говорить, що українська нація винайшла тільки «плахту й бандуру». Це, звичайно, помилка. Ми навіть бандура не винайшли, бо, як загально відомо, прийшла вона до нас звідси з Італії та ще й до цього дуже пізно».

Висновок з цього такий: культуру не можна ототожнювати з зовнішніми формами, в яких у даному часі вона себе виявляє. Але в нашій громаді не передбачається відхилення від устійливих норм: якщо не ходити до церкви, носити довге волосся чи займатися йогою — ти вже не українець...

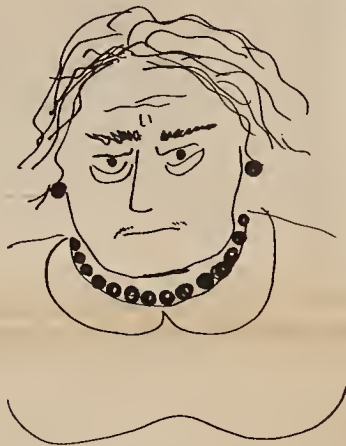
У нас багато говориться про збереження та передачу традицій; про розвиток чуття дуже мало. І це зрозуміле. Перебуваючи в чужому доквітлі, українські емігранти розглядали свою культуру як заповуку своєї ідентичності, отже як щось певне та стійке. Через відсутність контакту з батьківщиною стерлася різниця між двома поняттями: «українська культура» та «українська культура в минулому».

Сьогодні, коли зорганізоване українське життя існує вже довгий час на цьому континенті, легко перекопати себе, що тутешнє українське суспільство таки зберегло свою унікальність. І справді, існує різниця між українським та північно-американським суспільством — але тільки на перший погляд. Опікуючи свої успіхи, українці користуються північно-американським мріємом — автима, заощадженнями, жмародерами. Політичне становище нашої громади прикривається з офіційним, урядовим ставовищем до тієї міри, що навіть американська несамовитість у В'єтнамі не викликає сумнівів щодо характеру та намірів уряду, який за неї відповідає. Коли українці перестають судити незалежно про вартості, тоді й культура їхня стає плиткою, а різниця між нею й місцевою культурою — поверховою. Не дивно, отже, що молодь відвертається від українства, не бачачи в ньому нічого своєрідного.

Але ми не віримо, що так мусить бути. Українська культура залишиться повновартісною, якщо не боїтиметься змін. Не можемо сказати наперед, як буде виглядати ця культура у майбутньому, але з певністю можемо твердити, що камагання обмежити її можливості приведуть до її цілковитого занепаду.

ПН. ЛЯЛЯ КОМАР

(No. 25, October 1973)



Dear Ms. Komar:

This letter is to inform you that I have decided to resign from the Ukrainian Human race. I am so totally fed up with these children we call Ukrainians that, there seems no alternative except to abandon a lost cause.

Although they say that no two people are alike and that one should not generalize, I find that Ukrainian men carry a common characteristic, specifically categorized as first class snobbery. I do not believe that it is an unconscious element, for these homo sapiens seem to treat women of another race five times better than those of their own. Maybe it is because they know that they will never marry this other girl. That word "matusha" specifies that their wives will have to be Ukrainians and because the female's mother will not tolerate inter-racial marriage either, the men believe that these stupid women are just sitting around like flies ready to pounce on a "mass of compost". Well, I'm afraid they're going to be disappointed in the long run.

At any rate I've let out some of my hostilities, and all I ask of you is to inform me as to how to deal with such people.

Yours truly
Infuriated.

Dear Infuriated:

First of all I would like to tell you that you are not the only one who has to deal with the insane chauvinism exhibited by Ukrainian men, and therefore I believe that your letter will be of interest to a number of persons in the reading audience.

What you write about as "snobbery" is more often the inability of Ukrainian men and women to deal with each other as people and the confusion on both parts in dealing with each other by the trappings that men and women in the Ukrainian community are identified with. The women after all are the future mothers and the men, as typical of the general society, treat them as only suited for that purpose; of course, Ukrainian women do not think, cannot possibly be exciting to talk to, let alone have a relationship with. This problem is compounded by those Ukrainian

women who constantly think about catching a husband, and paint themselves up like peacocks to entice men. They are encouraged by their families who ultimately see women's role in society as the mother and homemaker and by the Ukrainian organizations who push them into organizing teas and educating the youth. Men obviously in our community, are the thinkers, the political animal, the intellectual. The problem should be a concern for both women and men, who are forced to take on these roles.

The reason that both men and women would prefer having a relationship with someone outside the community is because of the ghetto or small town nature of our community where your business is everyone else's business and anyone who moves out of their parents' home is obviously entering an "immoral" relationship. (They very well may, and I hope that they do.) The minute a Ukrainian man and woman are seen together more than once, they are immediately married off and this keeps the rumormongers going steadily.

But surely the men and women in this community are strong enough that this kind of ridiculous morality and role playing can be dealt with, firstly in the home and secondly, by publicly denouncing those that try and direct the private lives of other people by their own morality.

Personally I would suggest that you find a group of like-minded people, (there are men and women who are trying to liberate themselves from the community's roles and morals,) and that together you plan political actions to help those in our community who are afraid to strike out on their own. At first I would think that women and men separately form circles to discuss their common problems and as each group gains confidence in itself, that further co-operation be planned.

I suggest that you read the following books to help you in your struggle: "Our Bodies, Our Selves", "The Second Sex", "Sisterhood is Powerful", "The Birth Control Manual" published by McGill University.

RIGHT ON INFURIATED, DO SOMETHING ABOUT YOUR CONDITION!

Другий Світовий Конгрес Вільних Українців, який відбувся від 1—4 листопада в Торонті, проходив під гаслом закріплення солідарності української спільноти. У цьому нічого нового, бо вже на першому Конгресі (за словами А. Фіголя) "відчувався сильний тиск громадської думки: "коли ж нарешті діждемося об'єднання в церковній і політичній сферах?"

Отож, Конгрес розпочався тріумфальним проголошенням об'єднання українських православних церков. Консолідація виявилася теж і на політичному асценді: пп. Лівницький і Стецько, які незадовго до Конгресу опублікували спільну зваву про ставовище в Україні, виступили на Конгресовій Маніфестації із закликом до революційної боротьби за повалення московської імперії.

Могло здаватися, що ці події — це аніявні загальною руку за інтеграцію сил, але на виборів Президії Секретаріату стала очевидною слабкість цієї "стінки". На Президію прийшлося голосувати аж три рази, головню через те, що партійно-політична опозиція проти п. Миколи Плав'юка не хотіла допустити до його вибору на пост президента СКВУ. І опозиція добилася того, що президентом обрано 80-літнього о. Василя Кушніра, почесного голову КУК. П. Плав'юка обрано першим заступником президента.

Задемонстровано, отже, що політичність і партійні ворожнеча залишаються вирішальними чинниками в українському емігрантському житті. Але є обставина, як робить цей стан не



(No. 26, November 1973)

тільки жалюгідним, але й критичним. Маємо на увазі те, що майже всі чільні особи, яких ми досі назвали (як також багато інших громадських діячів, присутніх на Конгресі) — це люди на схилі віку. І на цьому Конгресі, як мвбуть ніколи досі, виявилася убогість спадщини, яку залишають українській громаді. Конгрес не виїс ні одної постанови щодо збереження українського життя на емігравції, а обмежився до ритуальних засуджень мів'яних подруж і асиміляції. Замість політичної програми була агітація за війну проти Москви — залик, який не тільки дивував своєю неактуальністю, але перечив поглядом головною промовця на Маніфестації (до речі, теж немолодого) дост. Джона Діфенбейкера. Дві конкретні пропозиції, що їх подаю на Конгресі — створити пресо-інформаційне бюро і представництво при ООН для оборони людських прав — стосуються більше України, ніж еміграції; доля тих пропозицій залежатиме від рішення Секретаріату.

У своєму конгресовому звіті, представники молоді виступили проти нагладу "батьків народу". Це вимагало певної відваги — але цього замало. Молодь незабвром переїме громадське життя в свої руки і відповідатиме за унапрямлення його. Вказівок від старших немає, а молюдь — прийнятні на Конгресі — не виявила оригінальних ініціатив. І треба б над тим заставнитися, а не потішати себе мовляв, "вдруге наша суспільність здала спит політичної (чи культурної, чи громадської) зрілості".

Skeletons in the Cupboard

(No. 27, January 1974)

M. Vynnychuk

In the midst of all the discussions on culture, cultural values and Ukrainianism one is sometimes struck by the lack of humility shown in approaching that same culture. There is often a large element of dogmatism in this kind of discussion and sometimes an attempt to legislate the borders of Ukrainian culture.

Certain figures in literature, history or politics are held in contempt or simply banned from discussion. You must have had the experience that when, say, Drahomanov, Khvylovyi or Makhno are mentioned, the older person in the room shifts uncomfortably in his chair and groans inwardly. These names are some of the skeletons in the cupboard, some of the "unfortunately also Ukrainians" and a continual embarrassment in polite conversations. One can not dispute their fame or the quality of their literary or scholarly achievements, but all

the same our people shouldn't be doing that kind of thing! The embarrassment, perhaps, also stems from a tacit recognition that there are "other ways" of being Ukrainian and that these figures exist as a constant reproach to any attempt to impose a cultural straight jacket on Ukrainianism.

Besides being immodest, this approach to the culture has harmful consequences. No one will ever be able to say that he knows the culture in all its facets. Learning about one's culture, it seems to me, should be a continuous process of discovery, and everyone should have the opportunity of learning as much as possible about the diversity of his cultural heritage. When a political emigration dominates cultural life, not only individual writers but whole periods are taboo. For instance, the incredible creative ferment of the 1920s in the

Ukraine, which produced so much in literature and art is frowned upon.

This narrow-minded approach to one's own culture leads to many paradoxes. Ukrainians are allowed to idealize 19th Century culture which was one based on the village community and the peasant way of life — but anything that smacks of the 20th Century, industrialism or urban life is distasteful, foreign and a corruption of the "genuine" culture.

Even to admit that there is a Ukrainian proletariat, that there was an attempt to form a Ukrainian proletarian literature and art, that there were Ukrainian cubists, suprematists and constructivists seems blasphemous to some cultural purists.

This point struck me strongly a few days ago when reading a review of an art exhibition at Fischer's in London (England). Many of the artists

in the display (which was billed as a "show of Russian revolutionary art") were Ukrainians.

The work of Alexander Bogomazov created some excitement. The author of the review comments that he is "virtually unknown outside the Ukraine" and expresses the hope that his philosophical theory laid out in his "Painting and its elements" in 1914 will one day be published. Having stated that "the Ukraine was the most fertile land", the author asks in puzzlement, "Why the Ukraine?"

And why so many really strong women artists? These are some questions still to be examined."

But are they being examined? This is an area of Ukrainian culture which is only slowly being rehabilitated after being ignored by both the Soviet Union and by the emigration.

And who is doing the examining? The irony in the Fischer exhibition is that it took an art-lover who was non-Ukrainian to patiently collect the hundreds of works produced in this period and, in a sense, discover this aspect of Ukrainian cultural history.

The same is happening elsewhere. One hears of groups of non-Ukrainian students at French and Italian universities studying the cultural figures of the 20s, and learning the language to be able to read the texts.

Perhaps we will have to wait for non-Ukrainians to explain our own cultural heritage to us in all its richness and complexity.

(No. 28, February 1974)

ДВА ЛИЦА НАЦІОНАЛІЗМУ

Як один з головніших українських емігрантських центрів, "революційна ОУН" під проводом Ярослава Стецька, за статтею "Націоналізм — переможна сила" ("Шлях Перемоги", ч. 51 (1034), стор. 1) начеркує свій націоналізм отак:

"Це незалежність кожної нації світу, це патріотизм, це свобода, справжня не обманна в рамках нації, це народоловада, яка охоплює не верству, не класу, не групу, а весь народ... це героїчний гуманізм, це соціальна справедливість, це ідеалізм..." (підкреслення автора).

Як тоді розуміти репортаж з поїздки п.

Стецька до Гватемали на "революційну акцію" — з'їзд ексекютиви Світової Антимоуністичної Ліги? На тій самій сторінці, у невідпублікованій статті п. н. "Міжнародна зустріч у Гватемалі" (а може написав сам п. Стецько?) читаємо про важливі моменти з'їзду, тобто хто був на вечері, з яким ентузіазмом поширювалося пропаганду і з яким ще більшим ентузіазмом приймалося пропаганду і т. д., і т. д..

А про враження з мандрів по місті Антигуа читаємо так:

"Мова еспанська у провідній верстві і впливи еспанські мабуть сильніші, як у будь-якій іншій латино-американській країні. Більшість 9-ти

мільйонного населення, індіянка, говорить своїми діалектами. Однак це не перешкоджає бути зрівняним у виборчих та всіх інших правах держави." (підкреслення автора)

Справді? Так само говорять івнівні туристи про ситуацію на Україні. А де той націоналізм свободи, безклясовості, гуманізму і справедливості? Очевидно, фальшивий "антимоунізм" стоїть на першому місці.

Теорія і практика!

Годі вже нам підтримувати таких "революціонерів"!

П. В.

The Decay of a Tradition

(No. 28, February 1974)

EMIGRE NATIONALISM AND
TODAY'S YOUTH
by M. Vynnychenuk

It is becoming increasingly evident that the generation of Ukrainians born after the Second World War and now finishing schools and universities in Europe and North America finds little to attract it in present emigre politics.

One expression of this dissatisfaction is the now proverbial "I'm interested in culture, not politics" mentality, to which a large section of youth subscribe.

Another group, influenced by the youth radicalisation of the 60s, the student revolts of '68 and the Anti-Vietnam War movement has faced a growing number of confrontations with the politics of the establishment.

In cases where the older people succeed in involving the youth, activity often seems the result of an artificial stimulation. It is usually misdirected and confused and ultimately leads to disenchantment.

Take for example the London (England) demonstration of 1968 where a couple of hundred hot-heads from the SUM (CYM) camp were piled into hired coaches and driven to the capital. Cans of white paint and stones were provided and the "demonstrators" let loose on the Soviet embassy. After most of the windows in the building had been broken, it was discovered that they were attacking the wrong embassy — the Finnish embassy, located next-door to the Soviet one. Of the eleven people arrested at the demonstration, none (as far as I know) were university students. One was an older man, who was discovered to be the No. 2 in the SUM organisation in England. The entire action was an attempt to gain some political capital from the publicity given to student movements at the time. Obviously impressed by the achievements of student revolts elsewhere, the organisers tried to present the demonstration as a spontaneous expression of youthful idealism.

But there is no effort, in these situations, to involve young people at an organisational level or give them a voice in decision-making. These actions are in no way an expression of political ferment among the youth, they are not organically connected to student thinking. A small clique, almost a bureaucratic caste, has maintained a stranglehold on political expression among Ukrainians in Britain for over 20 years; the same dozen names reappear on the SUB calendar and at the high table every year. And the picture is not much different in North America.

The political message of these demonstrations is frequently confused or badly-chosen and creates a negative response. In the last few years we have seen anti-Lenin, anti-Russian, anti-Communist marches, often accompanied by pictures of the Russian bear devouring people, "Better Dead than Red" slogans, etc.

Yet another hangover from the days of integral nationalism is the persistently anti-Russian tone of these actions. At the Second Ukrainian World Congress, one speaker explained at length how the blood-group of Great-Russians was different from that of Ukrainians. The logic behind this was, presumably, that one could eventually reverse the process of assimilation by checking the population's blood-group and sending the Great-Russians back to where they came from.

The bankruptcy in ideas and the ineptness of methods is well illustrated by the Dobosh fiasco and the failure to raise the Ukrainian struggle at an international level. The largest emigre parties have not succeeded in forming any important contacts with prominent academics, journalists or literary figures.

Small wonder, then, that the young want to restore some serious thinking and some ideals to Ukrainian emigre politics. "Our aim," they say, "is to create a new political and cultural milieu — a real alternative to contrast with the present anti-intellectual, intolerant, hypocritical and primitive emigre establishment."

Criticisms of Nationalism of the Older Generation

The main criticisms of emigre nationalism centre around its emotional orientation, its anti-intellectual bent and its alliance with the forces of reaction.

Although ultimately there is, perhaps, something unexplainable and irrational about a people clinging to its language, culture and sense of separate identity, this is no excuse for presenting the problem as a communal neurosis or allowing national sentiment to degenerate to a mass-hysteria.

The anti-intellectual trend leads to a lack of serious analysis of the situation in the Ukraine, a disregard of intellectual currents in the West, and the loss of the best and most thoughtful elements in the Ukrainian community.

Fossilised thinking means only empty slogans and the clinging to symbols. No analogy is made with liberation struggles in other countries: Ireland, Palestine, Quebec, Vietnam, Eastern Europe. There is no understanding of the struggle of the Black community, of women or of working-class movements. The emigre nationalists are on the side of reaction in every case except the Ukraine.

Nor is there any criticism of the status quo in the country in which the emigre finds himself; the Ukrainians vote solidly for Nixon, Wallace, Stanfield and Heath.

The unfortunate identification of workers' struggles — communism — Russia — reveals not only confused thinking and primitive politics, but makes the emigre-Ukrainians misinterpret the struggle in the Ukraine. Their orientation here still seems to be towards foreign intervention. This often reveals not only a lack of faith in the strength of the masses, but also a deep and sometimes selfish pessimism behind the fanaticism and the aggressive stance.

When Dzyuba, Chornovil and Lukanenko appear, they can only argue that the dissenters' positions are *insincere*, i.e., taken up merely for tactical reasons. The Hydro-Electric Station strike (Kiev, 1968) in which 10,000 participated carrying slogans like "All Power to the Soviets", leaves them stunned.

Thus an incredible situation develops in which many Ukrainians do not even believe that strikes and demonstrations have taken place. (Rather like the old lady who does not believe that the Americans have put a man on the moon.) When workers were poorer than today there were no strikes. Now that things have improved a little, how can there be even more strikes? Either they deny that the living standard has improved at all (a justification of unrest), or they deny the existence of strikes. They do not accept the possibility that an improvement in living standards might lead to greater demands in the quality of life. Today, in fact, most liberation struggles are closely tied up with cultural demands. A purely economic argument is today a conservative argument; the cultural factor is likely to grow in importance in the future.

"We have our contacts"

The reaction of the student element usually begins with the first dose of heavy obscurantism and with a resentment of the lack of open discussion. Nothing is more alienating from political life than to be told that your job is simply to listen and obey, to raise money and follow the party line. The real decisions are always taken somewhere above by the people who know best: "We cannot tell you where the money goes. We have our contacts in the Ukraine, but obviously we cannot tell you who they are. . . . The Resistance is doing its job, believe us. . . ." etc.

The old argument that the masses are ignorant and understand only simple formulations is both insulting and unacceptable to a generation that is emerging from schools and universities with degrees in Political Sciences, Sociology, History, Slavics, etc. Yet one still hears the false dogma that only those have a right to speak who carried arms in the last war (or the one before that).

Perhaps most disheartening to any young enthusiast is the cynical manipulation of people and the undignified demagoguery practiced at demonstrations and conferences. The young cannot help but notice that the arrogance and egoism of these hard-liners is immeasurable, the practical results painfully limited.

Form Without Content

The simplification of content (often to its exclusion) leads to a clinging to form. The old patriotic phrases, the songs and symbols (the flag, tryzub, Shevchenko) are gradually worn thin and nothing put in their place. The constitutional arguments (We were robbed at Pereyaslav in 1654, by Catherine in 1773) and the racial hypotheses (the separate blood-group theory, the "Russians are descended from Finnish tribes" theory) are insufficient grounds upon which to build national feeling.

Similarly, the trappings of militant nationalism are sadly out of key: a Romantic indulgence practiced for three weeks in the year in the idyllic surroundings of the Rockies or the hillsides of North Wales. The laurels of heroic death (the myth of Kruty), the brown shirts, the cult of discipline and the monolithic party mentality are less interesting than bumming cigarettes from some old Hutsul and listening to his stories of draft-evasion.

The circumstances of war-time are the justification of this cult of discipline and ruthlessness. The nationalist parties try to keep their politics at this level of white heat by recreating the war-time situation.

One is told to be constantly vigilant because of KGB infiltration, because of the red threat. When the external pressure is non-existent, the struggle is turned inwards and one witnesses the internecine party strife of post-war years. Many young people turn from "politics" in despair and incomprehension after a taste of the inter-party squabbling of Banderivtsi vs. Melnikivtsi vs. Dvivykari vs. URDPivtsi vs. etc.

The intolerance of difference pervades every aspect of community life. It stretches from the ritualistic denunciation of mixed marriages, long hair and drugs, to the narrow-minded and dogmatic interpretation of history. The nationalists have a position on the Kievan Rus' state of the 10th Century but reject the cultural achievements of the Ukraine in the 1920s. During the last congress, one delegate, for no apparent reason, in the middle of a speech suddenly began thumping the rostrum and attacking the Harvard professors in the words: "How dare they say that the Ukrainians are not descended from the Antes . . . ?"

Cultural "Primitivism"

Glorification of certain figures in the past is also only at the level of symbols. There is no deeper knowledge of them and no serious attention paid to some of the key figures.

The superficial patriotism of the young tends to evaporate and consternation takes its place when they discover, for example, that Shevchenko kept his diary and wrote many of his short stories in Russian, or that they have only been repeating the first two stanzas of his "testament" because the last two contain a strong suggestion of atheism.

Another very dangerous myth is the one of 19th Century populism. The Soviet regime enlists the historical figures of the Ukraine as collaborators of the Russians in an attempt to present Ukrainian culture as second-best: a provincial culture of embroidered shirts, folk-dancing and folk-tales. This is much more dangerous to nationalism than the outright suppression of Tsarist times. It encourages the more ambitious Ukrainians to break away from the village past and embrace the modern world of largely Russified cities.

But the Ukrainian emigres present substantially the same picture. Without in any way questioning the wealth and beauty of the populist tradition, many writers have deplored this linking of national to village-peasant life. The nostalgic eulogising of the "pure" Ukrainian values of the rural community is in the end harmful.

"But we have a national intelligentsia and a working class," stated Ya. Starynkevych at the Ukrainian Writers' Conference of 1957. "What they have accomplished is worthy of being depicted in great works of belles-lettres." Vynnychenko's studies of pathol-

ogy and sex, Pidmohyl'ny's novels on the city, Semencko's futurism, the prolearian experiment of VAPLITE, Kurbas' expressionist drama — these bold voices of the 20s were destroyed in the 30s, but have not succeeded in changing the orientation of "Ukrainian culture." Instead, we still have the coarse peasant humour of the average Soviet film, and 19th Century naturalism on the Ukrainian stage in Canada.

Ideology

The backwardness in political thinking is nowhere more evident than in the realm of ideology. If one walks into any ARKA store today, one can find reprinted copies of Dontsov's "Nationalism" first published in 1926. Contrary to the belief of most of the older generation, Dontsov was not even a nationalist; his concept of the division of mankind into the "men of will-power" and the "common herd" is closer to feudalism than any belief in the nation-state.

Even more sadly, most of the emigre nationalists seem to be unaware of the writings of their own ideologists and have lost the idealism and the radicalism they exhibited in the 40s. Quotations from Mikhnov'sky and Poltava today sound like revolutionary slogans of the youth, and the programme of the 3rd OUN congress reads almost point by point like the manifesto of the Vietcong liberation front.

The basic contradiction in the positions of the emigres seems to be their radical stance towards the Soviet Union and their ultra-conservatism in every other aspect of their lives. The Ukrainian community celebrates the 40th anniversary of the famine in the Ukraine with picnics in the country; every member of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine is over sixty and looks like a plump pillar of the establishment.

These contradictions, however, have to be faced by the younger generation and where they do become involved, practical action leads to a rapid development of ideas.

The Modern World

The refusal to recognise the complexity of the situation in the Ukraine today or to apply any sociological criteria in their thinking produces what the younger generation considers to be a lack of understanding of certain key issues.

One of these is the relationship between industrialisation and nationalism.

Khrushchev's policy of giving greater responsibility to local cadres, his tolerance of a small elite who know Ukrainian culture well was an attempt to absorb patriotic sentiment into the system. The policy of utmost centralisation as practiced by Stalin seemed to have reached its point of diminishing returns both in economic efficiency and flexible political control.

The fact that many top administrative positions in the Ukraine are already held by Ukrainians may prove a great advantage in the eventual downfall of the regime. As local men take over the affairs of the community, the elite will have to deal increasingly with the pressure from below.

People who do not consider open resistance as yet possible are either wittingly or unwittingly preparing themselves for a struggle by occupying strategic positions in the administrative apparatus. Until recently, however, the nationalists still considered every Komsomolets and party-member their enemy.

Another key issue is likely to be the attitude of the Russian and partly Russified population of Eastern Ukraine, and the ability of the national movement to draw it into the struggle. Because most of the post-war emigration came from Western Ukraine, they fail to understand the mentality of the Eastern regions, rejecting them as "un-Ukrainian." The lesson the Western Ukrainians learned during the Second World War upon penetrating the Eastern territories led to a retreat from the positions of integral nationalism and the subsequent inclusions of numbers of Eastern Ukrainians and Russians into the struggle.

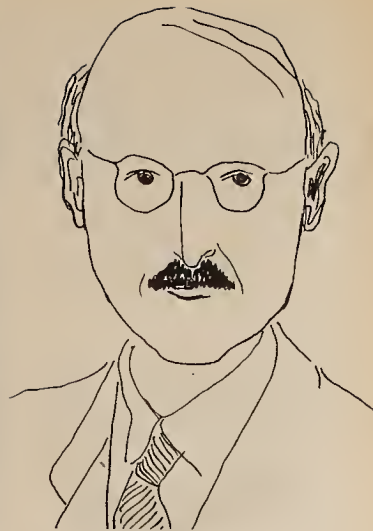
(DECAY OF TRADITION con-
tinued on page 33)



Yevhen Konovats': undisputed leader of OUN until his assassination in 1939.



Stepan Bandera: the radical alternative.



Yaroslav Slets'ko: a mixture of fervour and nostalgia. The nationalists' Don Quixote?

(No. 28, February 1974)

Integral Nationalism

by George Mednytsky

From the late 1920s, through the 30s, and into the second World War, the dominant form of nationalist expression in Ukraine was "integral nationalism". Developed in France in the late nineteenth century, and propagated in Ukraine in the twenties by Dmitro Donstov, it first caught on as a movement among the youth of Galicia and eventually became the ideology around which OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) was founded.

Integral nationalism was based on the idea of "nation above all else". Belief in the nation was the supreme value, toward which all other values must be subordinated.

In the absence of a state which could be glorified as the bearer of the "national ideal", Ukrainian nationalists utilized the idea of individuals sharing similar biological characteristics and a common historical development, to form their concept of the nation, and regarded language and culture, rather than political structure, to be the common element which held Ukrainians together in an organic whole.

One characteristic of integral nationalism was its subordination of rational thought to the "intuitively correct" emotions. Emphasis was placed on action as opposed to thought, and will as opposed to reason. Not concerned with developing an analytic world view, the nationalists often revealed a fantastic romanticism and a reliance on myth in interpreting their past and present. This irrationalist stance sometimes resulted in an inability on the part of the nationalists to understand and adapt to complex and critical situations or to correct theories and ideas which proved faulty when tried in practice.

In the 20s, nationalist groups were used as forums for discussion and development of critical thought. In the thirties the intellectual activities of these groups had lessened considerably. Nationalist writers wrote with complete self-assurance as to the validity of their ideas, in a style recognisable by its extensive use of pathos and poetic clichés. This literature was not aimed at furthering understanding of human experience, but tried simply to appeal to the emotions in the reader. Action, war, and violence were glorified and presented as an expression of the superior biological vitality of the nation. The model Ukrainian hero was portrayed as a strong-willed, brave, and self-respecting individual, with an unbending character — completely committed to the ideal of nationalism, and prepared to sacrifice himself, and others, for the aims of the movement.

The nationalists strongly believed in the expression of "national will" through a charismatic leader and an elite of nationalist enthusiasts. The split in OUN in 1940 into

Melnik and Bandera factions has been attributed, at least partly, to the fact that many members of OUN, particularly the younger nationalists, felt that Melnyk was not sufficiently forceful or dynamic as a leader. The division into two factions resulted in the loss of lives and energy as the two sides battled with each other. This considerably weakened the nationalist movement, at a time when united and decisive action was most needed.

This broadening of ideology, however, appeared at a relatively late stage in the historical development of Ukrainian integral nationalism. In line with their guiding principle of "nation above all else", the nationalists generally ignored all political considerations which fell outside the boundaries of national interest. In contrast to their present-day counterparts who see the Ukrainian liberation movement in the context of universal freedom, the integral nationalists paid attention to circumstances beyond their own borders only insofar as their own struggle for national survival was affected. For the most part, the nationalists concerned themselves with maintaining a state of almost permanent revolution. A continuous stream of sabotage and terrorist acts was designed to keep Poland and the Soviets from solidifying their hold on Ukrainian lands and eventually, it was hoped, these isolated manifestations of revolt would merge into a large-scale national uprising. More moderate methods of achieving political change, such as compromise with the occupiers or efforts directed through "legal" channels, were rejected by the nationalists.

Some of the theories of the nationalists (their emphasis on the "leader principle", and the concept of the subordination of the individual to the interests of the state), approached fascism, and some aspects, such as their insistence on "racial purity", even went beyond the original Fascist doctrines. In practice, the tactics of the nationalists were often quite ruthless.

In order to understand Ukrainian integral nationalism, however, it is necessary to look at the circumstances under which it developed. There was a general deterioration in the quality of political groups during the period between the two world wars. The victory of Communism in the Russian Empire led some elements to resort to extreme measures to prevent its further spread, and to copy its tactics in fighting it. The post-1918 peace settlement was an attempt to satisfy the national aspirations of certain groups but seemed only to stimulate the nationalism already growing among the peoples of the area. The West Ukrainians — and the East Ukrainian emigres who were associated with them — suffered from both these developments. The denial of moderate demands for

Ukrainian national expression by the ultranationalist governments of Poland, Rumania, and later Hungary produced an extreme reaction. For some, Communism presented a vehicle for expression of national resentment. Even those who were never moved by the Communist appeal were often impressed by the success of Communist tactics. The triumph of Communism gave these tactics a new authority. Basic to the new fashion of party conflict was the assertion — completely compatible with the nationalist idea of "nation above all" — that the end justifies the means. This policy became accepted practice among the followers of OUN. At first its application was limited to non-Ukrainians; only Polish and Soviet representatives were the targets of assassination attempts. After the split in OUN the nationalists turned on one another and eventually even members of the clergy fell victim to the new trend in ruthlessness. Historians have pointed out that, to some extent, this resort to violence was due to the circumstances of the time. In view of the mass executions carried out by the Nazis and the Communists, the sacrifice of a few more lives to attain important results seemed of little consequence. Yet the general blunting of moral sensibility, and the willingness of men to undertake such actions could not have progressed as rapidly had they not been indoctrinated beforehand by an ideology which purported to furnish an idealistic justification for their violence.

The integral nationalists played a key role in developing Ukrainian consciousness, by continuing the tradition of struggle for independence. They suffered, however, from a lack of a rational base upon which members could rely once the initial burst of emotional patriotism had subsided. By contrast, the liberation movement in the Ukraine today has acquired a broader vision, of a significantly more intellectual character, and encompassing political but also social and economic considerations.

Ethnocentrism played a major role in integral nationalist ideology. An OUN leaflet released in the spring of 1943 in Kharkov emphasized the need for upholding the purity of the Ukrainian language, and for resisting the intrusion of foreign elements on Ukrainian culture. Racism and anti-semitism, although not intrinsic components of integral nationalism, occasionally entered into the writings of nationalist authors in the course of their treatments of the idea of ethnocentrism.

The stress placed on ethnocentrism and on one leader alienated a number of Ukrainians, particularly in the East. The "leader principle" was alien to the native inhabitants and the slogan "Petliura, Konovats', Melnyk — three names, one idea" was at first

meaningless to the average East Ukrainian, since the second and third of these names were unknown to him as OUN activity in the east had been severely limited under Bolshevik rule. Even more irritating to many East Ukrainians was the emphasis placed on "purity" of the Ukrainian people. According to OUN leaders' beliefs, this "purity" had been endangered by the intrusion of Russian elements — the physical immigration of Russians, and the penetration of Russian influences into Ukrainian culture and speech. In Kiev, in 1941, the nationalists set about radically purging alien aspects of life in the city. A certain number of local Ukrainians accepted this campaign enthusiastically, sometimes carrying it further than the nationalists themselves. Others, although Ukrainian by background, had long been used to employing the Russian language and associating freely with persons of Russian ethnic origin. Consequently, the "purifying" process meant in many cases serious disruption of their way of living and their social relationships. The loss of nationalist prestige in Kiev allowed the Germans to sharply curtail nationalist activities in December, 1941, without fear of significant reaction on the part of the inhabitants.

The nationalists also ran into problems in East Ukraine as a result of their preoccupation with one goal, national liberation, without taking into consideration the other pressing needs of the people. When the Germans moved into East Ukraine, the vacuum left by the removal of Communist direction resulted in a demand for positive programs. The people rejected the Communist regime as such, yet they were accustomed — through years of propaganda and planning from above — to the existence of a fully formulated program which offered a long-range goal, an explanation of the course of events, and a series of immediate instructions. Unexplained orders and vague slogans were insufficient substitutes. Considerations of physical survival preceded any thoughts of national expression.

This reality led to a broadening of content in integral nationalist ideology and a number of social and economic programs were developed. This did not mean the nationalist goal was cast aside; the attainment of Ukrainian independence remained the central value. But the nationalists realized that for the bulk of the East Ukrainian population independence could be presented as a means to the attainment of other values, but not as an ultimate value in itself.

Sources: J. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*. I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky, *Mich Isoriyevu i polityku*.

In Response to M. Vynnychuk

(No. 29, August 1974)

"Every epoch dreams its successor."

—Michelet

Vynnychuk's article in the last issue of STUDENT reaches out to the problem of Ukrainian emigré politics, but fails to grasp it firmly. "The Decay of a Tradition" is largely a subjectively oriented response to the question at hand; it suffers from a lack of grounding in the historical and social experience of the nationalist movement.

I, too, will make my subjective disposition toward this political experience quite clear, but this can only be fully explained in the context of the objective political practice of the Ukrainian nationalists and the historical experience that has projected them toward decay and demise.

Today's youth finds little to attract it in the political organs of the various nationalist factions, be they the Bandera or Melnyk group, or the "Dviykati". And today's youth is the most politicized generation since the Second World War. Why do these youth steer clear of the nationalist line? The answer can be found in the history and practice of these currents.

In Western Ukraine

As far as political programme is concerned, Ukrainian nationalism in the 30's finds its origin in the reaction of left social-democratic parties of the early 20th century in Ukraine. The strategy adopted by these groups in the revolutionary period failed to establish an independent Ukrainian state. The worker- and peasant-based parties led by leftist Ukrainian intellectuals, most particularly the participants in the Central Rada and the Petliura government, were unable to seize upon the massive social crisis of the declining imperialist powers and to forge a successful and enduring revolution of national liberation.

Western Ukraine consequently remained under Polish state domination, while the East bank was swept away in the October Revolution and the ensuing civil war.

As far as a mass base is concerned, the nationalist movement sought it primarily in the peasantry of Western Ukraine, the origins of most of our parents. Their leadership core was drawn from nationalist intellectuals and students, whose social origins are to be found in the petit-bourgeois and clerical strata of the urban population.

The Ukrainian nationalist movement solidified organizationally in 1929 under the name of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Its programme rejected the socialist currents of the early part of the century and leaned heavily on the example and ideology of Western European fascism. The latter became an

even more powerful pole of attraction as fascists seized power in Italy and Germany, propagating the ideas of "the nation above all" and emulating the virtues of will, obedience and faith over those of democracy and rationality. (Mednycky points this out clearly in the last issue's article "Integral Nationalism". However, he fails to characterize this ideology in motion within the Ukrainian historical experience.)

It would be scientifically incorrect to characterize the OUN as fascist. It is certainly appropriate, though, to examine the impact of fascist ideology on the movement. Its influence is clearly visible.

The Second World War

As the war unfolded on the Eastern front, the Ukrainian nationalist movement encountered a series of contradictions in social-political practice that did not square with its ideology and programme. The OUN and the Western Ukrainian peasantry experienced in the most brutal manner the advance of the Nazi armies. The Nazis exploited the legitimate aspirations of the Ukrainian people for justice and national equality by paying lip-service to these aims.

At the same time, the Nazi administration apparatus (Reichskommissariat) ordered political repressions, mass murders and deportations to the factories of the Reich. This experience, amongst others, provoked a split in the OUN into a Melnyk (original leader) and Bandera (the "radical" alternative) factions. Melnyk wanted to maintain a greater degree of collaboration with the German state; Bandera counselled reliance on "vlasni syly" (our own resources).

The next encounter with complexity occurred in 1941 with the organization of OUN missions to eastern Ukraine. Both factions dispatched units to cities in the east in order to mobilize support for their struggle. These units (pokhidni hrupy) were confronted with a population whose world-view, whose aspirations had been much affected by 20 years of Soviet rule. Possessing a healthy hatred for the Stalinist system, the workers and peasants of Eastern Ukraine included social and political rights in their concept of a just society. The goal of "an independent Ukraine, and we'll worry about the social system after we have our own flag" was simply not enough. These pressures (and revelations) upon the nationalist units found their concrete expression in the Third Extraordinary Congress of the OUN in 1943, when a growing left-wing current pushed through a social programme for the organization and endorsed statements rejecting fascism, the ideal of the heroic leader (vozhd') and stating open support for democracy in the fullest sense. Vynnychuk does not err

when he says that this programme "reads almost point by point like the manifesto of the Vietcong liberation front."

The most developed expression of the left turn of the OUN can be seen in the politics of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the guerrilla army. Arising in the forests of north-western Ukraine in 1943, the UPA represents the pinnacle of the nationalist movement, both in terms of programme and practice.

The famous UPA ideologues, Petro Poltava and Osyp Diakiv-Hornovyj, hammered out the critical points of the nationalist programme in their articles and pamphlets. Among their statements were the following: the Ukrainian nationalist movement does not struggle against the Russian people; it struggles against the Russian social and political elite (Hornovyj), *The Idea and the Deed*, pp. 153-67); the Ukrainian vanguard seeks equality with and the liberation of all oppressed nations (*ibid.*, pp. 99-135); the future society must be classless, free of all exploitation and oppression of national groups (P. Poltava, "Konceptia Ukrainskoyi Revoliutsii").

Those who attacked the Marxists and the TUSM left-wing leadership at last year's CESUS congress in Toronto on these same issues should do a bit of basic reading. They'll find that history teaches lessons more valuable than the instructions they got from the OUN political heavies upstairs.

The process of the Ukrainian question in actual struggle threw up these and other contradictions in the nationalists' strategy of national liberation. The war years produced a political current in the OUN that had in fact been rejected at the organization's founding in 1929 (there were, of course, differences between the left wings of both periods).

The left wing progressively differentiated itself until the 1950's, its emigré representatives maintaining the primary link with the embattled UPA in Ukraine. (Read Poltava's debates with Bandera in the early fifties for a closer look). The history of the left wing in emigration can be traced in the political circles of Maystrenko and Bahrianyj and the revolutionary newspaper "Vpered".

In the free world of McCarthyism

The Ukrainian emigration to the west was integrated as part of the labour market, receiving, as all emigrant groups do, the most meagre returns for its labour. The community was overwhelming

working-class, and was bestowed with the appropriate social insecurity by the powers-that-be (scorned as "aliens", "fascists", etc., afforded little protection of their right to jobs and fair wages).

That social insecurity was a malleable basis for sudden right- or left-wing radicalization. The political leadership was quick to establish community institutions that would raise nationally conscious Ukrainians, that would assist the Ukrainian struggle internationally.

On the following point, Vynnychuk has little to say. It is of prime importance for the understanding of our community's politics today: the right wing of the nationalist movement in emigration achieved hegemony over the community not so much because of factors internal to the Ukrainian nationalist community (the struggle between left and right), but because the political process in North American society, with far more powerful organs at its disposal, threw the mass Ukrainian base behind that right wing. That political process was McCarthyism; the group which rode to hegemony on its tide was the "Banderivtsi".

Like all other immigrant communities, our group fell into the process of cultural and political assimilation. What does this mean? The average Ukrainian worker read the daily paper, listened to radio, later watched TV, and spent eight hours a day in a factory. And the politics of the fifties, the ideology streaming through the North American press and media, through the labour leaderships, was the anti-communist ideology of McCarthyism.

The McCarthy witch-hunt legitimized the crudest anti-communist currents within Ukrainian nationalism. The latter's politics were endorsed by the ruling political powers in North America and bolstered within the Ukrainian community by all the channels that reached the daily life of the Ukrainian immigrant. (Captive Nations Week proclamations, for example, have fulfilled this function.)

The left vs. right debate was brought to an abrupt resolution by the political climate of the time. The newspaper "Vpered" folded, as did almost every left-wing paper and journal in North America.

In 1959, the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine organized rallies to denounce and mark as traitors all those who supported the Ukrainian struggle from a left-wing perspective (see *On Trial Before the Ukrainian Emigration: "National Communism", Khylovism and its Propagators!* New York, Publication of the United Committee, 1959, in Ukrainian). The principal targets were Bahrianyj and Maystrenko, labelled as traitors, splitters of the community, carriers of ideas "Alien to the Ukrainian people".

The Bandera-OUN thus rode to dominance in the community on the wave of Cold War anti-communism. Professional politicians exploited the Ukrainian question as an anti-communist tool against those who struggled for social justice in the West.

The Ukrainian right wing, in mutually parasitic relationship, received the endorsement of the continental powers (Nixon's Captive Nations Week proclamation, politicians duping Ukrainians to vote for them by talking about the international communist conspiracy).

Along come the sixties, the hippies, the commies and the plot to fluoridate our drinking water...

The decade of the sixties saw a new rise in revolutionary movements, east and west. Vietnam took on America, Ireland struggled against the British ruling class, African movements erupted against Portuguese colonialism.



The radicalization of youth in the West resulted from a combination of these international processes with ideological and social crises 'at home'. In North America the process of radicalization expressed itself in the Vietnam rallies and demonstrations, the university strikes, the Québécois nationalist movement, the revolt of America's black peoples. This politicization again differentiated itself into a hardened left wing (in the vast majority allying itself with the non-Stalinist left) and a stratum which turned to nihilism, hard drugs and mysticism. The latter group was a product of the demoralization of radicalized youth at the turn of the seventies.

In the early seventies, inflation and unemployment sparked the renewed radicalization of workers fighting for their living standards and political rights (France 1968, Greece 1973, Spain — the Basques, the British miners' strike of 1974).

The Soviet and East European countries also streamed into this upsurge. After post-war reconstruction, the economy of the USSR went into a slowdown in growth rate (1954); this resulted in aggravated social tensions (lack of consumer goods, low wages, rising prices) and workers' strikes (Kiev Hydroelectric Station in 1969 over housing conditions, Kiev machine building plant of 10,000 in May 1973 over cuts in wage premiums). At the same time, the national question in the non-Russian republics and the issue of democratic rights became focal points for dissident intellectual activity.

The radicalization of Ukrainian youth in the West

The Ukrainian left as we know it in the West was the combined product of the general youth radicalization and the rise of radicalization in the Soviet Ukraine.

Ukrainian youth underwent a socialization which stamped national identity prominently upon them. They were streamed, organizationally, into anti-communist politics around the Ukrainian question without taking the time (or having much opportunity) to make a more independent choice — as to the means of defending the Ukrainian struggle. Two processes hastened that choice for one section of Ukrainian youth. The radicalization in the North American schools brought us into contact with radicals. Many were literally surprised to learn that not all radicals are KGB agents, and that the issues they fight for are just. Secondly, those who became involved in the issue of Ukrainian political prisoners (particularly the Moroz case) decided to investigate the politics of those whom they were defending. Many were genuinely surprised to learn that not all Ukrainian dissidents are right-wing



nationalists, and that the issues they fight for (national equality, social justice) are the same as those of national liberation movements elsewhere.

Why we reject the nationalist leadership

Those who parade the spectre of 'communist infiltrators' before us have apparently been living in total isolation for the past twenty years. Those who shout the slogan 'Ukrainian truth' at us should find out the truth about the struggle in Ukraine.

The youth of today possess a keen sense of justice and have put their bodies in the streets many times to show it. That sense of justice arises in reaction to oppression and injustice *everywhere*. It is a consistent application, not a selective one. That is

where we differ with the nationalist leadership. That is why we reject it.

The Spanish regime under Franco assassinated Basque revolutionaries, fighters for the national liberation of their people. ABN, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, holds conferences with Sanchez Bella, Spanish Minister of Information (1971 ABN-EFC Conference, Brussels).

The Ukrainian nationalists say "Freedom for Ukraine!", "Democracy for the Ukrainian people!", "National Equality!" But they look at the struggle of the Québécois, the IRA, the African revolutionaries and say "Communist infiltrators!"

The nationalists call for the independence of Ukraine. Yet that same conference seated General Vanuxem, former commander of French troops in Vietnam and Algeria.

A quasi-fascist regime in Chile, in the pay of American corporate interests, assassinates thousands of leftists and workers in the Santiago soccer stadium. The WACL Conference in Washington in April 1974 (World Anti-Communist League, of which ABN is a member), called, no doubt, to discuss the issue of political prisoners, seated a Senator who is a member of the Chilean junta. The speech to this conference was entitled "The Salvation of Freedom in Chile".

And the Ukrainian nationalists ask why we are leftists, why we are consistent radicals, why we have nothing to do with their brand of politicking. These "patriots" did not even have the courage to denounce President Nixon, who last year sat behind closed doors with Brezhnev, negotiating the suppression of popular movements from Vietnam to Ukraine.

Yaroslav Stetsko and Co. enlist the "support" of this international gang of dictators and butchers. Dictators like Franco, butchers like those of the Chilean junta. Whose interests does this relationship serve?

Certainly not the interests of the Ukrainian people! Let Stetsko explain to the people who support this ABN operation what he's trying to do.

And why don't all those who are associated with such "politicking", like Askold Lozynsky, newly "elected" head of U.S. TUSM, lay their cards on the table? To campaign against the spectre of communism in the Ukrainian community is as easy as rolling out of a wedding. Explaining your own politics, before the members of TUSM (including those recruited a day before your election) will not be so easy.

Some of the self-styled ideologues of Ukrainian nationalism have found it appropriate to hack away at this "phenomenon of leftism" in the community: the newspaper "America", Roman Rakhmanny, the press organs of the OUN-Banderivsti, to name a few.

Yet they command ever-decreasing respect among Ukrainian youth. That is what Vynnychuk means in "The Decay of a Tradition". Let them enter the debate in a more intelligent manner, one which shows that they did in fact live through the many political crises of the past.

Let our history be discussed as it was written by all who made it, not just as it has been re-written and stamped with nationalist orthodoxy.

And, if indeed we are to "revive the democratic traditions in the Ukrainian community" as Vynnychuk has stated, then let the discussion take place in open, public forums. We Indians want to choose the chiefs.

Taras Lehkyj



LEADERS OF THE JUNTA saluting after Santiago church service in honor of Chilean 'Independence Day.'

Decay of tradition

(continued from page 30)

Two World Views

The basic political division between the young and old seems to be at the moment a question of how to fight the regime. But, for all the reasons given above, the difficulty of cooperation between the two generations amounts to more than a simple political division. Sometimes it seems to be a conflict of world views.

Recently, for example, at a meeting it was suggested that Kuznetsov be approached to write an introduction of a couple of pages to the translated writings of Moroz. His name was rejected because he was a Russian

and an "izmyennik Rossiyi". It does not seem to cross these people's minds that Kuznetsov might be a generous and understanding person with progressive, democratic views. (Ironically, Kuznetsov has a Ukrainian mother, speaks excellent Ukrainian and, in private discussions, has admitted that he feels more Ukrainian than Russian.)

The feeling one gets upon walking into a room of older people planning a political action of some sort is not merely an ideological aversion — it is more usually a sense of the utter hopelessness of any sane discussion.

I remember one experience where after a

long harangue against the limitations of the Ukrainian press in Canada and its reactionary views, from one representative of this press came the comment, almost as a flash of revelation:

"There is, when you think about it, nothing wrong with socialists. I mean look at Franko, look at the two advisors to our late archbishop..."

Or another earnest and puzzled question that reduces one to helplessness: "As I understand it, you are interested in neo-Marxism?"

How does one explain that many of the most radical students have never read Marx.

What begins as a healthy, instinctive reaction only later and gradually develops its intellectual justification.

One young group has stated that "its primary goal is to rehabilitate the concept of politics within the Ukrainian community... this is a prerequisite for any serious political work. We will try to revive the democratic traditions within the Ukrainian community."

At present they draw their inspiration from the liberation struggle going on in the Ukraine — not from the example of the emigre politicians.

M. Vynnychuk

Letters to the editor

(No. 31, January 1975)

I am writing to you about a very serious matter that was recently brought to my attention by a member of the Chilean resistance who had to escape from the country several weeks ago to save his life. The matter concerns the activities of the Argentinian Ukrainian ABN* group.

Shortly after the Chile Military putsch, the above mentioned Ukrainian group sent a delegation to welcome Pinochet's arrival to power. It was a large delegation (Ukrainian national costumes, flags, etc.)

The delegation thanked Pinochet for saving Chile "from chaos", and pleaded with that "great man" to intervene on the world arena on behalf of Ukrainian political prisoners, and the Ukrainian cause in general. The delegation received massive publicity — television, newspaper coverage etc. It was of course very convenient for Pinochet to have such a delegation arrive and explain to the population of

Chile how grateful they should be to Pinochet who delivered them from such an evil fate.

This occurred in October, several weeks after the putsch. It is not necessary to go into detail about the situation in Chile, you know it as well as I do. Let us just summarize Pinochet's achievement after a few days in power: 30,000 executed, and 50,000 imprisoned. Chile is a small country. If we take these figures and compare what the equivalent would be for Ukraine — 150,000 murdered, and 250,000 imprisoned — that is in a few days! Stalin would be green with envy.

The fact that the Argentinian ABN went out of its way to welcome the butcher Pinochet to power, and solicit his support deserves unequivocal condemnation from all Ukrainians with a modicum of democratic consciousness. The tragedy of this situation is that these people speak on behalf of the "whole Ukrainian nation" and drag the

name of Ukraine, Ukrainians and the national liberation struggle in Ukraine into the worst type of filth. Let me assure you that this escapade by the Argentinian ABN has left few people in Chile sympathetic to the Ukrainian cause.

I think this is an extremely serious matter which deserves a response not only from individuals, but from Ukrainian organizations committed to democracy and justice. I also think the voice of organized Ukrainian students must be heard on this issue. World public opinion, and in particular the Chilean people must be informed that there are other Ukrainians who sympathize and support their fight against the military junta and resolutely condemn the action of the Argentinian ABN who have no right to speak in the name of the Ukrainian nation. (The Ukrainian nation, unlike many, has had a bitter taste of fascist invasion with millions deported, hundreds of

thousands dead. We above all should know what fascism is about, and extend our warmest support to its victims.)

I propose that you raise this question with your executive and adopt the following course of action:

1) that the SUSK executive establish an ad hoc commission of inquiry to look into this matter. That this commission examine this question in some depth (eg. read the articles of Mercurio — the official newspaper of the Junta, etc.)
2) that this report be studied by the executive, and on the basis of this report a resolution be drawn and passed by the executive.

3) that any eventual resolution adopted, be circulated to other Ukrainian organizations inviting them to sign the resolution (and this includes the various solidarity-defense committees).
4) that the resolution be sent to all political groups of the Chilean resistance, and also be released to the world press.

5) that the executive consider for publication the report prepared by the commission of inquiry. The proceeds of the sale of this report be given in aid of the Chilean resistance, Chilean refugees.

I realize that within the Ukrainian community this will be very much an "explosive" issue and that there will be pressure on SUSK to avoid taking such a course of action. But it is exactly this kind of reticence to condemn openly scandalous political behaviour that has led to a situation where the Argentinian ABN's actions remain unchallenged. I hope your executive will act boldly to correct this state of affairs.

B.K.
former SUSK president

*ABN — Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations

Ukrainians ask Pinochet to defend Moroz

(No. 31, January 1975)

For over a year the Chilean people have been suffering under the most heinous military oppression. The Chilean Junta after overthrowing the Allende government in a bloody coup, announced a state of emergency, and stated that it would continue for an indefinite

period. Augusto Pinochet has been officially named "chief of the nation." He announced that he would rule for five years and perhaps even longer, thus dispelling any ideas of a return to some form of democratic government.

During July and August of this year, the Junta stepped up its program of arresting former UP* supporters. The government has set up a new secret service — DINA — the Board of National Anti-Communist Investigations. The newly appointed assistant director of DINA, Walter Rauff, is a former Gestapo Colonel. Rauff is held responsible for the deaths of thousands in Poland, Yugoslavia, and Ukraine. He was in charge of mobile gas chambers for the Central Office for the security of the Reich, head of the concentration camps at Ravensbruck and Ravensstein, and later director of the security police in Tunisia and Milan.

The achievements of these two men are numerous. After just a few days in power, 30,000 were executed and another 50,000 imprisoned. The DINA continuously searches for militant workers, peasants, and intellectuals, who are ideologically in opposition to the present regime. The living standards of the Chilean people have been consistently worsening even though foreign imperialist powers have been sending economic aid to the Junta. Unemployment is at a record high at 20% which is the highest unemployment rate since the 1930's.

The reason that these atrocities in Chile are being presented now, is because it has come to the attention of the Ukrainian community in North America that a group of Ukrainians had approached the Chilean Junta and asked them to come out in defence of Valentyn Moroz and other political prisoners. They congratulated Pinochet on the first anniversary of the overthrow of the Allende government.

As reported in "Homin Ukrainy," it sounds that the Ukrainian representatives condone the actions of the Chilean Junta in their bloody overthrow of the government in 1973. In the final paragraphs of the article, they give an excuse of why they approached the Chilean Junta. "If someone does not like the existing regime in Chile, let him go to a country whose regime he agrees with, and let

him work there for his 'chosen' regime. Perhaps such a humanitarian and positive stand by general Pinochet will have a great effect on the future of Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR. Chile, by defending these prisoners in the Soviet Union, becomes our ally in the fight for human rights for all those who are being harassed in Ukraine. Therefore, Ukrainians in the Free World should support the action which general Pinochet has proposed, freedom for Soviet and Cuban political prisoners!"

'This approach of the Ukrainians to the Chilean Junta on behalf of Moroz can only be surpassed by the collaboration of some Ukrainians with fascist Germany during the second World War. To approach a government that has consistently since it came into power, refused to allow basic democratic rights to the Chilean people, is abhorrent.



This kind of opportunism on the part of the Junta and the Delegation can not be supported by any Ukrainians in the Free World who believe in the basic ideas of human and democratic rights. In fact all Ukrainians should openly condemn this action and give their support to the resistance in Chile, which is fighting to overthrow this Fascist regime. We Ukrainians have more in common with the resistance, and can be sure that the support from them would be a principled and sincere defence rather than a political ploy by a government to exploit the issue for its own gains.

I.P.

*UP — UNIDAD POPULAR

A unity of different parties which formed the government in Chile before the coup. It ranged from members of the Communist Party to members of the Christian Democratic Party.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

(No. 32, February 1975)

The last CESUS Congress held in Toronto was an instructive lesson in the attitudes of Ukrainian nationalist youth towards the Irish struggle. Re-affirming the fact that nationalism, as an ideological current within the student youth is more a product of their socialisation than a consciously forged and independently embraced ideology, the presentation by the Irish Republican speaker and the film on Mozambique aroused interest and hesitation on the part of many, but little outright opposition to the legitimacy of these issues.

Where socialisation has united their nationalism with political reaction, anti-communism and conservatism, the Irish speaker spoke of a revolutionary nationalism; a struggle for national liberation through the destruction of classes in Irish society which maintain this oppression. Where nationalism in the Ukrainian emigration was tied to the interests of a variety of semi-fascist states and dictatorships (such as Spain, Chile, Taiwan), the Irish Republican identified these dictatorships as the enemies of the Irish struggle, as the opponents and subjugators of oppressed peoples. His speech even struck disharmony with the Chauvinist chord of right wing nationalism — an Irish revolutionary takes the floor to engage the time and intellect of four hundred Ukrainians at a nationalist congress of students!

And yet this event heralds a new period in the search for new politics by nationally conscious youth. It is, above all, the search for a new world view, a new politics, a logic of perspectives that synthesizes the sympathies of this group for the struggle of the opposition in Soviet Ukraine on the one hand, and the struggle of oppressed peoples and classes throughout the world on the other. Ukrainian nationalism of the OUN type fails to meet this challenge of synthesis. It is bound by anti-communism which sees Moscow behind every national liberation movement, by anti-intellectualism, authoritarianism, irrationalism, and blinded by its chauvinistic exclusivity and backwardness it sees no reason to look beyond its own backyard.

Why is it that the logic of OUN amigre nationalism favours the oppressor in all struggles but its own? When the Ukrainian Insurgent Army organised the armed struggle of the Ukrainian people against German imperialism and the Stalinist armies in 1943, it did so in the interests of national liberation against all imperialisms — British included. It raised its battle cry as the common cry of all oppressed nations — Irish included. The UPA was not formed on the basis of national chauvinism, exclusiveness and collaboration with German imperialism. These positions it rejected outright, and in rejecting them built its political tradition in opposition to chauvinist and authoritarian nationalisms. In their place it forwarded the slogans of national liberation, social emancipation of the workers and peasants and the armed struggle as the road of the revolutionary masses. In its ranks we find not only Ukrainians, but Tatars, Uzbeks, Azarbydzhanis, Jews, deserters from Nazi divisions organized by the German State in

East Europe, Russians, deserters from the Red Army. The Ukrainian nationalists today have conveniently forgotten this past, and have swept under the rug the finest traditions of the struggle during the war in order to re-assert the most reactionary elements of Ukrainian nationalism. It bears its fruit in Chile today.

And the last CESUS Congress again revealed the reactionary politics that covers this forgotten revolutionary tradition. The Ukrainian socialists and Marxists at the Congress were the only group to defend and present this revolutionary current during and after the Second World War. The QUN-ivtsi could do no more than red bait and name our politics 'foreign' to the Ukrainian people. Much in the same way as the nationalists in emigration were denouncing the politics of Hornovj and Poltava, leading members of UPA as 'alien and foreign to the Ukrainian people' as early as 1950.

Ukrainian socialists stand on the position of defense of the Irish struggle against British imperialism as a logical application of our general position of the right of all nations to their self-determination. And this self-determination is not of the type that grants the British Army free reign over the Irish workers, farmer, and fisherman. Furthermore, we stand on the position that only through the efforts of the working class of these oppressed nations will their national liberation be assured; only in defeating the social class that oppresses them as a nation and as wage labourers will the Irish people, the Ukrainian people, the Quebeccois be free peoples. In the words of Ivan Dzuba, "The national question is a social question as well, a question of political class struggle".

Just as we do not expect the Irish owners of industry and the commanding heights of Orangeism to break their ties of sustenance with British and international capital, and thereby "lead the national liberation struggle", we do not expect the Shcherbitskys and bureaucrats in Ukraine to sever their allegiances with the central Moscow bureaucracy. Their interests are of a particular class character — whatever national sentiments appear, such as did with Shelest, are the dimensions of manoeuvre between bureaucratic factions, not motivated by sentiments of justice and equality.

And to the Irish worker — what difference does it make to him to sell his wage labour to an Irish industrialist in a "free" state of Irish capital or to the British capitalist in today's state? What difference, after all, does it make whether the workers and peasants of Soviet Ukraina are denied their collective and democratic control over the productive process at the hands of an all-Soviet bureaucracy, or at the hands of an all-Ukrainian bureaucracy in an "independent" Stalinist Ukraine? An independent-from-Moscow Ukrainian elite would build more Shevchenko monuments all the more to mystify and oppress the Ukrainian masses! Much in the same way as the British army smashed the Easter uprising in Dublin in 1916 at the same time luring hapless Irish to the battle-

field in Europe in the cause of imperialism by flying the Irish flag over its recruiting centres. Promise them 100 Ukrainian recruits today, and they'll fly the blue and gold. For us, the task of national liberation is the task of that social class which will fight for its whole freedom, and nothing less, for the interests of all the oppressed layers of its nation, or no one at all. We do not see national liberation as the nationalists do — the task of all classes of the nation — like one big happy family. This is the basic difference between us.

British students have an important task to carry out in defending the Irish struggle, in correcting the image made by our nationalist "leaders" like Slava Stetski in Chile, that the Ukrainian people have received. The resolutions of the last meeting of British Ukrainian students were again notable in their disregard for this cause. The only new addition we see is the resolution "condemning the infiltration

by the KGB into the Ukrainian student movement." This fiction of a few uninformed diehards who have nothing better to do than to look for excuses for their own failures, is presumably a slander against the left wing of the Ukrainian student organisations in North America.

But someone has already said: "The IRA, the FRELIMO, the striking workers in Quebec are infiltrated by Stalinists". Does this make the positions of solidarity with these struggles less valid? Does this statement, this catch-all clause deny that national oppression daily hangs over the head of the Irish, Mozambique, Quebeccois masses? Does this phrase absolve you of the duty of going forward and fighting for a correct strategy for the national liberation movements, against its slanderers? Indeed it is because of the absence of such efforts that these struggles in Ukraine, Ireland and so many other countries, have been shunted off upon reformist paths, upon illusion-

ary roads, towards the desperate politics of terrorism.

And it is the task of Ukrainian youth to above all understand the dynamics and complexities of the Irish struggle, to solidarise with it wholeheartedly, and to learn from its lessons. To the British students (and North American) we say: A Free Ukraine — YES! But freedom for whom? The Shcherbitskys or the Ukrainian workers and peasants?

What kind of revolution for national liberation: a Shcherbitsky coup d'etat for an independent Stalinist Ukraine? An ABN conference for a new Chile? Or a revolution of the Ukrainian working class and peasantry, in their own name, in their own right? What kind of solidarity with the struggle in Ukraine? A solidarity of Slava Stetsko, General Pinochet, Sanchez Bella? Or a solidarity of all downtrodden peoples and classes against all oppression? Solidarity with the British Army or Solidarity with the Irish struggle?

Esape Alexian

LETTERS AND OPINIONS

(No. 34, December 1975)



by Vera Dumyn
Myron Spolsky

In the last year various groups and individuals have attacked Student for printing articles which condemned the visits of the Argentinian Moroz Committee and of members of the Anti-BKOLSHVICH Bloc of nations to the Chilean junta. (see Student v. 8 no. 31). The attacks have come from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Banderivsi and from the Argentinian Moroz Committee.

The articles published in Student initially attacked the above two groups for developing relations with this Chilean junta, which has come to power illegally by overthrowing the democratically-elected government of Salvador Allende. It was the position of the published articles and letters to the editor in Student that the contacts and the requests that this totalitarian government under General Pinochet interceded on behalf of Valentin Moroz were in fact an act of support of this government.

Absolutely no attempt was made by these two groupings to justify their actions in light of the criticism. Among the Ukrainian newspapers which did attack Student were Homin Ukraina of Toronto, America of Philadelphia, Shlakh Peremohy of Munich, as well as the Ukrainian Central Council of Argentina.

Following the trend of the above newspapers, the Ukrainian Central Council of Argentina (UCCA) responded by simple red-baiting. The statement attacked in particular the Student response to the newspapers. The article in Student had given a factual accounting of the political, social and economic conditions in Chile following the coup. (Student, v. 8 no. 32).

The Argentinian statement claims that the information received by Student was from an "active communist". In particular, they mentioned the letter to the editor published in Student v. 8 no. 31 and in fact, the article referred to in B.K.'s letter was a "radical Christian".

Anyone who has a minimal understanding of the events in Chile following the coup by Pinochet will not be surprised by this. The junta has repressed not only Communists, but activists of all political grouping which are opposed to it. Nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the trials of Christian Democrats for "subversive activity". This illustrates the broad opposition to the junta: initially, following the coup, the Christian Democrats had maintained a neutral position towards the junta.

It must be further illustrated that the press in Europe and North America has widely attacked the Chilean junta for over-throwing a democratically elected government, for repressing social, political and human rights, for arresting approximately 50,000 for some form of "subversive" activity, for executing a countless number of individuals with court trials and with closed court trials, and for totally ruining the economy of what once was among the more prosperous countries in Latin America. We are not speaking here of simply the left-wing press, but of respectable magazines such as Time, Newsweek, Der Spiegel, Le Monde, and others.

The Argentinian statements accuses the editors of Student of being in the pay of the Soviet KGB. They claim that the Student articles sabotaged their attempts to discredit the Kremlin. In approaching the Chilean junta in the manner that it did, the Argentinian Committee as well as the ABN have in fact discredited themselves. To use only an example, it is equated to the approaches of Stalinists to the Soviet Union, or of the approaches of individuals during World War Two to Hitler. To accuse Student of being subsidised by the KGB is to also say the same for the other world press which had similar positions, including the press of the melnykivski and other Ukrainian groupings.

In all of the newspapers, authors

expressed concern for the articles of democracy in Chile. Articles in Student have expressed concern that certain groupings within the Ukrainian emigre community, and in particular, the Banderivsi, have compromised (against) the very concepts of democracy in approaching this repressive regime.

On the one hand, we have the Banderivsi making claims about the liberation of Ukraine from totalitarianism, and on the other hand, this group has consistently approached the most repressive governments of the world for support for their cause. We consider that this form of opportunistic undemocratic politics of the Argentinian Committee and in particular of the Banderivsi cannot be accepted by the Ukrainian community. These politics are dangerous to the community and must be rejected. In attacking Student for publishing articles attacking a democratic position on the question of Chile, the Banderivsi and the Mesoz Committee of Argentina have shown their true anti-democratic faces.

The Ukrainian community outside of Ukraine which is involved in the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine must learn once and for all that our actions must be based on strict democratic principles. We can not accept any departures from this principle. Even more harshly, we must condemn the attempts, albeit futile, of the Banderivsi led by Slava Stetsko and Ihnat Bilinsky to isolate those individuals and groups who have criticized these anti-democratic elements. They cannot ignore the fact that the community has fully accepted at least the principle of democracy, if not social and political equality. Finally, they must recognize the principle of plurality of views in the community, without attempting to stifle them in order to sustain their own personal and group status quo in the community. We, for one, reject the attempts by Stetsko and company to monopolize the Ukrainian communities' leadership.

Mrs. Slava Stetsko, editor of *Ukrainian Review*, editor-in-chief of *Correspondence of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)* and leading light of that organization, together with Mrs. M. Poloz, representative of Ukrainian organizations in Argentina, last December visited the Chilean military Junta in Santiago to plead with General 'Butcher' Pinochet to stand up in defence of civil rights in the USSR.

That Mrs. Stetsko went to Chile after the coup is not surprising. It is an old habit of ABN to cuddle up to fascist and right-wing dictatorships, and to plead with these 'gentlemen' to defend civil rights in Ukraine. Examples: — the participation of the Spanish Minister of Information, Sanchez Bella in an ABN Conference in 1971; — the participation of General Vanuxem, former commander of French troops in Algeria in the same conference; — Chiang-kai-Chek of Formosa; — Dictator Park of South Korea; — the racist Enoch Powell, etc. etc. all 'friends' of Ukraine and eulogized in ABN literature.

But as Homin Ukrainy (15.2.1975) tried to explain in an article entitled 'More Attention to Student Matters', when students criticize such actions they exhibit a lack of "independent understanding and defense of the national interest of the Ukrainian people," they fall under the influence of a "foreign system of thinking". Explain to us, Homin Ukrainy how a refusal to sink into the mire of international reaction, as ABN has done, represents an 'abandoning' of Ukrainian interest. Explain to us also how attacking fascism and repressive dictatorships (no matter where they are found) is "foreign" to Ukrainian thinking.

According to Homin Ukrainy and other Ukrainian newspapers of the same ilk, to work with fascist and reactionaries in some sort of defense of civil rights is good 'Ukrainian patriotism' and is entirely acceptable if one understands the need to put 'Ukraine first'.

Ukraine First — But How?

But these people are not really so naive; they are entirely conscious of the role they play in aligning themselves with certain social and political forces, and the 'Ukraine first' policy does not absolve them from the implications of this. Thus, in Chile Mrs. Stetsko promised the Junta: "In my future appearances, I will recount the truth about your wonderful country and will make all effort to contradict the distorted picture which Marxist enemies spread throughout the world." (Svoboda, 12.2.1975) No, these 'tactical' alignments in 'aid' of Ukraine are not without implications, they are not outside of the historical movement of world forces. Furthermore, the particular force with which ABN chooses to align itself will accelerate the liberation forces in no country — least of all Ukraine.

And yet when other Ukrainians seek a principled alliance with elements which are consistently opposed to oppression, such as Phil Berrigan and others like him who defend civil rights East and West, in the USSR, Vietnam, and Latin America, well that is clearly 'foreign' thinking or even Marxist treachery!

To leave the field open for Mrs. Stetsko to recount the truth (i.e. Pinochet's truth) about Chile would be criminal negligence on the part of those Ukrainians with a real commitment to democracy and social justice. It is a duty to present the 'achievements' of General Pinochet and his gang, end to expose before the Ukrainian public exactly with whom ABN marches in defense of civil rights.

Pinochet's Coup

Mrs. Stetsko, ABN, Homin Ukrainy, Banderivtsi and Melnikivtsi, all love democracy and 'constitutional' government. But this did not stop them from supporting the coup.

The Popular Unity government headed by President Salvador Allende came to power through democratic elections in September 1970. Allende won 36 per cent of the popular vote, the closest runner-up, Alessandri, received 34 per cent of the vote.



Pinochet: 'friend' of political prisoners in the USSR.

On coming to power, the Allende government initiated a programme of sorely needed social and economic reform. If a criticism of the Allende government is to be made, it would have to be that the reforms undertaken did not go far enough. The reforms far from alienating the mass of the working population, increased the government's popularity. The government saw its electoral percentage increase to 44 per cent in the legislative elections of March 1973.

It was this development that frightened the Chilean reactionaries. As *Le Monde* (29.9.1973) pointed out: "After the elections of

"With Friends Like That,



Mrs. Stetsko (Svoboda — 12. 2. 1975).

"My conclusion is this: there is no visible terror in Chile!"

March, a legal coup d'etat was no longer possible since the two thirds majority required to achieve the constitutional impeachment of the President could not be reached. The Right then understood that the electoral way was exhausted and that the way which remained was that of force." This has been confirmed by one of the main promoters of the coup, the Air Force General Gustavo Leigh, who told the correspondent in Chile of the *Corriere della Sera* (B.11.1973) that "we began preparations for the overthrow of Allende in March 1973, immediately after the legislative elections."

This of course is not an isolated account: Western newspapers report dozens and dozens of horrifying reports of the savagery of the repression.

For over a year now, Chile has been ruled by a military junta headed by General Pinochet. This has been a year filled with massacres, summary executions, firing squads, beatings, tortures, massive arrests, disappearances, the burning of books, and curfews. Even the skeptics and cynics have to bow before the facts: 30,000 executed, 50,000 imprisoned. Those who have gone underground to flee this hell must be counted in tens of thousands. The workers who have lost their jobs because they are suspected of anti-government views and have been thrown into poverty, or even on the verge of starvation, must be counted in the hundreds of thousands.

If a criticism of Allende is to be made, it would also have to be that Allende's illusions about the 'neutrality' of the army prevented him and his government from taking measures (e.g. dismissing leading reactionary officers, creation of popular militias etc.) to ensure a real defense of the people's politi-

cal, social and economic conquests.

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean army carried out the *coup d'etat* which it was planning for months. President Salvador Allende died resisting the fascist troops in the Moneda Palace, the Presidential residence. A period of savage repression opened up.

Here is how the correspondent of *Newsweek* (a not-so left-wing magazine) described some events immediately following the coup:

"Last week, I slipped through a side door into the Santiago city morgue, fleshing my Junta press pass with all the impatient authority of a high official. One hundred, and fifty dead bodies were laid out on the ground floor, awaiting identification by family members. Upstairs, I passed through a swing door and here in a dimly lit corridor lay at least fifty more bodies, squeezed one against another, their heads propped up against the wall. They were all naked.

Most had been shot at close range under the chin. Some had been machine-gunned in the body. Their chests had been split open and swen together grotesquely in what, presumably had been a pro forma autopsy. They were all young and, judging from the roughness of their hands, all from the working class. A couple of them were girls, distinguishable among the massed bodies only by the curves of their breasts. Most of their heads had been crushed. I remained for perhaps two minutes at most, then left.

Workers at the morgue have been warned that they will be court-martialled and shot if they reveal what is going on there. But the women who go in to look at the bodies say there are between 100 and 150 on the ground floor everyday. And I was able to obtain an official body-count from the daughter of a member of its staff: by the fourteenth day following the coup she said, the morgue had received, and processed 2796 corpses." (quoted in *The Times*, 5.10.1973)



Peasants expropriate large estates below that scared the reactionaries such initiatives that the Coup was

Who Needs Enemies...?"

(No. 32, February, 1975)

'But They Killed Communists'

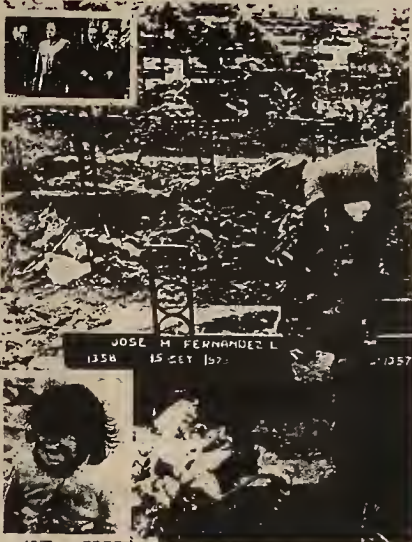
Over a year has passed, but the repression continues.

In the concentration camps, Chacabuco, Dawson, etc. prisoners, some of whom are serving 30 year sentences, are subject to torture, drug treatments, and the whole gamut of humiliations.

The military pursue the hunt of the organized opposition. Only recently, Miguel Enriquez, general secretary of the MIR was shot while heroically resisting arrest. Fighting at his side was his companion Carmen Castillo who was seven months pregnant. After months in prison, she was released as a result of an international campaign on her behalf. Testifying to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (the same Foundation that recently initiated an international campaign in defense of Ukrainian and Russian political prisoners, among them Moroz), Carmen spoke of the sadistic tortures used against woman political prisoners, tortures of children in front of parents to force confessions from the parents, etc.

Armoured vehicles patrol working class areas. Shots are fired every night, and vehicles screeching through the streets after midnight, carrying out random searches to remind the working population of 'who is boss'. Periodically the military surround a *poblacion* (poor neighbourhood) and arrest a thousand or two thousand persons, and far from all are later released. Recently the military invaded the *poblacion* called La Victoria, in the commune of San Miguel, south of Santiago, and indiscriminantly arrested about a thousand men, from 15 years old on up, and shipped them to the notorious concentration camp on the coast, Tejas Verdes. Only 200 returned home, and most of these, according to Swedish Embassy officials, had been maimed by 'drug' treatment.

Trade-union, political, and democratic rights continue to be denied. Judges still refuse to grant habeus corpus when someone disappears into the hands of the executors of the military intelligence services. Trials are a farce, and lawyers who are too serious in defending their clients, end up in the prisoners' dock themselves.



fresh graves after the Coup.

On the Economic Front

This reactionary violence, of a brutality unprecedented in Latin America, is but one aspect of the Junta's campaign to bring the working class population to submission; to pound the working population into an obedient 'factor' of production. The other aspect is the Junta's economic policy.

The right-wing Ukrainian press defend the Chile *coup d'etat* with arguments they picked up in non-Ukrainian reactionary newspapers. One of the favourite arguments in defense of the Junta is that the military had to take power to 'save Chile from economic chaos'. Let us summarize some of the *hard facts* of the Junta's economic policy.

o The Junta itself admits that there are now 700,000 unemployed in Chile, out of an active population of 3 million, that is, around 20 per cent of the active population. And what was the record of the Allende government? Despite an intensive economic blockade by the USA, despite attempts by the Chilean right-wing to disorganize the economy, the Allende government reduced unemployment to 3.8 per cent by 1971 — one year after begin in office. (To understand this achievement one has to compare the figure of 3.8 per cent unemployment with the 6.0 per cent unemployment that existed in Chile during the 1960's.)

o Inflation under the Junta according to its own figures (Le Monde 11.3.1975) rose between September 1973 and September 1974 by 570 per cent. (Between 1965-70, inflation was on the average 26.5 per cent. The Allende government, that 'dis-organizer' of the economy, reduced inflation in 1971 to 22 per cent, and this despite the obstacles mentioned above.)

o Again according to statistics released by the Junta, between September 1973 and September 1974, the price of bread rose by 2100 per cent. The price of sugar in the same period rose by 2300 per cent, milk 1600 per cent, rice 3400 per cent.

o While under Allende, workers received a 20-30 per cent increase in real wages; under the Junta, the purchasing power of those employed in all professions dropped on the *average* by 45 per cent between September 1973-September 1974. This is an official figure, and it does not take into account the unemployed. To give a more graphic example of the situation in Chile today, the minimum monthly wage in Chile today is equivalent to 50 bus tickets and 35 kilos of bread! For the 700,000 unemployed in Chile who do not even earn the minimum wage, and who are without any form of unemployment benefit, the situation is desperate.

The Junta's economic policy has affected not just the mass of the working class, but also the petty bourgeoisie and even certain layers of the bourgeoisie. The decline in the buying power of a major part of the population, the successive devaluations of the escudo (the currency) and the consequent increase in the price of imported goods, the rise in interest rates, and so on, have bankrupted a large number of merchants and small and middle-size industries. Public employees and white-collar and supervisory workers in the private sector have been fired by the thousands, and the wages of those who can still work are ridiculous.

Even many of those who supported the Junta in the initial stages have become bitterly disillusioned with the military. This is especially true of large sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie. The social basis of the Junta's support in Chile has sunk to an all-time low. But it must be a source of satisfaction (albeit a very, very small source of satisfaction) to Pinochet, to know that he has 'friends' abroad.

When pressed, the reactionaries in the Ukrainian community will absolve the Junta by claiming, 'after all, they struggled against Communism'.

True enough, Pinochet killed Communists, and socialists of all kinds, and Christians, and democrats and ordinary workers and peasants.

But we must ask our Ukrainian reactionaries, why do millions of people outside the Soviet Union freely support the Communist Party? Why does the Communist Party in Italy have well over 1 million members? And in France regularly captures 25 per cent of the popular vote in elections?

Millions of men and women around the world belong to the Communist Party because they think that the C.P. defends and struggles for their interests. Many, although by far not all, support the Soviet Union, even in its internal policy. What should be our approach to these millions?

Do we support right-wing dictatorships? Fascist governments, because they are anti-Communist? Absolutely not! To do that is to precisely reinforce the attitude amongst these millions that all those who oppose the USSR, and the C.P. are fascists of one sort or another. Here ABN and similar groups help the world Stalinist movement in maintaining its hegemony over these millions.

Our task is to be *exemplary* in our denunciation of repressive regimes around the world. To be *exemplary* in our defense of social and economic justice. OUR TASK IS TO POINT OUT THAT THE STALINISTS BETRAY THESE IDEALS TIME AND TIME OVER AGAIN, AND NOT TO BETRAY THESE IDEALS OURSELVES.

by Marina Panchyshyn



in 1972. It was such initiatives 'from in Chile. It was to put an end to carried out.



stadium transformed into concentration camp.

by Marijka Hurko

BACK TO THE

The government's recent revelation that its multiculturalism programme will now emphasize "intergroup understanding" to fight discrimination of the "real" minorities, that is, non-whites, convinces me that the Liberal government has absolutely failed to understand even to this day the differences in the rights, reflected by unique needs, between immigrants and indigenous Canadians of non-English and non-French background.

The manoeuvring of the multicultural programme to embrace racism and immigration slinks of political expediency: a cashing in on a public swing to the right on a law and order platform and making it sound as if it was part and parcel of an existing programme. To kill a second bird with the same stone — the clamouring 'ethnics' would be pushed into the back seat, perhaps indefinitely, by a word-juggling bureaucrat who overnight created a 'real' minority out of the non-whites. Does this imply that the white non-dominant cultures are false minorities? Is the government blatantly racist by recognising a 'real' minority only on the ground that its colour is different? Is it in the same breath discriminating against the traditional minorities (to use a government term)?

The needs of immigrants, whether Jamaican, Japanese or Portuguese, are basically related to a need for acceptance. The needs of cultures already established, and not being regenerated by



JOHN MUNRO

immigration, are ones of proper atmospheric conditions for their cultures to thrive — and this is true for both whites and non-whites. Both categories are obliged to contribute to this country in labour and taxes, and in return can demand their rights. The distinction that should be made is, thus, not between white and non-white, but between immigrants and indigenous Canadians.

The needs of immigrants should find response in the programmes of the Ministry of Manpower and Immigration, the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State, and so forth, while their

(No. 34, December 1975)

NOT AS GLORIOUS AS IT SEEMS

by Y. Harun

education, and why is the policy not shored down everyone's throat by the federal government until it is accepted by all, especially in light of the government's pushiness on the bilingual policy.

On the question of multilingual broadcasting the UCC did little more than restate the demand for regional air time on CBC for Ukrainian-language broadcasting. Again some consultation with other interested parties in the Ukrainian Canadian community would have told them that we don't need any more amateur hours: the demand must be that the CBC government pay for national Ukrainian programming on the CBC radio and television in the three languages in order to allow for coast to coast communication within the Ukrainian Canadian community, in order to have the CBC bring out Ukrainian cultural talent, to provide it with a professional outlet that it cannot possibly find within the community, in order to utilise the Ukrainian language in a contemporary setting, in order that it develop in circumstances that it presently cannot achieve.

More time definitely should have been spent on the principles of the issues, and not just on making demands which would not lead to the conclusive development of the community. The issues raised by the brief were not the major issues confronting the community; they do nothing for the development of the community. At best, they can only be seen as attempts to convince the convinced Ukrainians. Why can't more time be spent worrying about the whole of the community?

Finally, the hour came. The Executive, Trudeau and his local sidekicks were comfortably eating in the hotel and making their presentations. Trudeau dictated the topics: discussion started on the question of human rights. Far too much time was spent on this, and as a result there was not enough time to discuss issues of primary concern to the Ukrainian community — the community itself and its demands. Why? Because each section was presented by a different member of the executive, because they were not prepared with short statements. In Trudeau's own words, "The Executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee must learn how to speak more effectively to the government and get its point across."

Well, the hallowed halls of the former Credit Foncier building, (now housing the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the City of Winnipeg Welfare Department) will echo in dismay and anger at these words, and many words will hold down on the SUSK rep to KYK. But really Msrs. Radchuk, Kondra, Bashuk et al, isn't it time that you stopped trying to criticise these editorials and articles and started acting like the central representative body of Ukrainian Canadians? And isn't it time that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee started being that central representative body in fact, instead of trying to prevent various interest groups from going to the federal government directly? Perhaps if you would take the lead and not just hold on to the rail you would succeed. Let's get with it.

HARBUZ PATCH

rights, as all others are guaranteed by the Canadian Bill of Rights. But to transform multiculturalism into a white knight programme battling racial discrimination of recent immigrants is an admission that what the government made multiculturalism to be over the past four years did nothing to prepare us for mutual tolerance. That is why tolerance, which had to be intrinsic to the multiculturalism programme, is now the emphasis — for it was the most glaring failure. The correct solution, however, is not Munro's, but one which would intensify tolerance & understanding between the host multiculturalures. For discrimination is not created by immigrants, but is a product of our own, the host's, intolerance, egoism and greed. The solution is not one which enables me to know no more about my German neighbour that that he makes good *kuchen* but one that gives me access to his literature, art and history in Canada. This is the groundwork for respect.

Unfortunately, all this — although philosophically quite intelligible to the government — is largely irrelevant in the context of politics, or what the Liberal government feels it must do for the sake of political expediency. The proper question, then, is why the Liberals feel that political expediency dictates the abandonment of a multiculturalism policy that is meaningful for the minority cultures indigenous to Canada.

To answer the question — the Liberal policy of multiculturalism has become a royal pain in the neck for the government. The euphoria and benevolent intentions which arose after Trudeau's introduction of the policy in 1971 have become a big yawn, as Canadians over the past four years have had about all the 'sensitisation' they can stand to painted Easter eggs, bright national costumes, and other transplanted cultural traits. It had become quite obvious to all that multiculturalism needed drastic revision, urgently — or the Liberals could claim credit to financing the biggest fad in Canadian history.

Cries for revision came from the minority ethnicocultures themselves. The Ukrainians being the most vocal. They articulated that the multicultural policy ignored language maintenance, and was by that very fact a failure and a failure. Their demand was that government de-emphasize multicultural grants for activities that simply perpetuated certain cultural traits: the culinary arts; restoration of *shavarski*; X to the power of ten number of choirs; and the like — and pour much needed funds into areas that would promote the development of our culture: education in the Ukrainian language in public schools; a living language in the media; and in the arts. Make Ukrainian a working language and we would have a living culture.

The government, of course, understood the apineas of these demands. After all they were vocalised by the Quebecois, the denigrated as rights in the government's bilingualism policy. Obviously if bilingualism is a right of the French- and English-speaking, multilingualism is a right of all Canadians.

The government, however, will not politically understand this. The proof? They have drowned the demands of minority ethnicocultures in a sea of paper work created by a tangle of committees all studying each other. If a government research team produced something worthwhile, it was counteracted. A case in point is the excellent Non-Quebec Study (NQL), finished in 1974. It is 1976 and what of it? First it had all its punch removed, and then stalled, while the government embarked on a Majority Attitudes Study to make damn sure that none of the NQL recommendations interfered with the rights of the majority groups. What kind of attitude is this, we may well ask?

This treatment goes beyond bureaucratic incompetence, to outright schematic planning. Multiculturalism was created not only to pacify East European voters angered by Trudeau's ignorant analogy of Soviet Ukrainian dissidents to the FLQ. Multiculturalism was also created as a handy tool with which to stem the flow of Quebecois aspirations into sacred bastions, specifically, in the socio-occupational sphere in the form of controlling positions in government and the economy. The government denied Quebecois aspirations with excuses that the pie now had to be shared with the minority groups. It is not by accident that French-Canadians and the other ethnicocultural minorities are pitted glaringly against each other in the proverbial pie with the attitude of my gain is your loss.

Meanwhile the Quebec question has gathered more momentum than most ever imagined. Bill 22 catalyzed events to an unprecedented degree. It proved that the Quebecois are desperately serious about survival, and that they know it does not lie in the sensitisation of Canadians to *pea soup*. No, much more — it lies in socio-occupational parity with the other founding race — throughout the social fabric of Canada. The result: government financed bilingual training; French as a language of media and air traffic communication; a rising Quebecois technocracy, and anti-multiculturalism.

The Liberal government found itself in a rather painful position. The slogan of a bilingual Canada had gone out of hand. It was alienating western Canadians who were being irritatingly shoved into ill-planned bilingual districts; as well as eminent Anglo chauvinists, staunch believers in English as the language of internationalism. Worst of all, was that multiculturalism was a vehicle for the Quebecois pattern of development, on the part of the other ethnicocultures with their sophisticated demands.

A combination of factors indicated a seemingly clear plan of action to the Liberals. These factors were: first, that the Liberal electoral stronghold was seated in Quebec; secondly, that the last election showed that multiculturalism was not a burning issue to the western voter, and, thirdly, that the strides in bilingualism were shocking non-French Canada. The plan of action — without alienating Quebec, freeze bilingualism to pacify the non-French, and phase out multiculturalism with the same stroke.

This process was first evident with the demolition of multiculturalism from the sphere of a Minister of State to a drawer in the desk of the Minister of Labour. Then came the budget cuts: from \$10 million to \$5.3 million; the slow death by committee; and the final humiliation of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism — the government's own advisory body — whose intelligent report was disregarded.

However, this, the government's final copout is not necessarily a *post mortem* on a meaningful multiculturalism policy. Munro's report, prepared by James Bond and Rosana Scott, will be deliberated by the Cabinet in January. There is time to act: it is up to us, in solidarity with the other groups to put an end to this shall and demand our rights. First, and foremost stands our right to formulate a policy which is aimed at our welfare. Multiculturalism has never been conceived — we should be declining that policy and everything that it implies! Time is running out before the so-called "Multicultural Reality" of today becomes the multicultural myth of tomorrow!

Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau meeting with the UCC executive in Winnipeg, 12 September 1975.

Earlier this year, the National President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) met with Prime Minister Trudeau and some of his sidekicks from Ottawa and Winnipeg. This is not the first time that Trudeau has met with representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian community. In 1971 he had met with representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee following his return from a trip to the Soviet Union, during which he had compared Ukrainian dissidents with Quebec separatists. There was also a meeting between Trudeau and representatives of students in Winnipeg who demanded that Trudeau take a supportive stand on the question of Valenty Moroz and make his views known to the Soviet Union. Needless to say, Trudeau's waxy-washy attitude brought few results.

However, a few words must be said about UCC's tactics and approach to issues of concern to the UC community and its meetings with Trudeau. The latest meeting held between Trudeau and the (entire) President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was far less successful than what the Ukrainian Canadian press had reported. In fact, it can be said that the Prime Minister made no commitments, and laughed all the way to his next engagement.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee did not see fit to enquire its member organisations in preparing the presentation to Trudeau, nor did it solicit advice from various individuals within the community in the preparation of the presentation. This is especially strange in the light of knowledge that Trudeau is a very capable performer when it comes to such presentations. It is my information that very little time was spent by the executive in the preparation of the presentation; once the various sections were written up, there was little discussion on who would make the presentation and with what kind of strategy, and most importantly — what issues should receive priority in presentation.

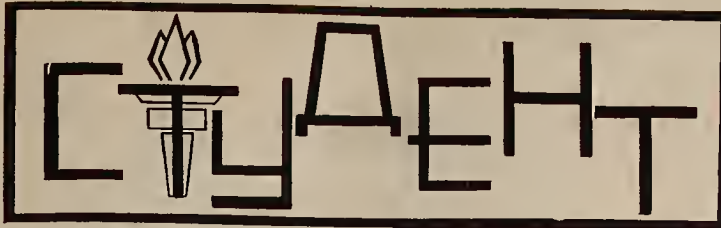
Instead, the executive met one week before the Trudeau meeting with the discussion centering on the nature of the gift to be given to Trudeau for his children, and when everyone would sign the books. Really gentlemen, is this

not bordering on the absurd? Is this not the height of irresponsibility? Could not this time have been spent more wisely to prepare the presentation, to decide on the priorities of presentation, and to perhaps consult with others on the strategy?

The UCC brief itself raised some issues: the question of government funding for the building of Ukrainian centres and other funds for the Ukrainian press, the question of multilingual broadcasting on the CBC networks, and finally the question of Canada's stand on human rights in the USSR. As matters of specific demands these questions are as old as motherhood and latherhood, and hence beyond reproach. But these issues alone fail to raise the problem of the Federal Government's irresponsibility in implementing the policy of multiculturalism across the board. They fail to challenge the government's sincerity in implementing the policy. To use the words of the brief, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is interested in the 'preservation' of the Ukrainian culture in Canada.

Why does the Ukrainian Canadian Committee use the word "preservation"; after all, why have Ukrainian Canadian organisations such as the Business and Professional Federation and SUSK been fighting for the development of the Ukrainian Canadian culture and community? Nobody is interested in preserving Ukrainians in antiquated shells dating to the 1930s. Is it not this preservation that has led to a flight from the community by countless numbers?

Why did the brief not raise the question of the government's sincerity in implementing the policy? Why is it that multiculturalism is still a policy enclosed in a minor directorship within a ministry, isn't it time after four or five years of this nonsense to have a Commissioner of Multiculturalism, Commissioner of Official Languages, who will see to the implementation of the multicultural policy at all levels of government? And why is it that the government still actively pursues a bicultural policy when the multicultural policy was to do away with that unrealistic view of Canada? Why does the government not fund third language instruction through provincial departments of



Original Student logo

Position Paper presented to the
16th National SUSK Congress
in Edmonton, Alberta
on August 30th, 1975

by Lubomyr Such

(No. 35-6, Feb.-Apr. 1976)

It was seven years ago under the auspices of SUSK that the first issue of Student was published.

Feeling confident and mature, as well as perceiving the need for maintaining close communication between Ukrainian Canadian student organizations and individuals, SUSK published the Student in partial fulfillment of the program that was adopted by the 9th SUSK Congress of May 11, 1968.

Student was to fulfill four major tasks:

1. inform about the plans and activities of the SUSK executive;
2. inform about the work of the various Ukrainian Clubs and their individual members;
3. criticize the shortcomings in the social, religious, economic and political life of our community; and generally
4. notify its readers about things that are of interest to them as students and as Ukrainian Canadians.

Whether or not Student adequately fulfilled its tasks as a student paper is a matter for much debate.

In this position paper, an attempt will be made to relate the various problems that must be overcome if the further development of Student as well as of the total Ukrainian community in North America is to be realized.

Since 1968, thirty-two issues of Student have been published. Not counting the single issue that came out in '68, an average of five

STUDENT

ISSUES PER YEAR WERE PUBLISHED. THIS FIGURE MIGHT SEEM MEAGRE WHEN COMPARED WITH THE ENGLISH DAILIES. BUT THEN STUDENT DOES NOT HAVE THE RESOURCES TO HIRE THE PEOPLE, NOR TO BUY THE EQUIPMENT THAT IS NEEDED FOR SUCH OPERATIONS.

The few generous individuals that do offer their time and talent to help with the research, typing and fund raising for Student are not in any position to work full-time without financial assistance. Thus, part-time volunteers must raise enough money (approx. \$300 per issue), write articles and news events, and layout and distribute the paper, all in a few weeks, and still continue their studies. Besides encountering these general problems which many papers experience, Student, as a bilingual paper, has the extra technical problem of having to type, edit, and type-set in two (or even three) languages. To add to this, Student must depend for its survival on the work of a small number of inexperienced, busy university students.

If these were the only hurdles in Student's path, then perhaps we would see more issues of it being published. By being inquisitive and critical of the Ukrainian Canadian community, and prone to experimenting with new concepts and ideas, Student is frequently denied both financial and moral support by certain sectors of the Ukrainian Canadian community. It seems that Student should either stop criticizing (or even discussing) certain topics, (for example: the whole question of Chile, and in particular the Pinochet-Stetsko relationship), that are not to the liking of certain people, or else face being black-listed, defamed and financially cut off.

It is just recently that Student has attempted to establish a more diversified base for financial support. Besides the non-Ukrainian people, Student has accepted funds from people of various political and religious leanings that are generally not favoured by the Ukrainian community. Accepting funds from these people however brings about the criticism and the ostracism of Student. There is a certain sector in the Ukrainian Canadian community on the one hand, that will not tolerate political views that are not in line with their own, and on the other hand there is a small sector that respects



the rights of those that differ with it, and will support anyone that can intelligently and rationally state his or her position.

A misconception of the role of the press has been developed by certain segments of the Ukrainian community. Whereas they see every paper as being a mouth piece for particular partisan views and do not allow for debate within their own ranks, but only among conflicting views, Student's role and relationship to SUSK must be clarified consistently for the benefit of these organizations.

Student, while being published under the auspices of the SUSK Congress, is not an organ of the SUSK National Executive or the SUSK Congress, although when questions of broad policy are brought up that the SUSK Congress may feel are vital for the further development of the Ukrainian Canadian community or the question of the self-determination of nations and in particular Ukraine, then Student may be directed by the SUSK Congress to support and publicize these matters.

Student is an independent newspaper — independent in the sense that there is no censorship by SUSK — all points of view are welcomed on the pages of Student. When I say all points of view, I should make a few qualifications. If given articles are to be printed in Student, they must in some way be relevant to organized Ukrainian Canadian student activities, and what is more important, be of a positive and constructive nature. Frequently we receive articles that are emotional diatribes that serve no useful purpose. Articles must, in an honest and moral manner contribute to a reader's intellectual development and to their understanding of the human activities in question.

The prime role of Student is to be an open forum for the expression of views of students — whether they agree or disagree with the views of the publisher or editorial board.

The Student editorial board takes a democratic principled position on all matters with which it may be involved. As such, the editorial board has repeatedly stressed the fact that opinions expressed in the various signed articles do not necessarily represent those of the Student editorial board.

Student considers that it is its responsibility to allow for the freest exchange of opinions on matters of interest to the Ukrainian Canadian community. The position of the editorial board has always



been that stands on given issues must in the first instance be based on democratic principles and in the second instance that this position be firmly adhered to.

It is for this reason for example that the question of Chile was raised in Student.

The main argument of these articles consisted of pointing out to the community that a democratically elected government was illegally overthrown by a military coup which subsequently suppressed basic civil and political rights. The articles criticized the relationship maintained by some Ukrainian nationalist organizations with one of the most repressive fascist regimes in the world, as in the case of Chile.

We view Student as important evidence of the strong urge to continue to survive and develop in a pluralistic society on the part of

young Ukrainian Canadians. Student is one of the most valuable projects that the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union has initiated. The articles in this newspaper can be viewed as important historical papers that reveal the attitudes, thoughts, aspirations and ideas of Ukrainian Canadian students. Like the spoken language, the printed word can also be a carrier of culture. And this is exactly the function that Student has been fulfilling and, we hope, will continue to fulfill.

If we wish to see Student become a more frequently and regularly issued paper of high quality, several steps have to be taken:

1. A solid financial base for Student has to be established, i.e., enough funds have to be raised for several issues of Student before any work is started on it.
2. More writers and reporters have to be encouraged to work for Student.

All students must be encouraged to put their thoughts down on paper, and hand it in to Student for publication. It is only in this way that we can continue a productive dialogue on the pages of Student.

We believe that it is the role of student papers and student organizations to be the catalyst for new progressive ideals, morals and ethics for its community. It is on the basis of this, that Student will attempt to continue to function.



DE CLUB COMMUNICATIONS

by A. Makuch

(No. 35-6, Feb.-Apr. 1976)

Photo: Edmonton USC on recruitment drive



People learn from mistakes, or experiences, or from experiences resulting from mistakes, and especially from mistakes resulting from a lack of experience. Well... some people — anyhow. So too is for any organization: again — for some, more than for others.

One important thing for any club to master, especially a (Ukrainian) students' club with a short fiscal year, is communication on campus to both members and potential members. The following suggestions are the result of fact and fiction which have occurred in Edmonton this year.

An initial membership drive is always in order. Usually this involves having a few people at a time man a table which displays various items to draw the attention of the student population. Hopefully they will stop by and browse to see what's happening (an operational Gating gun, fully loaded, is most effective, but not recommended due to storage problems and noise by-laws on campus). An excellent alternative might be a phonograph spinning out the sounds of the D-Drillers 5 playing 'Beattles' songs and other modern music. This is the time to hand unsuspecting suspects a runoff telling them how much your Ukrainian Students' Club (USC) has done in the past, of bright future prospects, and of its great personnel. A bit of blatant lying sometimes is necessary in the preparation of this presentation, although the stretching of the truth a little will usually suffice. But don't worry about it — no one reads these hand-outs carefully and even fewer people believe them; most people simply want to know when the first club social will be held.

The use of campus media, posters, and visitations to Ukrainian classes are also good ways to recruit members. However, with all these people in whom (theoretically) enthusiasm for the local USC has been developed, there exists the entire gamut of interests — hence the need for a questionnaire. By offering a wide range of activities which members can mark as their interest, one will be amazed at some of the results. For example, Maria Verbylova, a 6th year theology student at U of A, indicated that she enjoyed parking (legal, illegal), and otherwise, talking dirty, salsa-making, producing manifestos, controlling playing croquet, and film making (the one colour (blue) type). At the same time, an anonymous 1st year commerce student admitted to partaking of skating, and attending dances and concerts, but felt that the boycotting of *pubski oporki* would have a negative effect on our economy. You are now ready for the next logical step — either forming a phoning and a newsletter committee, or else getting down to your studies amidst a rapidly disappearing school year. A phoning committee has the added advantage of personal contact to assure the receiver of the call that the club (she) joined DOES exist and IS doing something. The weakness with this type of contact lies with the obvious fact that the information given will inevitably be slanted and inaccurate to the point where it resembles the original as much as an eight year old's

description of a Fellini film or a KYK report of its meeting. Thus, for more than a single matter of concern and a limited amount of confusion, a newsletter is much better, even though it may be more impersonal medium.

Once it has been established who will lick the stamps and who will drink the spiral duplication fluid (it is often a wise move to check your questionnaires to find some Engineering students for the latter task), the most important question remains — the style of the newsletter. It must both inform and interest its readers. Marginal drawings of camels and insects telling the right ratio to use when mixing *samohonka* & Red Devil in order to avoid blindness or insanity (usually for the sake of those same Engineering students) are commendable, but if your content is dry as Medicine Hat no one will become enthused with the information. This is why it is to your advantage to have a top-notch newsletter writer(s). For example, I shall use a few quotes from Edmonton's own 'Boris' whose epistles this year drew many responses from irate parents, investigating RCMP (Red Cukie Monkey Patrol) officers, and a host of students — providing that at least some read them.

The elements used were quite simple. They included a salutation (Greeting; or as they say in the meat packing business how 'st hanging?); review and preview of events (How did the Weiner roast go? ... speaking of weiners, the outgoing executive will be under the gun this Monday night... at the club's annual, I mean annual general meeting); club news (our chief of secret police and our minister of propaganda have both fled the country); and notation of meritorious action (seasonal conference goers are currently consuming 2 to 3 times their weight in excess alcohol every week. Their efforts are to be applauded — and so are their livers.)

Hopefully, once a regular system of communications amongst your members has been established, some sort of concentration of efforts can be made in the rest of the student body. Regular inserts into "Coming Events" columns are a necessity. However, posters are a more spectacular medium. A simple rule of thumb to remember is "lots of pictures of naked people for social events, and wild-eyed anarchists for political debates", although the order can be reversed without any noticeable differences.

Finally, mouth-to-mouth communication has the greatest potential for the spreading of information (not to mention communicable diseases). Let's face it — students are a mouthy lot. Unfortunately, their conversations are usually of the "guess who was fooling around with whom in the showers after the basketball game last Saturday" variety. Nevertheless, this is the basic (and usually most basic) method of communication. It can be utilized only if the proper information has been presented in a digestible manner. Hence, the need for clubs to let both its members and the general student body of its exciting and worthwhile events.

THE PROBLEM WITH PRAIRIE ROOTS

(No. 44, Mar.-Apr. 1978)

(No. 22, March 1973)

On the last evening of the SUSK Western Conference, Jans Balan introduced approximately twenty conference participants to the "nominal group" technique, which is widely used among groups of various sizes and backgrounds to generate ideas and to maximize input from all members of a group on a given question.

Once a question is posed (in this case, the question was "What are the main problems facing Ukrainian students at the local level?"), all group members are given several minutes to jot down several responses which they feel are the most appropriate. These written replies are then exchanged among group members (the sheets, of course, are not signed) who in turn then read the replies aloud. Each reply is briefly discussed and then posted on a wall. The discussion is not meant to eliminate ideas but to weed out duplicate and unclear ideas. In this way no-one is denied an opportunity to present his ideas, since in many group situations one or several strong personalities often end up dominating a discussion, inhibiting the free expression of viewpoints by less aggressive individuals.

Posting all the proposed responses to the question posed allowed participants to survey a whole range of alternatives and to place their own responses in perspective. They are then asked to assign points (according to a specified framework) to the responses which they feel are most appropriate, and the responses are then collated. This can be repeated several times, with "low-scoring" alternatives being dropped from the list at each successive stage.

Over forty different problems were identified by the SUSK group, and few of them can be dismissed as being totally irrelevant. In the long run, however, the following problems facing Ukrainian

students at the local level were seen as being most significant (the number following the problem is the point value assigned collectively by the group):

- lack of knowledge about Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union — its history, structure, aims and objectives — 460;
- lack of clearly defined aims and programs — 350;
- apathy — 335;
- need for education in terms of communicating ideas about politics, culture, multiculturalism, Ukrainian survival — 320;
- alienation of the membership from the executive level — 295;
- too many value clashes over alcohol, drugs, sex — 290;
- intimidation by more articulate and experienced club members — intellectual snobbery — 285;
- lack of balance of activities within club — political, social, cultural — 285;
- student-parent clash of values — difficulty overcoming biases of socialization — 275;
- fear of taking the risks that come with involvement — 230;
- gossip — 215;
- lack of local leadership — 180;
- money — 140;
- parochialism (on sectarian level) of prior involvement in other Ukrainian organizations — 140;
- shortsightedness in planning — 100;
- amateurism — 90

Although some of the above may seem to be superficial dealing with the symptoms of problems within the Ukrainian student community rather than with the problems themselves, the responses represent concerns which often directly affect many local clubs. Being a student organization with a large turnover every year, lack of knowledge about SUSK — its history, aims, objectives — is definitely a serious problem which leads to a serious lack of

continuity for many clubs. Apathy is a general societal malaise in North America today which affects the life of the Ukrainian student community just as it does the community at large. The rapid pace of change today has led to a severe "generation gap," with many Ukrainian students questioning the values of their parents and the basis of their involvement with traditional youth organizations, which are often heavily sectarian and fear innovation. Local clubs are often dominated by one or two strong-minded individuals who impose their views on the membership and prevent a healthy balance of activities — the list goes on and on...

Although the extent to which Ukrainian student clubs can deal with any of these problems is obviously very limited, one cannot assume that Ukrainian student clubs will continue to "carry on" as before despite the growing challenges facing them. What can be done? It may be that seminars or workshops dealing with leadership and organizational problems would be useful. At the very least, annual meetings of local club presidents and other interested present and prospective executive members would be useful in order to allow for an exchange of information experience. If necessary, separate sessions of this kind could be held in the East and in the West (but they should be held apart from the annual Congress) which could include discussions on club development as part of its program. SUSK should also consider preparing a booklet similar to the one published in 1970, outlining the history and aims of SUSK. The SUSK National Executive and the organizers of the forthcoming congress in Winnipeg should carefully examine the results of this "nominal group" session and should try to deal with at least some of the problem identified at this time.

"PRAIRIE ROOTS"

by Ellen Roseman

"Miss Chatelaine", December Issue, 1972

HEY KIDS! READ THESE QUOTES TAKEN FROM THE ABOVE ARTICLE AND TRY OUR SKILL-TESTING QUESTIONS.

Miss Chatelaine: Instead of the fervent, wild-eyed Ukrainian nationalist I'd expected, I found a low-key, down-to-earth young woman whose cultural identity was tempered by her desire not to play politics if she could avoid it. Oksana: My parents want me to go to the Ukraine to visit my relatives but I'm not ready yet. I'd rather go to Switzerland.

Miss Chatelaine: Oksana's job on the OFY project involved manning the office, coordinating tapes and sorting out ideological disagreements between the Winnipeg and the Toronto workers.

Oksana: The people in Toronto who direct the students' association are too politically oriented for most Winnipeggers. When I was hired, the Toronto big shots were upset because I wasn't political enough. I think they're a bunch of weirdos. In our Ukrainian students' club at the university we're trying to move away from being pure Ukrainians to being Ukrainian-Canadians.

Miss Chatelaine: Neither religion nor Ukrainian liberation politics are, in fact, cohesive enough to hold young Ukrainians together.

Oksana: Really, when you get right down to it, who's going to go back and fight? Miss Chatelaine: Most of Oksana's friends are Ukrainian, and she says she'd like to get out of the Winnipeg scene for a couple of years.

Oksana: Everyone knows me here too well.

SKILL TESTING QUESTIONS

1. Ukrainians are:
 - a) wild-eyed nationalists
 - b) low-keyed apolitical
 - c) wild-eyed apolitical
 - d) low-keyed nationalists
 - e) wild-keyed, low-eyed apolitical nationalists
2. To temper one's cultural identity one should:
 - a) not play politics
 - b) not visit relatives in the Ukraine
 - c) go to Switzerland
3. Ukrainian-Canadians are:
 - a) impure
 - b) cross-eyed apolitical
 - c) purer
4. Ukrainians can be held together by:
 - a) religion and liberation politics
 - b) trips to Switzerland
 - c) Miss Chatelaine

Send your answers to:

"QUIZ"
Box 1972
67 Harbord St.
Toronto 179

The prize is a free subscription to STUDENT. The decision of the judges is polyhedral.

More Letters

(No. 29, August 1974)

It is common practice in United Front actions for the various groups involved to state their politics and the common ground on which they stand. It is also desirable to state the political position of any prisoner being defended. Why was this not done with the whole Moroz action leading up to and including the hunger protest and in Ottawa?

Was the hunger protest organized by the Committee for the Defence of Valentyn Moroz? We are told that the Committee voted against the hunger protest and was only "shamed" into participation after the action had already begun. But even during and after the action the hunger strikers themselves denied the role of the Committee, saying that they were merely a group of individuals who left strongly about the issue.

If we Ukrainians were confused about the whole thing, the Canadian press certainly was not. They reported the action as one organized by the Moroz Committee and the public accepted it as such. Precisely they answered the question "Who are these people?" with "A bunch of right-wing Ukrainians."

And so the questions arise: "What is the Moroz Committee?" "What are its politics?" The action itself would seem to indicate that it is broadly conservative, appealing to the older generation and allied to the right wing. The participation of Dielchenker, Yuzysk, the Church fathers and older people point to this. Not everyone identifies with this block. But more serious reservations expressed by individuals towards the Committee, and their hesitation to participate above and beyond of the refusal of the Committee to disassociate itself from the politics of the extreme right wing, notably those of OUN-B.

Individuals and groups who hold socialist opinions and would have liked to participate in the protest felt they could not support an action closely tied to the apron and purse strings of an extreme right-wing party. For anyone who takes his liberal or left-wing principles seriously this dilution is understandable in view of a confused situation and a potentially com-

promising involvement.

Such a political clarification is an important matter and one hopes that the Committee will soon do this if it hopes to include the participation of student and worker groups in further actions. In order that similar actions may not be jeopardized in the future, we suggest that a careful statement defining the nature of the commitment be made before an action is undertaken.

A human rights action can only be respected if it is unaligned with party politics, and if this non-alignment is reflected in the membership composition and financial independence of an organizing Committee (A public accounting of funds).

Would the Moroz Committee, for instance, be willing to defend a disenter like Shumuk, whose stand is clearly that of the humanitarian, the man who struggled for democracy and human rights. He is a man who has been imprisoned both for his membership in the Communist Party and for his participation in OUN's struggle and who now criticizes the ideology, the history and practice of both.

He would seem to be the ideal candidate for a human rights committee — unfortunately for Shumuk, he strongly attacks OUN. And in this case, one suspects, a human rights position does not apply.

Unless the disassociation from the right-wing parties is made, the impression will remain that the Committee has something to hide.

S. Kovalenko
I. Klachuk
M. Vystynchuk

(No. 20, October 1972)

To the editor:
It has been expressed by various sources that Toronto will become the new Jerusalem of Ukrainianism in Canada. However, these distinguished and knowledgeable people are totally misinformed. At the same time, they misinform the Ukrainian people, whose work within the community has become

completely fruitless and irrelevant. There will be no Renaissance of neo-Ukrainianism in Toronto or anywhere else in Canada for that matter. You are fooling yourselves if you believe in some kind of emergence and proliferation of Ukrainian culture and you know it! But it is difficult for you to accept this. You are a stubborn nation in the ocean of the world, which has managed throughout historical times to crest a wave a number of times only to submerge again into the depths of suppression. Only this time the pressure of the depths is too great. You are lost sheep in a foreign land attempting to attain some sort of mutual Ukrainian identity in an age and environment that will not permit such a luxury. You suffer from schizophrenia; because you are attempting the impossible — trying to maintain an archaic, traditional culture in this accelerating and complicated age of technology.

Most of you optimists will disagree with this theory, but only on technical grounds — there are no facts to support this hypothesis. But, in order to realize what is happening in your community, one does not require figures and data and percentages. One requires only a little realistic common sense. Sure, you have your organizations, your churches, your literary and art clubs, your resort areas, but these archaic establishments smell from their own stagnation. Sure, you have CYM, ODYM, MYNO, Plast and countless other organizations, but what percentage of the Ukrainian youth belong to these organizations, and what percentage of this percentage continue in these organizations to provide them with the necessary sap of vitality, life and freshness? Sure, you have your churches — supposedly one of the mainstays of a culture — but what percentage of Ukrainian youth at-

tend masses, and what percentage of this percentage go there only for personal social reasons? Sure, you have Ukrainian courses in universities and now in some high schools, but what percentage of Ukrainian students are taking them? Sure, you have Ukrainian schools, but are any of them innovative or experiential to the students forced to go to them? Language is another mainstay of a culture, but what percentage of the Ukrainian population speaks Ukrainian, and of this percentage what percentage is, not ashamed to use it when talking to their Ukrainian friends in public? How many of these righteous people who know the language look down upon those Ukrainians who do not? What percentage of this proud group of Ukrainians who know the language is more concerned with their own economic well-being which manifests an egotistic arrogance toward one another than about the maintenance and development of Ukrainian culture?

KYK in Toronto is now supposedly initiating an analysis of the Ukrainian community in order to determine these and other figures. This is an extremely necessary project because it will indicate just how quickly the Ukrainian community is dying. How many of you will truly be surprised by his findings? It is a proven scientific fact that without an influx of revitalization — whether it be in numbers, in ideas or in vigor — death is inevitable. An individual dies because of the deterioration of the co-ordinating cellular mechanisms necessary for the maintenance of life; an ideology dies because of its inability to be relevant to the conditions of the times; and our world will die due to the depletion of its resources and the extinction of the sun. And so, the Ukrainian culture will pass away

because of the lack of revitalization and the subsequent loss of adherents. The Ukrainian culture will become a relic of the past, interesting only to anthropologists and curious museum-goers. If there are no changes in the style and design of a machine and its motor is not cared for, then it will rust away due to the erosional effects of time and environment. It becomes obsolete. The stagnating Ukrainian culture is now an antique, a curio, in this innovative and rapid-changing technological age. It has not been able to cope with the environment, nor to adapt to the present times; it is time to perform the autopsy.

— FEECH

Traditionalist Mourns Decay of Values Amongst Youth

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

I might start with the hookah or waters-pipe, so popular in Cossack Ukraine during the days of Mazepa. Klymentii Zinovii (Vrshchi. *Prisposviti pospolityi*) laments that while villages in Ukraine did nothing but manufacture hookahs, The Cossacks learned of the hookah, which they called a *hordak*, from the Tatars and Turks. Zinovii affirms that some

(TRADITIONALIST continued on page 41)

(No. 41, December 1977)

LIGA AN'T A COMIN' TO THE CONGRESS

Over four hundred delegates and guests from across Canada flocked to the Winnipeg Inn for the 12th KYK Congress, October 7-10, 1977.

The decrease in over-all participation at this Congress can directly be attributed to the formal and substantive absence of delegates from the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (LIGA) and other alpha omega representatives of the Ukrainian Liberation Front (b).

Why did LIGA boycott the KYK Congress? Rumour has it that it was because of Leonid Plyushch that LIGA reluctantly boycotted the KYK Congress...but he wasn't even there!

Although, it is true that Leonid Plyushch, as the official representative in the West of the Kyiv-based Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, was invited to address the 12th KYK Congress by an overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's executive.

However, LIGA (remember officially protested this move and exercised its veto power against the will of the majority of the KYK executive — thereby cutting Plyushch from the Congress



program. Another argument suggests that Leonid Plyushch, by speaking in Winnipeg at the time of the KYK Congress was threatening the unity of organized Ukrainians in Canada. This approach at best appears to be desperate.

In reality, thousands of Ukrainians across North America have rallied together in support of Leonid Plyushch — the only Ukrainian oppositionist ever to be released by Soviet authorities — who has demonstrated himself to be among the most active of all former Soviet political prisoners, hitherto the victims of repression

by internment in prisons and psychiatric asylums for their political views.

So why did LIGA boycott the Congress?

Another argument suggests that Leonid Plyushch's political views are not representative of those held by member organizations of KYK, and moreover they appear threatening and even dangerous to Ukrainians in general.

Again we find ourselves bordering on the realm of the absurd.

'Informed sources' reveal that KYK is a cross-ideological umbrella organization co-ordinating Ukrainian Canadian organizations

whose roots are founded in various political, social and cultural trends (one of the founding organizations of KYK was the Ukrainian Workers' Organization — URD — which had a strong democratic socialist and Marxist following).

Moreover, as a consistent and outspoken proponent of the right of the Ukrainian nation to self-determination and of the realization of social justice within an independent democratic Ukrainian state, Leonid Plyushch has attracted extensive and unprecedented international attention to the Ukrainian question.

Consequently it seems difficult to understand why the self-appointed leadership of LIGA saw fit to boycott the Congress on the pretense of Leonid Plyushch holding democratic and humanitarian Marxist convictions.

So why did LIGA boycott the KYK Congress? No one seems to know for sure, especially the membership of LIGA itself!

One thing is certain — that the Ukrainian community is behind Leonid Plyushch. This fact was manifested by one of the very first resolutions adopted by an almost unanimous majority of the delegates to the 12th KYK Congress, welcoming Leonid Plyushch to Canada and expressing the sincere gratitude of the Ukrainian Canadian community for his work in the areas of human rights and Ukrainian independence.

In conclusion, the Praesidium of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee should be congratulated for having the courage to finally call LIGA's bluff, thereby preventing the Ukrainian Liberation Front from manipulating the endeavours of the 12th KYK Congress.

Orest Dorundiak

THERE'S MORE TO THIS THAN MEETS THE EYE MULTICULTURALISM AND THE BUREAUCRACY

(No. 48, August 1978)

It will soon be a year since Norman Cafik became Minister of State Responsible for Multiculturalism. Cafik is the first able and ambitious minister who has been able to devote a considerable amount of time and effort to the multiculturalism portfolio, and he is doubtlessly treated far more seriously in cabinet than were his other full-time predecessors, Stanley Haidasz and Joe Guey (John Munro was a capable minister, but had only part-time responsibility for multiculturalism).

Cafik is an extremely energetic person and has done his best to raise the profile of multiculturalism at the federal level. Over the last year, however, it has become increasingly evident that a strong ministerial presence is only one of the factors necessary for the successful implementation of the multiculturalism policy. Cafik has found himself in a situation similar to that of other Ministers of State in the areas of Science and Technology, Urban Affairs, Sports and Physical Fitness, and Small Business. Although the above vary greatly in size and nature, they are all policy-oriented ministries which are to co-ordinate the many groups — government agencies and private organizations — which provide services in their respective areas and which affect or are affected by policies in these areas.

The term "co-ordination," however, can be interpreted in various ways, and the "traditional" ministries have tended to resent any "interference" in their affairs. Two years ago, for example, a study recommended that the Ministry of State for Science and Technology be disbanded because its work partly duplicated that of other bodies and because it was not receiving much cooperation from various government and private agencies.

The Ministry of State for Multiculturalism has had more than its

share of problems in dealing with government departments and agencies. The Multiculturalism Directorate, the administrative body responsible for implementing the government's multiculturalism policy, itself has a somewhat ambiguous position within the Department of the Secretary of State. Although the Minister Responsible for Multiculturalism deals directly with the Directorate on policy questions, where financial and administrative matters are concerned the Director of the Multiculturalism Directorate, Drest

Kruhlak, has to deal with the Assistant Undersecretary of State for Citizenship and the Undersecretary of State. These senior decision-makers treat the Multiculturalism Directorate as they do any other program within their domain, and, since the departure in 1974 of Bernard Ostry and Robert Nichols, have on the whole been indifferent or occasionally even hostile to the concept of multiculturalism. This indifference has led to poor morale among Multiculturalism Directorate staff members and some uncertainty at times about the future of the

Directorate, and has left the policy open to political manipulation.

Since 1975 there have been efforts to implement multiculturalism on a horizontal basis, that is, it was hoped that some cultural agencies (e.g. the National Library, Public Archives, National Film Board, CBC, National Museum of Man) and departments (e.g. Manpower and Immigration, External Affairs) would reflect Canada's multiculturalism policy in their activities, and several cultural agencies were allotted special budgets for multicultural purposes. Not all of

the agencies, however, have lived up to their obligations in this area, and several government departments still seem unaware that multiculturalism is an official government policy. Every term from "mosaic" to "cultural pluralism" is still used in preference to the use of the word "multicultural" in describing Canada's cultural diversity.

The limited horizontal impact of multiculturalism may partly be due to the lack of representation for multiculturalism in the Prime Minister's Office (PMD) and the Privy Council Office (PCO). These bodies, which co-ordinate all suggestions regarding the requirements of the bureaucracy with the political needs of the governing party, have greatly expanded in recent years, and are playing an increasingly active role as advisors to the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Since the PMD and PCO are to provide advice across departmental lines, and try to focus attention on the interrelationships of individual departmental concerns in broad policy areas, they could be extremely effective in popularizing the policy of multiculturalism throughout the government. Unfortunately, the lack of attention given to this policy in these circles is reflected in the absence of any recent statements by the Prime Minister dealing with multiculturalism and one must begin to question his own commitment to the concept.

No matter how much time and effort Cafik himself devotes to multiculturalism, the policy will have limited impact unless it is given more prestige and respectability in Ottawa. The multiculturalism policy will be effective only when it is recognized by all levels of the bureaucracy in both government departments and agencies, and receives more support from all of the political parties, including the Liberal Party.

Many of the same young people who have abandoned the hookah are also shamelessly shaving their faces as smooth as a baby's bum and cutting their hair grotesquely short. Why do they do this? Why do they do their ancestors? Long, shaggy hair — that is our tradition. Let us think back to the very end of the sixteenth century when Ukrainians defended their Orthodox Church against the onslaught of Polish Catholicism. At that time, the monk Ivan Vyshensky celebrated in a long poem by Ivan Franko, composed his *Kuzkka*. In the

Kuzkka, Vyshensky asks why Roman Catholics make fun of Ukrainian Orthodox monks. He puts these words in a Catholic's mouth: "For this reason do I make fun [of the Ukrainian monk] — because he wears long hair and has not shaved" (*Dnia toho sia smia, ...zch volosia dolozhe mozt i ne podolovial*). Vyshensky wisely counters this shallow reasoning with the following profound consideration: "As distant as heaven is from earth, just so distant is a shaved head from a shaggy head in thought, worthiness, dignity and honesty

before God. This is why we have shaggy hair." (*...iak nebo ot zemlia, tak holoia holova ot kosmatoi myslia, do tolosnyom, hodozstva i schytavtie pred Bohom dalecke stoit. Se iest prychna kosmatoho volosia*).

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

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

deeper understanding of our traditions. I have in mind Guillaume Beauflan's *Description of Ukraine*. Beauflan (c. 1600-1678) was a French engineer who spent many years working in Cossack Ukraine. Among the numerous fine traditions he records, one is outstanding: "the habit of drinking vodka and mead, which makes the maidens readily accessible."

With hope for a future rooted in the past, I remain, A Traditionalist

Traditionalist
(continued from page 40)
Cossack "developed the habit of pulling on the hookah through which more than one person loots his name" (*insy natyk bardakom tiahnuty; prei katryi ne vedomo pryelo smyia zbuty*). Might not our youth take the cue from this? Why serve wine and cheese at Ukrainian student gatherings? How much better it would be to honor tradition and pass it on to the hookah with a substance that has the proper effect on one's senses!

SUSK

— THE

The proposal was that SUSK hire students for a certain period of time and send them to various Ukrainian communities where they would live and encourage the local student population to get involved in the Ukrainian community and the issues it faced. In my view this idea from an organizational standpoint was the single most important development in the history of the Ukrainian student movement.

It is not always pleasant for me to think back over the years and recall my personal experiences with the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (SUSK). At times thinking about past incidents in SUSK evokes feelings of intense anxiety, frustration and even anger. Yet I doubt if anyone who was actively involved in SUSK during the late sixties and early seventies regretted it. SUSK, no matter how you looked at it, in the final analysis provided us with a remarkable set of experiences.

It seems almost prophetic that I should be invited to speak to you here in Vancouver on the history of the Ukrainian student movement — for it was at a Vancouver congress at the beginning of the seventies that SUSK was catapulted into the role of an outstanding Canadian organization with whom many social forces on the Canadian scene had to deal, and I helped to organize that congress. Perhaps this congress signals the beginning of a new era of similar importance for SUSK?

Just as you were not around during those times that I was active in SUSK, and its president, so too I was not around during most of the student activism of the sixties and much of that period for me represents but a vague memory. Yet the closing years of that decade had a profound influence both on the North American society in general and the Ukrainian community in particular. For this reason I'd like to focus in on the Ukrainian student movement of that period to see if it can tell us anything about what is happening to our students' movement today.

Just to keep things in perspective, bear in mind that Canada was the center of activity as far as student activism was concerned during this phase, as it is today, so by looking at the Ukrainian-Canadian student movement we are in effect analysing the focal point of the 'global' movement.

THE RADICALISM OF THE SIXTIES

SUSK was not the first Ukrainian students' union in Canada. During the period 1927-1933 there existed in Western Canada a Ukrainian students organization called the Central of Ukrainian Students of Canada (TUSK) although it collapsed in its sixth year of existence. Not much is known about TUSK as far as I have determined, and it would be very interesting for somebody to write a paper on this organization — particularly because it existed during the depression — a period during which the communist Ukrainian community in Canada gained great strength.

SUSK was started in December of 1953 in Winnipeg where Vera Zarowski became its first president. Throughout the fifties SUSK appears to have been fairly internally oriented, organizing local clubs and coordinating them — and also fairly dormant. Until the mid-sixties, with one or two exceptions, SUSK Congresses and Conferences appear to have been fairly primitive — focusing on organizational business and not spending much time on wider issues.

By 1965 SUSK had about one thousand members in 20 clubs across Canada. One doesn't sense any significant activity among Ukrainian students until one reads the President's Report prepared by Andrew Gregorovich for the 6th SUSK congress taking place in Toronto in 1966. This report covers the activities of SUSK from 1963 — 1966 and there are a number of items of interest from our standpoint.

Aside from recording the fact that the SUSK president wrote 127 letters over his 3 year term, the report mentions that SUSK prepared and submitted its first brief to the federal government — the 7 page, 5000 word document was entitled: "The Canadian Nation: Some Opinions of Canadian University Students of Ukrainian Descent". Brief presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1965, by the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, Toronto, 1965. Significantly however, the report does not suggest that SUSK took issue with the use of the term "biculturalism" to depict Canada's cultural make-up. (Something that apparently came along only in SUSK history.) But perhaps the most important part of the report is what the President writes under the title "The Future of SUSK" because it serves to explain what SUSK was all about during those times, and where it was headed. Let me quote from the report:

"What future has SUSK? SUSK and Ukrainian University Clubs are riding on a wave created by an immigration which arrived from 1946 to 1964. These immigrants and their children were close to the sources of Ukrainian feeling having been born in Ukraine. "I myself" am a third generation Canadian of Ukrainian descent. I am proud to be a Canadian and an heir to the Ukrainian heritage. Yet there is some notion prevalent that the Canadian born is a lesser breed — at least as far as their Ukrainianness goes. Perhaps this may be true but there are examples that disprove it. But let us return to the future of SUSK.

"Today out of half a million Canadian Canadians there are about 37,000 who arrived between 1946-1964. That is less than 8% of the total. In other words only seven out of every 100 Ukrainian Canadians is of the recent arrivals.

"Twenty years from now this will have dwindled to perhaps 3%. A student today of 21 years of age could have been born in Ukraine in 1945. But this gap is growing. In one decade there will be virtually no European born Ukrainian Canadian students. This could lead to a crisis in SUSK and in Ukrainian student clubs."

I think it would be fair to say that this quote represents the concerns of at least the leadership of the Ukrainian student community of the early sixties. But there were outside factors that were beginning to play an important role for students in North America and were beginning to exert an influence on the Ukrainian students' movement. The war in Vietnam was escalating, and with it so were signs of protest and student

rebellion against the status quo. I think the fact that students were being drafted to fight a war which they were not sure was morally justifiable was the crux of the radicalism of the sixties. In many cases students sought out a Vietnam and imposing on them to do its dirty work — radical ideologies become more believable and acceptable. It became in vogue to be a student activist and anti-American — whatever good history that was being written in America was overshadowed by the awesome scourge of war. Draft dodgers flocked into Canada causing Canadian campuses to follow the American campus struggles. North American student organizations were caught up in the surge of activism. Political debates flourished on campuses.

The anti-war movement had its effects on the Ukrainian student movement as well. Students tended to be more receptive to Ukrainian activism. Ideas and tactics of organization were borrowed from the general student community and applied to the Ukrainian scene.

THE ERA OF FIELDWORK

Thus in 1968 the Lakehead University Ukrainian Club submitted a proposal to the national executive of SUSK to hire student fieldworkers. The idea was taken from the Canadian Students' Union and the Company of Young Canadians which had been running programs of student social animation, and Roman Petryshyn made the suggestion that SUSK do the same. The proposal was that SUSK hire students for a certain period of time and send them to various Ukrainian communities where they would live and encourage the local student population to get involved in the Ukrainian community and the issues it faced. In my view this idea from an organizational standpoint was the single most important development in the history of the Ukrainian student movement." Without it, SUSK would never have grown into the active organization it became in the early seventies. With the acceptance of this proposal SUSK entered a new phase in its evolution distinguishable by a more professional approach to organization, and a deeper thinking on issues which led to a wider framework of analysis of what Ukrainian students were all about.

Perhaps this is an appropriate moment to make a passing comment of a theoretical nature which might help to understand what was happening to SUSK. In my view the term 'movement' denotes a specific phenomenon which is not necessarily synonymous with the term 'organization'. A movement consists primarily of individuals united by a common philosophy — an outlook on life which integrates knowledge gained from various disciplines into a consistent 'total systems' view. In a movement, philosophy is a primary, and organization is a secondary feature. A movement is therefore far broader and wider in outlook than an organization which necessarily is limited only to specific goals. Members of a movement have an entire philosophy that they share with one another, members of an organization only certain goals. With the introduction of fieldwork, in my view SUSK was beginning to take on the character of a movement.

It was not until the summer of 1969 that the actual fieldwork program got off the ground. Two fieldworkers were hired that year — Bohdan Krawchenko and Orest Novakowsky, but Bohdan was the only one who made it through the

summer. His work that summer had a phenomenal impact on the Ukrainian students of his day. Bohdan travelled Canada and encouraged Ukrainian students to get involved in the community. He came to Vancouver to organize the SUSK congress which was to take place at U.B.C. on Labour Day weekend 1969. This is when I first met him, and when I first got involved with SUSK. From here on in I can relate the history of SUSK and the Ukrainian student movement from personal experience.

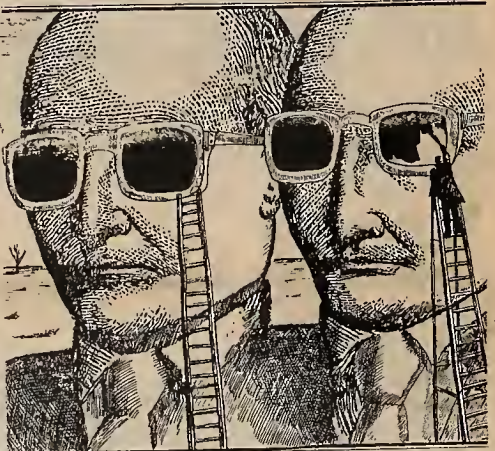
It is important to know something about the background of the individuals who became the leadership in SUSK through the ensuing years as it gives an insight into why SUSK was like it was. My background may have been typical of many others that later got active in SUSK.

I grew up in Edmonton and belonged to the traditional youth organizations and churches, etc. Just after graduation from high school I moved to Vancouver and resolved to stay as far away from

and I shared an anti-status quo bent, and I was therefore quite surprised when he announced that he was running for SUSK president.

There were things going on behind the scenes which were to give SUSK a tremendous shot in the arm at this time. The federal government had just approved the Official Languages Act and was concerned to make sure there would be no backsliding. Roman Petryshyn and Modest Cmoc prepared a brief to the Federal government which obtained a travelling grant of \$10,000 to defray the costs of transportation to the SUSK congress in Vancouver for those who came.

The fact that Bohdan had spent the entire summer advertising the congress, the fact that Vancouver was an attractive place to hold the event, the money granted by the government, and the political climate of the times all combined to make the Vancouver congress a watershed in SUSK history. It brought new people together, it



The task for the national executive was now to start with SUSK

Ukrainians as possible. I never completely cut off ties, but I remained at the fringe of the community. I was interested in campus politics and attended meetings of an organization called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). I can't say that I completely shared the views of those who belonged to this organization because they couldn't agree among themselves on what it was they were concerned about. There was no doubt however that SDS was against the American involvement in Vietnam.

Krawchenko had heard of me before coming to Vancouver because he too had been a member of SDS at Bishop's University in Quebec where he had also been the editor of the campus newspaper. In a way Bohdan and I should be grateful to certain right wingers in the Ukrainian community who passed on the rumours which led to our first meeting. To tell you truthfully, when I first met Bohdan I felt sorry for him. Here was this guy from back East travelling around Vancouver by bus, single-handedly trying to organize a students' congress in which it appeared to me hardly anybody had any interest. It was obvious he didn't have much money, and he was having trouble finding a place to stay. I decided to invite him over for supper. We talked and over time I got involved in organizing the congress. Philosophically I think Bohdan

raised issues never really confronted before, it imparted to us a feeling of impotence. Things were happening! THE MAGIC WAS THERE.

MULTICULTURALISM ON THE RISE

When the congress drew to a close Ukrainian student life withdrew back into its lethargy for a while. But for the next several years it would often experience rude awakenings as issues were brought by the national executive right to its door step. Krawchenko and Petryshyn had gotten together and written a brilliant position paper on multiculturalism in response to the fourth volume of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism entitled *The Other Ethnic Groups*. The task for the national executive was now to convince everybody that Canada was multicultural — starting with SUSK members. Multiculturalism, defence of Ukrainian political prisoners, and fieldwork became the philosophical nexus of the Ukrainian student movement. About these subjects, most of us were either in agreement, or could be converted. The philosophy lacked cohesiveness and integration, but there was enough there to keep us pasted together for a while. In passing I might add that it was precisely the in-

GOOD OLD DAYS

by Andriy Semotiuk

(No. 40, November 1977)

tegrating character of SUSK during these times that made it so exciting — in our ranks we found people from all disciplines: engineers, lawyers, doctors, political scientists, sociologists, historians, etc. In this cross fertilization one had the opportunity to develop his understanding of himself and the world around him — one got a better grip of reality and a clearer definition of one's problems because of the sharing of viewpoints with other Ukrainian students.

Now that we had found our philosophy, it was time to spread it. This was the essential role that SUSK played for many years to follow; the crusader for multiculturalism. I recall the time that I personally was first introduced to this idea. It was in Toronto at the SUSK office at 67 Harbord St. I had just flown in from Vancouver and came down to the office — Petryshyn was my mentor. He sat me down — Krawchenko was busy doing something but was also listening in to the conversation. I sensed a

why fieldworking was possible at this time was because there were funds available from governments. SUSK became an expert at milking governments for funds. We were having an impact with our multicultural campaign. Bohdan was getting publicity, and people were paying attention. The question of Ukraine was at this time of secondary importance to SUSK although much activity was directed at the defence of political prisoners. A polarization of views was beginning to take place here which did not really surface until November of 1971, but which was important for understanding the 'fall' of SUSK. But we'll return to that.

With the end of the summer of 1970 Marusla Kucheryshyn became president of SUSK. Andriy Bandera worked as a full time fieldworker with Marusla in Toronto, and I believe that the 1970 — 1971 SUSK year was the climax of several years of activity. That year was both outstanding and the nemesis of SUSK at one end and the same time. The issue of

larlo. Artists from across Canada met, discussed, held seminars and workshops — truly a unique phenomenon that will never occur again for a very simple reason — it cost about \$35,000 to hold it and SUSK ended up roughly \$10,000 in the hole.

THE UNEASY SEVENTIES

The summer of 1971 was like an enormous orgasm of several years work. The momentum was still on the increase and success after success gave SUSK an aura of power which magnetized students of Ukrainian descent to it. But the Ukrainian student dream was coming to an end. Thousands of dollars were being wasted in efforts to mobilize the student community, many leaders were finding their energies spent and their tolerance at an ebb.

With the election of Marko, Bojcu SUSK was beginning to feel the pains of years of sustained growth. But the momentum carried SUSK forward even though it was infested with debts and internecine strife. The focus of attention shifted to a KYC congress taking place in Winnipeg in October, 1971. So strong was the dedication of Ukrainian student youth that they undertook a hunger strike in Winnipeg demanding a meeting with Prime Minister Trudeau to get him to intervene on behalf of the Ukrainian political prisoner Valentin Moroz. The Prime Minister, who was there to make an official announcement that the government had endorsed a multicultural policy (which was another success for SUSK), agreed to meet with the hunger strikers. Yuriy Boshyk did most of the negotiating with the Prime Minister's office and Trudeau agreed to raise the case of Moroz when Kosygin came to a visit to Canada. Another SUSK success!

The last event that took place before the SUSK deluge was the visit of former Premier Alexi Kosygin of the USSR to Canada in late October of 1971. Thousands of people demonstrated in cities across Canada. Students were again at the forefront of these demonstrations. In Toronto an incident took place which I believe had a significant impact on the political thought of SUSK leaders — the police without cause, rushed a crowd of 4000 Ukrainian demonstrators, and the police horses and police activity led to many injuries and an official inquiry by the Province of Ontario which put the blame on the police force. But many young leaders would never forget how Ukrainians had been beaten up by the local police on that day.

I think the November issue of STUDENT in 1971 was a crucial issue in the history of the Ukrainian student movement. Its articles for the first time uncover ideological underpinnings which will surface in time and shatter SUSK. The issue contains an article written by Trotsky in the 1930's on Ukraine, and an article by Yuriy Boshyk which infuses for the first time, a class analysis in to the issue of multiculturalism and focuses on upward mobility as an impossibility for us. I believe this issue had a profound effect on the student movement; it certainly had a profound effect on me. The honeymoon was coming to an end, and differing political views were surfacing. There was a consolidation in the Marxist Ukrainian left which could be seen in the subsequent issues of STUDENT. The Committee for the Defence of Valentin Moroz was being divided along ideological and personality lines — a split was developing and the Set Thm Free Committee (a left-leaning committee) evolved.

The summer of 1972 involved SUSK in a video-tape project. The

idea was to make some video tapes involving Ukrainian historical themes. A federal government grant was obtained to cover much of the expenses. 12 students were eventually hired after a disappointing response from the government. Most of the fieldworkers were involved with the programs, some worked in the community. One noteworthy project was the organization of the Saskatoon Youth Jamboree which brought together many young people in the prairies area — it was organized by Halya Kuchmij, one of the best fieldworkers SUSK ever had. But in terms of concrete results, Video SUSK didn't produce very much. By the end of the summer SUSK had several hundred yards of virtually useless video-tape and enormous debts — about \$20,000 to be exact. The lifeblood of student activism — money — had been totally drained and what was left was an empty shell, and was left with the summer SUSK had never had before.

Times were changing, the political climate of the overall society once almost electrifying, now was wanting into a simmering fizzle. The war in Vietnam was over as far as America was concerned. Students began taking a more conservative posture towards activism.

“But the Ukrainian student dream was coming to an end. Thousands of dollars were being wasted in efforts to mobilize the student community, many leaders were finding their energies spent and their tolerance at an ebb.”

During 1972 — 1973 SUSK started taking a more commercial approach to student life — raising money to pay debts. The CBC Action was commenced which was directed at getting multilingual broadcasting on Canadian networks. A growing tension between the Set Thm Free Committee and SUSK haunted other areas of work. STUDENT came out regularly and perhaps was the major solidifying force in student life.

In the years that followed the left Ukrainian student community can be characterized as increasingly hostile to the “Bandervists”; those not in the Marxist certain as to what direction to follow. SUSK debts while cleared completely in my year as president, returned to beleaguer Ukrainian student life to this very day.

In 1974 SUSK passed through another phase in its development — the hunger strike mania. All

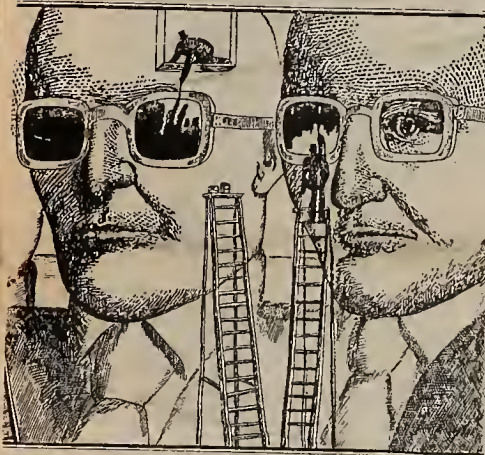
over the country students were going on hunger strikes in defence of or in solidarity with Ukrainian political prisoners. Ukraine once again became the prime focus of student life. The release of Leonid Plyushch led to the beginnings of perhaps a new era in the movement.

I have purposely omitted an analysis in depth of the last few years of SUSK because I anticipated that most of you would be familiar with this period from first hand experience. I do not wish to convey the impression that these SUSK times were not at least as significant as earlier periods.

EVALUATION

At the great risk of oversimplifying I would say that the aspirations of SUSK have been to maintain and develop a Ukrainian culture in Canada and to help create a free Ukraine. As neither of these general objectives are realistic in my estimation given present realities, SUSK has to define for itself more concrete objectives which are realistically attainable.

But the risk of this approach is that SUSK will then become an organization as opposed to a movement. As far as the Ukrainian student movement side of the picture is concerned, much of what was once the unifying philosophy has eroded.



“convince everybody that Canada was multicultural — membership.”

feeling of anxiousness as Petryshyn went through the arguments with me — they really wanted to convince me, I could see that. “What is the Canadian cultural make-up?” Petryshyn asked me with an earnest look on his face. “Bicultural?” I answered. “Multicultural!” — and then he explained and I was convinced. This went on over and over again in the ranks of SUSK.

The radicalism of the sixties did not die down in our community until around 1971 and therefore I am adding that time in to the period of the sixties. The summer of 1970 saw the beginnings of a massive campaign conducted by SUSK to convince Canadians that Canada was a multicultural country. SUSK employed 9 fieldworkers that summer who largely worked on organizing inter-ethnic conferences whose theme was a demand on our governments to recognize Canada's multicultural character.

I really have to hand it to Bohdan Krawchenko for his genius here. He was exceptionally good at debating with opponents of multiculturalism and was a sound political theoretician that could force Ministers into theoretical contortions. I might just add that it was Bohdan who started STUDENT in the summer of 1969.

I was one of the fieldworkers who worked in the summer of 1970 — the second year of the fieldwork project. The reason

multiculturalism intensified, Ukraine once again started becoming the dominant issue to SUSK, the fieldwork program expanded enormously and this built up momentum of past years was carrying us forward.

In Morusla's year as president, SUSK managed to get enough government funding to hire 20 students for summer fieldwork. I was one of the fieldworkers again that summer; I worked in Ottawa lobbying M.P.'s on multiculturalism. I also was the coordinator of another summer fieldwork program organized under the name “Towards a Ukrainian Unity” (Government name) which employed 35 students as fieldworkers in Ukrainian youth organizations like CYM & PLAST. SUSK was trying to activate a body called the Rada Ukrainskoj Molodi Kanady (RUMK) to begin coordinating all our Ukrainian youth organizations, and the way it was doing it was to set me up as the coordinator of government money for all the youth groups. RUMK basically didn't work out — but that's another story. What was important was that in the summer of 1971 SUSK had directly and indirectly about 50 fieldworkers throughout Canada.

Another project undertaken that summer which had an enormous impact on Ukrainian culture in Canada was the organization of the Ukrainian Canadian Festival of the Arts in Thunder Bay, On-

Multiculturalism has been pushed as far as it can go on a cross-ideological level. The dilemma facing SUSK now is that the next step is to adopt an ideology, but to do so is to contradict SUSK's cross-ideological character. In this sense SUSK is a limiting as opposed to a liberating organization. For 99% of the Ukrainian student population the incapacity of the organization to jump into ideology is meaningless because they have not been saturated with SUSK student life. For this reason SUSK will always be important at least as an organization if not as a movement. But for those of us who seek out more in our community than free open democratic structures, or who aspire for more than just a vague “Free Ukraine”, SUSK will remain a reservoir for recruiting personnel and an unforgettable historical memory.



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This overview of SUSK appears in lieu of an article by Mr. Semotiuk in the “Presidents' Articles” section of this anniversary issue. It was first presented at the 18th SUSK Congress held in Vancouver, August 1977.

SUSK IN RETROSPECT: CAN YOU HAVE YOUR

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

THE SIXTIES AND SUSK

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

In 1968 was a year of global upheavals within the Ukrainian diaspora the status-quo remained largely unchallenged. Having said this one should point out that a generalized state of crisis pervaded the community in Canada both nationalist and Stalinist formations were growing older and were unable to replenish their ranks with young, politically conscious cadres. During the fifties our elder brothers and sisters discarded their ethnic baggage as quickly as possible, donned an apolitical stance and melted into mainstream suburbia. The few who held their positions in the student sector of the nationalist or Stalinist community

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

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

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

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

BUILDING SUSK — REORGANIZATION AND REVITALIZATION

Most accounts of SUSK in the new period date the revitalization of the organization to the fieldwork activities of B. Krawchenko which culminated in the 1969 Vancouver Congress. They point to the new policies and leadership that originated in Vancouver. A careful examination of this proposition will reveal that many of the innovations originated in the 1968-69 executive. Fieldwork, **STUDENT**, the belief that SUSK must become much more of a professional grouping, and the decision to challenge federal policies vis-a-vis minorities in Canada all date back to this period. The 1969-70 executive built upon this foundation, fleshed out these concepts and infused them with an activist content. A variety of new-left symbols and concerns permeated the organization — student movement, student power, Ukrainian power, solidarity campaigns and the commitment to develop alternate cultural forms. Continuity between the old and new executive was provided by individuals such as R. Petryshyn. In the next nine years considerable effort was devoted to building an active, grassroots, student movement. Conferences of club presidents, Eastern and Western conferences, think-tanks,

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

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

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

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

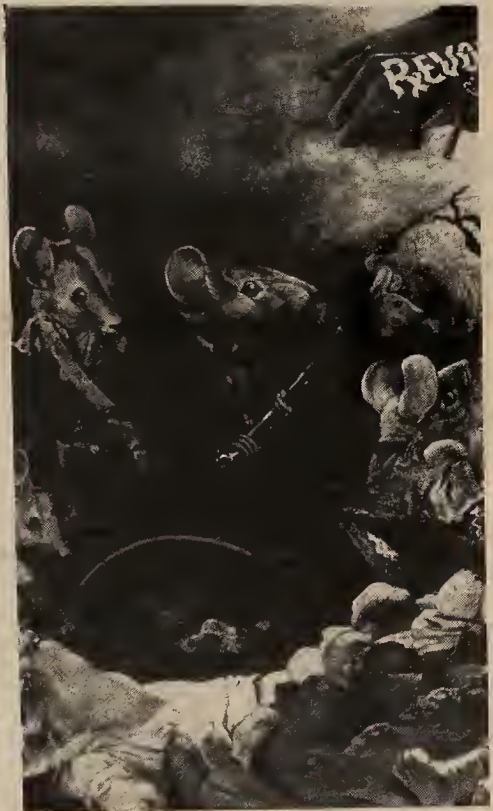
who did develop a public presence were often typecast as aggressive harridans.¹⁰ These attitudes remained largely unchallenged and are still a problem to this day.

EARLY POLICY: THE 'CANADIAN WAY OF LIFE'

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

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

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



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

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

position.¹¹ In the initial skirmishes two tactics were advanced. The first was to by-pass governmental bodies, to organize popular support among all ethnic groups in Canada, thereby pressuring the government into action — a type of ethnic, extra-parliamentary opposition. With this in mind a series of multi-cultural conferences were organized across Canada and contacts were developed between ethnic groups on a federal and municipal level. The second tactic adopted was to pressure politicians and civil servants directly in Ottawa.

EARLY POLICY: DISILLUSIONMENT

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

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CHEESE AND EAT IT TOO?

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

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

nian Canadian community. Political barriers fell and artists who had grown up in nationalist and Stalinist organizations met one another and discussed the prospects for the development of Ukrainian-Canadian culture. Significantly the vast majority of participants came from outside community structures. Conference organizers noted that if the achievements of the festival could be translated on a pan-Canadian scale then one could talk about the development of a new cultural fabric. If the festival was a success then the follow up was a disaster. The commitment to publish a Ukrainian Canadian Arts Catalogue ran into a stone wall of indifference. Lack of proper funding and management difficulties conspired against the successful completion of the project.¹⁵

REORIENTATION AND THE FERMENT IN UKRAINE

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

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

REORIENTATION AND THE PARTING OF THE WAY

The most striking differences developed around the question of who defends prisoners best — governments, labor, intellectuals, students and/or all of the above.¹⁶ Debate on this question carried on in fits and starts throughout this period to the present day. What dominated the debate was the way that different sectors of North American society responded to this question. As early as 1968, SUSK approached the Canadian Union of Students with a resolution condemning the repression of democratic rights in the U.S.S.R. After considerable debate the resolution was passed and the Union published a booklet on repressions in Ukraine. Later actions tended to focus their attention on the Canadian establishment — media, government, and public opinion.¹⁷ The response to well organized hunger strikes, demonstrations and rallies, was deafening — a few, quiet words through diplomatic channels, an end to inflammatory comparisons between the FLO and the opposition in Ukraine, a few motherhood resolutions from the parliamentary opposition and selective press coverage.

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

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

FRUSTRATION AND THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF THE LEFT

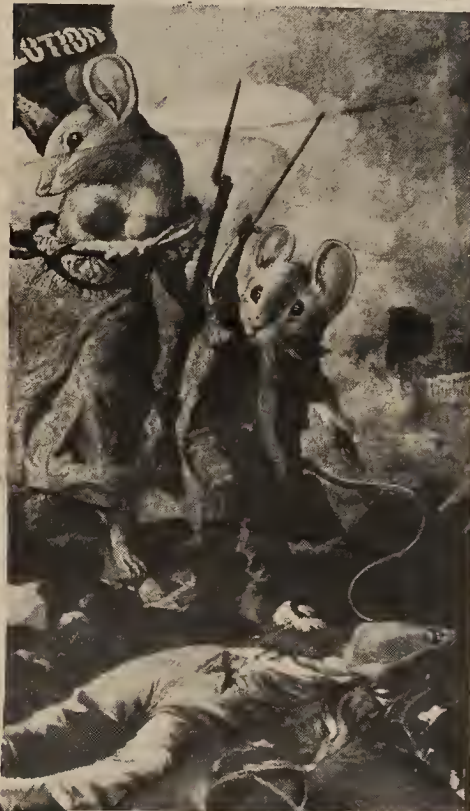
For the majority of SUSK members Ukraine at best was an emotional, motherhood issue. Involvement was usually limited to participation in some sort of hunger-strike or demonstrations. Those who were intimately involved in defense work were unable to translate their experiences to the rank and file membership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

problems arising from these contradictions generated the left wing current in SUSK. It was a long, muddled, heart-breaking affair. Old allegiances fell aside, long standing personal friendships snapped under the pressure, and an air of confusion reigned supreme. Once again the search for new forms was placed on the agenda of the day. By the 1973 CESUS Congress, the socialist current had consolidated its position. Its intervention into the Congress produced a chain reaction that would return to haunt the nationalist community. A month later the largest, most active Ukrainian American students organization, TUSM, developed a left wing split and *New Directions* was left asking the question "Whose Left?"¹⁸

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

Footnotes

- 1 Myronuk, Maksym. *Far na my 10 khro? Iaz na* (reprinted from *SUCHASNIJ*, January 1970)
- 2 *Ibid*
- 3 *Ibid*
- 4 See Page 3 of the December, 1977 issue of *STUDENT* for a discussion of how the conservative school of analysis is used in the nationalist press.
- 5 Two important contributions to this discussion are: Kowalsky, M. *Towards a Political Sociology of Multiculturalism*, *STUDENT*, May 1973, and Lehyg, Teres. *Our Politics and This*, *New Directions*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 18-22.
- 6 Almost every year leads developed with a club/club and the national executive. As a final proof, a number of clubs have withdrawn from the organization.
- 7 Obviously there were exceptions - e.g. Sheila Slavov.
- 8 Although projects were suggested as early as 1969 the executive did not act on them in a serious way.
- 9 Some would claim that you could pick up the national executive by the way they dressed.
- 10 The locker room camaraderie that developed among members of the executive tended to elicit aggressive behavior from the man.
- 11 National Film Board productions dealing with the Six Alley experience are shown regularly at a variety of SUSK conferences: orientation courses, etc. up to 1973.
- 12 SUSK executive members look part in the conference as individuals.
- 13 Oana Eaton worked for the *Citizenship* at the time. As such she gave a number of interviews to the press.
- 14 The "Smack" petition was circulated in the summer of 1972. For more information see Kowalsky, M. *Towards a Political Sociology of Multiculturalism*, *STUDENT*, May 1973.
- 15 SUSK executive members look part in the similar problems. Funds were given to cover the cost of salaries but not top up equipment and supplies.
- 16 For example, one commentator suggested that Ukrainians consider the Chinese as an ally, based on the premise that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. See Tereshchenko, Boris. *Ukraine & China: The Peeking Duck Comes to Roost* in *Kiev, New Directions*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 6-14.
- 17 Kupchinsky, Roman. *Who's Left in TUSM?*, *New Directions*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 6-10.



federalism and the Liberal party. If multi-culturalism meant ethnic cookery jobs for an opportunist fringe and tired old folk-cheeses, who need it?

At this point energy shifted to the provincial and municipal level with the hope that the support of these governments could pressure the federal government into taking a more responsible position. By 1972 the Manitoba government had made a number of concessions around second language education. With the hopes of securing a similar multicultural policy from the Ontario government, a coalition of groups (such as Ontario KYK) and numerous individuals began to prepare for the Heritage Ontario Conference.¹⁹ The result of a sophisticated, articulate, assault on governmental policies were platitudes from Oana Eaton²⁰ and a keynote address that spoke about everything but multicultural policy. The failure to win concessions from

the "Smack" petition attempted to circumvent governmental bodies by mobilizing grass roots support among non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups.²¹ The project died a quick death. As time went on, multiculturalism was relegated to the hands of a few dedicated semi-professional brief-writers. For the vast majority of SUSK, the issue elicited blank faces and thundering yawns.

A final hurrah came when SUSK was unable to realize its dreams on the development of Ukrainian-Canadian culture. It was argued that Ukrainian-Canadian culture could survive only if it developed a contemporary, urban face. To realize this aim a number of projects were undertaken, the most ambitious of which was the Ukrainian Canadian Festival of the Arts. The festival itself was an unqualified success. For four days it brought together some of the most creative and innovative talents in the Ukrai-

A New Constitution For Canada (No. 48, August 1978)

Deja Vu: It Has All Been Seen Before

Dave Lupul

Most Canadians, by now, are probably aware that the federal government has taken the initiative in proposing a new constitution for Canada, one which would attempt to more accurately reflect the state of Canadian society as it enters the last quarter of the twentieth century. The new proposals were submitted to Parliament in June, 1978, in the form of a document entitled *The Constitutional Amendment Bill*. The federal government's aim in publishing the bill is "to encourage public discussion of proposed changes in the Canadian Constitution," an objective launched, with considerable fanfare, by the distribution of large numbers of the government's pre-election document, *A Time for Action: Toward the Renewal of the Canadian Federation*, outlined by none other than "The Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister."

As the title of the Prime Minister's treatise suggests, the process of constitutional reform which has been undertaken is designed to re-define the basis for the Canadian federation and to renew the principles upon which it is based. The existing constitution of Canada consists, in large part, of Acts of the British Parliament which Canada "has not yet succeeded in patriating and modernizing. Acts which consequently still bear the imprint of a colonial period that has long since passed." The provisions of this constitution are scattered throughout various different statutes, most of which are unknown to the vast majority of the Canadian public.

The federal government wishes to repair the Constitution and to begin the process of its amendment, with the approval of the provinces, in order to remedy the deficiencies which exist in that century-old document, the BNA Act. The most serious of these deficiencies, in the eyes of the government, are the absence of a satisfactory preamble or statement of principles in the present Constitution and the lack of any declaration of the basic rights and freedoms of Canadians. Included within the context of basic rights and freedoms is the federal government's concern about "the inadequacy of the language rights guaranteed by the Constitution, which has jeopardized the progress of the French-speaking people of Canada, led them to withdraw in spirit into Quebec, and added strength to the separatist movement in that province." The implications of the proposals contained within *The Constitutional Amendment Bill* which pertain to minority language rights should be of special interest and concern to all Ukrainian Canadians who have supported the creation of a progressive multicultural society in Canada.

The importance of the constitutional proposals should not be underestimated, for a constitution is not merely an abstract document but a concrete instrument which provides definitions within which the exercise of power may be practised. Within this context, whether you measure the "rules of the game" as set out by the constitution from your own personal perspective or from the perspective of the social class and/or ethnocultural group of which you are a member, the important influence which these rules have upon your ability to pursue certain kinds of activities in your daily life makes a familiarity with the constitution a matter of some consequence for everyone involved in society. And it should be of particular consequence to students who, as members of the Ukrainian-Canadian Students' Council, have sought to ensure proper recognition and protection of the rights and protection of the rights of ethnocultural minorities in Canada.

So, too, should it be for those people who are striving to build and develop a uniquely Ukrainian-Canadian culture on the basis of their ancestral traditions. For the ability to promote one's group identity and culture is a matter which is circumscribed by the political system, as well as by the social milieu, in which

one is living. This is the thread which ties culture to politics; and, anyone who wishes to take part in building the cultural life of the ethnocultural group to which he or she belongs must sooner or later confront political realities. To teach a language in schools involves a certain degree of social organization within that community and to make it available to the widest possible number within the public school system entails a degree of political involvement sufficient to guarantee that the government will not deny you that right and that they will, in addition, provide funding by which you might exercise that right out of your own tax dollars.

In another sense, too, the constitution is an important document for it provides you, the Canadian citizen, as well as observers from other countries, an indication of the kind of society in which we are living or, perhaps more accurately, the kind of society in which our political leaders would like to see us living. If the statement of aims of the Constitution indicates that Canada is made up of English-speaking and French-speaking communities, it is an indication that the government does not foresee, for example, the continued existence of a Ukrainian-speaking or an Italian-speaking community in the future, and it suggests that the government will not provide supports for the teaching and provision of services in languages other than English or French. The absence of an unequivocal statement proclaiming Canada to be a multi-cultural society in the new Constitution leaves the reader of the document with the distinct impression that Canada is a nation with two official languages, containing people of many distinct origins who belong to either of the two major cultural communities, English or French-speaking.

The specific provisions of *The Constitutional Amendment Bill* includes a preamble, a statement affirming the continuation of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, and a statement of the aims of the Canadian federation. While the provisions of the preamble and the statement of aims of the Canadian federation are not legally binding in the sense of being enforceable in court, they comprise a statement of intention for the country and would serve as a guide to the courts in interpreting a section of the Bill where the meaning of that section, in the particular circumstances, was not clear. They also provide evidence of the spirit which has led to the writing of a new constitution and provide a definition of the parameters within which political activity may be judged. It is interesting to note the subtle wording of the preamble which, in essence, provides the philosophical underpinning for the remainder of the document:

"Honouring the contribution of Canada's original inhabitants, of those who built the foundations of the country that is Canada, and of all those whose endeavours through the years have widened its inheritance, We welcome as witness to that inheritance the evolution of the English-speaking and French-speaking communities, in Canada shaped by the men and women from many lands."

The emphasis within the proposed Constitution on the existence of two linguistic communities (along with the bicultural connotations surrounding this concept) is reinforced in the statement of aims of the Canadian Federation:

"to expand the horizons of Canadians as individuals, and enhance their collective security and distinctiveness as a people, by affirming through their daily lives and governance the fundamental proposition of the new nationality created by their forbears, that is to say, the proposition that fraternity does not require uniformity

nor need diversity lead to division, and as elements of that proposition:

1. to ensure throughout Canada equal respect for English and French as the country's principal spoken languages, and for those Canadians who use each of them;

2. to ensure throughout Canada equal respect for the many origins, creeds and cultures and for the differing regional identities that help shape its society, and for those Canadians who are part of each of them; and

3. inasmuch as the North American majority is, and seems certain to remain overwhelmingly English-speaking, to recognize a permanent national commitment to the endurance and self-fulfilment of the Canadian French-speaking society centred in but not limited to Quebec;

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of these proposals is the degree of commitment given to the reinforcement of the French-speaking minorities outside of Quebec. Sections 13-22 of the proposed constitution deal with language rights, which have been derived from section 133 of the BNA Act and the Official Languages Act, whereby English and French are declared to be the official languages of Canada. The new proposals envisage an extension of the rights of the French language on the provincial level: in the provincial legislatures, the courts and within provincial government departments or agencies. Section 19(2), in particular, states that any member of the public in any province has the right to use English or French in communicating with the provincial government in any area where it is determined that "a substantial number of persons within the population use that language."

No similar language rights are given to non-official languages, despite the fact that the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons of the Constitution of Canada specifically recommended in its report in 1972 that:

"[T]he Constitution should explicitly recognize the right of Provincial Legislatures to confer equivalent status with the English and French languages to other languages."

The Committee also recognized that "federal financial assistance to support the teaching or use of other languages would be appropriate."

It is apparent upon examination of the federal government's proposals for constitutional reform that none of the substantive ideas in the proposals differ from those suggested by Ottawa when it launched its first constitutional attempt at reform in 1968-69. As one commentator has noted "To read [the Constitutional Amendment Bill] is to believe that time has stood still for a decade." In fact, the proposals with respect to the rights of non-official languages are identical to those contained in the *Victoria Charter of 1971* (that charter being subsequently rejected by the Quebec government of Robert Bourassa on the grounds that it was unacceptable to the needs of the people of Quebec).

The absence of a positive declaration concerning the fact that Canada is a multicultural nation reveals how little the multicultural policy amounts to within the Canadian political context. Despite the declaration by Prime Minister Trudeau on October 8, 1971 that Canada is a multicultural society in which "there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other..." and despite the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution which recommended that a new "Constitution should formally recognize the preamble that Canada is multicultural rather than bicultural or unicultural..." the latest proposals contain nothing of a substantive nature in this direction. In fact, there is not even a token gesture made toward

the policy; the word "multicultural" is not even once mentioned in the new Constitutional Amendment Bill.

It appears that in preparing the new Constitutional Bill, the Prime Minister and his constitutional advisors chose to pointedly ignore the proposals of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Section 20 of the Bill stipulates that

nothing in those sections [13-19] shall be held to derogate from or diminish any right, based on language, that is assured by virtue of section 9 or 10 [the anti-discrimination clauses], or to derogate from or diminish any legal or customary right or privilege acquired or enjoyed either before or after the commencement of this Act with respect to any language that is not English or French.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee reported in 1972 that "the negative phrasing proposed in Article 19 of the Victoria Charter (essentially the same clause as section 20 of the new Bill) is not adequate." The Committee added that

"[e]ven though we frankly accept the inherent limitations of constitutional provisions respecting languages, we are of the opinion that it is also important to give constitutional recognition to another Canadian linguistic fact, viz., other language groups, English or French... At the same time as official status is being conferred upon the English and French languages, it should be made clear both that this does not in any way in any respect confer upon other languages is encouraged."

The number of other languages besides English and French and the diverse sizes and conditions of the groups which speak them preclude the possibility of establishing mandatory constitutional provisions for them. They are indeed regional rather than national languages, and it is therefore appropriate that the specific recognition they receive should be at the provincial level. At the same time, however, there should be an umbrella provision in the Constitution to give them their due acknowledgment as one of the constituent elements of our country, ethnically and linguistically.

The absence of such a provision, in the form of a positive statement conferring status on non-official languages, will detrimentally affect the viability of linguistic and cultural retention and development for all ethnocultural groups in Canada, other than the English and French. However, supposing that such a provision were included in the constitution, what difference would it make in practical terms? This issue was addressed in a presentation made by Professor Walter Tarnaposky on "Group Rights and the New Constitution of Canada" at the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights in Toronto in December, 1968, at a time when the process of constitutional reform was first being considered by the Trudeau government. Prof. Tarnaposky expressed the problem in the following terms:

"The question that arises is whether a constitutional guarantee of a right could be at all effective if it requires positive governmental action for its realization. In other words, enforcement of the fundamental freedoms of speech, press, religion, assembly and association is achieved mainly by invalidation of legislation which abridges or abrogates these rights and freedoms... However, how does one enforce those rights which require the state to provide something?"

In considering group

rights such as those of language, culture and education, it is necessary to recognize the limitations upon constitutional guarantees. It is one thing to declare that English and French will be the official languages of Canada, it is another thing to ensure that this declaration achieves genuine realization.

In concluding this discussion of language and group rights it is important to note an observation of Prof. Tarnaposky's which has profound importance for the future rights of Ukrainian Canadians as a cultural group: namely, that "the exclusion of a right or a group, from a declaration can sometimes diminish the continued existence and development of the right of the group." Therefore, whereas the inclusion of certain positive rights might not be very substantial in their positive effect on the life of the Ukrainian-Canadian community, the exclusion of these rights from the constitution may mean that the community will slowly lose those privileges which it currently enjoys through, for example, the multicultural policy. The longterm effect of such a development would lead almost inevitably to the disappearance of Ukrainian-Canadians as an identifiable ethnocultural group.

Therefore, the issues involved in the debate over the constitution are ones which must be addressed by members of the Ukrainian-Canadian community if they are concerned about their survival as an ethnocultural group. Certain initiatives are already underway, centered in Toronto, which will attempt to bring these issues before the Canadian public by means of a major conference on the constitution to be held later this year. The process of constitutional reform is one fraught with many potential hazards and conflicts between the ethnocultural groups within Canada, between the federal government and the provinces, and between the various institutions of the federal government itself. As a result, this process will be long and drawn out, despite the optimistic hope of the Prime Minister and his colleagues that the Constitution will be repatriated by 1981.

The Ukrainian-Canadian community, therefore, has some time remaining in which to exert various views upon the desirability of the federal government's constitutional proposals. Time, however, is relentlessly marching onward and it will sooner or later run out on the question of whether Ukrainian Canadians have a future in this country as a group. The present situation suggests that there is no time to lose in addressing this question in realistic terms. A start, perhaps, can be made at the upcoming National SUSK Congress in Winnipeg, where hopefully some thoughtful discussion might be generated on these issues. A further exploration of these issues will be attempted at the conference to be held in Ottawa on September 15-16 dealing with "Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians," sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

The process of public discussion and awareness of constitutional issues which hopefully will be generated by the publicity surrounding these upcoming conferences may, for once, provide a basis from which to approach the federal and provincial governments with evidence that there is widespread concern within the Canadian populace, and especially within the Ukrainian-Canadian community, about the proposed changes. For unless such concern is demonstrated, attempts by "community representatives" to lobby governments to change the proposals will be dismissed as the work of a small, fanatical segment of the ethnocultural communities.

And for Ukrainian Canadians, the failure to have the provisions protecting their linguistic and cultural rights within the Constitution can only bring closer the day, perhaps in the not too distant future, when the Ukrainian fact in Canada will have become merely a footnote in history.

лася байдуже до ідеї її створення. Студентські організації існували і працювали цілком окремо і тільки невелика частина студентів цінувалася працюю інших товариств крім свого.

Хоч в Першому Конгресі взяли участь делегати всіх студентських організацій, зв'язаного однієї у Ванкувері, і всі вони погорджувалися з ідеєю створення СУСК, що одичувалося певна частина студентів у кожній організації, яка індивідуально відносилася до тієї справи. Тому праця управи СУСК-у в двох перших роках його існування був експериментальний і організаційного характеру, бо треба було налаштувати ділові зв'язки з поодинокими товариствами, привчаючи їх до приєднання звітів, статистичних даних, тощо. Це вдалося, до певної міри, осягнути.

У двох перших роках існування СУСК-у, управи відбула 36 засідань, а це означає, що одне засідання припадало приблизно по три тижні. Крім членів управи, на деяких засіданнях іноді були теж присутні деякі визначні особи, які перебували в той час у Вінніпегу. Протоколи засідань виходили в українській мові і постійно вислалися до інших позаміських членів управи. Деякі, іноді, перекладалися на англійську мову. Подібно, кореспонденція, призначена для українських студентських організацій, різних інституцій і установ чи приватних осіб, полагалася в засаді в українській мові, однак у поодиноких випадках, коли того вимагала konieczність, уживалася також англійська мова. Зі загальною числа 387 листів, які вислав секретар за протязі цих двох років, 307 написано по-українськи, а 80 по-англійськи. Крім цих ділових листів, секретаріат вислав у тому часі ще понад 250 листів зі святковими побажаннями і повідомленнями про Другий Конгрес, що разом виносить понад 600 листів.

Референтура преси змогла, з огляду на різні перешкоди, видати тільки два числа бюлетеня СУСК. Кошти видання першого числа покриті Комітетом Українців Канади. Від самого початку існування СУСК-у було започатковано вхід, до якого зложеного документи праці Підготовчого Комі-

тету і Першого Конгресу, тексти деяких виголосень доповідей, віршів, зрізків з різними часописів, статтей-відзнаки і програму Першого Конгресу, програми конгресів і різних імпрес складових організацій СУСК-у та різно ж зареєстровано альбомом, до якого поміщено прозирки зі згаданого конгресу та з діяльністю деяких складових організацій.

Діяльність першої управи була, без сумніву, оживлена й успішна. Як показав звіт на Другому Конгресі СУСК-у, що відбувся 26 і 27 грудня 1955 року у Вінніпегу, в приміщенні Марлборо готелю, студентська центральна маля вже сильну підставу для дальшого існування та об'єднувала одинадцять студентських організацій, що мали разом 577 членів. Членами СУСК-у були такі організації: Канадська Федерація Товариств Українських Студентів Католіки "Обнова" — 232 членів (відділи в Едмонтоні, Саскатуні, Вінніпегу та Торонто), Український Студентський Клуб у Торонто — 80 членів, Український Студентський Клуб при Сер Джордж Вільямс Коледжі у Монреалі — 45 членів, "Альфа-Омега" в Саскатуні — 45 членів, Український Студентський Клуб при університеті МакГілла у Монреалі — 35 членів, Т-во "Зарво" у Вінніпегу — 26 членів, ТУСМ ім. Міхновського у Вінніпегу — 26 членів, "Альфа-Омега" у Вінніпегу — 23 членів, Український Студентський Клуб в Оттаві — 20 членів, ТУСМ ім. Міхновського в Торонто — 15 членів, ТУСМ ім. Міхновського в Монреалі — 15 членів і Т-во "Зарво" в Монреалі — 13 членів. Найбільшю студентською організацією в системі СУСК-у була КФТУСК "Обнова", що мала 40 відсотків усього членства СУСК-у. Число студентів і організацій, які створили СУСК на Першому Конгресі, було дуже подібно до числа на Другому Конгресі і приблизно в такій

самій пропорції.

Підчас Другого Конгресу існували, наскільки відомо, ще три організації українських студентів, які ще не були членами СУСК-у, а саме: ТУСК "Обнова" в Монреалі — 25 членів, Український Студентський Клуб в Гамільтоні — 21 членів і "Альфа-Омега" у Ванкувері — 18 членів.

На конгресі поважаємо поважно зацікавлені співпрацюю паводинок студентських товариств і майже всі студентські організації прислали на цей конгрес своїх делегатів. Новозаснований Український Студентський Клуб у Гамільтоні, який ще не був членом СУСК-у, теж прислав три особи. Комітет Українців Канади на цей раз знову дав фінансову допомогу в оплачуванні подорожніми деяких делегатів.

Цей перегляд підготовчої праці для слияння Першого Конгресу Українського Студентства Канади, в відтак відвірення періоду перших двох років праці створення тоді централі СУСК є трохи обширний тому, щоб вове покоління студентів мало можливість краще пізнати як, нолі і чому їх попередники створили це централі. Організація побудови СУСК-у була досі відміна від організаційної системи ЦЕСУСА, що було зумовлено відмінними канадськими обставинами. Членами СУСК-у могли бути всі українські студентські організації Канади, незалежно від того, чи вони були станова, конфесійні, чи ідеологічні. Їх членство в СУСК-у було опнаков без огляду на характер організації. Практика тоді показала, що цей принцип був найкращим для канадських умов.

Осічок управи СУСК по Другім Конгресі залишили ще на два роки у Вінніпегу. Пізніше, по Третім Конгресі, що відбувся у Монреалі 1 і 2 лютого 1958 року, осічок управи перенесено теж до Монреалу.

Spolsky

(continued from page 7)

jects because they would inevitably remain uncompleted with the passing from student ranks of their boosters.

Hampering the new executive's plans was the financial position of SUSK; the new executive had inherited a \$7,000 debt from the previous executive and the position was to become worse. The federal government was reducing funds it spent on giving grants to community organisations. The community, which had been generally supportive of youth and student activities, was starting to view with some alarm the questioning by SUSK of community positions.

The first stop on the SUSK activities calendar was the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) Congress held in Winnipeg in October 1974, which attracted some 35 SUSK members. Efforts by SUSK and other progressive organisations during previous UCC congresses to democratise and hence make more effective the structures of the UCC were continued by SUSK in 1974. Congress delegates left this congress with not even a pyritic victory in their hands: the congress could only reach a compromise agreement on the election of a president. The congress marked a turning point in that the progressive elements were no longer prepared to work for the democratisation of the UCC in an attempt to make community structures more effective; in-

stead, discussions developed within the groups about the development of new community vehicles of development.

The CBC Action, started in 1972, was continued; representations were made to the federal government with respect to the introduction of multilingual broadcasting on the CBC Radio and Television networks. No significant advances were made in this area, as the federal government was not prepared to go beyond a consideration of the policy, and there seemed to be little organised community support for the issue.

Plans for summer activities in various policy areas were shattered by the federal government's rejection of several SUSK project applications. This forced the executive to work on a voluntary basis on various projects. Two provincial governments funded small fieldwork projects in Saskatchewan and Ontario. Both projects aimed at the development of limited educational programmes in the centres they visited.

Plans to complete the Ukrainian Canadian Historical Date Calendar, started during a previous summer's project, were shelved because of a lack of funds. A lack of interest forced the shelving of a proposal to stage a travelling exhibit of Ukrainian Canadian student art.

SUSK participation in the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS) Congress

changed; in previous years, SUSK Executives had maintained a benign presence within CESUS, allowing CESUS to do nothing. At both the 1970 and the 1973 CESUS Congresses, SUSK had put up states to take control of CESUS. By 1974, CESUS inclusivity became an embarrassment to SUSK; the Edmonton SUSK Congress passed a motion suspending SUSK membership in CESUS if that body did not develop a full range of coordinating activities.

That year's Student published three large issues, breaking previous records for the number of pages printed. Student was read with great interest within the Ukrainian-Canadian community for the issues raised. Student and its writers became favourite targets for the editors of Homlni Ukrainy, the Banderite newspaper in Canada.

In short, 1974-75 was a transitional year: a new generation of students had taken over the reins; SUSK entered into its first direct and open polemic with tight-wing organisations; previous efforts at lobbying government on one issue or another were being slowly discarded in favour of developing closer program-related ties with the individual clubs; SUSK's financial position once again took a turn toward the critical, forcing congress executives to look at alternate means of funding in place of government grants.

Slobodzin

(continued from page 8)

in the '60s. But I now see it in a different light. Activism in the '60s was not that much greater, apathy was no less, nor funds more abundant. But once in a decade, experienced and deeply committed SUSK activists come together in one place to accomplish just a bit more. This happened once in Toronto in the late '60s and in Edmonton in the late '70s. Realistically, this age will also pass. New names, faces and interests will appear and SUSK will again wait for its third coming.

Five problem areas facing SUSK in 1961, as outlined by then vice-president Oleksy Sahaydakwsky in the SUSK Bulletin (No. 1), are not much different today:

1) На мою думку, щоб СУСК не чувся вивагати в очак свого окруження і в очак членів своєї Екзекутивної, він повинек:

1) Визначити собі мету й наголосувати її на всіх своїх ірғанізаційних щаблях. Немає сумніву, що чимало з нас має на по тему певні погляди і про це вже сказано в статуті СУСК. Все ж такі не відчувалися, щоб ці елементи були у нас рушійними, з чимало з нас — це невеликий відсоток організованого студентства.

2) Накреслити і розробити певну стратегію дії, себто шукати осланки мети в посередній і без-

посередній способ. Все, що ми досі маємо, не тільки тактика, яку (і то підсвідомо) застосовують тільки деякі студентські товариства.

3) Зміцнити організаційно. Вистачити ствердити, що є чимало студентів, які обмежують тільки провинційним способом думання. Вони не думують категоріями СУСК і не бачать дальших горизонтів.

4) Звернути більшу увагу на "зовнішню політику" та використати її в корысть внутрішнього добра СУСК.

5) Встановити відповідний адміністративний зв'язок між Екзекутивною і студентськими організаціями в терені. За малими винятками такого зв'язку немає. Тому, як іде кам ірро "пожалувалек" чи "зміцненек" зв'язку, — покищо маємо проблему "встановити" зв'язок, без якого іррацюзв'язки на довшу мету є неможливі.

Повищих п'ять пунктів, це, на мою думку, головніші проблеми СУСК. Хочеться вірити, що з'ясування їх в цей спосіб, стане поштожем, щоб зв'язки за їхню розв'язку.

Сербин

(Продовження з стор. 5)

які зайшли в прологу СУСК-у у висліді успішних успіхів проекту "працівників в терені".

Мабуть найбільш тривалим вкладом 9-ї кривавої управи в розвиток студентського руху було розроблення концепції "кадр працівників" (філд воркери). Корисн цього полягає в тому, що треба шукати в посиді запровадження в СУСК постійного секретаріату, пред ставленим Романом Петришином, від імені Лейкгейтського клубу на 9-м з'їзді СУСК. Обговорений з'їздом, цей проект широко обговорювався на літніх кінцево-зимових зборах управи. В жовтні він був представлений на конгресі КУК і одобрений ним. В березні 1969 р. правеса управа скликала сходження з представниками студентських клубів. Ця нарада відбулася в Торонто і на ній були представлені 14-ти організацій. Літній секретаріату була підтримана і правеса управа утвореною вирішила зайняти на ціле літо-двох працівників. Так постав перший "філд-ворк" в СУСК-у.

На початку літа управа найпала двох працівників. Їх завдання були дуже обширні. Вони мали розв'язати по українськи щоб мобілізувати українське студентство, підготувати 10-ий конгрес СУСК-у, який має відбуватися у Ванкувері, зібрати гроші на утримання самих літніх працівників та на інші потреби СУСК-у. Форми праці були мало окреслені й не давало можливість працівникам виявити свої здібності та ініціативу. По якійсь часі одні працівники зрештешали і залишилися Богдан Кравченко, який об'їхав цілу Канаду, змобілізував Торонтоських студентів до редакції "Студента" і підготував 10-ий

конгрес СУСК-у у Ванкувері — перший студентський з'їзд в цьому місті.

Ось короткий перебіг моєї каденції як дев'ятого голови СУСК-у. Незадовго під руками архівів цієї каденції (які я передав наступній управі), я списав лише важливі з того, що залишилися в пам'яті — а задується мені цих п'ятнадцять місяців з великою присмією. З задоволенням пригадую працю в СУСК-у того часу, бо була добра група співпрацівників; розроблялися цікаві концепції й догадалися добрих успіхів. Як звичайно буває, вклад поодиноких членів управи був різний. І тут хочеться відмітити роллю Романа Петришина і Богдана Кравченка. Тихий і спокійний, а запальним підходом до справ, з широким практичним знанням від урядових структур до студентських організацій, Роман Петришин був від самого початку тією ключовою особою, без якої ми не досягнули б і половини наших успіхів. Богдан Кравченко, який дійшов до СУСК-у аж піднівець нашої каденції, приніс зі собою новий запал і перетворив нашу мрію про літніх працівників в реальність, донавав, що український студентський рух в Канаді може розвиватися на широкую скалю. Отож, шкода, що проект створення кадрів молодих працівників, який був прийнятий 10-им конгресом СУСК і передрукований в різних українських часописах, не був зрештешаний іншими українськими організаціями. СУСК-ові він приніс багато користі, бо не лише змобілізував студентство, але забезпечив студентське організаційне провідомо молодих працівників студентів. У цьому відношенні дев'ять правеса управа був переходною ланкою.

The SUSK 25th Anniversary issue

The year 1978 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union, commonly known as SUSK (*Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentiv Kanady*).

Ukrainian student activities in Canada date back to 1905, when the Ruthenian Training School was opened in Winnipeg to train English-Ukrainian bilingual teachers. The first official student association, however, was the Ukrainian Students' Club founded in Saskatoon in 1915. Other clubs were soon formed (often in association with "bursy" or boarding schools), in Winnipeg and Edmonton, and later in smaller centres such as Dauphin, Yorkton and Vegreville, and in eastern Canada (Montreal, Toronto, Kingston).

There was some cooperation between individual student clubs, and in 1927 a Central Council of Ukrainian Student Clubs (TUSK) was established; however, it encompassed only several student organisations. Likewise, in 1934 the Ukrainian Students' National Association was formed in an attempt to coordinate student life from a nationalist standpoint. The development of these coordinating bodies, however, was hampered by religious and political differences among Ukrainian student groups, and pressing socio-economic problems during the last few years of the Depression meant that almost all Ukrainian student activities were brought to a complete halt.

The Alpha Omega Society, a Ukrainian student organization at the University of Saskatchewan, did make a comeback in 1941, and in subsequent years Alpha Omega Societies were established at the Universities of Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia. Cooperation between these Alpha Omega Societies established the basis for closer and more permanent contacts, and in 1949 the groundwork was laid for a Ukrainian Students' Union by setting up a Central Committee of Ukrainian Canadian Students.

In the meantime, Ukrainian students then arriving from overseas were disappointed by the weak coordination among Ukrainian student organizations in Canada, and agreed that the establishment of a central executive for all Ukrainian student clubs was a priority. An interim committee was established to prepare a constitution and rules and regulations for the first congress of a Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union. Vera Zarowski chaired this committee, and became the first president of the Union, at its first Congress in Winnipeg 26-27 December 1953.

The articles in this "25th Anniversary Issue" of *Student* form a contribution to the history of SUSK in its first quarter century of activity. The issue itself consists of two parts. The first eleven pages feature articles by past-presidents of SUSK, who give brief year-by-year historical overviews, commentaries and evaluations of SUSK and its activities during their terms of office. The remainder of the issue reprints some of the more noteworthy articles which have appeared in the 48 issues of *Student* published before the SUSK 25th Anniversary Congress held in August 1978.

Some explanation of minor irregularities in the collection of presidents' articles is in order. As Vera Zarowski, the first SUSK president, could not be located, it was decided to approach a member of the first executive to write the article for the period 1953-58. Victor Deneka kindly agreed to provide such an article. The only lapse in coverage comes in the period 1962-63. George Borys, president at this time, was sent several requests for an article but unfortunately did not

reply to any of them. In place of a special article for the period 1972-73, we are presenting an article by then-president Andriy Semotuk which gives an overview and commentary on SUSK during its most crucial period. This article, originally printed in November 1977, appears on pp. 42-43 and is followed by an article (pp. 44-45) by Tamara Tkachuk, who was involved with SUSK in the first half of this decade, written in response to Semotuk's and offering another analysis of SUSK's development.

The selection of articles to be reprinted proved to be a difficult task. The following guidelines were used: a) only articles written by students themselves were chosen, b) only original articles were used, ie. none of the many reprints from other sources which have appeared in *Student* were used, despite their quality, and c) the articles were chosen to reflect some aspect of the development of the ideals and attitudes of the Ukrainian student group in Canada. This compilation is not necessarily the "best of *Student*." However most of the articles are very good and an effort was made to reflect the many events which shaped SUSK in the last decade. The issue in which the reprints originally appeared is indicated in parentheses beside the title of the article in question. The parentheses give the number of the issue and the date in which it appeared. The original layout has been retained where possible.

It remains to acknowledge the financial support for this issue of both the Multicultural Program, Government of Canada, and the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko.

In fairness to the Shevchenko Foundation, it must be noted that it objects to some references made to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) which appear in the articles by Sheila Slobodzin, Myron Spolsky, Roman Serbyn and Marusia Kucharyshyn. The Foundation feels that some of these references are the authors' subjective opinions, especially in regards to women's participation in the UCC (the Foundation feels women have achieved much in the UCC) and the issue of democratization of the UCC (the Foundation feels that this issue stems from a lack of appreciation that membership in the UCC is by Canada-wide fully autonomous organizations, and not by individual membership).

We sincerely hope that our objectives in the publication of this issue have been met. These objectives were two-fold. Firstly, as back issues of *Student* are difficult to come by, an issue which reprinted some of the better articles would assure their accessibility to a wider audience. Secondly, in conjunction with brief commentaries by all past-presidents of SUSK, it would provide a valuable historical overview of SUSK and the Ukrainian Canadian student movement. This is intended to partially alleviate a lack of historical perspective among many current members of SUSK, a situation which has been identified at several recent conferences as being one of the major problems facing SUSK and hampering it in its work.

As there are no ultimate solutions to problems involving human relations, we can only hope that insights into SUSK's achievements and difficulties during the past twenty-five years will serve as guideposts for generations of SUSK activists in the next twenty-five years, and better equip them to cope with the trials and tribulations of life as a Ukrainian student in Canada.

Nestor Makuch
Editor
August 1979



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"During 1970, SUSK mounted a concerted campaign to mobilize grass-roots support, especially among the young and unorganized second- and third-generation Ukrainian Canadians, for the policy of multiculturalism, and to stimulate other ethnic groups to articulate their demands. With encouragement and support from the Department of the Secretary of State, it engaged some of its members as field workers and animators in different Ukrainian communities across Canada to organize a series of multicultural conferences, mostly at university campuses, to help focus public attention on the aspirations and demands of Canada's Ukrainian and other minority groups for governmental recognition and realization of their cultural-linguistic and social rights. In his 1972 paper on the "precarious situation" of Ukrainian Canadians, Professor Manoly Lupul of the University of Alberta evaluated highly the contribution of this "new and vibrant force" in spearheading an impressive assault on Ottawa:

The work of the students cannot be praised sufficiently. They had mastered some of the concepts and techniques of student power, two of which stood out: (1) the concept of community development to help the individual regain his dignity as a person; and (2) an audacity towards the powerful which even the latter could not help but admire"

Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment*, Edmonton, published by the University of Alberta Press for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1978.