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# СТУДЕНТ

# STUDENT

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# ЕТУДІАНТ

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

WHAT THEN IN STORE FOR OTHER DISSIDENTS?

## GINZBURG 8, SHCHARANSKY 13!

On July 13 two Soviet dissidents, Anatoly Shcharansky and Alexander Ginzburg, were sentenced to thirteen and eight years, respectively, of imprisonment. This is the third time that Ginzburg has been sentenced as a result of his human rights activities, but the first time for Shcharansky.

The trials of Anatoly Shcharansky and Alexander Ginzburg opened on July 10 despite numerous protests from around the world. Although foreign reporters and officials have been barred from the courtroom, word of the proceedings is coming from several relatives and friends. However, almost all friends of the accused have been barred from the trials, and close relatives are allowed in only sporadically and have been ejected from the courtroom several times.

Alexander Ginzburg has been a dissident almost half his life and has twice served terms in labour camps for his activities. His name was already appearing regularly in hand-produced samizdat journals as far back as 1960, five years before A. Sakharov began to gain fame as a dissident. In 1974 Ginzburg took on an activity which is figuring prominently in the charges brought against him. He was the main administrator of a fund set up by the



Alexander Ginzburg

exiled Russian novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn for the relief of political prisoners and their families. His final role, for which he was arrested on March 3, 1977, was as a founder member of the group in Moscow attempting to monitor Soviet compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki

Accords.

Anatoly Shcharansky is, at 30, the youngest of the three Moscow-based Helsinki Group dissidents on trial this summer. At the time of his arrest seventeen months ago he was far less known both in the Soviet Union and abroad than Yuri Orlov or Ginzburg.

Since then, however, he has become perhaps the most famous cause célèbre due to the seriousness of the charge — espionage — he is charged with, his links with the Jewish community, and the close contacts he had with Western correspondents.

Shcharansky, a computer specialist, is a "refuznik" — one of those Jews refused an emigration visa to Israel. His dissident activities date from 1973, when his visa application was turned down. He made no secret of his activities, saying that he was doing nothing illegal. He joined Yuri Orlov's Helsinki group as a representative of the Jewish community, but his main function was as a liaison with the western press.

Shcharansky faced the death penalty on a charge of spying for the U.S. He is accused of passing military secrets to Los Angeles Times reporter Robert Toth, who has denied the allegation. President Carter also has stated that Shcharansky never had any ties with the C.I.A., since this is one of the charges brought against him.

Through Russian and Soviet history, repression has usually tightened when the regima has felt nervous. The present leaders have a number of reasons for being nar-

vous. They have historical reasons because they know that the nineteenth century dissidents sowed the seeds of revolution — they may fear that under the present system history could repeat itself. They have ideological reasons because the system rests on the claim that the party is the sole source of truth. They have economic reasons because prospects for the next decade are not good. They have political reasons because they are approaching a difficult change of leadership at the time when the main lines of home and foreign policy are almost certainly being questioned in some parts of the apparatus.

The Soviet authorities have also been concerned about the combined effects of the Helsinki Final Act and the revived American interest in human rights. The Helsinki monitoring groups represent just that link between internal and external detente which they have always struggled to deny. They must regard it as very important to break that link and demonstrate for home and foreign audiences that, whatever the Helsinki document may say, detenta does not mean liberalization at home.

HARASSMENT OF OPPOSITIONISTS CONTINUES

## SCARED SOVIETS SEARCHING

The latest issue of the samizdat human rights bulletin, the *Chronica of Current Events* (No. 48), is devoted largely to news about the repression of oppositionists in Ukraine. The *Chronica* includes new information about the circumstances surrounding the trial of Lev Lukianenko, the jurist who became an active member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group when he was freed in January 1976 after fifteen years of imprisonment in prisons and camps in the R.S.F.S.R.

Lev Lukianenko was arrested in Chernihiv on December 12, 1977; however, the case against him had begun to be prepared in February 1977, when Mykola Rudenko was arrested.

On the day of his arrest Lukianenko's quarters were thoroughly searched, the search lasting from 7:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. All papers and correspondence, including personal letters and post-cards, were confiscated. Lukianenko and his wife were subjected to a body search.

The arrest of Lukianenko provoked angry protests from the Ukrainian and Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Groups, and also from Oksana Meshko, a member of the Ukrainian Group. Malva Landa and Vasyil Stus sent in letters of protest from exile, while nine political prisoners in concentration camp no. 36 prepared protest statements and sent them to the Supreme Soviet's and Procurator's Offices of the U.S.S.R. and Ukr.S.S.R.

In his statement the imprisoned Ukrainian poet Ihor Kalynats wrote: "I have no expectations that my statement will influence the fate of Lev Lukianenko, who has now been imprisoned for a second time, but my conscience does not allow me to remain silent when arrests are still continuing. I have no doubts that this time, as before, Lukianenko was fighting for only one thing: that the Soviet authorities observe the law. I, my wife, and many others, are the victims of groundless illegal persecution, of arbitrary court trials, of cruel punishment ..."

It seems to me that it is now time to come to our senses and stop the persecution of Ukrainian patriots-dissidents. Presenting this protest against the arrest of L. Lukianenko, I would like to hope that the head of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. S.S.R. will realize his responsibilities before the nation and will ensure that Soviet Ukraine will not be

included among those regimes which are condemned by the entire democratic community."

On the day of Lukianenko's arrest the quarters of the following were searched: his brother, his parents, his sister, P. Vins, I. Kandyba, O. Bardnyk, V. Kalynchenko, and R. Rudenko. During these searches various books, documents and other materials were confiscated, especially from those active in the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. Numerous other friends of Lukianenko were detained and questioned after his arrest, and several former political prisoners were interrogated with regard to the Lukianenko case.

A search through the quarters of Oksana Mashko, a former political prisoner and mother of political prisoner O. Serhiyenko, lasted for 20 hours; from 7:45 a.m. February 9 till 3:40 a.m. February 10. The search was carried out by nine officials who broke into her room. Various personal letters were confiscated. On February 14 Oksana Meshko was questioned for four hours. Afterwards she refused to sign the protocol of the interrogation and the warning to her based on the materials found during the search, stating that this was contrary to Article 19 of the General Declaration of Human Rights and the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords.



Lev Lukianenko

**IN THIS ISSUE**

Kostash on Plyushch ..... pp. 6-7  
Soviet Workers Organize ..... p. 3  
Ukrainian Students in England ..... p. 4  
Ukrainian Historical Conference ..... p. 5  
Ukrainian-Canadian Artists ..... p. 8  
China visited ..... p. 10  
News from the USSR & E. Europe ..... p. 5

**AND MORE!**

# СТУДЕНТ STUDENT • ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

Please address all correspondence to:

STUDENT  
11246-91 St.  
Edmonton, Alberta  
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STUDENT is a national, trilingual and monthly newspaper for Ukrainian Canadian students, published by the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK).

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

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

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

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## AND TO WHAT END?

Please allow me to bring to your attention a problem that exists among Ukrainian student clubs in the prairies which many current members of these clubs may not be aware of. While I am speaking from my experience of only one center (Edmonton) I am sure that a similar problem, to a greater or lesser degree, exists in others.

In my opinion, a major problem in Ukrainian student circles is the alienation of students hailing from small rural settlements by the city-bred "intelligentsia" types. I speak here not necessarily of the club executive (which in Edmonton in recent years has contained several 'country' students) or leadership, but of members who simply refuse to break out of their narrow-minded cliques and soil their hands by associating with us "cornpickers."

While it is understandable that people raised together in the same organization will tend to associate with each other, it is positively regressive that at a time when one is supposedly broadening one's horizons that one retreats exclusively into the warm familiar security of one's childhood companionship. If you feel you are on a superior Ukrainian cultural level than us 'peasants' are, then please give us the benefit of your enlightenment. But you won't do this by simple snobbery.

While some people alienate others simply because they know no better, there usually exists at least one person who thinks he is God's gift to the Ukrainians in Canada and without whom the community would be on its last legs. This type usually speaks eloquent Ukrainian (in his opinion), is well versed in the politics of the Soviet Union (or the political jargon thereof) and can tell you in no

uncertain terms that you are a "fucking goof" because you speak only pidgin Ukrainian and think that a dialectic is someone with a pancreatic ailment — in short, because you are an inferior Ukrainian type who just can't ever measure up to his standards (namely himself). Meanwhile he does nothing to rectify the situation but continues to simply wallow in his

prodigiousness like a pig in a bog.

In my opinion this type of person is one of the most destructive elements which can exist in our community. Instead of attracting people and channeling them into constructive work for the 'Ukrainian cause' this type's major accomplishment is to irrevocably alienate students with fervent glimmers of Ukrainian 'con-

sciousness' and to lose them to the community forever (despite his utterings about the necessity to combat assimilation). This type feeds his own ego by 'proving' that he is a better Ukrainian than others merely by belittling and degrading the accomplishments of others. And to what end?

It is impossible to estimate what kind of a negative impact such a

person can have but I personally know of at least a dozen students in the Edmonton area who refuse to get involved because of this type of imbecile. Who knows how many more there are? I appeal to all who fall into this category: fear not, it is not you who is a "fucking goof" but he who called you so.

A peasant  
Edmonton

Student is something like  
what Ivan and I had in mind!

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# SOVIET WORKERS DEMAND RIGHTS

Early this year documents reached the West revealing the existence of a group of Soviet workers who have, for the first time, collectively asserted their right as workers. Although "workers' opposition to Stalinism is as old as Stalinism itself," this is the first time that such a collective attempt by Soviet workers has become widely known in the West. It is also the first successful attempt, since the 1920s, to organize a trade union independent of state control.

On January 26, 1978, workers in the Soviet Union established an independent trade union calling itself the Association of Free Trade Union of Workers in the USSR (AFTUW),\* and appealed to the International Labor Organization (ILO) and trade unions in the West for moral and financial support. The documents show that the group of workers had been collectively active in defending workers' rights since at least May 1975. Since its inception, members of the group have been victimized by official repression, including the frequent use of psychiatric abuse.

The group first came together through 'accidental meetings' of unemployed workers who had come to Moscow to press their complaints in person at the highest offices of the party and state apparatuses. The earliest known document of the group was dated May 1977 and was signed by eight workers. Subsequently, a similar "Open Letter" appeared in September 1977 and was signed by thirty-three workers. In November 1977, thirty-three workers signed a "Collective Complaint" which was addressed to the Soviet authorities and the Western press. The statement demanded that the Soviet authorities create a commission to investigate the treatment of complainants by the Administrative Organs Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU. By the time of the group's first conference with foreign press correspondents, in December 1977, the group represented thirty-eight workers. By late January 1978, the group's spokesperson, Vladimir Klebanov, claimed that the group had some two hundred adherents.

On February 1, 1978, the union issued several documents which made it known that it was to be called the Association of Free Trade Union of Workers in the USSR, and appealed to the International Labour Organization (ILO) and



Klebanov (left) and another member of the AFTUW at a press conference.

trade unions in the West for support. The signatories of the Appeal stated:

"We ask you to publicly re-affirm your position on the undeniable right of workers to organize in trade unions, independently of their employers, including in the countries which claim to be socialist and where the state is effectively the sole employer."

Appended to the documents was the 'statute' of the new union and a list of 110 'candidates' for membership in the union. The union's charter states that "membership in the free trade union association is open to any worker or employee whose rights and interests have been unlawfully violated by administrative, governmental, party or judicial agencies. The organizational structure of the Association is based on the principle of democratic centralism."

The list indicates the occupation and/or work skill of each person; 45 are designated as "workers," 250 are "employees," 6 miners, 10 engineers, 1 lawyer, 4 pensioners, 4 collective farm workers, 5 teachers, 4 doctors and nurses, 2 housewives and 1 work invalid. 52 of the 100 candidates are women, the average age of these workers is between 35 and 45, and all have worked for more than 10 years. The document states that they are all unemployed due to their criticisms of management.

Vladimir Klebanov, 44, has acted as the principal spokesperson

and organizer of the group. Klebanov had worked for sixteen years as a foreman in the Donetsk region of Ukraine, and had attempted to create an independent trade union in 1960. He was dismissed from his job in 1968 for refusing to assign overtime to his men and to send them to jobs with unsafe standards. Klebanov was confined to a maximum security special psychiatric hospital from 1968 to 1973 for protesting his loss of work. After his release, he was unable to obtain work because it was noted in his personal labour book that he had been "dismissed in connection with an arrest." Klebanov was confined to a psychiatric hospital twice in 1977 and again in February 1978. He remains, to this day, imprisoned in a psychiatric hospital in Donetsk.

The response of the Soviet authorities to the emergence of the independent trade union has been one of intensified repression of the workers involved. Externally, Soviet authorities are forced to deny the existence of the union.

Relations between the workers' rights movement and the broader human rights movement in the USSR have not yet been clearly established. Klebanov has appealed to Sakharov for assistance, but the latter initially doubted the workers' understanding of the consequences of open dissent. Klebanov, on the other hand, referring to some human rights activists, said that "they consider themselves above us." It links between the two

movements are to be forged in opposition to the party and state apparatuses, the two groups will have to come out in open support of each other's protests on a broad basis. Similar developments have already occurred in some East European countries, notably in Poland (last February, a group of workers in the Polish mining centre of Katowice formed a committee for the purpose of the creation of free trade unions).

The Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers in the USSR represents one of the first successful collective actions by Soviet workers in an organized form. To understand the significance of this group, one must grasp the context out of which it arose. Soviet society today is the product of two historical developments — the Revolution of 1917 which established socialist property relations, and, secondly, the phenomenon of Stalinism during the 1920s and '30s. The consolidation of the latter resulted in the political expropriation of the Soviet working class, which was atomized and pacified by the Soviet bureaucratic elite. For over fifty years, Soviet authorities have tried to present to the West the view that workers in the USSR enjoy social and political rights and control over their work far superior to those of workers in the capitalist West. However, the reality is that the Soviet working class lacks even the minimal degree of democratic rights (e.g., the right to organize,

strike, free speech) that workers have in capitalist states. Total political passivity of the Soviet population was the necessary pre-condition for bureaucratic rule. Whereas in capitalist countries the ideology of the ruling class performs the important function of social control, in the Soviet Union the bureaucracy does not have an ideology of its own. For this reason, the Soviet bureaucracy is incapable of explaining to the West the existence of workers' dissent, and therefore denies workers' groups such as the AFTUW not only recognition but all democratic rights.

Every demand for the democratic right to speak, to organize independently, to strike and to form political parties poses a challenge to the bureaucratic rule of the Soviet elite. This is why some defense committees in the west (Toronto and Edmonton Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners — CDSPP) base their defense work on the principle of defending all democratic rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The East German workers' revolt in 1953, the Hungarian and Polish events of 1956, and the recent Polish events out of which emerged the first organized and publicly acknowledged opposition in a bureaucratic state — all have increasingly challenged the existence of the bureaucratic state apparatuses. Similarly, the basis for forging links amongst all strata of East European society has been the demand for universal democratic rights.

SUSK must take the issue of the workers' rights movement into labour and student organizations on a principled democratic basis, which seeks support for democratic rights in Eastern Europe from only those who have a clear record of defending democratic rights in the West. The most effective defense of political prisoners is one that cannot be discredited because of its political ambiguity. The strategy of the Toronto and Edmonton CDSPPs has been to seek its base of support in the labour movement. The importance of this kind of strategy is made all the more vital in view of the emergence of independently organized workers' rights groups in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, such as the AFTUW.

## EVERYTHING YOU'VE ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT UKRAINIAN-CANADIANS (BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK)

How much do we know about Ukrainians in Canada? What are the problems facing the community and what has been done to tackle them? What are the prospects for the future?

Those interested in learning more about the Ukrainian community in Canada should try to attend a conference entitled "Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians," September 15-16, 1978, at the University of Ottawa. This conference is the second in a series of conferences dealing with Ukrainian Canadians organized by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, SUSK, which is co-sponsoring the above conference, is also organizing a special workshop to be held September 17

on "Social Development Projects in the Ukrainian-Canadian Community: An Assessment."

The conference on September 15-16 will provide an interdisciplinary forum for interpretations and discussion of the statistical information contained in Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976" (mimeograph, 1977), prepared by a research team in Ottawa under the direction of Drs. W. Darcovich and P. Yuzyk. The conference includes sessions on the following topics: ethnicity and its statistical interpretation, economic status and urbanization; social characteristics of Ukrainian Canadians; assimilation and identity; history and politics. There will be a panel

discussion by the research team which prepared the compendium, and speakers during the above sessions include W. Isajiw (Toronto), L. Driedger (Manitoba), J. and O. Wolowyna (Western Ontario), M. and R. Petryshyn (Alberta), C. Kuplowska (Ontario Educational Communications Authority), I. Myhal (Bishop's), R. March (McMaster), and J. Krelt (Statistics Canada). The banquet speaker is C. Keely, of the Centre for Policy Studies, The Population Council, New York.

The workshop on September 17 will deal with the concrete implications and ramifications of the presentations at the above conference. The workshop will begin with a presentation on the

major problems facing the Ukrainian-Canadian community, which will be followed by presentations and a discussion on the various projects which Ukrainian student and youth groups have undertaken in the community including community field-worker projects, summer camp projects, and media projects. The workshop will end by evaluating which projects have been most effective in the past, by looking at the prospects for successful social development projects within the Ukrainian-Canadian community, and by putting forward some strategies for the future.

Participants in the workshop will include present and former student activists, representatives

from various Ukrainian youth groups, and speakers from the conference held prior to the workshop. Materials dealing with some of the above topics will be distributed prior to the SUSK Annual Congress in Winnipeg, August 24-27, and will be discussed at that time. Students are invited to attend, participate in, and contribute to the workshop. For more information about the conference, contact the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 335 Athabasca Hall, the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, T6G 2E8. For more information about the workshop, contact the SUSK National Office, 11246-91 St., Edmonton, Alberta, T6B 4A2.

# УКРАЇНСЬКЕ СТУДЕНТСТВО У ВЕЛИКОБРИТАНІЇ

Майже всі українці, які тепер живуть у Великобританії, прибули до цієї країни після Другої світової війни. В тих роках війни розпочалися розбудова українського суспільного життя, і якраз тоді ново-прибулі імігранти заснували Українську Студентську Громаду у Великобританії (УСГУВВ) в серпні 1947 р. Членство складалося і більшість із молодих таборників, для яких в 1950 р. також заснувала Комісія Допомоги Українському Студентству (КодУС).

Перші роки були дуже важкі для українців, бо треба було зосереджувати всі зусилля для прожитку і чужому довікли. В цьому періоді не було значного числа студентів, і тому роки 1948-65 були часом неактивності в українському студентському укр. Тільки в 1965-66 р. діти, які походили із сукарих і сорокожів і п'ятдесятитих роках, дійшли до студентського віку і розпочалася студентська праця. В 1966 р. декотрі українські студенти повернулися з Риму, ривішні не продовжувати їхні студії теології, і стали студентами в Дубліні (Ірландія). Більшість із них студіювали психологію в цьому університеті. Цей університет був однокільний, що визнавав їхню матуру.

Українська студентська громада була формально відновлена в 1967 р., і першим головою став В. Дацько — перший голова який походив із другої генерації, вже народжене в Англії. Тому що не було великих зкупень студентів, діяльність студентської громади була мінімальною. В роках 1968-69, під головуством Анни Ластовської зробили старання розшукати всіх українських студентів, але тривало аж до 1970 р. поки відбулася обштерна кампанія для здобуття нових членів. На Зборах УСГУВВ в січні 1970 р. були вибрані Богдан Свєрд (голова) і Маруся Юркія (заступник голови); в часі цієї каденції вийшли два числа студентського журналу "Метеор", головним редактором якого була Маруся Юркія. Окрутя студентської громади постала в Лондоні і Манчестері, де перший голова був Василь Яроцький, і де також редагувався "Метеор".

По двох роках керівництво студентської громади перейшло до Лондону, коли головно УСГУВВ став Богдан Левинський на Зборах в Лестері. В часі цієї каденції одне число студентського журналу вийшло в Лондоні, під новою назвою "Свічадо".

Коли відбувалося З'їзд ЦЕСУС-у в 1974 р. постали внутрішні проблеми в Екзекутиві УСГУВВ, і праця студентської громади занепахла.

В січні 1975 р., відбулися Надзвичайні Загальні Збори УСГУВВ в середній Англії і за ініціативою зацікавлених українських студентів, праця студентської громади знову розпочалася. Головою УСГУВВ став Тарас Мікулія; округів в Манчестері і Лондоні від-

іювали діяльність під керівництвом Володимира Личманенка і Романа Козака. Через рік став головою Роман Кравець, який, після дво-річної каденції передав головуство студентській громаді в травні 1978 р. Ларні Кіаучук.

Українські студенти зосереджені в тих округах, що існують в містах значного українського поселення. В повосняних роках ново-прибулих українців вислалли переважно там, де бракувало звичайних фізичних сил. Тому, українці скупилися в слідуючях районах (головні "українські міста" зазначені в дужках): північна Англія (Брадфорд), середня Англія (Дербі-Ноттінгем-Ковентрі), північно-західна Англія (Манчестер) і південна Англія (Лондон).

Якраз в тих околицях існують округи УСГУВВ.

Варто зразу окреслити в якій спосіб ролі української студентської громади відрізняється від інших організацій. Хоч можна інтерпретувати статуті різними способами, залежно від обставин, в практиці показалося що УСГУВВ має авразну ролі серед українського суспільства. УСГУВВ дає нагоду молодому українському студентству, що починає поширювати свій світогляд зустрітись із іншими студентами та інтелектуальним, свідком й об'єктивним способом обговорювати українську проблематику та тримати дискусії на інші теми. Без Студентської громади український студент би не мав такої нагоди.

В минулому, діяльність УСГУВВ була дуже поширена і напевно була подібна до багатьох інших українських студентських товариств. Наприклад, Студентська громада в минулому:

- організувала доповіді на різні теми, напр. українознавство, соціологія, музика, політика, психологія, література ітп.
- організувала виставки фільмів, народної ночі, молодечої творчості
- приготувала і брала участь у радіопередачах і телевізійних програмах
- організувала і брала участь в різних кампаніях, зокрема в обороні українських політичних в'язнів, цього року в обороні ув'язненого студента Климчука у Львові, і в кампанії популяризації української мови
- видавала Збірники матеріалів, напр. Збірник Поезій Івана Франка.

Хоч нема офіційного журналу УСГУВВ, багато студентів дописують до квартальника "Вітраж", якого видає група студентів в Англії. УСГУВВ не організує багато великих з'їздів. Студенти, фактично, часто зустрічаються, беручи до уваги, що в Англії нема великих віддалей між осередками українського поселення. В традиції вже ввійшло організувати конференцію носення, і кожного року плануються спільні дні і поїздки по Англії, і також по-

за границю.

В минулому, члени УСГУВВ брали активну участь в міжнародному українському русі. В серпні 1970 р., делегати Маруся Юркія і Богдан Свєрд брали участь в З'їзді ЦЕСУС в Торонто, і невдовзі після цього, в квітні 1971 р. діяльність СУСТЕ відновилася. Був організований перший великий З'їзд Європейських Студентів і для цього Блаженніший Патріарх Йосиф відпустив праміщенні УКУ в Римі. Богдана Дроздовського (УСГУВВ) вибраний головою СУСТЕ, а Петро Яцик і Марта Снкала (УСГУВВ) були вибрані до керуючої Екзекутиви. В липні/серпні 1971 р. СУСТЕ організував Конференцію ЦЕСУС-у в Мюнхені, в якій брали членську участь студенти із Англії. Діяльність СУСТЕ запанала після цієї конференції; Богдан Дроздовський ініціював від організованого

студенти студіюють ті предмети, які повинні бути більш придатними в житті. В теперішніх тяжких життєвих обставинах, не можна сподіватися, що молоді українські студенти дуже радо вивчатимуть українську на вищому рівні. Легко вважати, що нам потрібно українознавців з високою освітою, але виявилось, що мало людей готові присвятити всю свою кар'єру для цієї цілі, бо вважають, що найкраще вибрати фах, що дає кращого забезпечення в житті.

Сучасні проблеми, взаємовідносини зі старшим поколінням і праця студентів у громаді є в Англії дуже стисло пов'язані. Більшість української молоді живе поза організованим українським суспільством і велика частина тієї молоді, через різні причини, не бере активну участь в йому. Ті молоді які лишались з переважно дуже актив-

включаються в місцеву українську громаду, або переїжджають для того, щоб дієвості відійти від організованого українського життя.

Які тоді проблеми існують серед молоді, особливо студіюючої? Хто їх може є й небагато, головні являються: асиміляція, апатія і дислозія. Можна ствердити, що більшість молодих мають ту саму остаточну ціль, якщо йдеться мова про здобуття самостійності для України, але, очевидно, вплив Західного світу, зокрема її наукових традицій, інтелектуальності і якісний ментальності і підходи молодого покоління. Якщо молоді старалася посприяти молодий ентузіазм і підхід пристосований до сучасних умов, разом із досвідом старшого покоління, то часами вважалося, що це вилучило "нездоровий вплив". Не можна дивуватися, що велика частина молоді відстала від організованого українського життя.

Це зокрема відноситься до студентів, бо якраз вони найбільше відчувають проблеми і недогаженість в суспільстві і хотіли б поліпшити цей стан своїм конструктивним вкладом в громадське життя.

Велике число молоді також почувалася апатичним і менше-вартим; бачучи різноманітність англійського культурного життя, молоді скоро асимілюються, і втрачає охоту працювати і конструктивний спосіб, щоб підвищити рівень українського організованого життя.

Які перспективи на майбутнє? За пару десятків років вийде перша генерація, лишуючи багато слабше організоване українське життя. Декотрі менші українські громади зникнуть, а більші стануть осередками для свідомих українців. С надії, що телерізня студіююча молоді лишиться свідомим активним українцями, чв в організованому українському житті чи поза ним.



студентства, а Петро Яцик вїклав до Канади.

Після Конференції ЦЕСУС-у в Мюнхені в 1975 р., праця СУСТЕ відновилася створенням Комісії СУСТЕ яку провадив Тарас Лоячєна. Представником УСГУВВ, в комісії СУСТЕ, тоді був Володимир Личманенко. В березні/квітні 1978 р. відбулася з великим успіхом 5-ий З'їзд СУСТЕ в Лондоні, в присутності понад 100 студентів із Європи і Америки. На дво-річну каденцію З'їзд вибрав нову управу і складі якої є Володимир Личманенко (голова) і Оля Гаджула (секретар), обес члени УСГУВВ.

Дослідів з 1973-го року показало, що було понад 700 українських студентів на різних студіях, із яких 265 вчилися у педагогічних коледжах і 285 в університетах. Із решти, 90 студіювали в технічних коледжах/політехніках, а приблизно 30 студіювали медицину/дентистику. Хоч нема повної статистики, можна сподіватися, що сьогоднішні числа є пропорційно такі самі, хоч в цілості число студентів може зменшилося. Українські студенти в Англії студіюють цілий ряд різних предметів: напр. вичитювання, медицину, архітектуру, мови, природні науки і мистецтво. На загал, українські

і тому що їх небагато, багато з них є членами декількох організацій. Ті самі молоді переважно також спінують і хором і танцюють в ансамблях. В практиці показалося, що студенти, коли їдуть до чужого міста на студії, або

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# BRIEFS ON THE USSR & EASTERN EUROPE

FROM INFORMATION BULLETIN (VOL. 1, NO. 17) PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONERS (EDMONTON)

## BAHRO SENTENCED

On the first of July, it was reported that Rudolf Bahro had been sentenced to eight years imprisonment by an East German court. Bahro is the leading East German oppositionist who recently published *The Alternative: A Critique of Real, Existing Socialism*. In this book Bahro presents a Marxist critique of socialism as it exists today. His main theme is that the party and state apparatuses dominating East European and Soviet society have become deep-rooted obstacles to the further qualitative development of socialism. The publication of his book in West Germany led to his arrest last August 24 on charges of espionage. Since then, despite international protest, he was held, incommunicado, until his trial last month. In England the Rudolf Bahro Defense Committee has planned a number of active protests, and an "Open Letter to Honecker," is being circulated in the labour movement. Further information can be obtained from Bahro Defence Committee c/o Minnerup, 14 Folkestone Road, Copnor, Portsmouth, Hants. The "Open Letter" is available from Bahro Defence Committee c/o Socialist Challenge, PO Box 50, London N1, England.

## UKRAINIAN-ARMENIAN SOLIDARITY

A member of the National United Party of Armenia has stated that Armenian patriots identify strongly with the plight of Ukrainian political prisoners, and that they will mark January 12 as a day of solidarity with Ukrainian political prisoners.

In response, Ukrainian political prisoner Mykola Budulak-Sharygin has stated his solidarity with the members of the National United Party of Armenia, and has protested the persecution of members of this political grouping.

## UKRAINIAN HISTORY: UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL CONFERENCE

In 1897, Ivan Franko confessed to a mortal sin: he didn't like Ukrainians. Nor did he like Ukraine itself and its entire history. He professed that he was too much in love with justice, brotherhood and freedom to be fond of the history of Ukraine. "No," he wrote, "it's very difficult to like the history, because at every turn you feel like weeping over it."

And truly, judging by the papers presented at the Ukrainian Historical Conference (London, Ontario, May 29-31, 1978), there is something to weep over.

In one of the early sessions, on the Historical Legacy of Kievan Rus', Myroslav Labunka explained how Galicia-Volhynia was the successor of the Kievan State and could have (were it not for the Hungarian and Polish occupations) formed the basis for an ongoing state tradition. As fascinating and erudite as the paper was, there was no mistaking that it dealt with a historical might-have-been, a failure. Then Omeljan Pritsak discussed the loss of continuity in the Kievan tradition following the Mongol invasion and (more devastating in his opinion) the Lithuanian occupation.

In the next session, on Ukrainian Elites, Frenk Sysyn and Zenon Kohut examined how the Ukrainians produced two sets of nobility, both of which were subsequently assimilated completely to their Russian and Polish counterparts, thereby once more aborting the chances for a continuous state and cultural tradition. The failure of 1917-20 was dealt with in the next session, on Ukraine and the Russian Revolution, and elaborated upon, especially by Steven Guthrie,

## REPRESSION INCREASED

Repression in Czechoslovakia seems to have increased since President Brezhnev of the Soviet Union visited Prague at the end of May according to information reaching London from supporters of the Charter 77 movement. The secret service now seems to have been given the green light to step up interrogations, house searches and short-term detentions. Interrogators have been heard to say that pressure will increase between now and August, the tenth anniversary of the Soviet intervention to topple the Dubcek regime.

Hundreds of people were detained during Mr. Brezhnev's visit. Most were soon released but not all.

The official spokespersons of Charter 77 no longer enjoy relative immunity from harassment. Mr. Ladislav Hajdaneck and Mr. Jaroslav Sabata are frequently interrogated and Mr. Hejdanek has been physically assaulted. According to reports, Marta Kubisova, previously a leading pop singer, was detained during Mr. Brezhnev's visit and the Swedish press reported on June 12 that she has been arrested again as a result of a recording session with the Swedish record company October. This information has not been verified from Czechoslovakia, although it is known that she is under surveillance.

## ILO CRITICIZES

A report that is sharply critical of the Czechoslovak Government for its treatment of signatories of Charter 77, the human rights declaration, has been made by a special three-man committee set up by the International Labour Organization.

The report was discussed at a recent meeting of the ILO's governing body and will be discussed further in November.

The committee, composed of representatives of Venezuela, Austria and Australia, was asked to look into accusations that signatories of the charter had been dismissed from their jobs simply because of having signed and that this action violated an ILO convention on the freedom of association, which has been ratified by Czechoslovakia.

In its report, the committee concluded that the allegations, which were made by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), had been well documented. It also said that the replies made by the Czechoslovakian Government were general in nature and evasive without offering any evidence to counter the allegations.

The committee proposed that the allegations, the documentary evidence, and the Czechoslovak replies should all be published. This is what the governing body will be discussing in November, after it has heard a defence from Czechoslovak representatives.

Complaints have also been made to the ILO over the non-recognition by the Soviet authorities of the unofficial free trade unions. The ICFTU plans to make a complaint against Poland for not recognizing unofficial trade unions there.

## GENOCIDE IN SOVIET CAMPS

A group of political prisoners in Soviet labor camp No. 385-6 have accused the camp administration of deliberately setting criminals in the camps against political prisoners. Guards often collaborate openly with criminals in the camps and allow them to offend, degrade, and beat up political prisoners.

In a petition to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. of the political prisoners state that the camp authorities are practising a form of genocide in allowing criminals to openly persecute political prisoners.

## SLEPAK EXILED

Vladimir Slepak, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group and a prominent figure in the Jewish emigration movement was sentenced June 21 to five years internal exile. He and his wife, Mariya, were arrested June 1 and charged with "malicious hooliganism" after having hung a banner saying "Let us out to our son in Israel," from the window of their Moscow apartment. Mariya's trial was postponed since she is presently hospitalized with a bleeding ulcer.

Slepak, a 50-year-old engineer, applied for an exit visa in 1970. His application was turned down and since then Slepak has lost several jobs and has been harassed repeatedly by the KGB. Although one son has been allowed to emigrate the other is presently in hiding in the USSR refusing to be drafted into the military. If he serves in the army he won't be able to emigrate for a number of years due to "access to state secrets."

Slepak became a prominent activist in the movement for freer emigration policies. In May 1976 he joined the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group. At present there have been trials resulting in sentences ranging from one to fifteen years.

No witnesses were allowed to testify for the defence as Slepak's trial, while police used fire hoses to disperse his supporters gathered outside the courtroom.

## IN DEFENSE OF BAP TISTS

Two members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, Nina Strokata and Petro Vins, wrote an appeal in defence of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists in February of this year, which has only recently reached the west. Shortly after helping to prepare the appeal, Vins was sentenced to a one year prison term on charges of "parasitism."

Vins and Strokata note that since October 1977 repressions against the Evangelical Christian-Baptists have increased sharply. Searches have been conducted in all parts of the Soviet Union, and numerous bibles and other religious materials have been confiscated. They list over twenty believers who were arrested or sentenced in November-December 1977 and mention several others under threat of arrest.

## PODRABINEK TO BE TRIED

The case against Alexander Podrabinek, a leading Soviet campaigner against the political abuse of psychiatry, is being prepared with unprecedented speed. Arrested on May 14, he is expected to stand trial in the very near future. According to reports, Podrabinek has been charged under Article 190-1 of the criminal code with circulating — in his book *Punitivna Medicina* — "deliberately false fabrications defaming the Soviet system." An international committee made up of psychiatrists and doctors is being formed to defend Podrabinek and his brother Kirill, recently jailed for two and a half years on fabricated charges.

## CRIMEAN TATAR MARTYRED

A Crimean Tatar doused himself with gasoline, set it alight and then charged policemen who called at his home on June 23. Musa Mahmud, 46 years old and the father of six children, died in hospital five days after the incident.

Virtually the entire Tatar population of the Crimea was deported to Central Asia in 1944 after being accused of wartime collaboration with the Germans. Although they were exonerated in 1957, they have not been allowed to return to their homeland.

(More BRIEFS ON USSR continued on page 10)

Ivan Khlivchanyin

## NO LAUGHING MATTER

in the session on the Role of the City in Ukrainian History.

The conference, then, was a catalogue of failure and missed opportunity. Are we to blame this on the organizers of the conference: the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the Ukrainian Historical Association? Did they deliberately pick such sorrowful topics? Or are we to blame the Ukrainian historical process itself that its prominent theme, its inner continuity, is precisely its discontinuity? I would tend to blame the latter and agree with Franko that Ukrainian history is something to weep over.

Again and again the Ukrainian people have risen — to form a civilization in the eleventh century, to wreak a bloody vengeance in the seventeenth, to establish a republic in the twentieth, and each time it has fallen once again to the degradation of bonded serfdom.

Sorrowful, yes. But interesting, too.

Let us not forget that that disparager of Ukraine's history, Franko, held back his tears long enough to write excellent Ukrainian history: the cultural history of Kievan Rus' and early modern Ukraine, the socio-political history of his native Galicia. True: Ukrainian history made him sad, but it also fascinated him.

Curiously, the intellectual fascination of Ukrainian history derives from the same tragedy that makes this history sorrowful: its abjectness.

A good Ukrainian historian has little choice but to jump headlong into unexplored crevices of the historical process. Except for very



limited periods, diplomatic history is almost irrelevant. At the London conference, diplomatic themes did emerge at the session on Ukraine and the Muslim World, but the two contributors, Orest Subtelny and Lubomyr Haida, had to concentrate most of their attention on what Ukrainians thought of Turks and Tatars (and vice-versa). Surely the realms of human consciousness are more exciting than the implications of the Treaty of San Stefano.

It used to be that history was considered the doings of kings and princes. In this outmoded view, Ukraine did not even have a history! And, indeed, to this day there is no room in serious Ukrainian historical writing for royal "society pages." At the conference, dynastic themes did make an appearance in the session on Kiev's legacy, but only in the context of the wider problem of medieval state continuity.

The problem of continuity in Ukrainian history was, indeed, the underlying theme giving cohesiveness to the conference. The problem was illuminated not only in the sessions already mentioned, but also in the provocative banquet remarks of the linguist George Shevelov end in a round table discussion on periodization.

The choice of this theme established the intellectual validity of the conference, because the concept of continuity and discontinuity in national history is important. The continuity/discontinuity problem poses a challenging question about the very essence of history: in what does the nature of the historical continuum consist? Ukrainian history is fertile terrain for research into this question, and for this reason it has much to offer the study of history as a whole.

# PLYUSHCH, PASSING

Myrna Kostash is a free-lance journalist residing in Edmonton and is the author of the Canadian bestseller *All of Baba's Children*, a history of Ukrainians in Canada. Her latest article is on pornography, written from a feminist perspective, and will soon appear in *This Magazine*. The following article was written in the fall of 1977 in the wake of Leonid Plyushch's North American tour. It relates her impressions of Plyushch's appearance in Edmonton and his relationship with the Ukrainian-Canadian youth of today.

That was it, to mean well! He caught a glimpse of that extraordinary faculty in man, that strange, altruistic, rare and obstinate decency which will make writers or scientists maintain their truths at the risk of death. Eppur si muove, Galileo was to say; it moves *ell* the same.

T.H. White

In Edmonton, in September, 1977, there is a press conference with Leonid Plyushch, Soviet Ukrainian dissident, in the basement of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic church. There are a half dozen of us, under Christ in Gethsemane and two popes on the wall, and Plyushch, in a baggy Soviet suit, collarless shirt and with a leather briefcase.

Not for nothing is this press conference, and the public meeting that evening, being held on the ethnically neutral ground of an "anglo" church. Here Plyushch can seem to represent Ukrainianness in general, dissidence in general. For among the Ukrainian-Canadians in Edmonton there are those who would say he does not represent them. Heaven forbid. Those on the old left, for instance, the Party faithful, will say Plyushch is an anti-Soviet madman and his ideas therefore deranged. It is correct to ignore his arrival among us. Those on the right, the ultra-nationalistic, anti-communist emigres, will say he

is a KGB agent sent abroad to Ukrainian liberationists. Besides, he's a Marxist. He must be boycotted. It is then the task of all the other strands of Ukrainian radicalism to welcome Plyushch.

The press conference, then. What kinds of criticism get people into trouble in the USSR? "An amateur youth choir in Kiev was forcibly disbanded because they made up their own programmes, because they sang old folk songs as well as political songs, because, in short, they were 'bourgeois nationalists.' Crimean Tatars, smashed at a Lenin monument and politely demanding the right to return to their homeland, were dispersed. Baptists are illegal." (Here Plyushch dips into his briefcase and withdraws a fuzzy photograph of a Baptist murdered by the police.) "A labour strike is a criminal offence." How do you know all these things? "We have the underground democratic move-

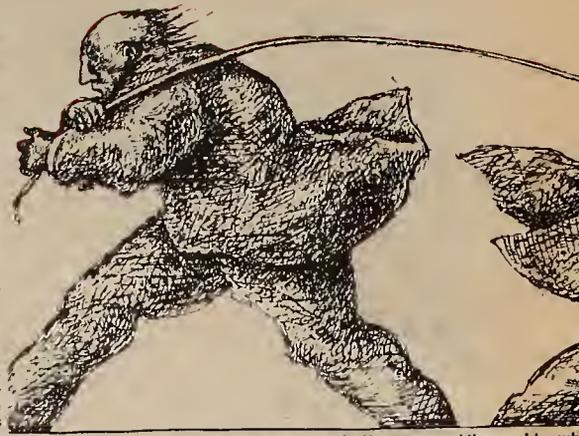
ment, personal contacts with the Crimeans, the Jewish movement, the Moscow human-rights groups, and we have *semiydev*." (He dips again into the briefcase and holds up two typed pages of onion-skin paper.) "A person who receives such a document types up five more copies and passes them along, hidden in their clothing, their shoes." Why is there such repression? "The system is founded on lies. On terror and political monopoly." (Here he pulls out a copy of the Soviet constitution.) "The new constitution that is being planned will be worse than Stalin's. I wouldn't be surprised if there are clauses in it 'taking care of the dissidents.' The contradictions between the demands of the economy and its management, between the masses and the elite, are growing and at their centre are the technologists. A state which is built on disinformation cannot work: scientists and engineers need information. The danger is that the technocratic fascists — those who are interested only in efficiency — will merge with the fascist nationalists, the Great Russian chauvinists." What do you think of premier Peter Lougheed's recent trade mission to the Soviet Union and his refusal to speak out on the question of imprisoned dissidents? "This was opportunism of the Munich type. Convenience, not principle, dictated the premier's decision."

For all the radical politicians, though, not all the febrile tremors of nonconformism and protestation radiating out from Plyushch's visit, there is nevertheless the faint odor of the fifties here, of the Cold War and McCarthyism and — lest we forget — Social Credit. Now, as then, numbers of people, are attaching themselves to a campaign of anti-Sovietism, generated by the international furor over civil rights, or the lack of them, within the Soviet Union which is climaxing precisely during a period of severe dislocation — the catastrophe of the unemployed, the tightening noose of foreign ownership of the economy, the desperate projects in the pursuit of energy, the will to separate of the Quebecois — within Canada.

Onstage an Anglican minister draws the parallel between the repression of civil liberties and the martyrdom of Christ. A man from Amnesty International says that the struggle for human rights is a "journey made only by brave men and women and it is made for all of us." The head of the Alberta Federation of Labour says we must not take for granted the freedoms we do own in this country. Around such self-satisfied notions the righteous indignation of the Canadian public may be mobilized; have we not been through this movie before? Have we not then turned as a pack on the disputatious scapegoats among our own countrymen who challenge our self-satisfaction? Must we really lie in the same bed with types like Norman Pichoret, editor of *Commentary*, who, in such perfectly liberal projects as gay rights, anti-war resistance and disarmament, perceives the "failure of the anti-Communist will" and in Carter's human rights campaign the reversal of the "inexorable decline of American power"? *Deja vu*.

As the meeting progresses, however, it becomes increasingly obvious that we have in Plyushch and his campaign anti-Soviet agitation of an original colour, not the repudiation of the Bolshevik Revolution but a call for its completion in democratic socialism and the self-determination of nations. And, to judge from the panelists' remarks, we have the connections to be made between this and our own situations. They speak of a commitment to "set our house in order," of the fact that Canadian police officers have received instruction in the use of torture from American advisors, of the bugging of union headquarters during strikes, of the fact that "authority in this country has never flinched from using force to sustain its authority, as October, 1970, showed." A Plyushch rally, it seems, is less a witch-hunt than a point of resistance to the violence and injustice within the home and native land.

One notes, for instance, the numbers of young people (in their twenties), Ukrainian-Canadians, who have attached themselves to Plyushch. My generation, not attached to house payments, has perhaps passed on a political legacy after all, a critical consciousness that knows how to exploit the materials, wherever they become available, of provocation, protest and civil disobedience. It is not necessarily true then, that the



"Brother. A man from halfway around the world ... who Canadians ...? Just this he will say: "We are all from

kids of the seventies have been lost to self-absorption and domesticity. Here they are in Edmonton, rallying around a neo-Marxist, a Ukrainian democrat, a freedom-fighter, a witness: "Everybody," says Plyushch, "must take upon himself those loads he can carry." The one he carries is prodigious.

He comes to Edmonton as a representative of the Soviet and Ukrainian human-rights groups. Their optimistic strategy in turning the documents, the "pieces of paper," of the Helsinki accords, of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Man, into weapons for their own struggle against the Soviet Leviathan is a rather touching reminder that one may still hold those representatives of the people, the politicians, accountable to their signatures. He describes the interrelatedness of tyranny. Communist China aids Chile and Brezhnev aids Iran; the dissident Bukovsky is turned over to the West in American-made hand-cuffs and Plyushch himself was tortured with Belgian and French-made drugs. When Castro visited Kiev, he says, university students were put into Ukrainian costumes and professors were told to speak Ukrainian; for Castro's benefit, presto! flourishing national cultures! Otherwise, one is told in Ukraine to speak "human," i.e. Russian. A member of the audience asks: Do you believe in Communism with a human face? "I call myself a pessimistic optimist. Being in the West makes my Marxism even stronger." Several people clap, congratulating him on the mordancy of his perception. He lists the problems of humankind: pollution, crime, loss of spirituality, dehumanizing technology. "All of humanity is at the abyss." For him the primary struggle in these times is between totalitarianism and democracy. Once a democratic socialism is established in the totalitarian world, then, at last, at long, laborious last, the titanic struggle between socialism and capitalism will be engaged.

## THE 'MADMAN' IS A HERO

The next night, after a Ukrainian-language meeting, there is a party for Plyushch. The twenty-year olds are there, in their embroidered shirts and Free Valenty Moroz buttons and the black flag of anarchism buttons. They seem pleased with tonight's meeting and enjoy a few laughs at the expense of the older generation of Ukrainian-Canadians who had asked: Do you believe in God, Mr. Plyushch? Who means more to you, Karl Marx or Iven Mazaepa (Ukrainian nationalist hero)? I wander over to a group singing songs about Ukrainian partisans — part of a continuous revolutionary tradition in Ukraine; these are songs of the insurgent armies of national liberation who fought both Germans and

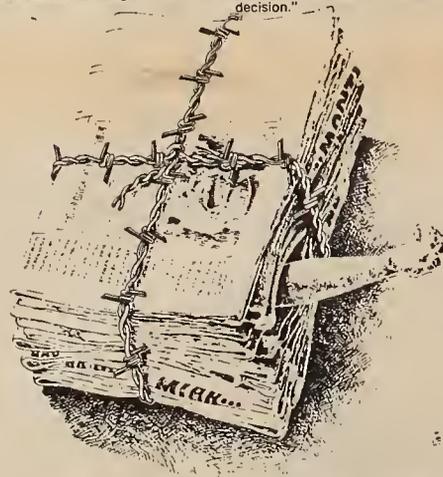
Russians between and during the World Wars — and notice Plyushch singing with them, beating out the rhythm on his knee. His left leg is stiff and unbendable. I'm told, in hushed tones, that this is the result of the drug "therapy" in the prison hospital. In fact it's the result of tuberculosis contracted in childhood and I detect here in Edmonton the beginnings of a cult. He drinks a prodigious amount, and tonight he is drunk. The young people hover around him, taking care of him. He is precious, a hero snatched from the jaws of madness.

In 1967, Leonid Ivanovych Plyushch was a young cybernetician at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, a married man, a career man, by all accounts, an enviable future ahead of him. Never mind that in 1964 he had been visited by KGB in response to several letters he had written to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (among others) in which he had pointed out certain discrepancies between Leninist texts and contemporary Soviet reality. The KGB counselled him to keep his silence for a couple of years and Plyushch put his sentence to, as it turned out, subversive use: he diligently studied the classics of Marxism-Leninism. It was here he learned, for instance, that Stalinist campaigns to obliterate national cultures were a perversion of the Revolution. Publicly he remained a good citizen and industrious mathematician. In 1968, however, he wrote a letter to *Komsomolska Pravda* protesting the trials of Russian dissidents and was fired from his job. In 1969, now working as a book-stitcher, he joined the Moscow-based Initiative Group (for the defense of human rights in the USSR), signed his name to a letter addressed to the United Nations and was again fired from his job. In 1972 he was arrested by the KGB for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and was imprisoned.

In 1973, diagnosed as a victim of "sluggish schizophrenia from an early age," he became a patient of the Dr. D. Petrovsky Special Mental Hospital. In 1976 Plyushch and his family, after a prolonged campaign for his release both within the Soviet Union and in the West on the Left, were expelled from the Soviet Union. In September, 1977, he came to Edmonton on a speaking tour.

Plyushch is a small man, freil within the baggy suit, with a lined face, rheumy eyes and blackened teeth, where has he been? He speaks in a rich, deep voice and gently, tenderly even, as though the air around him were fragile. A year and a half earlier this body had been shot with drugs, flailed with convulsions, the eyes rolled upwards end the tongue hanging out, his whole being maddened with chemicals that were, in spite of his resolution, rendering him careless end insouciant, involuntarily deprived of his will to resist, to

question, wife was in the treatment, insulin, tranquillizing psychotics which, psychotic person's body but down, pro inertia of is a ve dangerous depress blood s confusion, vulsions, As to v "appropri madman" of the W tion, cons hesitated votes the censuring political siderng them at chiatrist testified hospitals others a no diagn chiatrist schizop ment non but betw diagnosis still statu psychiatr the West by to nature madness. If th up from a of a hos — "I am speech Plyushch village who are of us, ordinari socialis mariat what h Ukraini passing childre dinners this, her san I t ecology called "contm to talk



"... he wrote a letter to *Komsomolska Pravda* protesting the trials of Russian dissidents and was fired from his job."

## "ALL OF HUMANITY IS AT THE ABYSS"

Following the press conference there is a meeting for the English-speaking public and it is packed with members of the Ukrainian community, at least those who are not boycotting Plyushch, and with NDPers, anarchists and socialists, with concerned liberals and even a handful of blacks. The young are out in droves, especially the young Ukrainians. (They were not out ten years ago, for the teach-ins, the sit-ins. They were in the student residence, playing bridge.) Across the stage a banner: FREE ALL SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONERS. The literature tables are covered with an astonishing number and variety of books by dissidents, published outside the Soviet Union, of course. Young Trotskyists, anarchists, assorted radicals, stand behind the books. The irony of the juxtaposition: the youthful critics of

# G THROUGH PRAIRIE



world... what has he to do with these Ukrainian-are all from the same village."

question, to challenge, even as his wife was forced to watch.

In the mental hospital Plyushch was treated with neuroleptics and insulin. Neuroleptics are major tranquilizers, drugs to treat a major psychosis (thought-disorder) which, when administered to a non-psychotic, tends to increase that person's feel of agitation. (One's body but not one's mind is slowed down, producing the despair of the inertia of the flesh.) Insulin therapy is a very old, outmoded and dangerous form of treatment for depression; the sudden lowering of blood sugar produces anxiety, confusion, restlessness, convulsions, coma and memory loss. As to whether all of this was "appropriate" treatment for the "madman" Plyushch, the members of the World Psychiatric Association, convening in Honolulu in 1977, hesitated to say. By a mere two votes they passed a resolution censuring Soviet psychiatry for its political abuses. A timid vote considering Plyushch had addressed them and dissident Soviet psychiatrist Marina Volkhanskaya testified that some doctors in prison hospitals are KGB-trained and others are KGB officers. "There is no diagnostic clarity," says a psychiatrist in Edmonton, "regarding schizophrenia. There is disagreement not only between countries but between clinics on the proper diagnosis of the disorder." The case still stands then: as a Moscow psychiatrist in Honolulu said, we in the West now have ample opportunity to observe for ourselves the nature of Leonid Plyushch's madness.

If this is madness, this getting up from all fours off the cement floor of a hospital prison to raise a hand — "I'm present" — against the false speech of the Wardens, then Plyushch is superbly mad, like the village crazyman of everywhere who are fed and clothed by the rest of us, that we may pursue our ordinariness. And here the young people ere, at his side, making sure he gets a meal, forcing down him mugs of black coffee, then, hands under his elbows, leading him home reminding him to sleep. "Take care, brother Plyushch."

## UKRAINIAN? CANADIAN? UKRAINIAN-CANADIAN?

Brother. A man from halfway around the world, citizen of a soviet socialist republic, an intellectual marinated in Marxism-Leninism, what has he to do with these Ukrainian-Canadians, these passing-through-prairie ones, the children of rock 'n' roll and pyrochy diners in the National Hall? Just this, he will say: "We all come from the same village."

I take the question to his ecologies. They belong to a group called "Hromede," which means "community" and they get together to talk about the Soviet dissident

demonstrations. Speeches. Always there were speeches. "In everything," says one man, "there was total orientation towards the liberation of Ukraine. It began with that, it ended with that." In one home, the father was a member of the League for Liberation of Ukraine and had come from a village which manned a whole division of anti-Soviet partisans. In another home, the father armed the fifteen year old son with rocks in his pockets to throw at Kosygin when he visited Canada in 1971. In yet another, the mother wept whenever she had to speak English and her son now fears for his own consciousness whenever he fails to express himself in Ukrainian.

They went to church bazaars and concerts in the parish hall, sang the Ukrainian national anthem and saluted the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flag-in-exile, danced in Ukrainian costumes and, at home, marched around the living room to the sounds coming off the phonograph. Mario Lanza and Ukrainian insurgents' songs. They grew up on stories about relatives imprisoned in Siberia, hanged by the Germans, shot by the Russians, starved to death in Stalin's forced famine in Ukraine, killed in action while serving in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. At the very least, they learned the equation of the Ukrainian church and the Ukrainian language with nationalist consciousness. At the extreme, they understood they must dedicate their lives, however problematic that might be to fulfill in Canada, to the liberation of Ukraine from the Soviet Union. The atmosphere was profoundly anti-Communist and wary of the anglicizing forces of Canadian society. "The notion of Mother Ukraine back across the ocean, yearning to be free, was supposed to be sufficient to keep us Ukrainian."

And so it was, for many years. "Without my early socialization in the Ukrainian community, I'd probably be in pre-Law now, or a Jaycee." But inevitably they learned English and entered into relationship with Canadian society. They read books — Marcuse, Fromm, Bakunin, Goldman, Marx and Lenin — having encountered the New Left in their older brothers and sisters. They were polishing their Ukrainian nationalist enthusiasm with applied theory from whoever was useful. "I had heard and read about Ukrainian political thought and I asked myself, 'Where did those Ukrainian Social Democrats come from? So eventually you run into that ogre Karl Marx.'" Another stumbled across the history of agrarian socialism in western Canada and discovered "alternative viewpoints" to their parents' conservatism (not to say reaction) in Wobblies and Ukrainian-Canadian socialists. They got summer jobs and became involved in labour disputes: "I couldn't understand at first why my bosses drove big cars, lived in big houses and yet couldn't afford to pay us more than the minimum wage." They lived in co-ops in Chinatown, and every morning while waiting for the bus, had the opportunity to observe poverty in Canada. They became critical of the anti-democratic elements in the organizations of their parents — "that World War Two mentality conditioned by hiding in the forest and artificially transferred to Canada" — and began to chafe at the exclusivity of the possessive "ours," meaning "Ukrainian."

By 1977, in their twenties, at the university, they seem to have put it all together. "Super-critical Marxists/anarchists/socialists, inheritors of a revolutionary violence, of a passion for national liberation, of the outsider's alternative vision, proud bearers of a cultural legacy that can evoke to enrich their concerns and commitments, they stand between their parents, the refugees, and me, the Canadian, as a third way of being Ukrainian-Canadian. Neither one nor the other. Some may feel more Canadian than others — in any case they feel not-exactly-Ukrainian — while others worry that by speaking English as much as they do they will be anglicized beyond the recall of the liberation struggle. Some had a period of adolescent rebellion when they went out drinking with the boys and said to hell with the League for the Liberation of Ukraine but they feel now they've re-entered the community on their own terms. Some are more tolerant than others of the Ukrainian culture evolved by four generations in the prairies. But they all distinguish themselves from my generation, we, the "clean-cut" Ukrainian-Canadians, conformist graduates of Sunday school, uncritical digesters of garlic sausage, and the values of the Jaycees, sentimentalizers of — it's all we've got — *baba* and the country wedding. Like their parents before them, they confront their Canadianized neighbours and find us lacking. "As someone who was raised in a paramilytary atmosphere," says one, "I feel stifled by all the interminable discussions about how to reach out to the unconscious members of the community. I just want to get on with it."

## FROM THE SAME VILLAGE — A GLOBE APART

Enter Plyushch. He is important, they say, because of his politics, a Marxist critique of totalitarian state capitalism. For this reason he is unpopular both among "official" Communists everywhere (the *News from Ukraine*, published in Kiev, claims that "Soviet society does not produce" dissidents, they are the product of bourgeois propaganda") and among the anti-Communist refugees, who view him as guilty of collusion with the Soviets because of his Marxism. He is important, they say, because he enriches the intellectual life of Ukrainians outside Ukraine and legitimizes, with his intelligence and reasonableness, the "Ukrainian question" which had been discredited by the excesses of the Cold War. He is "stepped in humanly," the lover of life, an example of the triumph of the human spirit over the forces of darkness.

Because of the global village, they say, it is impossible to deny the interconnectedness of events — "today's nuclear blast in China is tomorrow's fallout over Canada" — and foolish to "resist the threat of totalitarianism anywhere to our own existence here." Besides, the global village also makes possible the immediate mobilization on behalf of a threatened "comrade": a hundred years ago, by the time the news reached the sympathizers, the comrade was already executed. One doesn't stop struggling until democracy reigns everywhere, they say, evoking the vision of the permanent revolution. Finally, of course, there is the blood-tie, the original meaning of the word "brother": the relation. "It seems most natural to me, because of my linguistic, historical, familial and spiritual connections with Ukraine, for me to get involved in the campaign to free Plyushch." One is, in the end, a patriot, a compatriot, not by enology but by inevitability: "I have limited time. I had to choose among priorities. I chose Ukraine because, although stateless, I am a Ukrainian."

It keeps coming back to that, to the amazing peipack of Ukraine, the phantasmagoria that is Canada. What is it about this place that is so

unreal? "We are the youth of the seventies," it was explained to me. "By the time of our political coming-of-age we looked at about us and saw nothing but ambivalence and passivity. Ukraine was where the action was." Ah, yes, the sixties, bean and gone, by the time they'd heard of Plyushch.

So when they meet him they recognize the continuity they have with him, through their parents after all and not through the mortgaged Canadians. The parents had been there all along while we have come from and gone, unrecognizable, into quiescence. In Plyushch they identify the political ally; the concern about the degeneration of the revolution, the gaps in Marxism, the wrestling with ethics and morality, the humanizing of inter-personal relations. Freedom as self-consciousness and vision as the



"He is precious, a hero snatched from the jaws of madness."

protest against necessity. The identification of the human being, proprietor of self: in spite of the drugs and the convulsions, the torn underwear exposing his genitals and the female guards watching him at the toilet, in spite of the KGB's message to his wife that if she stopped agitating for his release they would stop the drugs, in spite of the temptation to recant — "the task of the poet is to write poetry, not to sit in prison" — and the fears bordering on hysteria, the fear of torture, the fear of loss of contact with his family, the fear of simply never being free again Plyushch resisted the moral death of capitulation and received the larger life of integrity as the comrade, the husband, the father, and the friend. The recognition of themselves as the fellow Ukrainians. They have, after all, come from the same village.

They are on the prairie now, near the farms of fellow immigrants who came out some seventy years ago. They are on the prairie now, with visions of insurgency among the sunflowers, the wiltweed, the cornstalks, dancing in their heads. It is as if just such acres that those other Ukrainians across the sea have risen and fallen in their rebel rows, pitchforks and rifles wielded against not only foreign invaders but also against those within who would feed the hunger of the people for justice with the tainted meat of a bogus revolution. And so, to keep the faith with them, it is no wonder the twenty year olds take their chances not with my generation of the politicians of gesture and existential dilemmas but with Leonid Plyushch, the man, convulsed and confused, friends dead before him, visions defiled, with whom the police could make no deals.

# TWO TOO ARTISTS TO WATCH

Natalka and Iko. Both young, talented, Ukrainian artists. Children of that damned generation. Coordinates from the past war D.P. camps to the jaded, cynical, seventies in North America. Creating in a culture that canonizes a handful of its visual artists and ignores the rest. All art is art that has a venerated

raven winged hair, black amber eyes, virile hands, and quicksilver energy. A sculptress working with the thinnest, most temperamental porcelain clays. An alchemist brewing up a cauldron of richly colored glazes. The combination of disciplined technique with a witty, sensitive approach to her subject

— coral beads, red dancing boots, and suppar after the concert. And after all of that recedes you spend long Saturday afternoons with your friends and the forgotten, old, Ukrainian bachelors, at the Unity Grill.

These notes on a hyphenated experience end with an examina-

tion of the two-way link between the emigration and Ukraine. From here the ritually packed *banderolia* —

browns, taupas, terracotta rusts, lush greens, and fruity oranges. Blues like pieces of sky and sea illuminated by the moon, stars, and sun. Burgundies, cardinal reds, cerise pinks, abony, violet, and sunbleached beiges. A rainbow of colors diffused by light.

Canvases that celebrate the stuff of natura — lush, sensual, bountiful, eternal. The very process of construction laid bare. The canvas surgically cut up, reworked, and sewn up again. No tricks, no mystification, no limits, no one genre. Geometric graphic studies complement detailed pen and ink drawings, canvases ablaze with color, collages, sculptures, hand carved icons, mobiles, calligraphy and water colors. No allegiance to one sacred school be it minimalist, realist, constructivist, or impressionist. All genres studied, searched, utilized, to produce the new.

A cacophony of birds, baasts, and people seeps through the paint. Birds — featherless, ancient as dinosaurs, innocent as the chickens utilized in folk-art. Bulls challenging all comers — with horns, without horns, all horns, no horns. A



golden form (Hussar)

In the community he finds little support. His pieces are too confusing, too complex. There is no easy symbolism to be found here,



skveez n eat (Hussar)

signature, is a marketable commodity, and provides a healthy profit margin. All art is art that they have recognized as art, is safe, bestows its owner with a guaranteed status, and elevates one above the ignorant, grasping mass.

Natalka and Iko. Two artists with an eye for the extraordinary in the ordinary. Two with a special perspective. Two approaches to the



From the 'self-portrait' series (Kordiuk)

creativa process, the role of the artist, the art game, and their Ukrainian cultural baggage. Two on the periphery. Two to watch for.

Natalka. Natalka Hussar. A Mediterranean beauty. Shock of

matter.

December 3, 1977. The Ukrainian-Canadian Arts Foundation in Toronto. The East European ghetto. Bloor Street West. The opening night of Natalka's first exhibit. A furiously, cold, black winter's eve. We arrive early in the hopes of avoiding the gallery going public only to be greeted by a crush of people. The babble of conversation coats the ears, a banquet of warm bodies, expensive perfumes, and pretentious colognes tantalizes the nose, and out of the corner of your eye you catch the glint of gold. Gold. Golden *varannyky*.

Seventeen ceramic sculptures. Hung as they were conceived, then realized. A carefully planned project. A transitional programme in three parts. From North American mass culture to the tenuous, thin skinned, paper link with Ukraine. Exhibits one to eleven — a testament to the adage "you are what you eat." A lonely *varannyky* tangled up on a plate full of golden spaghetti. Instant *varannyky* squeezed out of a tube. A *sviat vechir* TV dinner. Gravity defying *barscht* dripping crimson off a plate. *Holubsi* heating in a battered cast iron skillet. Peasant food — substantial, heavy, loaded with starch, love, motherhood.

Other items in the exhibit speak to the experience of the children of the third immigration. The first steps off the boat — captured in three pairs of brown, ceramic, shoes. A petrified Plast uniform retrieved from the mind's closet. Symbols from a Ukrainian girlhood

gum, ballpoint pens, scarves, the goodias of the capitalist system. In return the carefully penned areogramme. A note tucked into a glass bottle and thrown into an uncertain sea. The last link between us and them, the past and present.

It is all highly reminiscent of Werhol's Campbell Soup Can, or Oldenburg's vinyl hamburgers, or even Dal's interior landscapes. A pinch of all three. The audience, a broad section of two generations of self-made wealth in Canada, is attracted by the Ukrainian theme. Either one loves the exhibit or one hates it. Those unsure of themselves retreat into endless discussions of technique and then slip away to the lower level to sip champagne. In all the discussions of the size of the *varannyky*, the pros and cons, of mass producing TV dinners a la Ukraine end standard banquet fare, little of the original idea filters through. Few notice that the trademark on the *sviat vechir* frozen dinner is *svynstvo*. Yet the exhibit manages to prod, to shake, to stimulate. It is a success.

Ihor Kordiuk. Iko. A head rich with sunlight — ash blonde curls and smiling blue eyes. Small, wiry, hands veined with a roadmap of blue. A magician. He picks up the everyday — pieces of forest, shore, field, city and transforms them into jewels of color and composition. A piece of rope, a nail dating to the renaissance, horsehair, copper wiring, shells, African porcupine quills, photographs, feathers, gauze, canvas — subjects end objects caught in a rich palette of color. Shards of earth — mustard yellow, mud

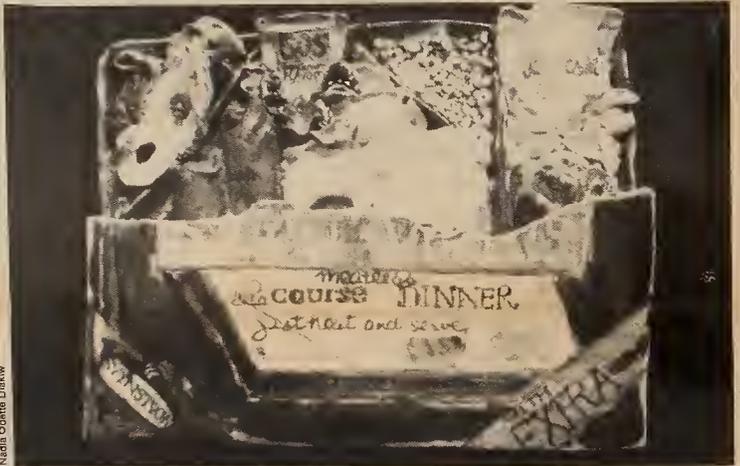
jester observing his subject matter, laughing, cajoling, singing, creating. However it is the women who dominate — complex, multi-faceted, they are never one-dimensional.

Archetypal women, real women, Toronto women, European women, Oriental women, sisters, mothers, friends and lovers. They dominate their canvases, embracing each other, gazing directly at you, caught in their love, pain and struggle.

no identifiable Ukrainianisms, no sunflowers, Kozaks, retiring maidens, or nostalgic Ukrainian-Canadiana. There is only canvas, paint, pen, ink, space, and some rope, a nail, thread, and sunlight, bountiful sunlight.

Natalka and Iko. Two young, talented, Ukrainian artists. Two on the periphery. Two to watch for. Two to grow with.

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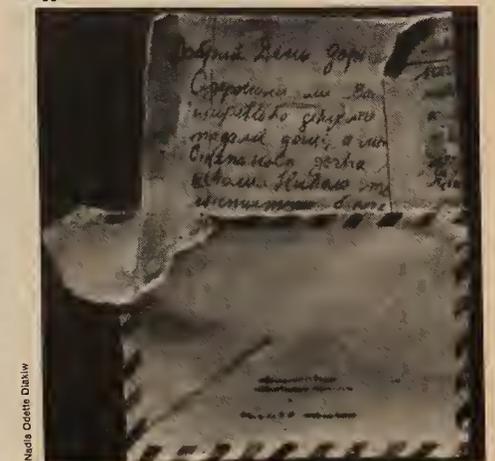
TV dinner - sviat vechir (Hussar)

jester observing his subject matter, laughing, cajoling, singing, creating. However it is the women who dominate — complex, multi-faceted, they are never one-dimensional.

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letter from Ukraine (Hussar)



icon no. 1 (Kordiuk)

# REVIEWS ... REVIEWS ... REVIEWS ...

Hryhoriy Kostyuk, *Okayenni roky*, Dylsloh: Toronto, 1978. 164 pp. \$36. Available from Dylsloh, PO Box 402, Stn. P, Toronto, Ont.

If you dig through old editions in Ukrainian bookstores you will still be able to find books and pamphlets denouncing Mykola Khvylovy and the Ukrainian "national communists" of the nineteen-twenties. In the fifties public meetings were held by the nationalists at which their writings were denounced. What actually happened in Kharkiv and Kiev in the twenties, what people said and did and why, was until recently still a subject of hot debate. At stake is the existence of a political tendency in Ukraine that welcomed the October Revolution and the interpretation of an event that continues to shape the politics of the Twentieth Century: the Revolution of 1917.

Hryhoriy Kostyuk was one of those Ukrainians who spent his formative years in Kharkiv in the twenties and thirties among the literary and intellectual elite of the time while the debate raged: what is the way forward for the cultural development of Ukraine? was the Revolution degenerating? why? is this inevitable? Kostyuk and many other prominent figures welcomed both the February and October Revolutions as historically progressive but saw before their eyes the crushing of the Ukrainian renaissance that the Revolution had called forth. Each individual grappled with these questions in his own way. The spiritual odyssey of Mr. Kostyuk from his arrest and imprisonment in Lukiyanivka in 1935 to his release from Vorkuta in 1940 records his acquaintance with a wide variety of political and cultural activists whose histories have been lost except for this record, the failing memory of an eyewitness and survivor.

The central episode of the book describes the events surrounding the Vorkuta strike of 1936-37. Several accounts of this tragedy already exist. "Trotskyst's at Vorkuta" in *Semizdat*, ed. G. Saunders; *Solzhenitsyn in First Circle and Gulag*; J. Berger *Nothing but the Truth*; and E. Dune (pseud. Iv. Ivenov) in *Sotsialistichesky vestnik* 1948 - 49. Kostyuk's is, however, the most authentic, vivid and extensive.

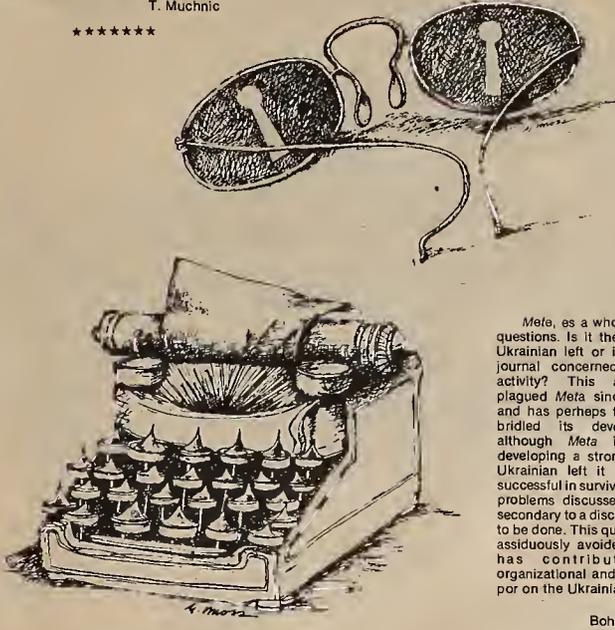
The style is scrupulously objective but the author, who does not lack literary talent, illuminates the individuals he describes with personal details. For Roy Medvedev ("The erroneous nature of most of Trotsky's assertions and demands in 1923-24 is obvious today, as it was then" *Let History Judge* p. 40) or for Solzhenitsyn, who sees Revolutions as destructive and pathological, or, for that matter, for the nouveaux philosophes, these events are historical fact with a message for today: "moderation and responsibility" for the first, "All Revolutions lead to *Gulag*" for the others. Kostyuk sees these events as a contemporary, through the distorted and fragmentary consciousness of an individual victim. The kaleidoscope of sometimes glimpsed, sometimes directly compressed experience is rich and complex and dispels the uninformed and tendentious commentary of some historians. A Chinese revolutionary, Democratic Centralist oppositionist, religious dissenters, Ukrainian cultural activists, Jewish trade unionists from Ukraine, the formerly privileged and the peasants all tell their story and are faithfully described.

The book encompasses more than the Vorkuta experience, which forms merely the central episode in the five pre-war years described. Through the prism of one man's experience, told without hyperbole or self-pity one catches fragments of lives, conversations and political convictions that formed the essence of the Revolution and its Ukrainian component. The history of the left keeps reappearing to

haunt the OUNites. As they say in the cinema: "now the story can be told."

T. Muchnic

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*Meta*: "A Left Wing Discussion Journal, (Vol. 2, No. 10 Toronto, Summer 1978. 48 pp. \$1.00. Available from *Meta*, P.O. Box 324, Station P, Toronto, Ont. M5S 2S8.

After a year's interregnum, *Meta* has resumed publication. The appearance of the latest issue (Vol. 2, No. 1) seems to indicate that the Ukrainian community can indeed support the emergence of new journals and political currents, and hopefully heralds a new stage in *Meta*'s development. This issue is the best to date. The articles range from a historical analysis of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations to remarks on problems facing Ukrainian political activists in the West, and confront the reader with a provocative political analysis of contemporary issues. In fact, one may say that *Meta* is acting as a political sounding board for the political opinions of its readers on contemporary Ukrainian issues.

The articles in this issue of *Meta* mirror the type of discussion going on in the Ukrainian left. For example, an article by Boris Lewytskyj on "The Historical Significance of the Split in OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists)", reprinted from a 1950 issue of *Vpered* (the newspaper of the left wing of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party), reflects the search for a tradition. However, as Lewytskyj analyses the process of political differentiation between the liberal and conservative poles of the strongest Ukrainian nationalist organization in the pre and post Second World War era. It is ironic that in groping for an identifiable tradition *Meta* is forced to confront and analyse the political currents of the right rather than of the left. This leaves the sympathetic reader in a state of confusion since the connection between these politics and a socialist political position exists only in a negative sense, although Lewytskyj gives good insight into the origins of the Ukrainian nationalist parties and concretely and explicitly delineates why the right wing nationalist stance should be rejected.

*Meta* should continue to probe the past with a series of historical reprints from *Upered* and other

sources. Topics worthy of being exhumed are problems such as the traditional stand on the Bolshevik revolution, the nature of the Soviet system and historical views on problems facing Ukrainians outside Ukraine.

However, *Meta*'s political contribution to Ukrainian activism extends beyond glimpses of a bygone era. The majority of this issue is devoted to articles, documents and political commentary on issues and events in Ukraine and Eastern Europe, and constitutes a major contribution to extending and broadening the debate on these issues. A crucial question examined is that of workers' rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Now that Klebanov and the Association of Free Trade Union Workers in the USSR have gained an international reputation and two consecutive Polish governments have backed down in the face of organized strikes, the defense of workers' rights in the Soviet Union and its satellites has become a priority issue. For the Ukrainian left this is a crucial realignment, since in the past most of its efforts have been directed towards the defense of individual dissidents rather than to the defense of the democratic rights of workers as a whole.

But *Meta* has not abandoned the political questions raised by individual dissidents, as is evident by "The Tragedy of Ivan Dzyuba" and an "Open Letter to Ivan Dzyuba" by Leonid Plyushch. These two highly charged statements that pry open the case of Dzyuba are incisive moral and political comments on the question of political dissent in the Soviet Union. However, as Stefan Welshash points out in his article on the role of the Ukrainian community in the West, the debate of Soviet or Ukrainian issues is not enough to build a left wing Ukrainian organization in the West. Unfortunately, other than explaining the politicization of the Ukrainian community in the sixties and seventies, Welshash fails to suggest the grounds on which a permanent organization could be built, perhaps because it may not be clear yet what type of organization or movement the Ukrainian left is ready for.

*Meta*, as a whole, raises many questions. Is it the journal of the Ukrainian left or is it a left wing journal concerned with defense activity? This ambiguity has plagued *Meta* since its inception and has perhaps to some degree bridled its development. For although *Meta* is devoted to developing a strong non-Stalinist Ukrainian left it has only been successful in surviving. Perhaps the problems discussed by *Meta* are secondary to a discussion of what is to be done. This question *Meta* has assiduously avoided and as such has contributed to the organizational and theoretical torpor on the Ukrainian left.

Bodhan Chomiak

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*Women: Special Issue of Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* 30 p. c/o Labour Focus, Bottom Flat, 116 Cazenove Rd., London N. 16, England. Special bulk offers to women's groups and other organisations.

A group of women who have all lived in or visited Eastern Europe have recently put together a special issue of the bulletin *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, an independent socialist bulletin which aims to provide comprehensive coverage of Eastern European societies and especially the currents within them which campaign for working class, democratic and national rights. Responding to a felt need in both the socialist tradition and a growing dissident movement, these women have tried to give an overview of the position of women in Eastern Europe from an informed socialist feminist perspective.

The bulletin begins with an exposition of the official views of women in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There is an article on "Women's Organisations" and their unfortunate political effectiveness. Although some Eastern European countries do sponsor formal women's organisations, it seems that these organisations do not often constitute a "real women's movement," with the possible exception of the Democratic Women's League in East Germany. A second article underlines this fact by quoting the comments of several major East European newspapers on International Women's Day this year. These newspapers print official tributes to women on their day, but some of these tributes are even humorous due to their obvious lack of serious content. They tend to give "hearty thanks" to our "dear wives, mothers and daughters," and are padded with verbose flattery.

Subsequent articles reveal that the most prevalent forms of women's oppression in Eastern Europe are family-related. They lay bare the rigid attitudes toward sexuality and the repressive extremes in official views on sexuality from the G.D.R. to the U.S.S.R. Gays, especially, are victims of

these attitudes and views, as is revealed in an interview with a gay man working as an engineer in Moscow. In this same vein, a short article on "Violence Against Women" exposes the prevalence of rape, prostitution and wife-battering in Eastern Europe, despite "official silence on the subject," and despite all of the propaganda praising the "socialist family" and woman's noble role in it.

The bulletin explains how women's needs in Eastern Europe are still sacrificed to the economic goals of the country, and how so-called "socialist equality" is not yet a reality. An interesting article entitled "Birth Rate Politics" demonstrates how the state struggles to increase the birth rate in as many ways as possible so as to produce more workers for the Soviet economy, and thereby decreases the individual rights of women. Thus, in the 1930's, Stalin banned abortion, restricted divorce, and awarded "motherhood medals" to women who had five or more children. And now the state finds itself extolling the dignity of housework and its unequalled contribution to the national economy. At the same time, it would seem to be making it increasingly difficult for women to get any birth control information, let alone any contraception itself. Extensive charts in the bulletin reveal shocking figures regarding abortion and contraception habits and methods. In the Soviet Union, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, for instance, abortion is still the most popular form of contraception to which women must resort.

Probably the most important articles in the bulletin are those included in a section on "The Opposition." Here an interview with the Hungarians Merta and Sandor Kocsis discusses an Abortion Petition organised in Hungary after the Hungarian government revised its previously liberal abortion policy in 1973. There follows a short and up-to-date article on "Women in Dissident Movements," which deals with the women who were active in the hunger strike in Poland in May 1977, and the women who have suffered discrimination or punishment because of their support of, or participation in the Charter 77 groupings. This is backed up by the documentation of five "Czech Case Histories," from which we learn of women dissidents in Czechoslovakia who have been persecuted for their activities either in 1968 in Prague, or in the Charter 77 movement itself.

The issue concludes with reviews of four films and one book, all of which present the "woman question" in one way or another. Two of the films were produced in the U.S.S.R.: *A Ballad of Two Lovers* and *May I Take The Floor?* The other two films come out of Czechoslovakia: *Day For My Love* and *The Apple Game*. The most interesting review is of a sociological study, *The Humanization of Socialism* (1976), a collection of critical essays written by the prominent Hungarian intellectuals Hegeudis, Heller, Markus and Vajda, which concentrates its criticism on the relationship of the family to the state, women's dual role in Eastern European society, and the relation between work and the principles of socialism.

This special issue on Women in Eastern Europe is important because it represents pioneering research in the subject, especially given both the scarcity of available and reliable information, and the unique experience and perspective of the contributing writers and editors. For this reason I have chosen to overlook certain editorial problems, and concomitant problems in style and overall composition. And for this reason, also, I think the bulletin is an important document to publicize and assess in the Ukrainian-Canadian press.

Marlene Kader

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# MEMOIRS OF MAO'S MAINLAND

Interest in the People's Republic of China (PRC) has been growing over recent years with Canada's official recognition of the PRC, and with increased travel to China. The month of April was a time when most of us students were cramming for exams. For me it was a memorable trip to Japan and the PRC which is now a collage of experiences and feelings.

There were twenty-two people on our trip, the majority of whom were university professors, journalists and students. The PRC offers entrance to "study tours" of approximately twenty-four and forty-eight people at a time, the tours are usually being limited to two weeks. The request for our tour was put in at the Canadian Embassy of the PRC over a year in advance of the trip, which is the normal procedure.

Japan is a very wealthy, advanced industrial, capitalistic country. All of this is very evident as one walks the streets of Tokyo. I never quite understood how advanced the Japanese are, but now it is my opinion that they are ahead of the Americans in a number of respects. One can observe many construction sites, for example, where the level of technology is much higher than that of Canada or the U.S.

The air pollution which was evident on the streets in Tokyo (Toyota's and Datsun's everywhere) gave way to the black coal smoke of Shanghai. China and



Shanghai: University students weeding lawn around monument to Mao.

Japan are a short distance apart, yet the contrast between them is intense. China is poor, underdeveloped, and communist. The people are all clothed in the same dark coloured "mao" jackets. The prospect of everyone wearing the same type of clothing is looked upon with revulsion by many of us

in the West. However, in pre-1949 China, many people went unclothed and the communists have dealt with this by providing cheap, universal, standardized clothing. To use the example of the construction industry again, whereas in Japan one saw advanced scaffolding techniques on construction sites, in China I was amazed to see scaffolding which would encircle buildings (sometimes to a height of live stories) made completely from bamboo poles!

The people on the streets of Shanghai would often gather in groups to stare at the foreigners. There are no super-highways, and the city streets are not as jammed with cars as they are in Japan. Instead there are bicycles and public transport buses. Women often ride home after work with Chinese green vegetables hanging from their handle bars.

Shanghai is China's biggest city with a population of approximately thirteen million. The city was once a large commercial centre for international business interests. The old concessions or areas of the city that were once controlled by the British, French, Japanese, etc. are still evident by the varying styles of architecture and still standing walled partitions. Some of these areas, and the garden estates within them are extremely lavish in all respects. One can sympathize with the Chinese peasantry that revolted against that type of decadent luxury and the foreign imperialists who controlled them. Today these large estates are used as children's cultural (recreation) parks.

The northern areas of China are not usually visited by foreigners.

Our tour group, however, visited Shenyang, which is the northern industrial centre. We also saw Tallin (Dairien) which is close to Port Arthur. The countryside is very poor, and the people attempt to increase yields on what is already heavily tamed plots by building plastic green-houses. Military and defense activity was high all over China, but the jet fighters, radio installations, and underground tunnels that one could casually observe in the north, were especially ominous. It is clear that the Chinese are very concerned about the threat of a Soviet invasion into their northern border areas.

One of the unexpected treats of the tour was a train ride from

Shenyang to Tallin. Unlike Canadian train systems, the Chinese still believe in moving people and they do it cheaply, quickly, and comfortably. As most of the hotels we stayed at were built for Western or Soviet guests ("friends" as the Chinese say) they were equipped with Western style toilets. The train ride was my only encounter with an Asian or "crouch" style toilet.

Peking was the highlight of the tour. Our stay there was much more "tourist" oriented and was not the "study" type tour we had been doing previously of communes, hospitals (acupuncture surgery), mines, factories, universities, etc. In and around Peking we saw such attractions as the Great Wall, the Summer Palace, the Forbidden City, Mao's Mausoleum, and the Nationalities Institute. The Nationalities Institute was of particular interest. The Chinese study and help develop their various ethnic groups. It appears that they have also done a great deal of research on the Soviet nationalities and especially on Ukrainians. As part of their ideological differences with the Soviets the Chinese take the position that Great Russian chauvinism dominates in the Soviet Union, and that because of this the other nationalities are being abused.

My general impression of the Chinese was that they are faced with many problems. They are poor, and anywhere from ten to thirty years behind the West technologically. Yet, it is undeniable that the people are better cared for than they were before 1949. I have not, however, dealt with the crucial question of the peoples' feelings towards the state, freedom, conceptions of life, etc. To do so in an article on the basis of one short visit, without any knowledge of the native language, would be irresponsible at the least.



Peking: School children visit the Summer Palace.



Shenyang: Morning exercises in public square.

## BRIEFS ON USSR (continued from page 5)

### POLITICAL PRISONERS PERSECUTED

After serving their terms in prisons or labor camps, many political prisoners in the Soviet Union still have to serve a term in exile, often in some isolated area of Siberia. Even those who are allowed to return to their homeland however face great difficulties in finding a job and living quarters.

Without a job it is very difficult to find living quarters, but it is difficult to find a job unless one has a roof over one's head, since the employer is often responsible for ensuring that employees are well-housed.

Special obstacles are placed in the path of former political prisoners, and many are forced to leave their native areas to find work. In addition, many are not allowed to work within their area of specialization.

Mykola Bondar, a former political prisoner from Ukraine, has been turned away from numerous jobs and apartment quarters after revealing his "social background."

### RUDENKO TO HUNGER STRIKE

Political prisoner Mykola Rudenko, a well-known member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group who was sentenced to seven years imprisonment and five years exile in 1977, initially was reluctant to take part in labour camp protests because of his bad health.

After camp officials, however, assigned heavy physical work to Rudenko (he is a third category war invalid), confiscated his poems, and restricted his wife's visits, Rudenko stated that he will participate in camp protests and is planning to go on a hunger strike until his poems are returned to him.

### PRISON TERM A VIOLATION

A five-year prison term has been imposed on Nico Hubner, a 22-year-old East Berlin conscientious objector. Hubner refused to be drafted into the East German armed forces by referring to the demilitarized status of the city that forbids any German to bear arms. The sentence handed down to Hubner has been called a violation of the quadripartite status of Berlin by spokesmen in Bonn.

### GRIGORENKO'S RETURN DEMAND-ED

The Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group has strongly condemned the Soviet authorities for depriving General P. Grigorenko of his Soviet citizenship. They ask that pressure be exerted on the Soviet government in order that he be allowed to return to the U.S.S.R. to demonstrate before an open court that all of his actions are directed only toward the defence of basic human rights guaranteed by

numerous agreements which the Soviet Union has signed.

### POILADZE ON TRIAL

Valentina Poiladza, aged 52, a human rights activist, has gone on trial in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi accused of defaming the Soviet Union.

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Кволо похитують гілками,  
„На с-он, на на с-о-и”, — шепочуть ледь  
И вітрець зівас між садами —  
Намавдрувався ж цілий день.

Ставок сховався під покривало  
Густої пари — смачно спить.  
Лиш очерет якось недбало  
Тихенько сонно гомонить.

Ген-ген далеко мріють хати,  
Неначе зачаровані стоять.  
Там за вікном ще порасться мати  
І дїляжи ще бігають, кричать.

Солодкий сон приснап вже діти . . .  
Погас і вогник у вікні . . .  
Безжурно випроставши вітн,  
Дрімас ялівка у дворі.

Скрізь мир панує, Вожа типпа . . .  
І ніч . . . замнслившись . . . мовчить.  
Тільки зпроснян вітер зтиха  
Торкнувшись гілки, шелестить.

12 лютого 1978 р.

Immigrant

I looked through the glass  
and saw them all huddled,  
waiting for buses to take them  
to some Jew's garment factory.  
Their small white smiles  
chattered eagerly,  
shining in faces  
warm and dark.  
Flips and Pakees — easier to call 'em that.  
The Women in Bargain Basement Coats.

I turned, and looked in the glass,  
and saw my skin,  
whitened  
by a citified generation of the  
cool, canadian sun.  
My god —

am I now one of them,  
who stared at my father's  
earth-tanned face,  
as he ploughed the trees and stones  
in his sheepskin jacket —  
and called him  
hunkie?

Ray Serwilo

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Уявлення удавлося, знову убгавшись;  
Речовина та мислення — дві барви воску,  
Складаючи свічку палитись узгоджують;  
Палять, Світять, людям проміннями,  
А раптом — подув — тая свічка відступить.

7-8-го жовтня/77

plump 'n sexy

I dreamed I saw a sign in a window:  
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"Plump 'n Sexy: Girls Girls  
Girls"

and everything cracked, the life of  
a woman of my people  
flashed before my eyes.

a girl's hair is braided; eyes glued  
to comic book, she  
submits to the cruel, not unusual torture:  
every hair pulled back electric-tight; her  
eyes become Chinese, she imagines  
her face pulling away  
parting like the Red Sea  
down the middle of her nose.

(Japanese bandaged feet of little girls,  
Ukrainians braid their daughters' hair, and  
everywhere, boys run  
run, run in the fields)

a girl dances with a Cossack he's  
the vaudeville version in sequins and  
silk, she's a  
jazzed-up peasant in challis and smiles.  
her hand in courtship flies  
demurely to her neck, his hands  
with boasting span the stage, the world,  
his body everywhere dancing  
leaping dancing and dancing.  
(the audience gazes,  
the air is embroidered with sighs)

they touch, they are married:  
speeches are made. she was. he is.  
take care of her and  
feed him well,  
they will grow they will bring forth;  
(she will be plump she will multiply  
she will forgive)

through the pores of her  
skin  
we will breathe as a people forever.  
Marusia Bociurkiw

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