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

ВСІМ НАШИМ ЧИТАЧАМ ВЕСЕЛИХ СВЯТ ТА ЩАСЛИВОГО НОВОГО РОКУ



Nadia Svitlychna in New York City with her two sons, Ivan (6 months) and Yarema (9 years).

Bread and salt for Svitlychna

Zorjan Hromyak

Nadia Svitlychna, the first Ukrainian woman oppositionist and political prisoner to be allowed by the Soviet government to emigrate from Ukraine, arrived in New York November 8, 1978, and has settled with her two sons in Philadelphia.

In a brief statement during a reception held for her upon her arrival, Svitlychna professed, "I want to believe that in welcoming me to America, you greet part of Ukraine in me." As she thanked all those people who had campaigned on her behalf she recalled that there were still many of her fellow dissidents awaiting emigration, and named Stepania Shabaturo, Vitaliy Kalychenko, Ivan Kandyba and Yosyl Terelia as examples. She further indicated that her brother Ivan Svitlychny (one of Ukraine's foremost literary critics and a former political prisoner) had been released from prison and was in exile in Altai in the Asian part of the Soviet Union.

By her own admission, Nadia Svitlychna is not a 'political person' in the sense that making sociological and political prognoses are not amongst her capacities. However, in light of her highly emotional state in finding

*See the November 1978 issue of STUDENT (Vol II No 50 p. 1) for a biographical sketch of Svitlychna.

(SVITLYCHNA continued on page 11)

World Congress of Free Ukrainians

Dissidents and democracy highlight World Congress

Les Kapusniak

The events of the third World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU), recently convened in New York, 22-26 November 1978, will take their place among the last chapters of the history of Ukrainian emigre institutional behaviour, as indicative of the deeply rooted and seemingly irreconcilable political cleavages that burden Ukrainian community life.

Apparently consolidating the numerous inward looking Ukrainian emigre interest groups, which more than often appear to be at odds with one another, into a single representative structure encompassing organized Ukrainians abroad, is itself a monumental task. The vast scope of its nature of concern, however, can only in part account for the failure of the WCFU to realize its overriding objective of becoming a coordinating vehicle for concretely dealing with the complex problems facing the Ukrainian diaspora.

Essentially, the WCFU is composed of national umbrella organizations of various countries - by far the two largest being the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). Because the WCFU can only be as effective in implementing its goals as its constituent member organizations permit it to be, the major constraints limiting the effectiveness of the WCFU are thus rooted in the very nature of the factional strife that burdens its member organizations.

From its inception in 1966, the WCFU has had to accommodate an intensive power struggle between the international leadership of splinter groups of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), of which the "Bandervits" composing the crudest faction in terms

of their fossilized political posture, are found in the forefront of World War Two hangers. Consequently, as long as the member umbrella organizations that the WCFU embraces remain undemocratically structured, and as a result the victims of factional strife and manipulation by the Bandervits, the WCFU will remain compelled to redirect resources towards maintaining the myth of Ukrainian unity at the expense of substantively tackling the pressing concerns of Ukrainian communities abroad.

With this spirit General Petro Grigorenko addressed the participants of the WCFU, and came down heavily on factional bickering among the Ukrainian emigre political groupings. Thoroughly dissatisfied with their behaviour and uncompromising attitude to one another he proposed to the Congress that:

the new leadership of the WCFU resign their party allegiances that only a politically neutral executive will embody any hope for the future of the WCFU.

Furthermore, disgusted with the manner in which the Ukrainian question had been abstracted and mystified by the emigre political leaders, Grigorenko clarified his disapproval to the Congress, stating that:

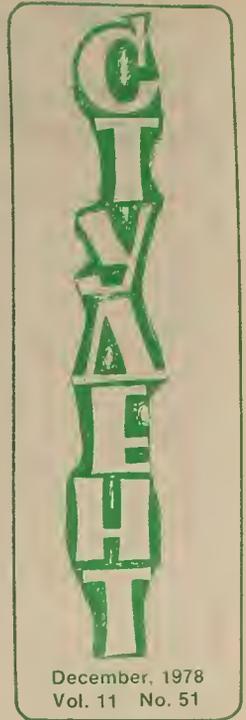
We will bring to Ukraine neither fascism nor communism. I am against both. We will bring to Ukraine democracy.

The General ended his address with an additional insight into the situation at hand, calling for the democratization of the WCFU.

(WORLD CONGRESS continued on page 11)

How much longer for the Ministry of Multiculturalism

Alex Tymofienko



In the confusion of Prime Minister Trudeau's recent cabinet re-organization (in which he made Bob "The Mad Hungarian" Andras our chief economic czar over federal expenditures), the disappearance of one of the several ministries of state, which were set up in the early 1970s before spending for "the public good" went out of style, went largely unnoticed. The decreased ministry, urban affairs, had since 1970 been trying to busily co-ordinate federal policies toward our cities.

As 1978 has been designated "The Year of the Scrooge" in the calendar of our Ottawa mandarins, the government has decided to stop playing Robin Hood with our money and has begun to slow down the printing of those lunny colored pieces of paper bearing Her Majesty's portrait which pour out of the

Royal Mint every few weeks, a modest portion of which manages to find its way into the pockets of Canadians every pay day. The first casualties of the slowdown appear to be those who have the least muscle, those unable to keep their muzzles in the sugar-coated trough of government "goodies" (i.e. un-organized lobbies such as the unemployed, the young, as well as the "ethnics").

The implications of the dismantling of the ministry of urban affairs on the future of other ministries of state, including multiculturalism, should not be minimized. It should be remembered that urban affairs was created under circumstances similar to those which led the federal government to proclaim Canada officially "multicultural" in 1971. It was only as a result of

intense lobbying by a variety of interest groups that the federal Liberals finally responded to the distinctive problems posed by their lack of presence in two burgeoning issues of the early 1970s—those of urban growth and immigrant cultural adjustment to Canadian society.

Trudeau and his cabinet were well aware that federal policies in urban affairs and multiculturalism would be looked upon by the provinces as intrusions into areas held to be exclusively within their jurisdiction under the BNA Act. Therefore it was only with great reluctance that the ministries of urban affairs and multiculturalism (along with fitness and amateur sport in 1976) were set up. To make these intrusions more palatable to the provinces, they were designated ministries of state with merely co-

ordinative functions over policy in federal areas of jurisdiction. None of these ministries has ever amounted to much more than a token attempt to throw a few "bones" to the hungry "dogs" who had lobbied for the programs in the first place.

Recently, Joe "That's Who" Clark has outflanked even the likes of Ronald Reagan in espousing a fierce brand of conservatism on several issues, notably in his proposal (see Toronto Star, Dec. 30, 1977) to abort the fledgling ministries of state — including urban affairs, fitness and amateur sport, and multiculturalism (See STUDENT, Vol. 10, No. 44, March-April 1978). Since the Conservatives' recent surge in the Gallup polls, Clark has effectively been promoted to the position of Canada's Number One policy-maker (I was tempted to say "Acting Prime Minister" but Clark has failed to show any acting ability, save, perhaps, as a clown). It may, therefore, not be long before multiculturalism will meet the same fate as urban affairs.

Some may argue, what difference does it make, anyway, whether or not there is a federal ministry of state for multiculturalism? As Joe Clark has argued, shouldn't we be concentrating on getting the money to "the people" rather than bloating up our bureaucracy in Ottawa. Perhaps But \$10 million spread around to "the people", for them to sing and dance their way to obscurity, will not go very far. And what about the original reason for having a ministry of state for multiculturalism, which was supposed to sensitize government policies in the areas of culture, immigration, human rights, etc. to the fact that nearly one-third of Canada's population is neither of English nor French origin?

The powers that be probably feel that we "ethnics" should be satisfied to have \$10 million worth of "goodies" over and above those

given to English and French Canadians. But just remember, if you should think of getting a real piece of the \$52 billion in "goodies" the federal government is dishing out this year, it still pays to have a name like Simpson or Eaton or Woodward rather than Boychuk or Borowsky. As long as this remains the case, Canadians cannot afford to allow multiculturalism to become merely a folk cultural granting agency dispensing "gifts" to happy and contented "ethnics".

Appeal to release dying Shumuk

Stephan Semykiwsky

In September of this year Andrei Sakharov, the leading human rights activist in Moscow, stated that Danylo Shumuk, a Ukrainian political prisoner, was seriously ill with stomach cancer and in danger of dying in the labor camp where he is currently imprisoned. Sakharov asked that pressure on Soviet authorities be increased in order that they allow Shumuk to leave the Soviet Union and die in peace.

Shumuk has several relatives in Canada who are willing to take care of him if he is allowed to leave the Soviet Union and for the last few years various human rights groups have persistently lobbied with the Canadian government to exert pressure on Soviet authorities for Shumuk's release. On November 3, for example, the Canadian House of Commons unanimously passed a resolution strongly urging the Soviet government to immediately

release Shumuk. These efforts, however, have resulted in few concrete measures on the part of the Department of External Affairs, which has been mollified by statements from the Soviet embassy in Ottawa claiming that Shumuk is in "perfectly good health".

A letter dated September 10 however, has recently reached the west from the Mordovian labor camp in which Shumuk is being held.

"We, political prisoners in the 'Sosnovka' concentration camp, have heard that the Canadian parliament is making attempts to have Shumuk released. In connection with this good news, and knowing how difficult this task is we turn to you with an urgent request that your efforts be increased. For Shumuk is in a tragic state of health.

"We, Soviet political prisoners,

not only receive practically no medical help from the so-called doctors assigned to the camp, but are also forbidden to receive packages with drugs which we need, although the camp dispensary has nothing but aspirins.

"Shumuk is dying before our eyes. Our attempts to force the guards to provide Shumuk with proper medical help has evoked only the malevolent cynicism. Shumuk's principled stance and his steadfastness, which they detest and fear, has provoked them to revenge themselves upon him.

"We thank you for your concern about our fellow political prisoner and ask you to do everything necessary to ensure his release as soon as possible."

Edward Kuznetsov Mykhailo Osadchy
Olks Vuzhenko Vasyli Romanuk

New York protest leaves much to be desired

Demonstration marred by racism and violence

Nearly 3000 persons, many carrying placards and posters, gathered in New York City November 26 to march on the Soviet mission in protest over the abuse of human rights in the U.S.S.R.

The demonstration followed the final sessions of the 3rd World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) held in New York earlier in the week, and was directed towards publicizing the plight of Ukrainian and other dissidents carrying on the struggle for democracy within the Soviet Union.

The protesters were addressed briefly by the newly elected president and vice-president of WCFU before marching from the site of the Congress to the Soviet mission some fifteen blocks away.

However, the crowd was halted 200 yards short of its destination by two columns of police — the first on horseback wielding clubs and riot gear and the second on foot some twenty men across and four deep. Accepting the fact that further attempts to push forward were futile the demonstrators were then addressed by several prominent dissidents.

First to speak was Simas Kudarka, who exhorted the audience to tirelessly struggle against all aspects of Soviet Russian imperialism in whatever form it may take. He was followed by Leonid Plyushch and recently-released Nadia Svitychna both of whom drew sustained applause from the assembled group.

With the speeches over the leaders of the march then tried unsuccessfully to persuade the crowd to storm the police barricades. At this point a few unidentified, although apparently not unwelcome, persons climbed

the speakers' platform and attempted to further irritate the crowd with a number of racist remarks aimed first at the police and then at various nationalities including Russians and Jews.

This tactic backfired, however, and the crowd began to disperse in both anger and disgust.

Seeing the tactical blunder on their part, the leaders then brought the rally to a close with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem

(Ne Pora).

Bohdan Romaniuk
But a few hundred youthful protesters refused to withdraw and began hurling a number of objects at the assembled police forces. Several persons received head and other injuries as the police moved in to disperse the remaining demonstrators.

The entire event was recorded on film and tape from the rooftop of the Soviet mission by unidentified KGB technicians



Part of the demonstrating crowd — but for what kind of revolution?



Danylo Shumuk

Danylo Shumuk is one of the senior Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet Mordovian labor camps. He is 64 years old, and has been a political prisoner for more than half his life. He spent five years in a Polish prison before the Second World War and has spent twenty nine years in Soviet prisons and labor camps. His latest arrest was in January 1972, and he was sentenced later that year to ten years in a strict-regime labor camp followed by five years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation" and "slandering the Party and the State." The primary reason for his arrest, however, was his preparation of memoirs which were circulated among small groups of friends.

Shumuk has always taken an active part in protests against abuses of authority by prison and labor camp officials in the Norilsk forced-labor camps (in the Siberian sub-Arctic). Shumuk was instrumental in organizing, in the late forties, an underground prisoners' self-defense league which was effective in defending prisoners against cruelty and abuse from work-gang foremen, camp guards, and administrators. A strike led by this self-defense league, however, was brutally crushed in 1953. Since

his most recent arrest Shumuk has participated in numerous hunger strikes and other protests by political prisoners and has prepared or signed a number of petitions, appeals, and complaints dealing with the inhuman conditions in which political prisoners are kept.

One section of Shumuk's memoirs reached the west in 1973 and were published under the title *Za Shkhanim Obriem (Beyond the Eastern Horizon)*. The remainder of his memoirs has just recently reached the west and will be published in the near future.

Shumuk has been criticized for his strongly moralistic and uncompromising stand with respect to the behavior of his fellow political prisoners. He is nonetheless highly regarded by most camp prisoners for his honesty and idealism.

In 1972 Amnesty International adopted Shumuk as a prisoner of conscience. After considerable research Amnesty concluded that he had been incarcerated and deprived of his liberty, especially since 1957, solely for having exercised his rights, guaranteed under the Soviet Constitution and law, and proclaimed in international covenants, to freedom of expression.

EDITORIAL

The Moscow Olympics

Ever since the 1976 Montreal Olympics, there has been scattered talk in the West of actively boycotting and pressuring the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to change the site of the 1980 Olympics, which are scheduled to be held in Moscow. As this campaign will undoubtedly intensify in the next year and a half, it is worthwhile at this point to consider the arguments for and against such an action.

First of all, it is too late to realistically expect that if the IOC assigned the Games to another site it will be able to make all the necessary preparations to host this athletic extravaganza in the brief amount of time remaining before 1980. Hence we are speaking in terms of either boycotting or supporting the Moscow Games.

The arguments for a boycott state that as the Soviet Union is an oppressive regime which denies its nationalities self-determination and its citizens civil and political liberties, we should not allow it to mask its policies of tyranny and repression behind the facade of sportsmanship and international brotherhood. While the frequent comparisons made between the Moscow Games and the 1936 Games in Hitler's Germany are undoubtedly an overexaggeration, a similar situation would occur in 1980 — to accept the site at face value would be to offer the Soviet regime at least tacit support and allow it to score valuable propaganda points.

While one can expect all cold warriors to rally behind any boycott of the Soviet Union, it is interesting to note that an increasing number of non-Stalinist leftists are coming out in favour of boycotting the Games. This would, of course, be consistent with other campaigns against repressive regimes — how could one oppose holding the World Cup in Argentina but passively accept the Olympics in Moscow? The debate is ongoing and support for the boycott seems to depend on whether or not one defines the Soviet Union as a "workers' state." Some of the left is terrified of playing into the hands of anti-Soviet imperialists and therefore balk at the boycott. But would it not make more sense to usurp the campaign from the cold warriors and use the boycott as a platform from which to campaign for workers' rights in the Soviet Union?

The arguments against the boycott are also multi-faceted. Some are quite weak — everything from it being much too late to do anything about the situation, to cries about the Western athletes' right to participate in the Games and the flabby, timeworn, Stalinist uncritical acceptance of any Soviet policy or project merely on the basis of its claim to being a "workers' state." Other arguments are more sound and based on practical consideration — how effective will the boycott be if it is extremely difficult to persuade other countries to join in? And of course it will be very hard to decide what other countries should be shunned in the future, as very few are 'angels' (could the imposition in 1970 of the War Measures Act in Canada have served as a basis for boycotting the 1976 Montreal Olympics?).

The major group of anti-boycotters seem to follow what may be termed the "they can't censor everything" theory, and urge athletes and spectators alike to participate in the games but to use their presence in Moscow to point out the Soviet regime's oppressiveness by shouting slogans during events such as prize-presentations, wearing T-shirts with pictures of dissidents or slogans on them, and by staging peaceful, collective demonstrations whenever they can.

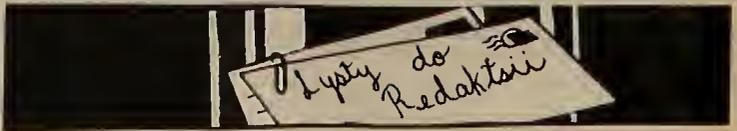
There are two major faults with the anti-boycotters' theory. First, it assumes that the political awareness of the athletes is such that they would be willing to participate in such activities. In all probability, only a small minority would. Second, it assumes that spectators coming from the West are also politically aware and educated enough not only to be able to carry out an intelligent protest in Moscow but to be able to see beyond the massive "clean-up" campaign which will undoubtedly be launched in Moscow in the near future in order to be able to present its "best face" to the Olympic public.

It is naive to declare the Olympics a "non-political event." The Games' recent history has shown that this is not the case (besides, why do the Soviets go to such trouble and expense to raise and support their 'amateur' athletes?). As such they demand a political position.

It is also naive to expect that small groups of peaceful demonstrators from the West, should they materialize, will have more than a fleeting impact on Soviet society or the Games.

And that leaves a boycott.

N.M.



Peace River "Poshta"

I would like to respond to the letter in the November issue of *Student* by Nestor S., which you aptly entitled "Blah, Blah, Blah." Setting the record straight won't require denigrating Mr. S.'s aimless nine point epistle. Rather, a few elementary remarks will suffice to clear up Mr. S.'s high-school confusion.

On the whole Mr. S. I find you supported all my contentions. For instance your remark, "that the P's and B's, have on occasion acted as spokesman for their clubs in matters such as education and immigration," shows that the Professionals and Businessmen act without KYK (Ukrainian Canadian Committee) in community matters. They act without KYK because they are attempting to usurp the mantle of leadership. Even you admit as much; "If one could sublimate the UCC's *modus operandi* to more useful purposes, the UCC could accommodate and indeed incorporate initiatives by the P's and B's and others." Ah, wishful thinking hasn't changed KYK in the past, and there is no reason to think that the P's and B's will sublimate KYK without a struggle.

Another of your erroneous deductions is your contention that Andrii Semotiuk is not the P's and B's spokesman. I never claimed he was. I only pointed out that Andrii's remarks as spokesman of the Ukrainian Democratic Movement (UDM) parrot the democratic thrusts of the P's and B's. Andrii is an ideologue, not a P and B activist. Other ideologues, such as Dontsov, served to form the fundamentals of thought for organizations in which they didn't participate. And all I claim is that the UDM, rather than Jerry and his troops, represent the ideology of the P's and B's democratic thrusts. That the UDM is incompetent and isolated is not the fault of the P's and B's. That Dontsov was an idiot for failing to join the OUN was not the fault of his fanatical followers.

Finally dear readers I am not a KYK-ivets as Mr. S. claims, but a socialist. I am afraid that KYK has little room for one like me. Yet I am not inactive in the Ukrainian community. Although I find at times that in order to work effectively I must

mask my opinions. I don't have to do this in an open forum like *Student*. *Student* is just that, an open forum, and not the bastion of dogmatism. On the contrary, as long as Mr. S. is writing letters, I find that *Student* can just as adequately serve the confused right as the hidden left.

Yours truly
Jaroslav Strybunetz
Peace River

tive farms nor efforts to rebuild began until the fall of 1944, when the West Ukraine was reconquered by the Soviets. Collective farm construction did not begin in earnest until late 1947.

2. The "destruction units" were not recruited from Soviet partisans, but rather from the West Ukrainian villagers, who were consequently exempted from service in the Red Army.

3. Mr. Hromjak quotes my figure of thirty one of these units numbering 3,370 men. However, this figure relates to the Lviv region alone and not the entire West Ukraine, for which figures, to my knowledge, are not available.

4. The comment that "By 1945, party cadres were greatly increasing in the Western Ukraine" is also inaccurate. My own supposition is that the lack of party cadres in the area before 1948 enabled insurgent forces to successfully resist attempts at collectivization.

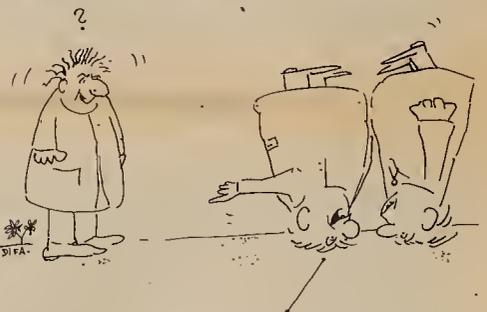
5. Collectivization of Western Ukraine was not "essentially completed" by spring 1950. Statistics of the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture reveal that in the Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk regions, considerably less than 50 per cent of peasant farms were collectivized by the summer of 1950. Only by the summer of 1951 can the process be said to be completed and one reads constant complaints about the "weakness" of these farms in the Soviet press of 1951 to 1953.

David R. Marples
Department of History
University of Alberta

Setting the Record Straight

I was both pleased and flattered to read the coverage of my seminar paper given at the C.I.U.S. entitled: *Collectivization of Agriculture in West Ukraine and OUN-UPA Resistance, 1944 to 1950*, by Mr. Zorjan Hromjak, (*STUDENT*, November 1978, p. 5). Mr. Hromjak gives a perceptive interpretation of the events of the period and a concise report of the seminar discussion. However, his review does contain some factual errors, which I would like to, point out, as I consider them to be of fundamental importance to this subject. These are as follows:

1. Mr. Hromjak states that "from the fall of 1942, UPA forces led an active campaign in sabotaging collective farms and reconstructive efforts". Yet neither the restoration of collec-



- Чи ви чули яка усяхлива хвороба
настала на нашого студента?
- ?
- Все йому перевернулося в голові горішками!

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Multiculturalism: A bargain basement buy?

This article is the second and concluding part of Andrij Makuch's series on the recent Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism.

Andrij Makuch

An anecdote from the nation's capital: the Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism was taking place, there was also a gathering of fundamentalist Christians in town. One day both groups were holding sessions in the Chateau Laurier when a bespeckled fifty-year-old Canadian of Danish origin wandered into the wrong hall. There he heard Mr. Norman Cafik, Minister of State Responsible for Multiculturalism, give a most enlightening and inspiring address. At a reception afterwards, this man approached the minister and said, "Sir, I do believe that the multicultural approach is fundamental to the survival of our nation. What else can I do?" Mr. Cafik replied, "You must not keep this to just yourself. You must break away from an insular approach and establish an outreach program which will take you into contact with the people who are not yet converted to this belief. You must win the hearts and minds of your fellow Canadians." Since that time this man has been seen constantly standing at a corner of Ottawa's Market Square, clutching a sheaf of glossy brochures obtained from the Multicultural Directorate and shouting, "My friends! Let me give you a testimony about what multiculturalism has done for me, what it can do for you, and how it can save our nation." He is arrested occasionally for creating a public disturbance.

This story, of course, is absurd. The man does not exist. However, the message related to him is definitely that of Mr. Norman Cafik, who does exist (in fact, key parts of their dialogue were taken directly from the printed versions of Mr. Cafik's speeches). And the entire tale strongly implies where the concept of multiculturalism seems to be heading—into a massive sell-job.

According to the minister, he will work at the higher levels of state bureaucracy to make them more sympathetic towards the desires of ethnic minorities (his much-vaunted theory of "horizontal impact"). In turn, the ethnic communities must supplement his efforts by breaking out of their shells and taking a greater role in Canadian society at large.

This all sounds very nice, yet, in a society where the law of caveat emptor prevails, it is worthwhile to examine closely what product is being peddled, what approach is being used, and just who is doing the buying.

The federal government has gathered most of those ethnic minorities not yet fully integrated—psychologically, if not physically—into Canadian society and is trying to deal with them in a uniform manner under a policy which stresses cultural diversity. The current "official" interpretation of multiculturalism seeks not to aid each group's self-realization in all spheres of their collective activity, but to break down the barriers between these diverse Canadian communities. The printed version of Mr. Cafik's banquet speech put it this way:

The policy encourages the sharing of our cultural heritages and backgrounds with fellow Canadians in an integrated society. We are not encouraging cultural isolation, or cultural ghettos, but a recognizing of all Canadians to enter into the mainstream of our society with respect and understanding for each other.

Unfortunately, such an approach to the policy of multiculturalism has major drawbacks. First of all, it questions the legitimacy of ethnic communities as entities unto themselves—as noted by the stress on sharing rather than developing cultures. The implication that goes with such an idea has been current in Canadian thought since the turn of the century: if ethnic minorities remain in self-enclosed communities (or "ghettos"), they are not contributing "positively" to Canadian society and are holding back the develop-

ment of the nation. The question of just how desirable is belonging to "mainstream" Canadian society never enters the discussion.

This leads to the second drawback to the current policy interpretation, namely that the "integration" constantly stressed in the minister's speeches is not a "two-way street." We are told that the mainstream Canadian society will accept us with respect and understanding if we break away from our "cultural isolation." But, would the inverse hold true? The unquestioned assumption is made that the ethnic minorities must integrate in all spheres of the host society's activities in order even to hope to extract any cultural (or other) concessions on the macro scale or socio-economic mobility on the micro scale. And with no guarantees.

The goal of multiculturalism is stated clearly as being a tolerant

integrated society. However, the terms of these definitions remain incredibly vague. The term "multiculturalism" can mean everything from "cultural pluralism" to "gradual assimilation," depending upon the speaker. As a result, policy statements can be and often are extremely nebulous. The honorable minister can promise something for everyone without stating clearly how he will fulfill them. The result: a confusing and often ineffective policy, and rousing, rambling speeches. This is, of course, in the interests of the federal government, which can afford neither to have strong ethnic loyalties throughout the dominion nor to lose the support it gets from the ethnic vote.

The main reasons that such a state of affairs is tolerated lie in the lack of critical opposition to the handling of multiculturalism. The fact that many ethnic minorities do

not see multiculturalism as being in their own interest, and in the weakness of ethnic organizations throughout the country. Groups such as the aboriginal peoples, the visible minorities, and recent immigrants stress that survival now, not in some distant future, is their main concern. They do not understand multiculturalism completely, but do have a first-hand knowledge of different bread-and-butter concerns. The Quebecois were most noticeable at the conference by their absence, while those Francophones who did attend were suspicious of the proceedings. The French view this concept as a direct threat to their vital interests—an unfortunate, although understandable, position which reflects more a suspicion of the federal government's handling of and motives behind the policy rather than an antipathy to the concept of cultural pluralism. "Established"

ethnic groups, such as the Poles and Ukrainians seem to concern themselves primarily with cultural and linguistic issues, not seeing multiculturalism in broader terms. In fact, the only surprising addition to this array of views presented at the conference (i.e. these groups have previously presented the same positions) was that of a strong statement made by the Canadian Jewish Congress urging the acceptance of Canada as a pluralistic society. Basically this was a reiteration and updating of the position with which it had responded to the official proclamation in 1963 of Canada as a bicultural country.

This division of interest—not to mention open hostility in some cases—among the many groups gathered under the rubric of multiculturalism has long been obvious. Thus, it is not surprising that these various ethnic minorities have not been able to formulate among themselves uniform priorities and demands, let alone cohesive reactions to policy developments. And amid their confusion, the Ministry of Multiculturalism acts as a broker in a very traditional Canadian Liberal fashion.

To add to these woes, the recognized vehicle for these groups to articulate their specific "cultural" demands, the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM) is stranded in a frustrating state of limbo. (Ed. note: The CCCM is a citizen's advisory body to the Ministry of Multiculturalism formed of government appointees, many of them card-carrying Liberals.) It is neither responsible to the various ethnic communities which it is supposed to represent (i.e., it is not a council of Canadian ethnic minorities) nor can it make resolutions binding on the Ministry of Multiculturalism.

(BARGAIN BUY continued on page 11)



Multiculturalism: A Canadian reality? or surrealist fantasy?

Dave Lupul

The third conference of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM) has come and gone and it is still a mystery why it was entitled "Multiculturalism: A Canadian Reality". For most of the discussions of the more than four hundred participants dwelt not on reality, but on fantasies as to what they would like to see the federal government doing to create a multicultural utopia here in Canada. Even the normally ebullient Norman Cafik, Minister of Multiculturalism, was not prepared to deliver the goods for the brave new multicultural world as envisioned in the resolutions and recommendations of the delegates to the conference. The reality is that Canada cannot afford to be a truly multicultural country in the sense that nearly all of the delegates to the conference clearly expressed, at least as far as the existing governments in Canada are concerned.

As a designated representative of the "ethnic press," I donned my official press badge and went to work as your loyal STUDENT correspondent, trying to dig up some interesting stories on the "youth" workshops to which I had been assigned. For the first time, "youth" (meaning anyone under the age of 25) were being brought into the consultative process as participants in the CCCM—albeit in a tokenistic fashion, as they were shunted off into separate workshops from the "adults", as if the age of majority in Canada had suddenly been raised to 25.

There were five youth workshops—they included discussions on education, youth action in multiculturalism, human rights, cross-cultural awareness, and heritage languages. Each workshop was given a short list of rather mundane questions, such as "Are there any differences between individual rights and group rights?" or "How strong is the link between

language and culture?" Needless to say, the most exciting action of the conference occurred when the youth delegates made a visit to "Disco Viva" in Hull on Friday night.

Some of the workshops did manage to come up with some interesting results, managing to impress even the Honourable Minister. Norman Cafik. One session proceeded along novel lines by composing a rather juvenile song, resembling a football cheer:

In 1987 Canada came together,
To make our country strong and true
Although there were some problems
All races, creeds and colours,
Really worked to make it through

We'd like to get to know ya!
Dance a tango for ya!
Share some ouzo, saki too
Meet some brand new faces,
Learn of different places,
Wishing them a bien venue

Now we'd really like to see ya!
Enjoy some Perogies and Pizzas!
Learn to do the Limbo too
Sai some ethnic paces,
Establish warm embraces
Multiculturalism: we're with you

To be fair, all of the youth workshops came up with many positive recommendations along the lines of further multicultural content in education, production of resource materials for schools, establishment of a research centre for the study of multiculturalism, more effective use of media, more local cultural festivals, more intercultural awareness, more effective human rights commissions, the right to be educated bilingually in one's "heritage language," etc. Needless to say, none of them will be implemented, at least by the federal government, because the multicultural budget will likely remain a paltry sum of about \$10 million for each of the next five years; perhaps less if the Conservatives form the next government. Many of the youth delegates

with whom I spoke were frustrated by their being shunted off from the "adult" sessions, and by the failure of the conference organizers to provide them with an opportunity to meet in a plenary session of all five youth workshops in which a joint strategy could be worked out to present a more unified front on the issues. A meeting of selected delegates from each workshop resolved that "whereas the segregation of youth and adult delegates precludes effective interaction between the two groups; therefore be it resolved that youth have a full and active role to play on the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism."

But few of the delegates questioned the legitimacy of the CCCM itself. Who chooses the community leaders? What is the value of a consultative body like the CCCM which the Minister ignores at his whim? Cafik revealed as much, in one of his typically hyperbolic statements, by claiming that "Half of your [the CCCM's] recommendations I've already implemented; the other half are impossible for me to implement."

The Minister can afford to be rather impervious to the CCCM, so long as it continues to remain predominantly a group of Liberal party appointees and ineffectual "community leaders" who have no base of popular support. Moreover, the ethnocultural groups themselves remain strongly divided on key issues. This was particularly evident in the sessions relating to "The Future of Ethnocultural Organizations in Canada." As the Chairman stated in presenting his report of the sessions, "We sought a shared agenda that was not there". The blacks, in particular, claimed that the Chairman's report failed to reflect the intensity of their concerns over bread and butter issues such as poverty, racism and dis-

crimination, their spokesman claimed that too many of the leaders of other cultural groups were only interested in obtaining money from the government for their own cultural activities. He questioned the sincerity of many group leaders, for he believed that they "were not in the forefront of the struggle for ethnocultural rights" on fundamental issues affecting the everyday lives of visible minorities.

The other divisive issue was that between the francophone delegates and those who were primarily English-speaking. One Quebecois from Sherbrooke, a committed federalist, summed up the problem in commenting, "How do you expect French-speaking Canadians to support multiculturalism when the only minister in the government who ever talks about it speaks only English." The failure of Cafik to make even a token attempt to say a few words in French was not missed by francophone critics of multiculturalism.

It is certainly not surprising that French-speaking Canadians are so reluctant to support multiculturalism when it is so often perceived as a means of diminishing their linguistic and cultural rights. This is especially true when the most vocal supporters of multiculturalism are so reluctant to recognise the primacy of the French language in Quebec and are either unwilling or incapable of addressing French-speaking Canadians in the French language.

There remain a lot of questions as to how "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" can become a "Canadian reality" (when the concept itself

(MULTICULTURALISM continued on page 11)

Feminism, Socialism, and the bureaucratic regime: The *real* situation of Soviet women

Alix Holt is the author of many articles on the women's question and has in the past lived for many years in the Soviet Union. She granted STUDENT this interview while in Edmonton to present a paper at the recent conference on "Women in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" sponsored by the Division of Soviet and East European Studies at the University of Alberta.

This interview will be run in two parts, with the concluding part appearing next month. The interview was conducted by Mariika Hryn.

STUDENT: Are you involved in women's movement in the West? Is the question of the women's position in the USSR of interest to the women's movement in the West? What lessons are there to be learnt?

Holt: Yes, I've been in the women's movement for nearly ten years now. I helped form a Women's Action Group at my university in 1969. Since then the women's movement has grown enormously. Most towns now have several groups active around different issues. In Birmingham where I live we have tried to raise the question of the position of women in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Two years ago, in the autumn of 1976 we organised a conference and were surprised and pleased that as many as sixty women came. Because of the success of the conference we have started to bring out an occasional newsletter which carries short articles on historical research as well as information on the participation of women in the dissident movement. The third issue of this newsletter should be coming out in January. We have been trying to make contact with people in other countries interested in the question of women in Eastern Europe and in campaigning around the question of women's rights. Anyone in Edmonton interested in receiving the newsletter, or even better in contributing to it and helping us in our campaign should get in touch.

So I would say that there is a good deal of interest within the women's movement in Britain about the real position of women in Eastern Europe. I say 'real' because accurate information has been hard to come across. Feminists would agree that Soviet women are not liberated, but there are disagreements about how we can learn from the experience of the USSR.

These disagreements flow from basic differences in understanding women's oppression. Some feminists consider that the origin of oppression is to be found in the patriarchal structure of society and that the economic exploitation and the class struggle that socialists have always focussed on is not very relevant to women in their struggle for liberation. They would argue that the example of the Soviet Union proves their point: its pretty obvious things haven't changed very much, so socialism can't be said to really liberate women. Other feminists recognise that it is not only women who are oppressed in Soviet society, that there are other inequalities besides those between men and women, that the society has failed to achieve socialism. They would try to make connections between the shortcomings of the society in general and the particular position of women.

I think that the Soviet experience shows us that the relationship between class and gender is much more complex than socialists in the past were willing to understand and admit. It was often thought that by changing property relations women would be liberated at the wave of a magic wand. No one can believe in fairy godmothers anymore.

STUDENT: Abortion and contraception... what is the regime's policy on this question?

Holt: In 1920, that is three years after the Russian revolution a Bolshevik decree legalised abortions, provided the operation took place in a hospital. This was the first time any government had recognised abortion to be a woman's right. In

1935 the right was withdrawn. Stalin's regime did not recognise that individuals had any rights at all. Women did not launch a campaign of protest — the regime had made sure to crush all social organisations including the women's organisation — but there was a great deal of anger against the law and the number of back-street abortions increased. One of the first measures of Khrushchev's 'thaw' was to reintroduce free abortion on demand. That was 1955.

This law still stands today. At least officially it does. I remember going to see a doctor in Leningrad when my period was late to be told that as I had never had a child I was not entitled to an abortion. Legally I did have the right, but it's easy to see

The official Soviet line has been that the pill has harmful-side-effects. This is true of course, and feminists in the West are becoming increasingly critical of the way pills have been marketed by the large drug companies without adequate research being undertaken first. But the Soviet attitude is hypocritical because they have been putting absolutely no money into trying to develop new and safe methods of contraception. They do not even bother to produce adequate supplies of adequate quality traditional contraceptives. The IUD is available. A friend of mine got pregnant a couple of months after she had one fitted. The IUD, understandably, is not a popular form of contraception. The condom is manufactured, but you may have to visit several chemists before you find one who has a stock. Anyway most people are reluctant to use this method because they say the quality of the rubber is poor and reduces sexual pleasure. That leaves coitus interruptus. And... abortion.

As I see it there are other ways of improving the Soviet economy, but they involve the working class assuming control of the processes of production — which is something the government wishes to avoid at all costs since it would put them out of a job. So women are called upon to raise the birth rate in order to maintain the present economic and political structure of the country. Women's choices are being limited in order to maintain the status quo.

In other East European countries, where governments are also worried about birth rates, a system of maternity benefits has been introduced whereby women are paid to stay at home with their children for several years without losing their jobs or pension rights. Whilst in the short-term these benefits help working women confronted by the difficulties of the double shift, in the long-term they reinforce the sexual division of labour and offer no real solution. In the USSR there has been some discussion about introducing a

nationalisation of women and universal prostitutions. Radicals and socialists on the other hand, would enthuse over the equality women had one won, the sexual revolution and the experiments in alternative living that were changing the fabric of Soviet life — or so they thought. Both pictures bear scant resemblance to reality as experienced by the majority of the population. The talk about the 'nationalisation of women' was pure fabrication and the sexual freedom that women won was of a very fragile and ambiguous kind. A few communes were set up in the early twenties, but usually they were made up of young men with no place of their own to go. None of them lasted very long. One in Moscow, and I think it is typical, 'broke up' after a few months because three treasurers in a row embezzled commune funds.

Alexandra Kollontai, the only leading Bolshevik to write extensively on issues of women and the family recognised that most people would not be drawn immediately to ideas of communes and alternative life styles. The family could not be abolished just like that. It had to be gradually replaced. She insisted though that developing alternative structures to the nuclear family, the provision of day-care centres and canteens, was a very important aspect of the revolution. Her vision was of a society where caring for children and performing domestic tasks would not be the individual responsibility of individual women, but would be organised on a collective basis.

It was argued then and it has been argued since that such a vision was Utopian and that it was impossible to stage a 'sexual revolution' in a backward peasant country. Kollontai's idea though was that changes in everyday life should be viewed not as coming as a result of economic change, but in conjunction with economic change. I think she was right.

The concerns expressed by Kollontai were echoed in the writings of a few other party members. Architects drew plans of homes without kitchens; doctors wrote of separating sex from procreation; economists calculated how many cooks, nurses and laundry workers would have to be employed by the state if the domestic labour of housewives was to be socialised. But the homes were never built, the contraceptive and communal facilities never provided on a mass scale. So the picture of the twenties as a time of experimentation with life styles and equality for women followed by repression and inequality of the thirties is not entirely accurate. There certainly was repression in the thirties — marriage and divorce laws were tightened, abortion became illegal and homosexuality a criminal offence. But even during the twenties official attitudes to morality were far from progressive and the actual lives of the majority of women changed remarkably little.

The majority of Bolshevik party members and leaders considered that women's liberation would come automatically with economic progress. They did not take Kollontai's advice and attempt to integrate the two processes. I think that this reflects a traditional weakness of the socialist end labour movements: a concentration on production at the expense of analysing reproduction, the family and the oppression of women. This is the area where it is important that we learn from past mistakes.

NEXT MONTH:

- Dissidents and Women
- Potential in USSR
- Attitudes of Soviet Women
- Women's Status in USSR
- Comparison with West



how women can be intimidated into giving birth to children they don't want. And there is such a lot of red tape and queuing involved in getting a free abortion illegally. This is not 'back-street' abortion the way we understand it in the West. Ironically you often get better treatment outside the hospital. Doctors perform the operation in the comfort of your own home and with modern, usually imported, equipment, that is not used in the regular hospitals. A friend who had an abortion done legally in the hospital complained that it had been done without any anaesthetic whatsoever, was very painful and had taken her a long time to get over, both physically and mentally. Another friend had an illegal abortion during her lunch break — the suction method was used — and went back to work in the afternoon feeling OK. She thought the fifty roubles had been well spent.

Nearly all the Soviet women I know have had abortions. Some as many as ten or twelve. This is because abortion is still just about the main method of contraception. The USSR has not yet produced its own hormonal contraceptive. The Hungarian pill, Intecudin has been imported on a small scale, but you need friends in the right places to get hold of supplies and even then they are too erratic to make this a viable method of contraception.

The logic of this situation is hard to fathom. It would make economic sense for the government to give women access to safe methods of contraception since women would then not have to take time off work to have abortions. The absence of women at the decision-making level, in the health service presumably has some effect on the ordering of medical priorities. I think concern for the birth rate is also an important reason.

STUDENT: Recently in Soviet press discussion about declining birth rate, and need to have more women stay at home to have children. Why are the Soviets so concerned about birth rates? What are Soviet women's attitudes on this question?

Holt: Soviet economists who have written articles about the need to increase the birth-rate have been quite open about the reasons why. The economy, they say, is in danger. More babies are needed in order that the economy can continue to function. The number of children likely to be born between now and the end of the century has been calculated, and it is not enough. It is women's duty to provide the state with more workers so that socialism can be built. The economy is a god to which women needs have to be sacrificed. The 'needs of the economy' are not, of course, critically examined; they are taken as given.

similar system of benefits and the current five-year plan mentions the need to increase opportunities for women to do part-time work and take work home. So far women do not seem to be anxious to take the government up on this promise. Surveys show that working women, particularly those with higher skills and more interesting jobs, are not interested in solving the problem of the 'double shift' by leaving work outside the home. And so far the government has not tightened the abortion laws as several other East European countries have done. I really think it would be hard for the government to change the abortion law, given the strong feeling amongst Soviet women that abortion is a right. However, there are indirect ways the government can influence women's choices. I have already mentioned the failure to provide adequate contraception. Failure to provide day-care and other public facilities of sufficiently high standard is another way.

STUDENT: During the 1920s many experimented in 'alternative life styles'. What were these experiments about? How widespread were they? When were they abandoned? Stalin's counter-revolution on the women's question?

Holt: In the years after the Russian revolution the Western press used to go in for lurid tales of 'free love' in the land of the Soviets, of the

Women in Eastern Europe Newspaper Collective, c/o Barbara Holland, CREES, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England

Ukrainian language instruction compared

At the recent Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism conference in Ottawa, education was touted as a major vehicle for retaining and propagating the multicultural aspect of our Canadian society. In this respect it was interesting to listen to Mr. Ihor Kruk's presentation November 28 at a Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies seminar on the similarities and differences of Ukrainian language instruction in Great Britain and Alberta.

and Alberta experienced a heyday in the second half of the 1960's in supplementary Ukrainian language instruction. Pupils attending these Saturday schools were basically of Ukrainian background with some fluency in the language. As pointed out by Mr. Kruk, the make-up of the pupils attending these Saturday schools has changed in recent years. The current students do not have even a basic knowledge of Ukrainian. As a result, the programs in these schools will in the near future probably become much more basic and watered down.

Two common problems exist in both Great Britain and Alberta at this time: 1) inadequate teaching materials and programs, 2) inadequate professional development. From his presentation Mr. Kruk indicated that Alberta has made more progress in the development of appropriate teaching materials and programs, especially with the

publication of the Department of Education's reading series *Tut i Tam*. On the other hand, as far as professional development is concerned, Mr. Kruk was of the opinion that the Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educators in Great Britain fulfills this need better than the School Council (Shkilna Rada) does here in Alberta.

In concluding Mr. Kruk pointed out that the psychology of the Western world regarding second languages is detrimental to the development of second language learning. In essence, "English is accepted as the language and it is unnecessary to know any other to exist." In proposing a possible solution to the dilemma, he supported Roman Petryshyn's idea that we must create a Ukrainian environment in order for the language to flourish.

How many of you speak Ukrainian among your peers?

The sociology of success

The urban Ukrainian ghetto and its demise was the topic of a recent seminar presented by Roman Petryshyn at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in Edmonton on November 14. Petryshyn's presentation explored the sociological and historical aspects of "Housing Segregation and Mobility of Ukrainians in Manchester".

After briefly discussing pre-second World War Ukrainian settlements in Britain, Petryshyn went on to describe the large influx into Britain of single Ukrainian men after the war. These men came largely from the post-war DP camps, occupied low income and stable jobs, and along with other immigrants congregated in a central housing area. Petryshyn was able to make a comprehensive survey of their housing distribution in Manchester from the address list of the "Dnipro" club, which served as an informal community social center for the immigrants.

Petryshyn made a number of observations based on a comparison of the addresses of "Dnipro" club members in 1967 with their addresses in 1972-75. Of the 170 addresses available, 90% were within a mile radius of the club in 1967. Fully 104 were within a ten minute walk of the club and 89 were in close geographical proximity. It

was suggested that since the immigrants' housing was totally self-financed, any changes in the housing pattern would reflect changes in the immigrants' status.

To test this hypothesis, Petryshyn devised a questionnaire based on three questions:

- 1) What is the relative living standard of Ukrainians in Britain today given that they started at the bottom of the housing and income scale,
- 2) What housing mobility and types of housing have Ukrainians occupied over the past thirty years, and
- 3) Has being Ukrainian influenced the immigrants' housing standards, tenure and location. His questionnaire, however, was hampered by poor response and the unavailability of census data on Ukrainians in Great Britain.

Petryshyn's study of the changing housing pattern revealed a distinct movement away from the urban core. This movement went through a number of phases beginning with accommodation in hostels and renting rooms from Ukrainian landlords, and culminating in the purchase of detached homes in the suburbs. Accompanying this change in housing was a social

(SOCIOLOGY continued on page 10)



• If you're a Western Canadian populist, an historian, a folklorist, or simply appreciate good poetry, you might want to have a look at Andy Suknaski's most recent verse offering, *the ghosts call you poor*. Published by Macmillan of Canada, the just-released collection of 57 new poems is a veritable cornucopia of Western Canadiana that is sure to place Suknaski high on the list of candidates for the 1979 Governor General's Award for Poetry. You might also find that the book makes an excellent Christmas gift...

• Overheard at our Edmonton office:
"Comrade Boss, sir."
"Da, vas iss it?"
"You are What you culture!"
"Da, agent Peter? You have been too long away home from. You need vacation?"
"Nyet, nyet comrade. It's a nationalistitski plotski."
"Da, da. You have too long away been. Take it break!"
"But comrade..."
"Do as I say! What you culture! Some agentskis are out to lynchky"

• Agent D. REPORTS SUCCESS IN SABOTAGING A SUSK Eastern Conference delegate's car. The rear window fell out, the axle pin fell out, the gasket cracked the clutch slipped and the tachometer, speedometer and windshields malfunctioned — all according to schedule. Unfortunately the delegate still managed to make part of Saturday afternoon's sessions. We must review our sabotage plan.

• Reliable sources indicate that the appearance of Joe Clark at the recent Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism in Ottawa was the result of a call to Paul Yelchuk (Conservative MP-Atabasca) from an unidentified source suggesting that "it might be a good idea" if Clark showed up for the meetings. Indications are that Clark's visit spurred on the appearance of none other than Pierre Elliott Trudeau at the reception held later that evening at the Governor-General's residence. Our source mentions that Clark promised to retain existing multicultural programs, but threatened to shift public funds away from the ethnic press and towards the cultural groups themselves. More pre-election goodies to come?

• A priceless quote from the Multicultural Minister, Norman Calix. "If people think that the government has problems of national unity now just try to make Ukrainian the third official language."

• Those of you who saw George Ryga's "Ivan Lypa" on the Newcomer series aired by CBC-TV shouldn't be surprised that the show was sponsored by Imperial Oil. Ukrainians used to work for Imperial (Standard) Oil back at the turn of the century — you can read all about it in Ivan Franko's stories set in the Boryslav-Drohobych oil region of Western Ukraine. Who said life would be easier *na emigratsii*?

• Although general Petro Grigorenko merely stated at the 3rd World Congress of Free Ukrainians that he opposed Ukrainian fascism, a certain sector of the Congress participants immediately objected to their being labelled fascists. Touchy, touchy...

• Here's one for Lloyd's of London. As we all know, Ukrainian folk dancing is not only spectacular, but also very dangerous. For example, a few weeks ago one of Edmonton's Shumka Dancers smashed a chandelier of one of the city's major hotels as he did the splits during a performance. Whose insurance covers the damage?

Lubomyr Luciak

Remarks on Roman Petryshyn's "Housing Segregation and Mobility of Ukrainians in Manchester"

Analysis of those social forces which generate or augment the development of an ethnic enclave within the urban setting provided a focus for many of Mr. Petryshyn's recent remarks to members of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and University of Alberta students. Commenting on his study of post-World War II Ukrainian immigrants to Manchester, England, Mr. Petryshyn attempted to show how economic, rather than cultural, motivations were the primary determinant of intra-urban movement. Indeed changing housing patterns among this immigrant group were related to improving socio-economic conditions within the group and their perceptions of the benefits accruing from residing in higher quality housing located outside the traditional Ukrainian enclave. Over a period of years a marked shift north from the original settlement core occurred, as these people increasingly sought accommodation in dwellings offering additional amenities. Emphasis throughout the presentation was placed on the number of impediments encountered by these immigrants, some of whom were reportedly "trapped" within a

system which constrained their choices not only for housing but for social mobility as well.

While Mr. Petryshyn's study undoubtedly contributes to our store of knowledge about the process of immigration and its relationship to ethnic housing patterns there are several themes within his discourse which bear critical attention.

First of all there is a regrettable lack of historical dimension to his paper. Whereas it was established that immigrants from the Ukraine had settled in Manchester by 1893 there was little discussion of the subsequent housing patterns of these migrants, nor much deliberation upon the interplay between members of the two Ukrainian immigrations to England. In some eastern Canadian urban centres (eg Kingston, Ontario) members of different Ukrainian immigrant groups often chose to live apart, regardless of the economic conditions prevailing in the housing market at the time of their arrival in Canada and subsequently. A conspicuous hostility between members of different immigrations is present in other Canadian centres and may well have been equally

salient as a centrifugal force in the dissolution of Manchester's Ukrainian "ethnic village." Of course these remarks do not denigrate the importance of economic considerations. They only suggest the need for reflection on the possible role of other influences. Historical research might clarify the situation.

Another question arises. Mr. Petryshyn indicated that 35% of those interviewed reported that they were still in their first bought homes. Why did they remain? And those whom Mr. Petryshyn labelled as having been "trapped" within a redevelopment area, why did they stay where they did? Was it only because they were old, retired, financially incapable of moving? Could not these people have proletried to live in the core of what, through years, they had come to know as their "ethnic village?" Displaced housing is one thing, having a "sense of place" even for what is apparently a slum area to outsiders, may well have kept these individuals in their original settlement area even more surely than economic pressures were responsible for first placing them there.

One of the paper's findings was that many of the Ukrainians studied



Roman Petryshyn

now live in "better than average housing" relative to other inhabitants of Manchester. This observation is puzzling, given Mr. Petryshyn's insistence on the fact that many of these individuals were somehow "constrained" or "moulded" by the English social system and thereby limited in their freedom. Surely the society could not have been very enthralling if many of these individuals were eventually to accommodate themselves in housing superior to

that of many British citizens?

It is really with Mr. Petryshyn's concluding remarks that this reviewer is most concerned. The suggestion was made that analysis of those economic forces which generate or augment ethnic enclaves might provide those interested in "social engineering" with information which could prove useful when it came to establishing viable cooperative and bilingual (Ukrainian/English) housing centres in urban areas like Edmonton. By way of example, Mr. Petryshyn suggested that a block of city property might be developed as a multi-tiered housing complex. Therein a Ukrainian culture would either be preserved from the detrimental, assimilationist pressures which Ukrainians in Canada face or a contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian culture developed. The variegated nature of this housing complex, accommodating both the very young and the elderly — would recreate a Ukrainian "ethnic village" in chosen Canadian cities.

(PETRYSHYN continued on page 11)

So you want to be in the Ukrainian

This paper was originally presented by Olenka Bilash at the SUSK workshop following the "Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians" Conference held recently in Ottawa.

Olenka Bilash, a former SUSK president, is currently Bilingual Education Coordinator for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

I have been invited to address the question of students' roles in the Ukrainian community. I will do so from a personal point of view based on my own experience over the past five or six years as a student, active member of the SUSK national executive, and project coordinator. I would like to preface my presentation with the following remarks:

1. Over the summer I coordinated two student projects of which I am probably more critical than most of their critics. This experience taught me a lot about realism and success. Both summer student projects were unique in that most of the ideas had never been attempted in the Ukrainian-Canadian community before. Thus to a certain degree the blind led the blind. No one in the Ukrainian community could offer experienced advice and assistance and those outside the community had difficulty relating to the ideas.

2. During the 1977-78 school year as I sat on various educational committees, I found myself constantly defending students and encouraging others to develop summer projects for them. I believed that the students would be most capable of completing the preliminary ground work for the projects discussed at these meetings, so that the teachers and consultants could begin their task of curriculum development first thing in the fall. Since then, however, my optimism has waned.

3. "A few bad apples don't spoil the whole bunch". With this in mind I readjusted my first draft of this presentation and injected as much optimism as I could. It is possible that there is a bit of rot in the whole bunch of apples.

4. As is usually the case with SUSK seminars, the persons for whom my comments are addressed are not present — i.e. students, particularly from western Canada.

ocracy which lives an equally schizophrenic life switching from the reality of Canada to the memories of Ukraine.

I could not possibly mention all of the characteristics of the Ukrainian community, but it is worthwhile examining some of the criteria for membership. Membership into the Ukrainian community is determined by one or more of the following factors:

1. acquaintance with the Ukrainian language

2. a devotion and preference for everything that is Ukrainian, or thought to be Ukrainian, above all other things (whether they are better or not)

3. a familiarity and preferably upbringing in one of the traditional Ukrainian youth organizations — PLAST, SUM, SUMK, ODUM, UCU, etc.

4. political or financial success

In the eyes of other Canadians, Ukrainians appear as a group determined to maintain its language in Canada. It is the aspect of their culture held more dearly to their hearts than any other. Yet, paradoxically, it translates into a very low level of proficiency in Canada. Students, as victims of the lax community expectations, are the best examples of this fact. They permit themselves to say "Chy my maemo lighter, stapler", or any other noun substitute for which they know no translation, yet mock the "non-preferred Ukrainian" who speaks "half-na-piv". Is "parkuvaty" so much worse than "chy maemo lighter" or "podat stapler"? To make the situation worse, it is very difficult for someone who does not speak Ukrainian to pick up the language in order to be accepted. French language programs by far outweigh Ukrainian language programs in number and quality. The few Ukrainian programs which do exist are primarily offered for high school students or adults with

ly until that time. But the organized community tends to be suspicious of these types.

The wealth and diversity of Ukrainian song, folk customs, folk art and in particular dancing and the culinary arts has graduated a multi-talented generation of concert performers. Because most Ukrainians are acquainted with *pysanky*, *keramyka*, *vyshyvka* and the like, they tend to consider themselves experts in the field. In fact, folklore disputes are often resolved with the statement "every *sefo* did it differently". Ukrainians in the west thrive at the opportunity to perform, for performing has been called cultural sharing. They are confident that in the amateur field they will earn recognition for themselves and their community. But few Ukrainians are encouraged financially or do develop their talents to a professional level. Any community support is expected to be repaid 100%. The Ukrainian community might learn from the Jewish community, which supports almost every potential performer. It does not expect that every recipient will "make it", but that those who do will not forget their donors.

The community demands unquestionable allegiance. Members attend conferences to pat themselves on the back and meet others who are sympathetic to their cause. Sometimes it is difficult, as a Ukrainian, to make objective comments, especially publicly, without the fear of being ostracized by one's own community.

It is difficult to feel a part of the Ukrainian community if one has not graduated from one of its youth organizations. Almost the first question I am always asked is "Chy ty buva Plastunkou? Sumivkou?" In recent years, however, organizations such as SUSK, HROMADA, and the Ukrainian Professional and Business Federation are welcoming and initiating new Ukrainians into their ranks. As they become more visible on the executives of their organizations, the community will have to accept them, if on merit alone. But that merit translates into success and status.

Social status sometimes portrayed through financial or political success will automatically ensure that an organization and its subsidiary associates reclaim the Canadians of Ukrainian descent and their immediate family into the community and continue to do so for as long as the financial or political success continues.

Ingestion — Without Indigestion

The Ukrainian community has set a rigid set of criteria for its members. Yet one of its major concerns has been to attract the second to fifth generation "peripheral" Ukrainian without jeopardizing the elite character it presently boasts. Although the community acknowledges the danger it faces as a group decreasing in numbers relative to the Canadian population, it fails to examine the reasons for its small numbers. These are obvious.

Is it able to accept the "peripheral" Ukrainian? Is it open-minded, tolerant and understanding enough to accept those who speak little Ukrainian or speak it poorly, who do not understand why Ukraine should be free let alone

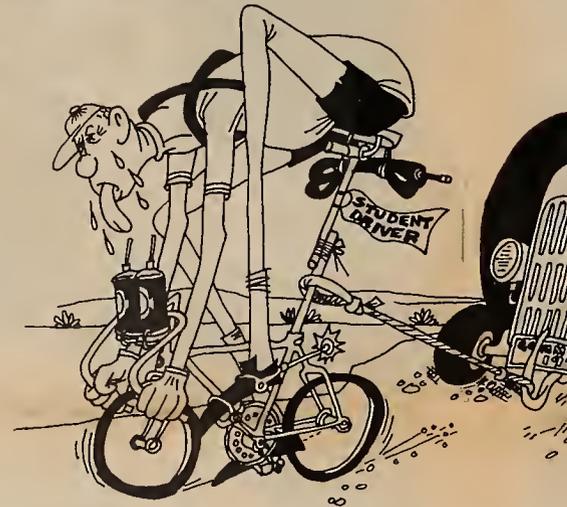
want to fight for it, who have not graduated from the traditional Ukrainian organizations, and those who do not approve of the archaic framework of the community, or those who have not achieved social, professional, political or financial success?

I believe that the Ukrainian gerontocracy is afraid — afraid of sentencing the community to a firing squad if it leaves it in the hands of the young people. And afraid that the Ukrainian language will slowly but surely fade from use. While it boasts of its successful *ridni*

ocracy of the Ukrainian community can bridge the gap. Students can begin the process of changing the archaic attitudes of the community. But they must seek open-minded attitudes and listen to the forum of ideas presented by its membership and avoid falling into all of the footsteps of their forefathers — clinging to an idea for pride and prestige can be as archaic as the old idea itself.

Students do have a role to play in the ethnic community and can contribute to its development if they are prepared to accept the

nanded r were no incurred, cussions carried a burden of ning to h Stu organiza success means. At So proje students fortunate time, some and unco



shkoly it knows that the young people use English as their medium of communication.

The numerical growth of the Ukrainian community in Canada depends on welcoming the second to fifth generation "peripheral" Ukrainian who is consciously examining and searching for his roots and the Soviet immigrant, few as they may be. If it does not, the peripheral Ukrainian will be forced to dissolve completely into the broader Canadian society, with little or no hope of reviving interest in their roots in a future generation, and the Soviet immigrant will simply associate with the Jewish, Russian or Communist community.

With time the peripheral Ukrainian will be the community. Do we have the time to wait for this to happen so that some of the archaic, selfish and narrow-minded attitudes of the Ukrainian community and its archaic structures will change? I don't think so. And the further fear is that, given the critical state of the community, one major attempt to change the existing framework of the community could do more harm to its present structure (especially if it is unsuccessful), than the slow but patient task of building a new one.

Students — Young, Foolish and (usually) Fervent

Open-minded students, fully aware of contemporary Canadian society, and familiar with the geron-

crance of the role and the guidance of its leaders. A student is like a community apprentice entering a trade with some experience and knowledge, and much energy and enthusiasm. Students are encouraged to express their ideas and experiment with them, and this apprenticeship is an opportunity to put skills into practice while on a long term "probation" with a high degree of tolerance and permissiveness. Never again in their lives will their mistakes be overlooked and permitted because of their status alone. If they are willing to accept the hard work associated with their apprenticeship, their master (the ethnic community) will guide them. Feudal? Just like the community!

Student days are probably the most liberal of one's life. They offer few responsibilities, especially if one does not have to work during the school year. Essays and exams are the few exceptions. Classes can be skipped and are — to write essays, catch up on homework or sleep or to take a skiing or sunbathing holiday. My memory is alive with vivid comments made by students returning after summer jobs. How they boasted of their well-paying no-work jobs, or their California holiday financed by the Unemployment Insurance Commission. Even though most of them agreed that, given equal pay, they would prefer a job which required responsibility and development to one which had few demands, many proved that they could not live up to the expectations of the one demanding responsibility — reports were

part of f sloppy re submitted money — rarely rec given no evaluate t informed they were communi failure be its object successful realistic benefit to must seek experienced resource have some in case so

It is di student r responsible job or pro munity wh ing the students h they do na their own communiti sing in UK Ukrainian ranks o organizati waking ho the library — discuss on their ov care about want to co part of i comings a but becom



The Ukrainian Community's Appetite

Now to return to the topic at hand: students' roles in the Ukrainian community. The characters involved — students and the Ukrainian community — both work within the larger and more dominant Canadian society. Students are forced to live schizophrenic lives as they move from one community to another, and the Ukrainian community presently thrives on a geron-

no background in the language. No program has yet been developed for university students who wish to improve and perfect their Ukrainian language proficiency.

The community expects its membership to know the history and persecution of Ukrainians in Ukraine and is beginning to appreciate their history in Canada. Some organizations even expect its youth to die for the freedom of Ukraine. Some people need time to learn and understand the Ukrainian cause. They can still contribute to the Ukrainian-Canadian communi-

Be a student activist in your Community

Olenka Bilash

handed in late or not at all, budgets were not met and great deficits incurred, the follow-up or repercussions of community work carried out in another city did not burden or haunt the student returning to his studies elsewhere.

Students and their organizations are evaluated by the success of their projects. Few other means are open to the community. So projects are opportunities for students to prove themselves. Unfortunately, a poor perception of time, some laziness, irresponsibility and unconsciousness on the

part of students have produced sloppy reports which were also submitted late. The Ukrainian community — ie. its organizations — rarely received copies. They were given no basis upon which to evaluate the project. They were not informed of the objectives, or even if they were attained. Sometimes, the community labelled the project a failure because it did not agree with its objectives. In order to complete successful projects, which can be realistically accomplished and of benefit to the community, students must seek the advice of the experienced community leader or its resource personnel. They must have someone to turn to (not blame) in case something backfires.

Similarly, unsuccessful projects are products of many factors — as much to the lack of commitment and devotion to a project shown by students who sit and play chess instead of working because they are really at a loss as to what to do next, as to the project supervisor who gave students too much freedom and not enough guidance, as to the granting agency itself for developing a summer work program and not a community service project. One of the major goals of the summer student projects is that someone learns something. Well, everyone usually learns a lot — but at whose expense?

Projects must be evaluated in terms of short-run and long-run successes. The short term value is usually obvious. The long term values will be determined by the students' initiative to maintain their involvement in other aspects of the project with the unique experience behind them. Perhaps the Secretary of State Community Services Program should consider providing year-round incentives. Thus students or previous volunteers could be reimbursed as employees with experience; not just volunteers. These experienced students are future resource persons in the ethnic community and crucial to its survival and development. If only "new" students become involved in projects of this nature each year, the small number of persons involved will experience only the initial stages of community affairs.

As apprentices, students need time to perfect their skills and specialize. No project will ever reach its full potential or fruitfulness without experienced workers. Could this program consider paying salaries with increments relating to experience? An additional salary increment for returning students would credit students for their community service and experience and encourage them to continue in this field. Otherwise, second, third and fourth year university students will seek higher-paying summer jobs for the money alone. Furthermore, students will begin to question their relationship to their ethnic community because it interferes with their economic success.

With the salary increments, community groups could plan longer term projects (two to three years). They would be better planned by their initiators, especially in their latter years and be able to consider tackling the roots of some of the real problems plaguing the ethnic community.

What can students do? To the gerontocracy I say, recall periods of Ukraine's history when students were the intelligentsia and elite. Have faith in your youth and our future. We do have something to offer. Community development occurs when there is a balance between new ideas and initiative and their acceptance by the traditional community. Students cannot work in a vacuum suggesting projects which will be totally rejected by the community. What can students do?

1. Take on small little projects which can be completed and will score "brownie points" (recognition) in the community as well as having worth in and of themselves.
2. Develop open-minded attitudes toward peripheral Ukrainian and Soviet immigrants. Accept the non-Ukrainian speakers and those who cannot identify in Moroz, Ukraine, and the Kozaky at least until they properly understand what or who these people, places and things are.
3. Orient research papers to Ukrainian topics and contribute them to *The Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies*.
4. Use Student as a forum for their ideas.
5. Join non-Ukrainian organizations too, where certain influence can be very profitable (Eg. I found it more effective to become a member of the Saskatoon branch of the CIA and bring the

plight of Soviet dissidents to the attention of professionals, trustees and city councillors than to picket the Lesia Ukrayinka statue which only increased the general public's intolerance of such acts.)

6. Help in public relations work — recruitment for the Ukrainian-English Bilingual Program or "ridni shkoly". Students learn for their language and can influence others from their hearts. But these tasks require community support — contact persons, school board personnel, etc.

7. Direct their interests toward careers which can be advantageous to the Ukrainian community. With such high unemployment figures, students are being pressured to follow job-getting and not necessarily interest-satisfying jobs. There is a paying demand in the Ukrainian community for secretaries, typists, bilingual administrators, elementary curriculum developers of Social Studies, Art, Music, Reading and Physical Education in Ukrainian.

8. Make children and the grassroots movement a priority. As president of University French, German and Ukrainian clubs, I was in a position to compare interest and activities. The membership of the French and German clubs came from various ethnic backgrounds, especially the WASP. The Ukrainian club, of course, did not enjoy such a privilege. Students in the French and German clubs conducted their weekly meetings in French or German and chose as topics various local, national and international issues and cultural enhancement. The emphasis was on improving linguistic proficiency and on expressing one's ideas. The Ukrainian club held its monthly meetings in English and basically planned social events. Everyone seemed too busy with their youth groups and choir or dance practices to care much about anyone who came from a different background than themselves. Such new people were only accepted into their ranks if they were able to show unquestioning allegiance to the Ukrainian cause. Ironically that Ukrainian cause was rarely demonstrated by anything but social events. Through club development there still emerges a unified peer group and experience with organizational work, which is crucial to work in an ethnic community based on organizations.

9. Take on a theatre project

10. Most importantly, analyze yourselves and your projects. The

only SUSK projects which have ever succeeded have been well thought out and continually reviewed. Do not attach SUSK's name to an individual's project without striving for local support.

11. Examine the community at the national but local level to determine what is lacking. SUSK and the Ukrainian community has certain national goals, but they must be practiced and accepted by the local groups. Successful student projects demand commitment and devotion. Commitment and devotion can best be instilled when project workers understand the significance of their project to the broader scheme of things. A knowledge and understanding of the subject matter pertaining to the project is compulsory. If students do not have a strong background in the subject area when they enter the project, time to do so and the expectation that it will be done must be incorporated into the project program.

12. Use the Ukrainian language as much as possible and seek to improve your own weaknesses. Orient projects to linguistic goals. To date, projects which demand a competence in the Ukrainian language have experienced difficulties. Several professors, native speaking immigrants and honors students in Ukrainian have difficulty resolving certain linguistic issues, which have impeded the completion of projects. Future projects must identify one mediator to resolve such issues and allocate special funds for a translator or final editor.

13. Continue to gain lobbying experience but be certain that what you are lobbying for will be completed and worthwhile.

Let me conclude by saying that there are one half to a dozen bright, concerned and capable student leaders across the country. But six or twelve persons are not enough to accomplish some of the projects which are needed by the community, and certainly cannot be accomplished without acquiring a debt (which I am still paying), and should not even be attempted without working within the framework of the Ukrainian community, with its leaders, and with their student membership. Professor Keeley said, yesterday, that the Ukrainian community in Canada seems strong in numbers and resource persons. And to any outsider, this is the image we like to create. I am not so optimistic — our



Proper Project Development in Both Aims and Execution

It is difficult to switch from the student role of freedom and few responsibilities to one of a summer job or project in the ethnic community which imposes many. During the school year, although students have few responsibilities, they do not have a lot of time on their hands. In accordance with community norms, they continue to sing in Ukrainian choirs, dance in Ukrainian dance troupes, learn Ukrainian school and tire the upper ranks of Ukrainian youth organizations. The rest of their waking hours are spent reading in the library or in heated discussions — discussions which lead to attacks on their own community. Students care about their community and want to contribute to it and feel a part of it. They recognize its shortcomings and want to change it, but become frustrated and im-

recognized because they do not offer viable alternatives. But these actions must not be misinterpreted. Other students get caught up in the competitiveness of their own faculties and refuse to commit themselves or their time to a project which offers no personal payoff. Not even a poor salary. Can they be blamed for their selfishness or are they products of a competitive materialistic society and a community which thrives on self-adulation?

Projects must be evaluated in terms of short-run and long-run successes. The short term value is

What Can Students Do?

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which will offer a Christmas performance for Junior and Senior High Ukrainian students in rural and urban areas! Young people can relate to university students. They respect and admire them.

10. Most importantly, analyze yourselves and your projects. The



numbers are dwindling and we have difficulty realizing certain endeavours because of a lack of resource personnel. We have to stop kidding ourselves and do something constructive to rectify the situation — or face inevitable stagnation.

"You Are What You Culture" — Varenyky enter the computer age

Mark Ferbey

The University of Alberta Ukrainian Student Club's first major cultural workshop, entitled "You Are What You Culture", took a fresh step in the direction of community participation and displayed a firm determination to develop an ethnic consciousness. The three day workshop (November 11 to 13) drew students from various Western Canadian campuses and included interested persons from outside Ukrainian club circles. An average of sixty participants attended each day of sessions, which were held in "Kiva" (in the U of A's Education Building), and the Plast "Domivka".

The Saturday sessions opened at Kiva, a round amphitheatre room, with a briefing in which participants were asked to take part in a communications technique designed to identify their priorities in cultural life. Some participants expressed their cultural priorities in terms of "inner feeling and wanting", while others felt that culture is to be a "part of everyday life". Many other interesting examples were also stated. These ideas were written down on paper and taped to the wall

in Kiva, providing the participants with an opportunity to reflect on the thoughts of others. In this way the mood of the workshop was set, enabling individuals to visualize more than one aspect of culture and view the variety of courses offered as a way to fulfill specific needs.

After this unusual briefing, the participants broke up and went to one of the many courses available. These courses varied from topics of "Cultural Definition" to "Crafts", and expressed an excellent insight into the Ukrainian people's way of life. The course instructors were either academics or interested resource individuals, all of whom provided high-caliber instruction capable of handling the eager will of the participants. Because of this, many of the participants were frustrated in deciding what courses they should choose. One individual commented that "there are so many courses, that I don't know which one to go to". A minor problem which was invariably solved.

The exceptional use of workspace was a great attribute of the workshop. "Kiva" was a meeting

place for briefings and joint sessions as well as a place where participants could float to after a lecture in one of the many nearby classrooms. This round room was constructed to provide unusual acoustics and prompted an experiment Saturday evening in which all the participants and instructors danced the "Arkan" while singing "Zakuvala Zalulychka". This not only provided a good break between Saturday evening's courses but brought the participants' spirits to a bit of a high as they returned to their respective workspaces.

Sunday and Monday's sessions were located in the Plast "Domivka", which provided a completely different atmosphere. Again the division of workspaces was more than satisfactory and small classrooms as well as larger meeting areas were utilized. One of the highlights at the "Domivka" was the supper on Sunday evening, where varenyky, holuptsi and other Ukrainian dishes were served (of course a glass of wine was included to spark the participants and in-

structors to a fine evening of classes). The contrast between "Kiva" and the "Domivka" was adjusted to well; the simple change of environments was a virtue in the weekend's experience.

The workshop was organized weeks in advance, using the talents of numerous resource individuals as well as some of the devoted U of A Ukrainian Student Club members to work alongside the Club's executive. During this time, phone calls, envelope stuffing, long meetings and pounds of coffee were the order of the day (as well as much personal frustration). Although these are side effects of any organizing task, the individuals involved were extremely capable in ensuring that the logistics of the workshop met with success.

It was in the lack of students from the University of Alberta itself. It is a bewildering and a staggering task to even attempt an analysis of their apathy. A well-publicized cultural event and only a handful of participants materialize from the large U of A club! At this point it is

safe to assume their interests lie in more social events, than this "cultural stuff" (they couldn't even use the favorite excuse of the event being too "political" for their taste). The workshop's coordinator, Roman Onufriychuk, commented in the debriefing on Monday that "there is a great need for cultural seminars like "You Are What You Culture". He stressed the importance of using existing resource individuals in various communities to help in both organizing and participating in such events. Furthermore, he implied that an enormous amount of work has yet to be done.

To most of its participants, "You Are What You Culture" was well worth the time invested. It provided a groundwork for future workshops as well as developing its own spirit. With more such workshops dealing with the grass-root basis of identity, the Ukrainian-Canadian community may well be on its way to a positive future.

Photos by Roman Petriw



The Ballad of Zoryana: a new direction for Ukrainian-Canadian music



Orest Soltykewych

While *The Ballad of Zoryana* directs its message toward younger Ukrainian Canadians, it is an album which, unlike many other records of its type, may be enjoyed by people of any age. It is especially encouraging to know, after hearing records by Ruchnychok, Syny Stepiw, Dumka, and other current 'favorites' (not to mention Mickey and Bunny or the D-Drifters 5), that some talented Canadian musicians really do care about eliciting and cultivating the beauty of Ukrainian music.

Even before listening to the record, one is first struck by its design and concept. The aesthetically appealing album cover portrays a Ukrainian peasant woman harvesting wheat with a scythe, and the entire scene is enclosed by an intricate simulated wood-carved frame. This cover

displays not only originality, but business acumen because of its eye-catching nature.

An enclosed booklet contains the story on which the record is based, lyrics, credits, and an explanation of the cover. The booklet's cover depicts a bandura leaning on a bench in Montreal's Jacques Cartier Square. This, more than anything else, illustrates the record's purpose: the performers are Ukrainians, living in Canada, trying to help develop the Ukrainian-Canadian cultural heritage by producing this record.

The story itself is a cliché, but with an interesting twist. Basically, a young infant, Zoryana, grows up, falls in love with Ivan, who is then called to war, leaving Zoryana to dream about him for "countless years". Many years pass and Ivan, now in Canada, reminisces about

her. Zoryana also immigrates and they are reunited in Montreal and marry. But things just are not the same, and Ivan eventually leaves Zoryana for a native Canadian. Zoryana is left alone with an infant. The story is actually much more involved, and its allegorical connotations are explained in the booklet. Upon hearing the record itself, it becomes immediately obvious that countless hours of work were involved in its production. However, the inexperience of the performers is evident and several aspects of the album need polishing.

Generally, the arrangements of the songs display creativity and artistic excellence while the instrumentalists are tight, well-rehearsed, and adapt to the lyrics agreeable. However, the fundamentals of correct singing, such as an "un-breathy" tone, open throat, and proper phrase beginnings and endings are too often overlooked.

The serene mood prevalent throughout the record is magnificently established in the overture, leading right into an impressive and delicate "Oi misiashiu misiaschenku". The lute excels in "Oi sama zh ia, sama" but poor diction in places and weak and unsure high notes weaken its effect. "Pishow Ivan!" pleads for greater use of dynamics and the cute jazz progressions simply do not suit the "oi-ia-hoi" phrase endings. "Oi za lisochkom" needs more singing and less crooning, and poor diction, again, stands out in the third verse. "Rushyv Poizd", with its excellent "train" accompaniment should be sung by a male, since there is something peculiar about a woman's voice singing "Farewell, my lovely girl".

Side One leaves one with a feeling of pathos, as Ivan Ivan has just left Zoryana. However, the flip side begins with a carefree and lively "khodya ia po sadochku", spoiling much of the record's effect. "Moze tak ne treba", sung without instrumentalists is interesting but not quite together. "Pershalubov" is a great improvement, but again the voices need more confidence. "Mylnat dni" should have been excluded because of: a) its style not matching that of the other songs, b) poor diction, c) the strings' intonation problems, and d) a muddy soprano performance. However, the excellent mandolin and piano accompaniments to "Dala-s mene moia maty" and "Lysti" respectively, and the sudden final major chord in "Epilogue" result in a climactic finish suitable to the text.

Read the story before listening to this record to get the most out of the complete production. Otherwise, its lack of continuity will likely prevent you from absorbing the complete message which the record tries to communicate.

WINNIPEG: After overcoming its identity crisis (after all, how do you handle a Fidel Castro beard after a Che Guevara beret as president) the Winnipeg Ukrainian Students' Club has pooled its intellectual resources and solved the age-old problem of increasing its membership by staging a successful, but decadent, "More & More Beer Bash." Unfortunately their soccer team did not fare as well (outside of the beer bash, that is) and failed to make the intramural finals. In the cultural arena, many ideas are afloat — involvement with Ukrainian week in Winnipeg, the Festival of Life and Learning with Kitchener-Waterloo and the annual *Koliada*. And politically, the U of M USC showed its solidarity with the U of M Jewish Students' Association in defense of Anatoly Scharansky and other Soviet political prisoners at a demonstration November 16, followed by a public forum, as part of a nation wide action on the part of the Jewish community.

TORONTO: Congratulations to all students at Parkdale Collegiate Institute who recently helped form a Ukrainian Students' Club here. Nina Rynkowska was elected president, Oksana Choniak vice-president and Ann Fedorkiw secretary-treasurer. The club was formed to help maintain and to develop an awareness of Ukrainian culture and tradition, and its first project is a depiction of a traditional Ukrainian Christmas. We wish the club all the best!

The University of Toronto USC is still recovering from the Eastern Conference they hosted November 17-19, and particularly from the very successful *zabava*. Lubomyra's impact on the approximately 600 people in attendance was quite positive.

MONTREAL: The Concordia Ukrainian Students' Club held a successful "Wine & Kobassa" party on November 23, attended by 120 people who enjoyed all the wine and Kobassa they could consume. Many were seen rolling out the door.

KINGSTON: Queen's Ukrainian Student Club was represented September 26 at the Queen's University "Club Night", an annual University funded event designed to provide students with an opportunity to obtain information on the various campus clubs. The Queen's USC displayed a variety of Ukrainian handicraft and student response to a demonstration of Easter egg painting was so great that the club has decided to offer a course in this sometime after Christmas. Other events planned for the post-Christmas term include the annual "Pub Night" (to be held Friday, January 26), book displays and hosting various speakers.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE: The National Executive voted December 1 to allow the newly reactivated Ukrainian Students' Club at Concordia University (Montreal) to host the 1978 SUSK National CONGRESS (to be held in late August). This will be the 20th National Congress and all USC members should plan now to attend this extravaganza. More details available soon.

In other earth-shattering developments, the National Executive will be hosting a series of dances across the country on Friday, February 2. These dances will offer the usual "good time" but with a purpose — to finally eliminate the SUSK National debt which has been passed on to incoming executives for years and years and years.

HEADSET

Record Reviews by Myroslaw Bodnaruk



Zoryana - Yevshan Records - YFP-1008 - \$6.98

When our parents dream of the *batkivshchyna* some thirty, fifty or more years behind them... what do they dream of? The loves, the sorrows of their condition when they left Ukraine to settle in this country? Did *tato* or *dido* have a Zoryana who was left in Ukraine? What do their children reflect on here? What is the construct they build out of their parents' dreams?

The album *The Ballad of Zoryana* (Yevshan records 1978), depicts the emotional strain and hardship experienced by emigrants leaving Ukraine and coming to a new country. The nostalgic daydreams our parents have when they receive a letter from Ukraine takes on a cohesive, sequential musical form. This album of Ukrainian folk and contemporary songs, in the musical genre of a modern 'concept' album, relates the story of lives connected by love and separated by the emigration. From the painting of a young Ukrainian woman harvesting wheat, with the traditional woodcut frame that surrounds the painting, to the layout and sound mixing on the vinyl itself, *The Ballad of Zoryana* is the first "conceptually" conceived Ukrainian language disc that has been produced in North America. Somebody is beginning to see the first glimmerings of light... finally!

The producer and conceptual designer of this record is Bohdan Tymyc, and *The Ballad of Zoryana* is the first in a series of concept albums that he is planning to release. Bohdan, a native of Montreal, has always been interested in Ukrainian culture, particularly in music and theatre. As Montreal's foremost promoter of Ukrainian talent, he has already successfully produced a number of albums by Ukrainian-Canadian folkrock bands such as Syny Stepiw and Zoria.

Cano - Eclipse - A & M Records - SP9033 - \$6.98

The other morning, while I was listening to "Morning Side" on CBC radio, a piece of music by Cano, a French Canadian group from Sudbury, caught my attention. A song called "Earthy Mother" stayed with me and began to haunt me to the point that I went out and picked up the album. I put the disc on the turntable and began to inspect the inside sleeve — my eye was immediately caught by the *vyshyvani rushnyk* on a piano.

The second cut began to play, "Earthy Mother": that I knew as a Ukrainian song... "*Ridna Maty Moja*." The title on the inside jacket listed the cut, in Cyrillic Script, as "*Rushnychok*". "*Rushnychok*" was adapted to a rock format by Vasyli Kohut. Now someone has seen the light!

Cano is a group of French Canadians that musically seem to function in the best tradition of multiculturalism. The group itself was formed in 1975 at an art co-op farm in Ontario. La Cooperative des Artistes du Nouvel Ontario (Artists Coop. of Northern Ontario). Their latest album, *Eclipse*, released at the end of October, 1978, is an album of high quality rock music of French, English and Ukrainian origin, effectively portraying the multicultural nature of Canada.

Already a cult group, Cano is a musical ensemble to watch for — for much more impressive music yet to come. Let's hope some of the mainline musical community does more than watch!

Best wishes for continued success in Student

WILLIAM T. PIDRUCHNEY

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ОРИГІНАЛЬНІ

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В ОБРОБЦІ



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І ПРИЄМНИЙ

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Students in East pow-wow in Toronto

Sonia Hawrysh

About thirty Ukrainian-Canadian students met recently in Toronto to discuss "Ukrainian Organizational Life" at the SUSK Eastern Conference (Nov. 17-19). Unfortunately one characteristic of Ukrainian organizational life, although evident at the Conference, was not discussed — a somewhat atypical "biological clock" which results in sessions ending punctually but starting late.

A scheduled meeting of Eastern Ukrainian Student Club presidents was held Friday evening at the Toronto Club office on 191 Lippincott St. with local clubs reporting on their activities. Represented were four members of the SUSK National executive, the universities of Brock, Queens, Ottawa, McMaster, Concordia, Sir George William and Loyola. Toronto and one Western club, Edmonton Discussions on individual club problems followed. The question of membership dues led to a discussion on the relevance of the national executive to local clubs. SUSK national president Dmytro Jacuta clarified the issue by pointing out the value of SUSK as a national body, giving examples of its coordinating and representative role, plus its publication of **STUDENT**. This lively discussion ensued until people dispersed, predictably, to a local disco.

On Saturday morning, sessions began with a discussion on "Organized Ukrainians in the Diaspora: Impact and Potential" Community veteran Oles Cheren spoke on the current situation in the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. This was followed by a history of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) presented by Stanley Frolick. Frolick's presentation revealed the dichotomy of what the

UCC is in theory and what it is in reality today. Before a general discussion began, Oleksander Romanshukovich spoke briefly on "Problems and Prospects" of the UCC, touching on the problems of integration and assimilation of Ukrainians into Canadian society. Discussions on the problems of the UCC were given added tangibility by the presence of a few Toronto UCC members.

Yuri Dashko, a former SUSK president, opened the second Saturday session on the "Ukrainian Press in the Face of a Changing Environment" with a brief history of the Ukrainian emigre press. Victor Malarek, a freelance journalist and member of the Toronto Globe and Mail editorial staff, provided a constructive analysis of the various English-language Ukrainian publications currently appearing. His negative comments about newspapers such as Ukrainian Echo (Homin Ukrainy), New Perspectives (Novyi Shliakh) and Ukrainian Weekly (Svoboda), unearthed editorial problems in maintaining the life of a publication. Favourable comments were directed to "Canada's Newspaper for Ukrainians Students", **STUDENT**, the basis of its objective, informative stance and solid layout. Malarek used **STUDENT** to demonstrate how other newspapers in the Ukrainian press serve as mere non-informative social-statistical calendars of Ukrainian events. Malarek viewed youth involvement as essential in elevating the quality of Ukrainian emigre publications.

Saturday evening the Toronto Ukrainian Students' Club hosted a Zabava at the Ukrainian Youth Centre on Christie Street, featuring singer Lubomyra Kovalchuk and her orchestra "Yaseny" from Mon-

treal. The final day of sessions began Sunday afternoon with a presentation by Roman Serbyn on the "Parti Quebecois and the question of ethnic minorities in Quebec". Whether or not limitations on the right of Quebec to self-determination will limit the rights of ethnic minorities in other parts of Canada set the background for Bohdan Somchynsky a presentation on "Operation Freedom". As SUSK passed a resolution in August at the 19th SUSK Congress supporting "Operation Freedom", Somchynsky, SUSK Vice-president in charge of human rights, urged local Ukrainian student clubs to discuss the issues of democratic and civil rights in Canada. A film on the F.L.O. "The October Crisis" was shown to illustrate life in Quebec under the War Measures Act in 1970.

The concluding session focused on "Contemporary Ukraine". Marko Bojcin, another former SUSK president, discussed the Association of Free Trade Union Workers in the USSR and the various Helsinki Monitoring Groups which arose after the 1975 Helsinki conference with the aim of monitoring the implementation of its human rights provisions.

The participation of many Ukrainian Student Club members in the Eastern Conference indicates that there is some interest in community issues among young Ukrainian Canadians in Eastern Canada. Hopefully the information presented at the conference will increase the Eastern club members' awareness and will stimulate further activity within Ukrainian organizational life. If not, lookout because the West is watching!

*For an article describing "Operation Freedom" in greater detail and SUSK's position on it, see **STUDENT** Vol. II, No. 49, p. 5

Sociology

(continued from page 5)

differentiation and stratification of the Ukrainian community.

One of the factors which Petryshyn saw as significant in this move from the urban core to the suburbs was the destruction of row housing by the Manchester City authorities, which affected not only the occupants of hostels but also landlords who were forced to seek other locales. A major factor which prevented many Ukrainian immigrants from abandoning the urban core was the disproportionate male: female ratio in the Ukrainian community. The high ratio of men to women (Petryshyn cites a figure for 1951 of 5:1) led many to remain in the urban core for social reasons. But over two-thirds of the Ukrainians living in the urban core eventually moved to the suburbs, a move which was accompanied by increased living standards for the community as a whole.

The seminar was well attended and followed by a lively discussion.

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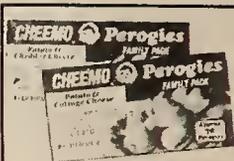
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Svitlychna

(continued from cover)

herself in a welcoming yet foreign environment, along with her young sons awaiting the Soviet government's decision whether or not to allow her husband Pavlo Stokotylny to emigrate to the U.S. to join them, Ms. Svitlychna's hesitancy to speak may well be a tactic intended to prevent her uncertain situation from worsening. One may recall that it has been the experience of two former Ukrainian political prisoners and recent emigres to the West, Leonid Plyushch and Petro Grigorenko, to be pressured by groups in the Ukrainian emigre community into making premature statements upon their arrival, and then being hounded for any responses not in line with the ideology of these factions.

From her limited statements in the West, and from an interview done with her by *Vitrago*, the journal of the Ukrainian Students of Britain (No. 5 Fall, 1978 London), it appears that Ms. Svitlychna is, nonetheless, opinionated and familiar with developments in the Soviet Union.

In the *Vitrago* interview, Ms. Svitlychna considers the western concept of an opposition movement (*rukha oporu*) in the Soviet Union somewhat artificial and not reflective of the current situation in the U.S.S.R., since, to her knowledge, other than various groups such as the Helsinki Monitoring Groups, no such organized, mediated movement exists. Rather, Ms. Svitlychna sees this movement as a "process of rebirth", (*protsessy virodzhennia*) where a "spontaneous process of opposition" (*stykhiinnyi protses oporu*) to all sorts of oppression manifests itself primarily in the realm of culture and art, and where political expression is secondary.

Ms. Svitlychna's most succinct ideas come in the description of the attitude and patriotism of her fellow women oppositionist political prisoners. In the face of physical and mental abuse suffered in the prison camps, and their total isolation from the rest of the world, Ukrainian women prisoners strive to maintain their "individual and national dignity...beginning from

external appearance, with embroidered collars, and ending with a general position, general conduct in varying situations." Ms. Svitlychna further indicated that there was solidarity and good relations between all women in the camps, regardless of their nationality. To a direct question inquiring whether her joint declaration, with Nina Strokata and Iryna Stasiv, of solidarity with victims of political repression in Chile, and donation of their prison wages to these victims represented her attitude towards repression in other countries, Ms. Svitlychna replied "Of course. We did not, and do not, perceive Ukraine as something exceptional or superior in the world. We are a nation, the same as any other on earth, and I know that there are those for whom life is worse than for us. That is why, when we learned that a special committee was struck to investigate the crimes being committed in Chile, we wanted to help this committee, and wanted to help the Chileans, who, be it more or less, or equal to ourselves, suffer injustices and oppression. That is why we would share with anyone, who needed such help, regardless of their views, nationality, race or faith."

It is hoped that the Ukrainian community in the West will extend its hospitality to Nadia Svitlychna beyond a welcome, and will do all in its power to assist her and her sons in being reunited with her husband and their father, and in establishing a home and life in the West.

Initiative to this effect has already been taken by the resolution of the recent World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) to recognize Ms. Svitlychna, Leonid Plyushch and Petro Grigorenko as official representatives in the West of the Ukrainian opposition movement and to assist in their welfare by setting up a \$30,000 trust fund in their names. This, and "intellectual" as well as "emotional compassion" by the Ukrainian community will hopefully lead to normalization of the lives of these emigre oppositionists, and assist them in their continued struggle for democracy.

Bargain buy

(continued from page 3)

This "non-status" of the COCM is illustrated clearly in one of the most recent glossy multiculturalism brochures which states that "ethno-cultural communities must be able to influence the decision-making process by means of a continuing consultative procedure," while adding that COCM members "are chosen to speak as [concerned] individuals ... and are not spokesmen for their respective cultural communities." The Council

can neither speak nor demand authoritatively. As a result, many of its well-considered recommendations are ignored. Nor is this situation likely to change soon. The government will not make a department responsible to a citizen's body and the often-discussed possibility of forming an independent umbrella organization representing all Canadian ethnic minorities is not yet feasible.

Given the ambiguities in the

federal interpretation of multiculturalism, the weak direct input into policy orientations by Canada's ethnic minorities, and the extraordinary and incredible claims made about the effect of multiculturalism as state policy, one can only wonder whether it is not we who are doing the buying? And whether we really know what this product is and how much it will cost us?

World Congress

(continued from cover)

Not surprisingly, there followed a defensive uproar over Grigorenko's incisive remarks. Several leading *Bandervitsi* demanded clarification by the General over what they, interestingly enough, interpreted to be direct attacks on them. Because Grigorenko's remarks were for the most part, unexpected, the *Bandervitsi*, taken by surprise, responded emotionally and spontaneously. The first comment by V. Solonykha, brought the General's attention to the fact that

and not just one, proves that we are not a monolith but in fact democratically structured.

Finally, in one of the more interesting outbursts, L. Futala categorically stated,

that if the struggle for Ukrainian independence is perceived to be a fascist one, then I am that very Ukrainian fascist

In rebuttal to the defensive remarks made by the *Bandervitsi*, the General explained that after being in the West now for nearly a year, he can confirm one thing about the leadership of Ukrainian emigre political groupings — that is "that all of you do not have a correct image of the Soviet Union". Specifically, in reply to Bezkhlibnyk, Grigorenko explained, "that the existence of many parties is not a sufficient condition from which

democratic conclusions could be drawn, if the majority of parties themselves are not democratic."

Overall, Grigorenko's message to the super-nationalists is an important one. The struggle for Ukrainian independence must firstly be defined and thus operate within a democratic context. Human rights are indivisible and cannot be qualified by Ukrainian emigre political groupings for their own narrow ends, prioritizing national or religious rights over and above social questions and vice-versa.

In terms of drawing a balance sheet, the events of the third World Congress of Free Ukrainians, in the most part, suggest much of the same for the near future and will successfully continue to promote the political posture of the Ukrainian question as a vibrant odour in the armpit of world anti-communism and fascism.

V. Bezkhlibnyk attempted to explain, that,

because there exist a number of political parties exerting their influence on the WCFU,



CHORNA KHMARA' WRITES A LETTER TO 'STYAZHENT.'

Petryshyn

(continued from page 5)

One does not wish to belabour the point here, but the notion of bilingual and cooperative Ukrainian housing being established in present-day Canadian cities seems rather chimerical. Not only do we lack a consensus on just what a Ukrainian culture is, particularly when it comes to dealing with its being in Canada, but there is also significant divergence of opinion about the very meaning of the word Ukrainian itself. And as for a "contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian urban culture" it is very hard to imagine any such entity somehow flowering out of the efforts of a collective.

Finally there is the problem of ghettoization. Are Ukrainians of the late twentieth century voluntarily to return to the enclavic mold which Mr. Petryshyn suggests many of their forefathers were forced into, and which many have only recently left after years of pulling themselves out? Banding together may well reinforce some sort of Ukrainian presence in Canada—at least we will have a territory of our own (however small)! But it may quite as readily

focus prejudices upon those choosing this sort of voluntary incarceration. No matter how guided the cage, an enclosure it remains. As Ukrainians living in Canada do we wish to instigate this type of social climate? Is risking divisive segregation, amongst ourselves and between us and them (whoever we perceive that may be) worth the maintenance of some poorly defined Ukrainian culture in Canada? Is self-seclusion an answer? One wonders whether what we seek to protect, whatever that may be, is worth the sacrifice. Preferring constraint, even if it is voluntaristic, may do more harm to Ukrainians in Canada than assimilationist pressures have accomplished in years. Opting out is rarely a successful strategy. Perhaps it is time that we Ukrainians in Canada faced Anglo-conformity as individual citizens of Canada first, Ukrainians second. This reviewer prefers to think that most Ukrainians left the ghettos of Canada's cities long ago and that very few would wish to go back now.

Multiculturalism

(continued from page 3)

appears to be incapable of being clearly defined, in practical terms, to the satisfaction of all groups) should warn all concerned that conferences such as this one are ineffectual in resolving those fundamental issues which continue to

politically divide Canadians along ethnocultural lines, especially when each of the groups are competing with each other for the few crumbs of financial aid which federal and provincial governments have used since 1970 to carry their support

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