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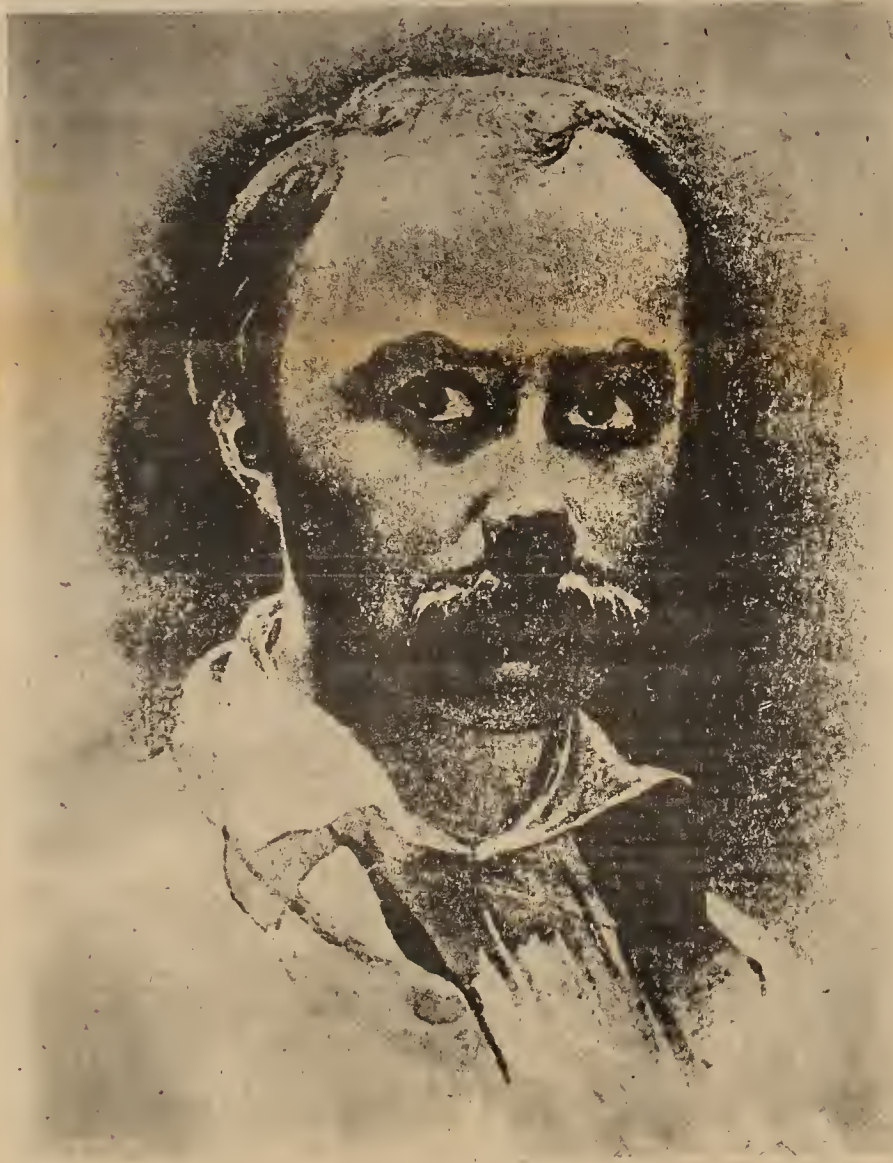
Травень 1975

Volume 8 No 32

25 CENTS

Canada's Newspaper for Ukrainian Students

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ





## Листи до редакції

ЧИ СПРАВДІ ВІЯНІ  
ТІЛЬКІ СТУДЕНТИ?

Ми влячні панові (і.с.) за його статтю "Візьмі увагу студентським справам" ("Гомін України" ч. 8, 11 лютого 1976), в якій він затакував діяльність нашого студентства, згуртованого в рядах СУСК-у. Під обстріл критичної артилерії потрапив також редакційна колегія "Студента". Дяка належить панові (в.с.) за це, що він затримав до життя проблеми, які, на нашу думку, відносяться не тільки до нашого студентства, але апершу чергу до цих які претендують на "батьків народ".

Стаття починається доганою на ковто старшого громадянства за це, що "воно замало цікавиться студентськими справами". Да-

льше критикується студентів за це, що вони впади жертвою асиміляційних процесів університетського довідка, "чим наносять більші удари і шкоди українській громаді". Ці удари тв шкода такі грізні р своїх наслідках, що їх називають "не рекомендують... магіфестаційні акції українських студентів в обороні В. Мороза та інших репресованих у СССР діячів української культури". Дальше обануваються студентів в цьому, що вони "не згляблявши до старту досвіду дідів і батьків своїх... стають у Канаді жертвою чужих боїв".

"Студент" і його редакційна колегія згрішила в цьому, що "всі матеріали друковані англійською мовою... (там) не знаходимо жодного відмічення ні натяку на традиційні в нас святкування Різдва

Христового та роковини державності і соборності України, роковин бою українських студентів під Крутами... "Студентів"... бракує українського обличчя... а домінує чужий дух, чужа системна мислення... засуджено візиту представників Української Центральної Репрезентації та Комітету оборони Мороза з Аргентини — у президента Чіне Чиньчотта..."

Після критикується статтю Мінрона Спольського за його думку, що "українських студентів відкихають від активного ангажування в акції оборони України позиції українських націоналістичних організацій у Канаді..."

І на кінець критикується "Студента" за поміщення в йому статті Філіпа Беррігеа "Два віяні".

Як же виправдання мають на ці закльди студенти?

Студенти знову погоджуються з думкою пана (в.с.), що старше громадянство замало цікавиться студентськими справами. Весь

оцій час воно посаває на вузькі партійні інтриги, бенгети та безколючі саткування всяких річниць і юзілева. Правда, грохи часу віддається на збирання вивязельних фондів. Не стає тільки часу на виховання в українському дусі своїх власних дітей. А ніщо б так панове критик виховали своїх дітей, згідно зі своїми ідеалами — не було б студентської проблеми. Чому, наприклад, ще досі не виділено з різних вивязельних фондів поважну суму на стипендії для надійних студентів? Ці студенти могли б студіювати на найкращих університетах світу та в майбутньому стали б гідними репрезентантами нашої вивязельної акції. Ці громадянські гроші, а не пуста критика, зобов'язували б студентів продовжувати діло своїх батьків. Розуміється, що ці гірки зовваги не відносяться до цієї частини старшого громадянства, але без заборного розголосу тьма цих довері роки ярмо громадянської робо-

в'язки і не претендую на непомилність вивязельної думки.

В обороні В. Мороза студенти такі пописалися. Длин молоді люди, народжені в Канаді, носити десять чи двадцять днів, то це велика посава. Длох молодих студентів із Університету Ватерлоу своїм десятидним постою змобілізували на оборону В. Мороза всю увагу місцевої преси, радіо та телевізії. Ім'я Мороза пополнило увагу всіх громадян Ватерлоу і Кіченер.

Зрештою, скажуть студентам, як вони мають зглябловати довідки батьків. Думаємо, що тільки на живих прикладах. Тоді пригадайте собі такі приклади, як безвідповідальні подвиги всяких племенних ватажків під час Другого Світового Конгресу, сумні акції наших церковних достойників (масмо на увазі вивязельвання єпископів), або хочби і єстич по

СНБУ самого президента М. Лівинського. Від кого тоді студентам

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"Студент" — місячник українського студентства Канади.

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rationalism, and blinded by its chauvinistic exclusivity and backwardness it sees no reason to look beyond its own backyard.

Why is it that the logic of OUN emigre nationalism favours the oppressor in all struggles but its own? When the Ukrainian Insurgent Army organised the armed struggle of the Ukrainian people against German imperialism and the Stalinist armies in 1943, it did so in the interests of national liberation against all imperialisms — British included. It raised its battle cry as the common cry of all oppressed nations — Irish included. The UPA was not formed on the basis of national chauvinism, exclusiveness and collaboration with German imperialism. These positions it rejected outright, and in rejecting them built its political tradition in opposition to chauvinist and authoritarian nationalisms. In their place it forwarded the slogans of national liberation, social emancipation of the workers and peasants and the armed struggle as the road of the revolutionary masses. In its ranks we find not only Ukrainians, but Tatars, Uzbeks, Azerbaydzhanis, Jews, deserters from Nazi divisions organized by the German State in East Europe, Russians, deserters from the Red Army. The Ukrainian nationalists today have conveniently forgotten this past, and have swept under the rug the finest traditions of the struggle during the war in order to re-assert the most reactionary elements of Ukrainian nationalism. It bears its fruit in Chile today.

And the last CESUS Congress again revealed the reactionary politics that covers this forgotten revolutionary tradition. The Ukrainian socialists and Marxists at the Congress were the only group to defend and present this revolutionary current during and after the Second World War. The OUN-ivtsi could do no more than red bait and name our politics "foreign" to the Ukrainian people. Much in the same way as the nationalists in emigration were denouncing the politics of Hornovjy and Poltava, leading members of UPA as "alien and foreign to the Ukrainian people" as early as 1950.

Ukrainian socialists stand on the position of defense of the Irish struggle against British imperialism as a logical application of our general position of the right of all

nations to their self-determination. And this self-determination is not of the type that grants the British Army free reign over the Irish workers, farmer, and fisherman. Furthermore, we stand on the position that only through the efforts of the working class of these oppressed nations will their national liberation be assured; only in defeating the social class that oppresses them as a nation and as wage labourers will the Irish people, the Ukrainian people, the Quebecois be free peoples. In the words of Ivan Dzyuba, "The national question is a social-question as well, a question of political class strategy".

Just as we do not expect the Irish owners of industry and the commanding heights of Orangeism to break their ties of sustenance with British and international capital, and thereby "lead the national liberation struggle", we do not expect the Sheherbitskys and bureaucrats in Ukraine to sever their allegiances with the central Moscow bureaucracy. Their interests are of a particular class character — whatever national sentiments appear, such as did with Shelest, are the dimensions of manoeuvre between bureaucratic factions, not motivated by sentiments of justice and equality.

And to the Irish worker — what difference does it make to him to sell his wage labour to an Irish industrialist in a "free" state of Irish capital or to the British capitalist in today's state? What difference, after all, does it make whether the workers and peasants of Soviet Ukraine are denied their collective and democratic control over the productive process at the hands of an all-Soviet bureaucracy, or at the hands of an all-Ukrainian bureaucracy in an "independent" Stalinist Ukraine? An independent-from-Moscow Ukrainian elite would build more Shevchenko monuments all the more to mystify and oppress the Ukrainian masses! Much in the same way as the British army smashed the Easter uprising in Dublin in 1916 at the same time luring hapless Irish to the battlefield in Europe in the cause of imperialism by flying the Irish flag over its recruiting centres. Promise them 100 Ukrainian recruits today, and they'll fly the blue and gold. For us, the task of national liberation is the task of their social class

which will fight for its whole freedom, and nothing less, for the interests of all the oppressed layers of its nation, or no one at all. We do not see national liberation as the nationalists do — the task of all classes of the nation — like one big happy family. This is the basic difference between us.

British students have an important task to carry out in defending the Irish struggle, in correcting the image made by our nationalist "leaders" like Slava Stetski in Chile, that the Ukrainian people have received. The resolutions of the last meeting of British Ukrainian students were again notable in their disregard for this cause. The only new addition we see is the resolution "condemning the infiltration by the KGB into the Ukrainian student movement." This fiction of a few uninformed diaphragms who have nothing better to do than to look for excuses for their own failures, is presumably a slander against the left wing of the Ukrainian student organisations in North America.

But someone has already said: "The IRA, the FRELIMO, the striking workers in Quebec are infiltrated by Stalinists". Does this make the positions of solidarity with these struggles less valid? Does this statement, this catch-all clause deny that national oppression daily hangs over the head of the Irish, Mozambique, Quebecois masses? Does this phrase absolve you of the duty of going forward and fighting for a correct strategy for the national liberation movements, against its slandersers? Indeed it is because of the absence of such efforts that these struggles in Ukraine, Ireland and so many other countries, have been shunted off upon reformist paths, upon illusionary roads, towards the desperate politics of terrorism.

And it is the task of Ukrainian youth to above all understand the dynamics and complexities of the Irish struggle, to solidarise with it wholeheartedly, and to learn from its lessons. To the British students (and North American) we say: A Free Ukraine — YES! But freedom for whom? The Sheherbitskys or the Ukrainian workers and peasants?

What kind of revolution for national liberation: a Sheherbitsky coup d'etat for an independent Stalinist Ukraine? An ABN confer-

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The last CESUS Congress held in Toronto was an instructive lesson in the attitudes of Ukrainian nationalist youth towards the Irish struggle. Re-affirming the fact that *nationalism*, as an ideological current within the student youth is *more a product of their socialisation than a consciously forged and independently embraced ideology*, the presentation by the Irish Republican speaker and the film on Mozambique aroused interest and hesitation on the part of many, but little outright opposition to the legitimacy of these issues.

Where socialisation had united their nationalism with political reaction, anti-communism and conservatism, the Irish speaker spoke of a revolutionary nationalism; a struggle for national liberation through the destruction of classes in Irish society which maintain this oppression. Where nationalism in the Ukrainian emigration was tied to the interests of a variety of semi-fascist states and dictatorships [such as Spain, Chile, Taiwan], the

Irish Republican identified these dictatorships as the enemies of the Irish struggle, as the opponents and subjugators of oppressed peoples. His speech even struck disharmony with the *Chauvinist* chord of right wing nationalism — an Irish revolutionary takes the floor to engage the time and intellect of four hundred Ukrainians at a nationalist congress of students!

And yet this event heralds a new period in the search for new politics by nationally conscious youth. It is, above all, the search for a *new world view, a new politics*, a logic of perspectives that synthesizes the sympathies of this group for the struggle of the opposition in Soviet Ukraine on the one hand, and the struggle of oppressed peoples and classes throughout the world on the other. Ukrainian nationalism of the OUN type fails to meet this challenge of synthesis. It is bound by anti-communism which sees Moscow behind every national liberation movement, by anti-intellectualism, authoritarianism, ir-



вчитися? Все таки студент... риння вістку про об'єднання всіх наших православних церков із великим одушевленням. Але цієї однієї світлої події в життю студентів рідше замало.

Якщо ходити про англійську мову "Студента", то ту пан (в.с.) не без рації. Але, якщо хочемо провадити амбасадорську місію в англійському середовищі, то тут англійська мова незаступма. Якщо пан (в.с.) не годиться з нашою думкою, то як тоді він може пояснити виступ Валерії Касюрак на банкеті Українського Дому в Торонто? Згідно з повідомленням "Гомону України" (15 березня 1975) "свою доповідь В. Касюрак виводила англійською..." мовою. Зрештою, студенти — ваші діти — будуть вам батькам безмежно вдячні, якщо в своїй рідній хаті навчить їх гарної української мови.

Зторкнуті треба також безцінним святкуванням українських національних свят. Майже всі народи світу присвячують своїм героєм один день у році — решта уваги звертається на майбутнє.

А в нас? Ви, батьки народу, наговорили стільки українських святих (заради збірок?), що їх вже не може помістити наш національний календар. Додати до цього довгі, нудні, повторювані з року в рік промови, тоді вам стане ясно чому студенти втікають від вас, батьків. Безконечне говоріння про патріотизм вказує на це, чого вам, батькам народу, вельодств. Але студенти тут ні про чому.

Коли ж ходити про позиції деяких українських націоналістичних організацій у Канаді, то студентам не легко збагнути чого вимагають від них батьки народу. Ці дивні батьки, які на шпальтах преси готові подякувати за Україну, чому ще досі не навчилися підпорядкувати свої особисті діла та амбіції інтересам свого народу. Як можуть студенти вірити вам, організованим націоналістам? Один рокош, другий... четвертий. Вандерівці, мельницькі, закордонні частини, а в Америці навіть і якісь "Гуди" націоналісти. Одним словом — ви несете відповідальність за роз

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брат і хаос у рядях патріотичної еміграції. Чому ж ви вже встали не боєднестесь!

Або скільки говорення про еволюційність. А вистачило б одного пострілу у ворожі груди студенти повірили б вам і поповнили б ваші ряди. На жаль вже тридцять років стріляють дустяни словами та своєю неповагою ждете від себе студентів, геть, у ряди маорів, чи всяких інших істів. Студенти вимагають від вас

живого прикладу.

Статтю Філіпа Беррігена "Студент" помітив мабуть тому, щоб українські студенти могли зацікавитися із думками американського десидента. Це ще не означає, що студенти поділяють його думки. На нашу думку виступ Беррігена проти штучної в'єтнамської війни, цілком якої був тільки поділ одного ж народу на два В'єтнами, гідний похвали. Останні події у В'єтнамі potwierджують

це. І ва закінчення кілька особистих слів до Вас, пане (в.с.). Якщо Ви виховали своїх дітей у такому дусі, якого вимагаєте від студентів, то за це Вам являється хвала і пошана. А від студентів перепрошуємо Вас за терпкі слова. Якщо ж ні, то яким правом накидається на студентів? Все починаймо від себе!

Б.С.

ence for a new Chile? Or a revolution of the Ukrainian working class and peasantry, in their own name, in their own right? What kind of solidarity with the struggle in Ukraine? A solidarity of Slava Stetsko, General Pinochet, Sanchez Bella? Or a solidarity of all downtrodden peoples and classes against all oppression? Solidarity with the British Army or Solidarity with the Irish struggle?

Тарас Легкий



After reading the latest example of upper class ethnocentrism in the January issue of "STUDENT", I have decided to butt my head against the perpetual wall of tokenistic patronizational understanding by means of a slight rebuttal to Mr. Spolsky's article concerning multiculturalism and encouragement of "workers" participation.

Nowhere is the ethnocentrism of this article more clearly demonstrated than in its constant usage of the term "assimilation." Rather than admit to the existence of the word integration, we are given a very distorted view of the history of Ukrainians and other minority groups in Canada. Rather than see the events as an adaptive (integrative) process, we are given the impression that they were one of

complete absorption, "a cultural assimilation". (How much culture must be absorbed to stop making it culture? Is it politics? Music & Song? Religion? Language? All of the above? None of the above?). It is true that as immigrant groups become aware of being culturally different from the core society, they naturally isolated themselves "to reduce the cultural shock and simultaneously to maintain their dislocated way of life." (Take note of the word "dislocated." An entity in a state of dislocation can never stay in its original state, no matter how anxious the effort to do so.) This is natural, a universal process.

In order to exist as a part of this society, however, these minority groups had to interact with its various processes, resulting in "cultural assimilation." Fear not though, Ukrainians remain isolated structurally, and this has "to a certain extent counter-acted the assimilative processes within the Canadian society." Frankly, I find it difficult to see how culture and social organization can ever be separated, whether or not in reference to "assimilation". Academically, culture has always been defined as encompassing social organization. What irks one most of all, however, is the ability to defend overdeveloped ethnocentrism, and

then criticize the equally recognizable process of Anglo-Saxon hegemony. Is this not a possible beginning for cultural suicide?

The author's treatment of early Ukrainian Canadian history is factually incorrect, which makes his arguments inconclusive. To suggest that few of the early Ukrainian settlers in Canada "had developed an ethno-cultural consciousness" is utter nonsense, for what other criteria would they have had for forming their "homogeneous enclaves"? Perhaps the term to be used in this case would be "nationalistic consciousness," for even the word "Ukrainian" at this time was but poetic terminology. This does not imply, however, that later Ukrainian nationalism did not develop simultaneously in Canada. Discounting the existence of movements which undertook the "repositioning for maintaining the Ukrainian national heritage and for working towards the liberation of Ukraine from Russian oppression" can prove dangerous, because such institutions played fundamental roles in the development of early Ukrainian Canadian society. Contrary to what the author maintains, there did exist a Ukrainian society at this time, and it was not the later inter-wave of "more-highly educated", "political" Ukrainians that

introduced the Renaissance that flung the poor assimilated "workers" from the Dark Ages of Ruthenia-Canadina. The Ruthenian Training School for teachers had long before been formed (and later abolished by the Manitoba government) along with bilingual schools, and it was not for the lack of popularity due to "assimilation" that they do not remain today. Ukrainian university student clubs are nothing new, but have existed for over several decades, even before the inter-wave of immigration. It was these people who were the original establishers of community structures. These facts are contained in basic Ukrainian Canadian history texts, (Yuzyk, Kaye-Kysilewsky).

The fact that (multi) cultural participation occurs primarily among the first and second generations and is increasing among the third and fourth is no "accident." Sociologically, this is known as the Third Generation Syndrome, and has little, if anything, to do with agrarian background or the extent of formal education. The assumption that this phenomenon "occurs primarily in the East" is erroneous. The author, however, leaves himself open to criticism at the very end of his article when he suggests what he considers its time of need, that the organization of the work-

ing class is inadequate and dwells on the necessity to "... cater to those members of our community who are in need." People rarely react positively when told they are to be catered to, and the patronizing connotations of this word are perhaps not evident to the author. It is agreed that "... the cultural question is as relevant to the factory worker as it is to the middle-class office executive." But what is the "cultural question"? A primary question which suggests itself at this time is which culture, if any, is to be the prescribed way of life and who can really feel justified in justifying his way of life by making it preferred. In other words, to base one's arguments regarding preference on value judgements is fine when faced with facts of urban process, diffusion, and decentralization (to name a few), these arguments rarely hold their own. Take the viewpoint of the Ukrainian Canadian worker: perhaps he can be considered more successful in that he has at least come to some kind of understanding with the Canadian society. Perhaps he is waiting for the ideal society of Mr. Spolsky to "atrophy", or degenerate, most open to criticism at the very end of his article when he suggests what he considers its time of need, that the organization of the work-

Yours truly,  
 Vasyi Yasen



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# УКРАЇНСЬКІ ШКОЛИ

Одною з найважливіших проблем, які українське суспільство в Канаді мусить в майбутньому вирішити, це проблема рідних шкіл і курсів українознавства.

У сучасній педагогічній теорії визначально прийнятим є, що школа є місцем де дитина набуває знання, виховується, і де учень має можливість навчитися як думати — а не лише "що думати".

Чи наші українські школи виконують ці завдання?

Недавно я мав нагоду поговорити з паном Михайлом Вавришином — референтом шкільництва при онтарійській раді КУК-у, і з паном Юрієм Дюравцем — головою українського відділу вчителів при онтарійській асоціації учителів сучасних мов.

На мою думку, залишилося дуже мало українських шкіл, що зможуть можливість втримати той самий рівень, що існує в державних школах, коли йде про виконання подвійного завдання — виховувати і навчати своїх дітей.

Хоч рідні школи грають важливу роль в "соціалізації" дитини (в підготовці до повноцінного суспільного життя), в вихованні дитини і прищепленню їй українського світогляду, в майбутньому, добробут і розвиток українських шкіл буде залежати від урядової допомоги і від переробки цілої організаційної структури цих шкіл.

В Торонті тепер існує понад двадцять українських шкіл з кількістю студентів від 15 до 350. Неможливо є цим школам поклатися лише на підтримку громади і рівночасно надіятися на втримання високого "професійного" рівня.

Чи не було б краще мати в Торонті одну, дві, або навіть п'ять шкіл, чим старатися у-

тримати двадцять? На думку пана Вавришина це існування десятків шкіл (при різних організаціях, церквах і т.д.) вказує на сім'яську ментальність наших людей, (мовляв, кожна жаба хвалить своє болото).

Церковний чи громадський будинок на розі вулиці, де все лише провинішею, відтворює людині атмосферу рідного села і вона почуває, що всяким способом треба триматися цього маленького, поганенького — але свого.

З'єднання шкіл мало б позитивні наслідки. Не було б потреби зливати студентів з різних клас, через невелике число учнів в кожній класі й брак учителів.

Також, з кожним роком все більше учнів приходить до рідної школи майже зовсім не знаючи української мови. Дотепер, для них не було ніякої

ро англомовних, яким учитель не має змоги присвятити окремої уваги.

Щодо існуючої програми, пан Дюравець підкреслює, що "основна проблема полягає в браку КООРДИНАШІ. Є дуже важливим, щоб всі діти, які складають матуру, були на бо-дай приблизно одному рівні". Не повинно бути різниці в тому, де учень закінчив. В одній чи в другій школі повинен бути подібний рівень. "Це дотепер не існувало і це підриває авторитет певних шкіл".

З року на рік зменшується число учнів, що записуються до рідних шкіл виразно вказує на факт, що українська громада втрачає довіря донькам. Сьогоднішні школи не є в стані давати дітям, нагоди до повного індивідуального розвитку. Мала дитина мусить їхати далеко

тек і нову техніку навчання. Чи не дивно, що виробляється в неї горезвісне почуття менше-вартості?

Попри моральну користь, з'єднання шкіл могло б принести і матеріальну користь (тобто збільшення платні учителів). Це поставило б його працю на професійний рівень, і дало б можливість громаді вимагати від нього професійності. Бо інакше, як підкреслює пан Вавришин: "Коли приходить до Вас людина з добрим серцем і хоче, вчити в рідній школі (а ще є такі ідеалісти, що це без плати робили б), то як ви можете тих людей критикувати, чи навіть шобнебудь від них вимагати, коли їм платять лише тих бідних два або три долари на годину? Натомість, самозрозуміло, коли їм платять дванадцять доларів на годину так як належить, тоді ви вже можете щось від них вимагати". Осуджувати треба громаду, що має гроші на церкви і на пам'ятники, а як приходить платити учителям і купити приладдя до школи, то скарги чути, що школа забагато вимагає.

Суспільство не є в стані шоби платити учителям. Навіть євреї переконалися, що окрема система навчання не може відповідно втриматися без державної допомоги; (в Торонті, єврейські школи незадовго будуть під опікою Скул Борд). Хоч об'єднання шкіл безперечно принесло велику користь учням, учителям і суспільству, пан Дюравець остерегає, що примусове приєднання цього з'єднання могло б мати небажані наслідки, бо все таки багато людей вложило багато тяжкої праці в існуючі школи і курси і не хочеться їх розчарувати чи показатися невдачливими.

Люб'чир Шух



окремої програми. Маючи одну об'єднану шкільну систему, можна було б створити окремі класи для тих, що майже не володіють українською мовою і хочуть її навчитися. Можна навіть одну школу приділити для т.зв. англомовних дітей з відповідною методикою навчання. Так як тепер ситуація виглядає, то в одній класі на 30 дітей може бути троє або п'яте-

до школи, а приїхавши до дому, в якому знаходиться школа, бачить темні, маленькі і старі кімнати і невелику кількість друзів-учнів. Тим часом, дитина все має на увазі ту величезну, модерну англійську школу, до якої вона ходить разом з іншими учнями. В цій другій школі вона бачить наймодерніше приладдя в класах, масу книжок на полицях бібліо-



## SUSTA

INVOLVE IN APRIL 15TH MOROZ CAMPAIGN

of the Ukrainian community in defense of Moroz, which, since the ending of Moroz's hunger strike has shown signs of flagging.

In a letter to all student hromadas, the SUSTA Executive Board outlined a program being pursued jointly by SUSTA and the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz, a committee under the sponsorship of SUSTA. The four point program is aimed toward April 15th, the birthday of Moroz. Its purpose is to intensify the effort of calling attention to the continued incarceration of this Ukrainian historian.

Responsibility for the project has been assigned to the Moroz Committee. The Committee has sent birthday cards addressed to Moroz to all Congressmen and Senators, with an appeal that they sign the cards and mail them to Moroz, prior to April 15th. Both the Committee and SUSTA are appealing to the Ukrainian community to continue calling and writing to their Congressmen asking that they sign and mail the cards, support the resolutions introduced on behalf of Moroz, and help insure Congressional hearings on the resolutions.

In addition, SUSTA has appealed for hromadas to secure the signatures of professors, mayors, and other prominent individuals for birthday cards to Moroz. The cards should be normal American greeting cards and should be sent air mail registered, return receipt requested from addressee only. The hromadas will take the responsibility of mailing the cards.

The last aspect of the campaign is an intense lobby effort on April 15th. Included will be actual lobbying by students in the Washington area and any other students able to come to the nation's capital that day. Even more importantly, SUSTA has called for Ukrainians everywhere to call their Congressman and two Senators sometime on April 15th, asking that they intensify their efforts to secure hearings and adoption of the Moroz resolutions. The recent success of a telephone campaign in New Jersey to Senator Case was pointed out as an example of the success of such an effort.

The SUSTA letter pointed out that the campaign can only succeed with the support of the Ukrainian community. "A call from a constituent has a greater effect than anything the Committee can do alone in Washington," stated an Executive Board member.

Further information concerning the campaign and how individuals can help, is available from SUSTA, P.O. Box 40121, Palisades Station, Washington D.C. 20016 or 202-726-8045.

(Washington) The Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America (SUSTA) has announced that a new campaign has been launched in defense of Valentyn Moroz. An appeal was issued to all students, organizations, and the entire Ukrainian community to help commemorate the 39th birthday of Valentyn Moroz by co-operating in a major effort to secure his release.

The goal of the campaign is two-fold: to provide support for Moroz in prison and to remind the Soviet authorities that Moroz has not been forgotten, but rather, efforts to secure his release have entered another, more intense stage. A secondary goal is to increase the awareness of the "March campaign" presently being conducted and to increase the activity



# Message from the President



Dear fellow erudites,

Well, we've been here for over half a year, and you're probably wondering what's going on.

SUSK has finally got the National Bulletin out in which we tried to present our ideas of what SUSK should and will attempt to accomplish in the future. The question with which we must concern ourselves at the present time is whether SUSK can go on its present state and maintain a modicum of its activity. Right now I'd like to give a brief resumé of this year's activities.

SUSK started off the year with a heavy debt of \$12,000. In our attempt to set up a fund-raising drive, we found out that the level at which we were operating at the time was sufficient only to cover our current expenses. A strict budget was set up which is presently being followed.

In October, we had 30 delegates at the KYK Congress which could be best termed as a triennial circus, with which we must deal. "Student" had a brief write-up about the KYK Congress in which it explained what happened, even though some of the more "juicier" parts were edited out. It seems that SUSK will be continuing its work in spite of KYK, rather than because of KYK.

The following comparison exemplifies the level of KYK (operations). KYK, who operates in the name of all Ukrainian Canadians, has six full-time people working in their own building with an annual budget of \$60,000. SUSK has one full-time worker operating out of a rat-hole with a budget greater than KYK's. One can conclude that either SUSK overspends or KYK under-spends. I think that the latter is the case. The KYK Congress Financial Committee failed to see the need to expand their budget in order to allow expenses for the opening of an office in Ottawa. After a motion to have KYK open an office in Ottawa was voted in, the KYK Praesidium managed to alter the motion saying that they may consider to have the office in Ottawa but that the work of this office should be carried on by the Ottawa KYK Branch. With all due respect to the Ottawa Ukrainian community, SUSK doubts whether anyone there could handle this task which demands a full-time worker and some form of financial base.

During October and November, I travelled to southern Ontario, Montreal, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Thunder Bay, visiting the campus clubs.

Our biggest problem this year is our relative inexperience in running an organization such as SUSK. Most of the members, in both the clubs as well as the National Executive have never been involved in SUSK before. So, it definitely looks like we are on our way to another three or four year cycle.

October also saw the reorganization of "Student" under a new editorial board. The first issue exposed the cultural aspect of the community. Due to lack of culturally orientated articles, the following issue(s) consisted of articles which did not stress culture. An important point to understand is that "Student" allows for a wide scope of views to be published. "Student" reflects the interests and concerns of the entire student body. Articles are printed if they are submitted. This leads us to comment on another issue. The Ukrainian community, be it on the left or the right, must realize that SUSK and "Student" are politically neutral and should not treat them as some political arm of its own. Furthermore, the Ukrainian community should not see them as heirs of some political tendency, either recent or traditional.

December was spent organising speaking tours by Terry Liddle, Phil Berrigan and Pavel Litvinov. As you all know, the tour by Terry Liddle did not take place due to some marital problems. But the tour by Phil Berrigan took place in February and can be considered successful. He received good press attention in the cities that he visited, but it is unfortunate that he could not have visited each city where we have a club. His only regret was that he could not speak informally to club members. Those of us who did meet with him were struck by his inner peace and commitment to the principle of humanity and pacifism. Pavel Litvinov spoke only in Toronto, again, because of the fact that his work-schedule was already arranged some time ago. On this last tour we co-operated with the Jewish Students Organization "Hillel", and while we can not realistically term this temporary co-operation successful in terms of working in the future, nevertheless, it did mark a very important first step for us.

January was also spent in organizing these tours, as well as completing some work that was started and had to be completed. This included writing up discussion papers on multiculturalism and Ukraine, which everybody should have received either through their club executive (in the east) or by mail (in the west), as well as information sheets on how to put together an OFY project. Furthermore, we also finished typing up a booklet on how to organize a conference or congress. This took two summers of work on organizing congresses in order to prepare this thing. For this year, and for future years, this will very much simplify the organization of congresses and conferences for us, so that those who are responsible for this won't spend two months searching for an end to catch.

In January I again visited the clubs in southern Ontario and Montréal. On this second tour, it was good to see that there was a greater commitment to work among the club executives, and that some thought was being given to the next year. I would like to say more about my visitations, but really, I think that the clubs

should discuss what was accomplished, and perhaps the best forum for this discussion is the STUDENT or the National Bulletin.

March was spent picking up loose ends around the office and preparing for the summer, submitting applications for OFY and other money-giving bodies that the government has so kindly set up. Hating to sound like a typical Ukrainian communication organization report we won't say how much there is to do around the office, but let me just say that such things as sending letters, answering letters, cleaning this place up, typing, thinking, drinking coffee, and the like involves a lot of work. But in all seriousness, this place has become a massive bureaucratic institution and few of us can hardly imagine what this involves. When we look back at the past six months we often think: what have we really accomplished? I don't know and it is hard to judge, but what is becoming evident is that we must give some serious thought as to whether we want to continue in this line of activity or not. We have our feet deep into several issues, and as the years have gone on we are getting in deeper and deeper. Unless we expand to meet these issues, we are going to end each August with some very burned out individuals, and little accomplished.

Since this is exam time, and since you are already studying for school, I don't want everybody trying to study what I'm trying to say, so with this we part and say adieu until the next issue and the next National Bulletin. We do have much to say about this venerable institution and its workings. But before we do leave, we must say this:

All of us here in this office are just as much inexperienced in this business as everybody else, so please don't treat us as super organizers. This year especially has been trying for us because of our inexperience, and just like any group of people, we soon found out who among us is prepared to devote more time and who less, who is prepared for the executive and who not. As a result, one person has left the executive, and two have traded positions. We have also felt extremely isolated from everybody else here: there is very little response from clubs as to what is happening, what they are thinking, saying or writing. In fact that response has tended to come from those who have been around for some time and whose time in the student community is almost up. Furthermore, trying to work in an organization that gives no direction, where one must search for his/her own direction is not the easiest thing in the world: for once you are responsible for yourself and there is no one to say "strunko" and "spochyn", there is no manual to follow. For some of us this has been a hurdle to overcome. We know that most of you are facing this problem as well in your own clubs. So, please bear with us, and likewise we will have to bear with ourselves. In future messages, we will specify in more detail what some of the problems are that we have faced and will continue to face, and the necessary steps that have to be taken to overcome this problem. So, keep the peace, write your exams in peace, let's hear from you, and don't forget about the summer projects that were mentioned in the National Bulletin.

Myron Spolsky

## HELP!

### "STUDENT" PRESS FUND

#### "STUDENT PRESS FUND"

We need your financial support. If you want us to continue publishing make donations to the "Student" Press Fund. Cheques should be made payable to the "Ukrainian Canadian Committee Trust" in order to receive an income tax receipt. Indicate on cheque that donation is to "Student". Mail donations to "Student", ...

### SUSK FUND

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# The Generation of The 1840's

BY MYROSLAV SHKANDRIJ

The goal of this article is to respond to point No. 1 mentioned in SUSK's Discussion Paper on Ukraine (STUDENT, January, 1975) and to characterise the generation of the 1840's.

It is really from this generation that we can begin speaking of a modern Ukrainian national consciousness (as differentiated from "nationalism" — which as an ideology of national solidarity, irrespective of regional, ethnic or social differences, received its most uncompromising expression with the generation of the 1930-40's. OUN was, after all, formed in 1929 as a response to socialists, communists, democrats, liberals and federalists who it was felt had not acted decisively enough in 1917-20.)

## The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius (1847)

The programme of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius is the best example of the level of understanding of themselves and of their situation that Ukrainian intellectuals had at the time. The "chief points" of the statute of the Brotherhood read:

1. *The spiritual and political union of the Slavs is their true destination, for which they should strive.*
2. *In this union each slavic tribe should have its autonomy and these tribes are: Southrussians, Northrussians with Byelorussians, Poles, Czechs with Slovaks, Luzatians, Illyro-Serbs with Croats, and Bulgarians.*
3. *Each tribe should have a national government and protect the full equality of its citizens with reference to social position, Christian religion and means of livelihood.*
4. *Government, legislation, right of possession and education among all Slavs should be founded upon the holy religion of Our Lord Jesus Christ.*
5. *Under such equality, education and purity of morals should serve as the condition for participation in government.*
6. *There should exist a general Slavic Congress (Sabor) with representatives from all tribes.*

The Brotherhood, attracted by such ideas as Slavic cultural unity, political solidarity, complete equality, spiritual and intellectual collaboration, saw federalism as the best solution for Slavic nations. "We began to imagine all the Slavic nations," writes Kostomarov, "united together in a Federation, similar to the Old Greek Republics or the United States of America, in a way that would mean they were all tightly linked but that each held sacred its separate autonomy." Kostomarov also felt that the society should in no way attempt anything that had even a hint of rebellion against the existing social order and the government powers. As for the language which was to become general among the Slavs in their idyllic federation, this was not finally decided among the Brothers although it was suggested that this should be Great Russian as the most widespread tongue.

Knowledge and understanding of separate ethnic groupings among the Slavs at this time was based upon

studies in Slavic linguistics, ethnography and folklore (disciplines which were then in their infancy) and notions of national or ethnic distinctiveness were much vaguer than today. For example, it took an exchange of letters between Kulish and Kostomarov to convince the latter that he was a Ukrainian and not a Russian.

Many prominent scholars thought that linguistic and cultural differences among the Slavs would disappear within a hundred years. Jungmann (an important early Czech critic and linguist) was pleased when he learned of the rumour that the Czech lands were about to be joined with Galicia and remarked that he did not mind if the official language became Polish, as long as it was Slavic.

Compulsory education and the spread of literacy was discussed by the Brotherhood as was the abolition of slavery and all oppression of the lower classes, the annulment of all social privileges (especially those of the gentry), and the repeal of capital and corporal punishment.

The Brotherhood envisaged a parliamentary democracy with two chambers in the sejm: one for senators and ministers, the other for deputies. The general sejm was to meet at least every four years. In every state there was to be a sejm which met yearly, with its own president and senate. The union was to have a regular army, but this was not to be too large as every state was to have its own militia.

The Society rejected the Jesuit maxim that "the end justifies the means" and instructed its members to act according to the truths of the gospel (in love, meekness and patience.)

Thus the Society was to respect Christian Democratic traditions and strive for a Federation of Slavic States in which justice and equality would prevail. Their sincerity mixed with a dose of naïveté is reflected in the tactics they were prepared to employ. These were to be based on personal recruitment, education and the ability to convince through argument. The whole idea of appealing to the better halves of people, to their moral consciences is well-illustrated by both petitions the society drew up (one addressed to the Poles and Russians, the other to Ukrainians and in the *Knyhy Bytyia Ukrayins'koho Narodu*.

## Knyhy Bytya: Mild Ukrainian Messianism

*Knyhy Bytya* is generally regarded as the Brotherhood's main ideological work. It is a popular historiographical tale of all mankind paying special attention to the mission of the Slavs, in particular Ukrainians.

God created the world, made man keeper of all living things on it, told him to divide into peoples and nations, worship him and be happy. But mankind forgot about God and each people in turn invented idols and tsars whom they worshipped. The tsars took the strongest and richest citizens and made them lords and the rest of the people they made slaves.

The Jews, for instance, did not listen to God but chose a king and the kings were corrupted by power: David became a wanton person, Solomon an idolator and harem-keeper. Thus even the wisest person, once he is an autocrat becomes a fool. God punished the Jews, they lost their country and were taken into captivity.

The Greeks said: "We do not want a king but want to be free and equal". The Greeks became enlightened; philosophy, science and art flourished among them. But they worshipped many gods and had many lords. "They did not have kings, but lords, which is the same as if they had many kings." And so God punished them. The Greeks fought among themselves and fell into Roman captivity.

The Roman emperor was even worse: he called himself a God.

Christ was sent to save the world from catastrophe and the kings and lords crucified him because they were afraid of hearing the truth. He taught that the ruler and officials should be chosen by the people, they must obey the law and be the first servants of all, doing only what is desired by the people.

The worst lie of all is that some should rule and become rich while others should live in slavery and be poor. Kings, lords and philosophers have warped the original doctrine of Christian freedom and adjusted it to their own needs. In order to turn people away from Christ, the kings invented modern idols like: national honour, gold, mammon, material goods (like tea, tobacco, wine and lands), business and egoism. The stomach became their God.

It has been left to the Slavs, as the least corrupted people to rescue the world from evil.

## Political Implications

The Brotherhood represented what Antonovych calls the town bourgeois and intelligentsia social strata and brought



Микола Костомаров

with them a new world-view which differed radically from the old one of military-class privileges for the Cossack leadership of the 17th and 18th centuries. The new ideology borrowed from Polish revolutionary doctrines, from Safarik and the promoters of early Pan-slavism among the Czechs and Slovaks, from the French and American Revolutions, the Decembrists and other sources.

Their main contribution to political culture in Ukraine was the idea of the sovereignty of the people — *narodnost'*. As we have seen, the origin of all power for them was not God's gift but the will of the population. The majority decided the form of government and all political questions.

This attitude was an important shift of emphasis both politically and culturally. Interest in the people, knowledge of the folk became of great importance. Earlier the ruling class had spoken other languages than the vernacular (the last Cossack *het'man*, Rozumovsky, spoke French fluently and knew Ukrainian badly) — now the native language and folklore came into prominence. The highest ideas and most noble sentiments were to be expressed in one's native tongue.

The search for old customs, ethnographic detail and the fascination with the unwritten history of popular rebellions were all part of this new emphasis and were to lay the basis for modern national feeling.

The idea of separatism, however, was the slowest to mature and the one which necessitated the most radical break with preceding generations. For about one hundred years the Ukraine had lived with the idea of being closely related to Russia. The upper classes of both nations lived with the same cultural life and had mutual interests. The gentry had its own patriotism which was linked to service to the tsar and the empire and it was necessary to break this link, to coin the phrase "zrada" — treason to the people, in modern terms "selling-out". *Het'man Rozumovsky's* son made a brilliant career as a diplomat in Vienna and became Beethoven's patron, Gogol "made it big" in St. Petersburg, but they forgot their own people. At this time the word "Malorossiya" — Little Russia, begins to take on a pejorative connotation.

Historiography had previously seen the whole sense and impetus of Slavic history in the eventual unification of Slavs in a Russian state. The new conception of historiography came to reject this: Shevchenko attacked Khmel'nitsky and the Pereyaslav treaty, glorifying Mazeppa and the peasant revolts; the tsar and the aristocracy were openly identified as foreigners and oppressors.

For Kostomarov and Kulish this break was painful and they never made it completely. Kulish for example, when



Пантелеймон Куліш

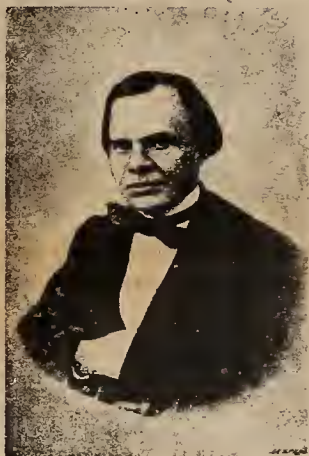


writing Chorne Rada gave his purpose as proving the necessity of a union of Russia and the Ukraine. Another member of the Brotherhood, Bilozersky, stated that: "It is clear that a separate existence for Ukraine is impossible: she would find herself between several fires, would be stifled and would suffer the painful fate that overcame the Poles. The only means that suggests itself to the mind and is agreed to by the heart for the recovery of national rights, is in the union of Slavic tribes into one family, under the observance of law, love and freedom of each individual".

Only Shevchenko made a complete break but even he was unable to free himself of links with Russian cultural life. He never broke completely with the Russian language but wrote his Journal and autobiographical stories in Russian.

For other members this break with imperial culture was even more difficult. Kostomarov put the main emphasis of the group on education and demanded the Ukrainian language in lower schools. But higher culture, he felt, was to remain in Russian. Thus the Ukrainian problem was only to be half-solved and only on a domestic, "cultural" level. In his work, *Dvi Rus'ki Narodnosti*, Kostomarov analysed the national (mainly psychological) character of the Russians and Ukrainians but his conclusion, again, was merely that they complemented one another. It was left to a later generation to draw different conclusions from this same work.

Kulish's development, especially his views on Cossack history, show a similar confusion and uncertainty — a spiritual inability to grasp the Ukrainian question as a national-political one. He saw the basic *raison d'être* of the Brotherhood in working for the emancipation of the serfs.



Василь Білозерський

**Romanticism, Christianity and Radicalism**

But the Brotherhood was something more than a group of naive political utopians. Its philosophical and moral preoccupations deserve investigation.

The traditions of Romanticism which in Western Europe were on the decline found a response in the Brotherhood. They were mixed with the radicalism of the 40's for which in Europe there were some social preconditions (the beginning of labour movements and working-class parties). These preconditions were lacking among the Slavs among whom the social motivation for radicalism was replaced by a national-political one.

Another element in their philosophy was the religious one in the form of Eastern Christianity (Greek Orthodoxy) which gave the other elements of their ideology an eschatological colouring. It encouraged their conviction that a re-building of individual and social life on the basis of Christianity was both possible and necessary.

It is obvious from their works and correspondence that Christianity played a large part in the world-view of all members of the society. This Christianity was unorthodox and particularly interesting in that it was really an attempt to fuse social radicalism with the teaching of Christ. Knyhyh Bytyia proposes that after Christ the only struggle in the world is between the obvious truth known to everyone, and, deceit and oppression. This oppression, identified with untruth, "nepravda", is personified by the tsar, the lords, the Church hierarchy and the Pope.

- The religious element fuses with the social in:
1. the eschatological mood: the coming retribution from the people, (This is especially evident in Shevchenko's poetry of the 40's).
  2. the religious philosophy of history (Knyhyh Bytyia).
  3. the picture of the nation as a spiritual unity whose path in life, as the individual's, is imitating Christ.

Under the influence of Romantic aesthetics, the Brothers developed the idea of the "national soul", and a people's poetry was seen as the highest expression of this

soul. "Nothing cleanses our soul," wrote Novrotsky, "and all our moral nature like poetry — the organ of life. I never liked people who felt nothing for poetry — I felt that such people cannot be good. Beauty is not only the luxury and pleasure of life, it carries within itself the deep roots of good and truth; without it, it would be impossible to live."

This romantic attitude helps to explain why poets, poet-scholars, ethnographers and folklorists stood at the head of the Slavic renaissance in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

**Pensilevism**

The humanist philosophy of Herder (who predicted that the Ukraine would become a second Greece) and the democratic ideas of Rousseau were especially influential in forming an idealised picture of Slavic history. Certain preconceptions were current at the time and form the background to the Brotherhood's ideas. Among these was an exaggerated idea of the communal existence of the early Slavs and of their democratic traditions (especially those of the cossacks), and the assertion that the Slavs were peaceful farmers occupying themselves with agriculture and music. As a consequence of these formulations, it had to be admitted that the Slavs were incapable of military activity and that they subjected themselves to foreign invaders. Furthermore, the Slavists of this Romantic school had to admit that the Slavs learned the military arts from the Huns, Avars and especially the Germans. Finally it had to be conceded that the Slavs were incapable of forming and maintaining a stable state: loving freedom above all else they tolerated no authority.

However, as later historians have pointed out, these opinions are false. The antithesis between German and Slav fades away when sources are examined dispassionately and it becomes evident that Slavic history parallels the history of other nations evolving out of a primitive stage of society. The Slavs enjoyed no "social idyll", nor was there a golden age when all nations lived in peace, harmony and total freedom. It would be foolish to suppose that the Slavs initially enjoyed a glorious, noble existence to turn wild and ruthless at a subsequent stage of development.

The early Slavs were a "bellicose, enterprising and cruel nation" (Masaryk) and their recorded existence is in accordance with these traits. Refinement of moral awareness only began with the great cultural upheaval caused by Christianisation.

The distorted view of the Slavs was taken from German idealist philosophy by men like Surowiecki, Safarik and Kollar and because of the prestige attached to these names, prevailed into the twentieth century.

The enthusiastic struggle for revival and cultural awakening, however, had to be founded on some philosophical outlook. The work of this generation (of the 1840's) largely provided this and laid the basis not only for Slavic scholarship, but also for the development of national consciousness.

Of the ten known members of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius some fell into the category of Christian Humanists, men preoccupied with individual human dignity (Kulish, Bilozersky, Markovych). Others

came from the peasant class and were indignant at the condition of the peasants. Shevchenko and Posyada represent this mentality and they were the most uncompromising in their denunciation of both Church and tsar. (Posyada, the young student, "thought only of the peasants", hated priests as the cause of everything evil and the contemporary regime for its "monsters-landowners." Shevchenko's anti-clericalism is, of course, proverbial; he detested even ikons and Byzantine art). Savych was fascinated by the French philosophers of the Enlightenment and even travelled to Paris to complete his "Voltairean" education.



Микола Гулак

Hulak and Bilozersky seem to have been the most interested in practical activity. They gradually moved away from drafting social and political programmes and began to plan the publication of a journal and education books for the broader masses of the people.

There were other splits in the group. Kulish and Shevchenko represented the Ukrainian mind, Kostomarov and Hulak leaned more to the Russian way of thinking. (During the group's arguments over Cossack history Shevchenko praised Mazeppa and attacked Khmel'nitsky, Posyada looked forward to a bloody uprising of the peasants, Kostomarov tended to defend Khmel'nitsky.

The main tone of Knyhyh Bytyia as of Shevchenko's poetry of the 1840's is passionately democratic and revolutionary. Because of this similarity, and the evidence of a poem like "Saul" which interprets the growth of despotism in a manner that resembles Knyhyh Bytyia very closely, and above all because of his call that the land belongs to the people, it has been suggested that Shevchenko was the inspirer, if not the author, of this pamphlet.

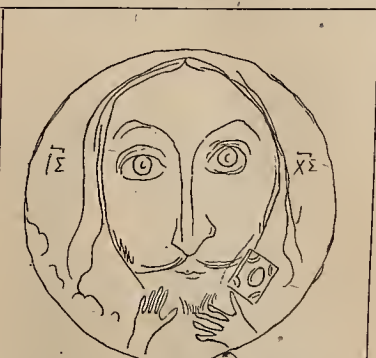
Information about the political, philosophical and aesthetic preoccupations which formed the ideas of the Brotherhood are important for an understanding of this group, as are the differences which existed between individual members.

A knowledge of the group should help to dispell some current misunderstandings about national consciousness as something static or uniform. Opposition to national oppression (in the 19th century — to colonialism) and to social injustice (in Shevchenko's day — primarily to serfdom) has always existed and is always a progressive phenomenon, but the ideological expression of this opposition has taken on different forms at different times.

The idea of nationality and especially the concept of separatism developed slowly throughout the nineteenth century and received its political expression only in the twentieth. The generation of the 1840's rejected the ideology of the Ukrainian elite in the eighteenth century, and their ideas were in turn changed or adapted by subsequent generations.

Lastly, it should be noted that in the Brotherhood we have a picture of the political thinking of various social groups: Kulish's artificial "aristocratism" of the small gentry, Kostomarov's refusal to commit himself to any masses — a fluctuation rather typical of members of the intelligentsia, Shevchenko's bias towards a peasant revolution, and so on.

The ideas of the group are valuable to us because of the light they throw upon modern national consciousness and because the Brotherhood is generally regarded as the beginning of modern Ukrainian political thought. □



This Caricature of an icon drawn by Shevchenko is accompanied by the following entry in his diary for the 27th September 1857:

"I wanted to enter the Church itself when the doors opened and out came an elegantly dressed woman no longer in the bloom of youth, who turned to the painted monstrosity and three times piously and coquettishly crossed herself and walked out hypocritical idol worshipper! And probably a... [explicitly deleted by czarist censor - ed.] And is she the only one? There are millions of insane, perverted idol-worshippers. Where are the Christian men and women? Where is the incorporeal idea of good and purity? You will sooner find it in the tavern than in these disfigured brutish temples."



## М. ХВИЛЬОВИЙ

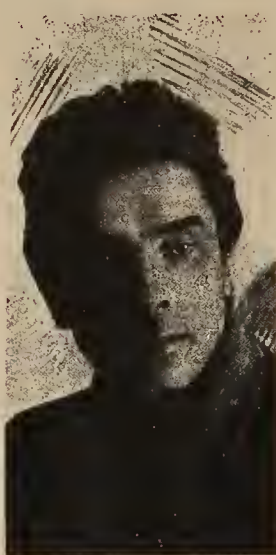
"Соціалізм без музики ніякими гарматами не встановити".  
Панло Тичина

В березні 1947 р. Джордж Оруел склав передмову до україномовного видання своєї книжки "Колгосп Твария". В цій передмові він такими словами перекладає міркування, що спонукали його до писання цього твору, за який він незадовго одобув світогу славу:

"... мені незвичайно залежало на тому, щоб люди на Заході Європи побачили радянський режим таким, яким він є. Більш-менш від 1930 р. я не бачив жодної озваки, що СРСР дійсно поступав і напружу чогось, що можна б справді назвати соціалізмом, зате я помічав дуже багато ознак, що СРСР перетворився в ієрархічне суспільство, де володарі мають не більш причин відкритися від влади, як яканебудь інша панщина князівства..."

"На мою думку, ніщо так не привело до перекурення давнього поняття соціалізму, як погляд, що Росія - соціалістична країна і що кожен вченок володарів Росії заслуговує вибачення, коли не наслідуювання."

"Тимто за останніх 10 років в мене виробилось переконання, що коли хочемо відродити соціалістичний рух, то знищення радянського міту є необхідною передумовою для цього." 1



Ніщо так не вказує на відступлення від курсу до "чогось, що можна б справді назвати соціалізмом", як трактування питання України. Боротьба за "соціалістичну національну державність"2, поступове виродження бюрократичного апарату і поступове зростання сталінського твору - характеризують 20-ті роки. В 30-их роках, згідно з сталінською "розв'язкою" національного питання, в Україні вишено і все-світновідомих учених і письменників, і сотні талантів в усіх галузях культури, а рядових інтелектуалів - тисячами.

Десятиліття, що наступило після установаження УРСР, звичайно вважають періодом національного й культурного відродження на Україні. Наплив українців до державного апарату, укріплення селянства власником Нової Економічної Політики, зріст інтелігенції та дерусифікація міст - все це змінило політичну рівновагу на користь українського народу. Євергійно приступило до політики українізації і на прогріз кількох літ, від 1923 - 29, Україна зазнала релятивно широкої, хоч почасти нестійкої, культурної незалежності.

Цей період, що зничайно називають "20-ми роками", залишив глибокий відбиток на інтелектуальному житті, а особливо в таких галузях як освіта, література й мистецтво. Провідними світочами цього часу були Шумський і Скрипник - на політичній арені, Яворський - на полі історії партії, Володусь і Гривько - в економіці, а Хвильовий - на культурному полі.

Продовження на ст. 9

## БИЛМО by МУКХАЙЛО ОСАДЧЫ

Mykhaylo Osadchy, Cataracte, Librairie Arthème Fayard, Paris, 1974. Translated from Ukrainian by Kaléna Uhryn. pp. 332, 28F.

The young Ukrainian communist Mykhaylo Osadchy first became known in the West when excerpts from his prison letters and literary works were published in *The Chornovil Papers*.<sup>1</sup> An underground publication, *The Chornovil Papers* is a compilation of documents on the 1965-66 arrests and trials in Ukraine of over twenty-five intellectuals. Osadchy fell victim to this police repression at a time when the Soviet bureaucracy adopted stricter measures to deal with dissidents, among them the Russian writers Sinyavsky and Daniel. But more significantly, massive repression among workers, students and intellectuals was carried out at a time when an upsurge of national consciousness emerged in the non-Russian republics. That this national awareness has steadily increased and heightened the internal contradictions in the Soviet Union is witnessed by the ever increasing oppositionist activity in these national republics and by a flow of samizdat literature to which Osadchy's book makes an important contribution.

A member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1962, Osadchy worked as television studio editor in Lviv (Lvov), instructor in the ideological department of the regional Party committee and as lecturer of journalism at Lviv University before his arrest in August 1965. As a prolific literary critic he contributed numerous articles to the regional and national press in Ukraine, and is author of a published book of poems, *Misyachne pole* (Moonlit Field), the entire edition of which was destroyed when he fell into disfavour with the KGB (secret police). In April 1966 he was sentenced in camera to two years for alleged anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. Shortly after his release he was, ironically enough, made to testify at the trial of his comrade, Chornovil, who had earlier astounded the court by refusing to testify at Osadchy's trial on the grounds that it was illegal. But regardless of these pressures Osadchy said nothing to compromise the defendant. After a brief interval, he was re-arrested in January 1972 in another major wave of arrests in Ukraine, and is at present serving a ten year sentence.

In a literary work never published in the Soviet Union, Osadchy expresses concern at the negative outgrowths of Soviet society, at the crippling features which have distorted the virtues embodied in the ideals of communism. Hence, the title *Cataracte* - a symbol of a diseased organism which stimulates the author to search for an alternative. This search takes the form of an autobiography which, from the chronological point of view, deals with his first arrest, preliminary investigation, trial and imprisonment.

Within this setting a whole series of social, political and philosophical problems unfolds. These are interwoven with vivid descriptions not only of the human conditions and treatment they receive but also

of the prisoners' struggle to transcend them. Intellectual pursuit ranging from private study to collective discussions and informal literary evenings helps them to overcome the oppressiveness of Yavas prison camp. Yet it is these very conditions which in turn give rise to a formulation of Osadchy's conception of the artist.

As a writer his aim is to struggle, to transcend everyday existence and to create a new ideal model of the world, a model which challenges the old one. At the risk of being rejected and misunderstood by one's contemporaries, the artist, in his view, must create new values that will enrich man's spiritual existence. In doing so, he must reject the evil in society and seek to discover the true essence of life. Dogmatism, however, has quite rightly no place in his notion of the social role of art. Only the unfettered mind, he states, whose foremost consideration is the progress of mankind, can keep art from perishing. It is no coincidence that Osadchy thinks of Herzon, a revolutionary thinker who, although banished from Russia, played a vital role in developing the nascent revolutionary movement through his emigré publication, *Kolokol* (The Bell).

*Cataracte* is doubtful, but that he succeeds in repudiating the existing one and seeks an alternative is undeniable. His most biting criticism is levelled at the stalinist bureaucracy in general, and at certain sectors of it in particular. In a brilliant satire



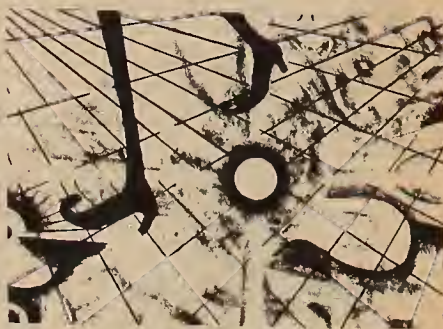
CONCENTRATION-CAMP P

of the Soviet judiciary system he portrays the absurdity of the trial ritual to which he and other comrades such as the Horyn brothers were subjected. In a classical kafkaesque situation the investigating judge admits on the one hand that none of the accusations against Osadchy are true but states that Osadchy must nevertheless confess his guilt. The entire trial proceedings amount to a mockery of justice in which the 'Comedianti', the so-called judges, perform their roles superbly as marionettes of the regime. Thus, the author's artistic and realistic account is a forceful indictment of the real enemies of socialist democracy, of the accusers and not the accused.

The question of distortion of the official ideology is further raised at the level of the Party's nationalities policy vis-à-vis minority groups and nations. The very fact that the prisoners themselves, Ukrainians being in the majority, represent no less than fifteen nationalities is some indication of the extent of active opposition to national oppression. Osadchy shows considerable sensitivity for example, to the fate of the Ingush people, deported by Stalin during the Second World War to Northern Kazakhstan. In a statement reflecting the non-Leninist cultural policy used not only against the Ingush, the prisoner Ali remarks:

"... If I knew that my language would die tomorrow, I would die today. I bore no ill will towards any peoples, nor to any other language, but a lot of harm was done to us. I can point out to you those who have committed the crime. You see them walking by us, their faces smiling, as if they haven't annihilated millions of people."

continued on page 9



"Bilmo" is supplemented by sketches from the concentration-camp of the artist A.N., who has been in Moldovian camps for over ten years.



# Микола Хвильовий

Продовження із ст. 8  
Записки про Хвильового

В літературному житті появлявся цілий ряд кон-  
куруючих груп і напрямків, що творилися здебіль-  
ша в залежності від політичних переконань членів.  
Талановитий, невгамований і контрверсійний Ми-  
кола Хвильовий був руйнівною силою кількох груп:  
Гарту, Урбіно, Вапліте, Літературного Ірмарку і  
Пролітфронту. В додатку, він був у центрі т.зв.  
"літературної дискусії", що бушувала серед ін-  
телектуалів і партійних кіл в 1925 - 23 рр.,  
і дала близько тисячу книжок, памфлетів і стат-  
тей.

Хоча про Хвильового-політика від дня його само-  
губства в 1933 р. написано багато, про Хвильово-  
го-письманика сказано дуже мало. Аналіза отже  
і деякого зрісту його творів комплікується різ-  
ними факторами. Перше, від половини 30-их ро-  
ків, у Радянському Союзі він перестав бути осо-  
бистістю. Щойно в останніх п'ятьох роках його  
ім'я зрідка згадується в критичних оглядах лі-  
тературного процесу того часу.<sup>3</sup> Подруге, до  
першодержав, через очевидні причини, неможливо  
здобути доступ.

На жаль, небагато нартісного появилося про нього  
і в українській еміграційній пресі: більшість ма-  
стерів має явно тенденційний характер і роз-  
глядає його постать і ідеї з великою неприхиль-  
ністю.

Але, незважаючи на недотягнення в дослідчій ро-  
боті, його міркування про політичне життя свого  
народу і культурний процес 20их років продовжув  
цікавити і тривожити своїх земляків до сьогод-  
нішнього дня.

continued from page 8

In his demonstrative respect for the principle of  
liberty and equality of all nations and in his own  
struggle against Russian great-power chauvinism,  
Osadchy reveals a spirit of genuine communist inter-  
nationalism.

In the last chapter entitled "Cité du Soleil" it is  
interesting that Osadchy singles out one group of  
prisoners in particular. These are the Leningrad  
Marxists, a politically organized group of engineers  
and scientific workers such as Ronkin, Khakhavaev,  
Smolkin, Yoffé and Gvenko. Their aim was to fight  
the bureaucratic élite, a struggle they initiated by  
means of disseminating an underground publication  
Kolokol which was named after Herzen's anti-tsarist  
journal of the same title. This Leningrad journal came  
out in four issues before the group, said to consist of  
about 250 members, was disbanded by the KGB, and  
its leaders sentenced to seven years imprisonment and  
three years exile.

What strikes Osadchy in particular is that they are  
"followers of Herzen, pure Marxists" whose pro-  
gramme emphasized "the ideal implementation of  
Marxist principles into practice". This account of the  
group is somewhat confusing for the reader because it  
implies, among other things, that Herzen was a  
Marxist, which he clearly was not. According to  
George Saunders' account in Samizdat, Voices of the  
Soviet as a neo-Bolshevik group known as the  
'Union of Communards' end its programme was based  
on Lenin's State and Revolution. In any case, it is  
clear that for Osadchy the contradiction and tragedy  
is that these Marxists became internal emigrés in a  
society that propounds to uphold the very principles  
for which they were incarcerated. His singling out of  
these oppositionists strongly suggests that he is  
sympathetic, if not in full agreement with their aims.  
More importantly, it reveals his intense dislike of  
ideological distortion as carried out in practice and  
his constant search for ideological purity. Unhappily,  
however, the author does not state directly what he  
feels is the way forward to attain the goals he seems  
to be in sympathy with. Yet this search for a political  
alternative, as already illustrated by Ivan Dzyuba,  
Roy Medvedev, Grigorenko and others, is one of the  
main tasks facing Soviet oppositionists today.

Osadchy's well-translated autobiographical work  
thus provides the reader with insight into a wide  
spectrum of problems facing the Soviet Union today.  
Written in a progressive spirit, it is a welcome change  
from much of the reactionary samizdat literature we  
have seen in recent years. Outstanding in literary  
merit as well, it is indeed a significant contribution to  
world literature.

Adriana Humeniuk

Ідеї, що їх висунув Хвильовий для дискусії у  
своїх памфлетах, проймають всю його творчість:  
паняна орієнтації української культури, пробле-  
ма національної вартості, надія на азійський рене-  
санс, його український месіанізм, сподівання на  
культурне та національне відродження і поборо-  
вання перед приходом Термідора. Для читанню його твор-  
ч., також треба мати на увазі появу таких тем  
як: характер Дон Кихота, Фанста, героївських  
старосвітських дідичів і Акакія Акакієвича. По-  
вторюється в його творчості тема війни з револю-  
ції, тема матерубства і моральної дегенерації,  
та загальна тема здушення бюрократизмом нового  
живучого й життєрадісного в суспільстві.

Українського читача цікавлять інші важливі  
питання, над якими зупиняєсь письменник. Сяди  
належать:  
національна проблема ("Невже я зайний чоловік -  
гонорить редактор Карк - тому, що люблю безумно  
Україну?")  
критика духу Москвитини, чужого й неприйнятого  
для України ("Московська сила - велика нелетен-  
ська, фатальна, від зарпських гостей іде")  
критичний розгляд української душі і прича без-  
державності українців ("Ми не політики. Ми по-  
ети. Нема в нас і північної хоростокості, Ми  
романтики")  
характер Лівобережної України ("Маховщина до с  
третєдїя інтелеґенції Лівобережної України")

Хвильового в загальному характеризують як "ро-  
мантика". Проза його - хвиляча, напружена,  
дело розгнужана, часто неграматична. Літера-  
тура й життя, діяльність і споглядання - все  
для нього було тісно пов'язане, і це відразило  
його від Зерова й неокієвців того часу. Він  
приймав усю, що давало потенційний матеріал для  
мистецтва, якщо цей матеріал надавалося до пере-  
топлення в тігелі авторської душі і прича без-  
державності українців. Особливо в своїй ранній прозі він був од-  
ним з тих, що захоплювався новаторством у письмен-  
стві, приділяв велику увагу оригінальності.

Врешті, треба ствердити, що в той час бува, ма-  
було, загальна філософська база, світогляд чи  
свідосприймаєння, що об'єднували багатьох письмен-  
ників і спонукували до певної форми мислову. Ю.  
Шерех вказує на деякі ознаки цього світогляду  
(любов до слова, до китти, до людини, несеетиме-  
тально пізнання трагедії, сприймаєння комплексу  
людських емоцій) і бачить боротьбу цих письменни-  
ків, загальною дислокацією, не тільки за це прот  
радянської влади, але й за існування повноцінної  
української людини.<sup>4</sup>

Переконаніє, як і Оруел, що СРСР ніяк не при-  
мо до чоросу, що можна б назвати соціалізмом,  
що мало в ньому того людського й життєствер-  
дуючого, чого вони сподівались від Революції,  
Хвильовий і його однокласники прийшли до  
висновку, що передумовою для якогось людського  
прогресу в СРСР - це знищення "радянського" міту.  
У своїх північних оповіданнях (як, наприклад, Іван  
Іванович) Хвильовий вдає до сатири багато більш  
в'дидного, саркастичного характеру.

Із-го квітня, 1933 р. Хвильовий запросив декілька  
своїх друзів до своєї квартири на сніданок. Де-  
кілька хвили після того, як зібрався гості, він  
вийшов до свого біра і застрелився. Поки товари-  
ші найшли його він уже був мертвим. На столі ле-  
жав лист, адресований до ЦК КПСР. В ньому він  
обвинувачував партію в зрадї Революції і назвав  
терор, що тоді поширювався на Україні початком  
нового Термідора. Він бажав, щоб його самогубство  
вважали як протест проти тактики партії.<sup>5</sup>

Лишив нам Микола Хвильовий свої полемічні памф-  
лети і ряд талановитих оповідань, в яких він зум-  
ів передати в поетичні зображення аромат своєї  
доби, його проза хвилює не й сьогодні бо він бо-  
ю численних ключових проблемах "радянського" сусп-  
ільства й "радянської" людини, які ще й тепер  
герозв'язані.  
М. Шкандрий

1 The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell.

ред. С. Оруел і І. Анґус. (Пенгуїн, 1970)  
Том 3. Стор. 457-8.

2 Іван Дзюба, Інтернаціоналізм чи Русифікація.  
(Сучасність, 1968) Стор. 161.

3 Див.: Історія Української Літератури. (Київ, 1970)

Том шостий; Ю. Смолич, Розповіді про Неспокій.  
Частина перша. Стор. 85-98. (Київ, 1968)

4 Ю. Шерех, Не Для Дітей. Стор. 108.

5 Н. Kostluk, Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine.  
(Нью-Йорк, 1960) Стор. 48.

## YUZYK

### BLASTS

#### BILL 22

By Julius Majerczyk  
*Editor special correspondent*

Senator Paul Yuzyk has con-  
demned Quebec's proclamation of  
'French as the province's official  
language and the federal govern-  
ment for not implementing its mul-  
ticulturalism policies.

Speaking Sunday to the men's  
club of Agudath Israel Congrega-  
tion, Mr. Yuzyk (PC—Manitoba)  
said the language legislation—Bill  
22—will help strengthen French  
culture in Quebec but weaken the  
position of French-Canadians in  
Canada in general.

"It is in the interests of French-  
Canadians to know English. Cana-  
dians move around a lot. If you  
know only French and you can't  
find a job in Quebec, you're in  
trouble," said Mr. Yuzyk, one of  
the Senate's experts on ethnic  
groups in Canada.

Stressing that Canada is a multi-  
cultural and multilingual country  
rather than bicultural and bilingual,  
Mr. Yuzyk attacked the federal  
government for not implementing  
multiculturalism policies unveiled by  
Prime Minister Trudeau in 1971.

Such policies include financial  
assistance to ethnic groups, pro-  
grams to overcome cultural barriers,  
promotion of interactions between  
Canada's ethnic groups and assis-  
tance to immigrants in acquiring at  
least one of Canada's two official  
languages.

The policies come under the su-  
pervision of Labor Minister Johan  
Munro.

"Mr. Munro is in trouble now, so  
no one is paying any attention to  
multi-culturalism."

"Having a lame duck minister  
with good intentions has put the  
multiculturalism program in sort of  
a limbo," said Mr. Yuzyk.

He added that Mr. Munro has  
been asked to appoint a deputy  
minister accessible to Canada's eth-  
nic minorities and directly respon-  
sible for the program and its bud-  
get. But that has not been done, he  
said.

A \$10-million budget earmarked  
for the multiculturalism program in  
May, 1973, has not been spent, said  
the senator.

"Multiculturalism in Canada  
seems to be at a stalemate. If  
something is not done, the represen-  
tatives of Canada's ethnic groups  
should put pressure on the govern-  
ment, at least in the matter of  
spending the \$10 million for multi-  
cultural programs."

## ZABAVA

SUN. MAY, 11 6:00 pm

ST. MARY'S

LEEDS - OSSINGTON





Mrs. Slava Stetsko, editor of *Ukrainian Review*, editor-in-chief of *Correspondence of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)* and leading light of that organization, together with Mrs. M. Poloz, representative of Ukrainian organizations in Argentina, last December visited the Chilean military Junta in Santiago to plead with General 'Butcher' Pinochet to stand up in defense of civil rights in the USSR.

That Mrs. Stetsko went to Chile after the coup is not surprising. It is an old habit of ABN to cuddle up to fascist and right-wing dictatorships, and to plead with these 'gentlemen' to defend civil rights in Ukraine. Examples: — the participation of the Spanish Minister of Information, Sanchez Bella in an ABN Conference in 1971; — the participation of General Vanuxem, former commander of French troops in Algeria in the same conference; — Chiang-kai-Chek of Formosa; — Dictator Park of South Korea; — the racist Enoch Powell, etc. etc. all 'friends' of Ukraine and eulogized in ABN literature.

But as Homin Ukraine (15.2.1975) tried to explain in an article entitled 'More Attention to Student Matters', when students criticize such actions they exhibit a lack of "independent understanding and defense of the national interest of the Ukrainian people," they fall under the influence of a "foreign system of thinking". Explain to us, Homin Ukraine how a refusal to sink into the mire of international reaction, as ABN has done, represents an 'abandoning' of Ukrainian interest. Explain to us also how attacking fascism and repressive dictatorships (no matter where they are found) is "foreign" to Ukrainian thinking.

According to Homin Ukraine and other Ukrainian newspapers of the same ilk, to work with fascist and reactionaries in some sort of defense of civil rights is good 'Ukrainian patriotism' and is entirely acceptable if one understands the need to put 'Ukraine first'.

### Ukraine First — But How?

But these people are not really so naive; they are entirely conscious of the role they play in aligning themselves with certain social and political forces, and the 'Ukraine first' policy does not absolve them from the implications of this. Thus, in Chile Mrs. Stetsko promised the Junta: "In my future appearances, I will recount the truth about your wonderful country and will make all effort to contradict the distorted picture which Marxist enemies spread throughout the world." (Svoboda, 12.2.1975) No, these 'tactical' alignments in 'aid' of Ukraine are not without implications, they are not outside of the historical movement of world forces. Furthermore, the particular force with which ABN chooses to align itself will accelerate the liberation forces in no country — least of all Ukraine.

And yet when other Ukrainians seek a principled alliance with elements which are consistently opposed to oppression, such as Phil Berrigan and others like him who defend civil rights East and West, in the USSR, Vietnam, and Latin America, well that is clearly 'foreign' thinking or even Marxist treachery!

To leave the field open for Mrs. Stetsko to recount the truth (i.e. Pinochet's truth) about Chile would be criminal negligence on the part of those Ukrainians with a real commitment to democracy and social justice. It is a duty to present the 'achievements' of General Pinochet and his gang, and to expose before the Ukrainian public exactly with whom ABN marches in defense of civil rights.

### Pinochet's Coup

Mrs. Stetsko, ABN, Homin Ukraine, Banderivtsi and Melnikivtsi, all love democracy and 'constitutional' government. But this did not stop them from supporting the coup.

The Popular Unity government headed by President Salvador Allende came to power through democratic elections in September 1970. Allende won 36 per cent of the popular vote, the closest runner-up, Alessandri, received 34 per cent of the vote.



Pinochet: 'friend' of political prisoners in the USSR.

On coming to power, the Allende government initiated a programme of sorely needed social and economic reform. If a criticism of the Allende government is to be made, it would have to be that the reforms undertaken did not go far enough. The reforms far from alienating the mass of the working population, increased the government's popularity. The government saw its electoral percentage increase to 44 per cent in the legislative elections of March 1973.

It was this development that frightened the Chilean reactionaries. As *Le Monde* (29.9.1973) pointed out: "After the elections of



Mrs. Stetsko (Svoboda — 12.2.1975).

"My conclusion is this: there is no visible terror in Chile"

March, a legal coup d'état was no longer possible since the two thirds majority required to achieve the constitutional impeachment of the President could not be reached. The Right then understood that the electoral way was exhausted and that the way which remained was that of force." This has been confirmed by one of the main promoters of the coup, the Air Force General Gustavo Leigh, who told the correspondent in Chile of the *Corriere della Sera* (B.11.1973) that "we began preparations for the overthrow of Allende in March 1973, immediately after the legislative elections."

This of course is not an isolated account. Western newspapers report dozens and dozens of horrifying reports of the savagery of the repression.

For over a year now, Chile has been ruled by a military junta headed by General Pinochet. This has been a year filled with massacres, summary executions, firing squads, beatings, tortures, massive arrests, disappearances, the burning of books, and curfews. Even the skeptics and cynics have to bow before the facts: 30,000 executed, 50,000 imprisoned. Those who have gone underground to flee this hell must be counted in tens of thousands. The workers who have lost their jobs because they are suspected of anti-government views and have been thrown into poverty, or even on the verge of starvation, must be counted in the hundreds of thousands.

If a criticism of Allende is to be made, it would also have to be that Allende's illusions about the 'neutrality' of the army prevented him and his government from taking measures (e.g. dismissing leading reactionary officers, creation of popular militias etc.) to ensure a real defense of the people's politi-

cal, social and economic conquests.

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean army carried out the *coup d'état* which it was planning for months. President Salvador Allende died resisting the fascist troops in the Moneda Palace, the Presidential residence. A period of savage repression opened up.

Here is how the correspondent of *Nawsweek* (a not-so left-wing magazine) described some events immediately following the coup:

"Last week, I slipped through a side door into the Santiago city morgue, flashing my junta press pass with all the impudent authority of a high official. One hundred and fifty dead bodies were laid out on the ground floor, awaiting identification by family members. Upstairs, I passed through a swing door and here in a dimly lit corridor lay at least fifty more bodies, squeezed one against another, their heads propped up against the wall. They were all naked.

Most had been shot at close range under the chin. Some had been machine-gunned in the body. Their chests had been split open and swen together grotesquely in what presumably had been a pro forma autopsy. They were all young and, judging from the roughness of their hands, all from the working class. A couple of them were girls, distinguishable among the massed bodies only by the curves of their breasts. Most of their heads had been crushed. I remained for perhaps two minutes at most, then left.

Workers at the morgue have been warned that they will be court-martialed and shot if they reveal what is going on there. But the women who go in to look at the bodies say there are between 100 and 150 on the ground floor everyday. And I was able to obtain an official body-count from the daughter of a member of its staff: by the fourteenth day following the coup she said, the morgue had received and processed 2796 corpses." (quoted in *The Times*, 5.10.1973)



Peasants expropriate large estates in 1973 below that scared the reactionaries in such initiatives that the Coup was carried



# at, Who Needs Enemies...?"

'But They Killed Communists'

Over a year has passed, but the repression continues.

In the concentration camps, Chacabuco, Dawson, etc. prisoners, some of whom are serving 30 year sentences, are subject to torture, drug treatments, and the whole gamut of humiliations.

The military pursue the hunt of the organized opposition. Only recently, Miguel Enriquez, general secretary of the MIR was shot while heroically resisting arrest. Fighting at his side was his companion Carmen Castillo who was seven months pregnant. After months in prison, she was released as a result of an international campaign on her behalf. Testifying to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (the same Foundation that recently initiated an international campaign in defense of Ukrainian and Russian political prisoners, among them Moroz), Carmen spoke of the sadistic tortures used against women political prisoners, tortures of children in front of parents to force confessions from the parents, etc.

Armoured vehicles patrol working class areas. Shots are fired every night, and vehicles screeching through the streets after midnight, carrying out random searches to remind the working population of 'who is boss'. Periodically the military surround a *poblacion* (poor neighbourhood) and arrest a thousand or two thousand persons, and far from all are later released. Recently the military invaded the *poblacion* called La Victoria, in the commune of San Miguel, south of Santiago, and indiscriminantly arrested about a thousand men, from 15 years old on up, and shipped them to the notorious concentration camp on the coast, Tejas Verdes. Only 200 returned home, and most of these, according to Swedish Embassy officials, had been maimed by 'drug' treatment.

Trade-union, political, and democratic rights continue to be denied. Judges still refuse to grant habeas corpus when someone disappears into the hands of the executioners of the military intelligence services. Trials are a farce, and lawyers who are too serious in defending their clients, end up in the prisoners' dock themselves.



Fresh graves after the Coup.

## On the Economic Front

This reactionary violence, of a brutality unprecedented in Latin America, is but one aspect of the Junta's campaign to bring the working class population to submission: to pound the working population into an obedient 'factor' of production. The other aspect is the Junta's economic policy.

The right-wing Ukrainian press defend the Chile *coup d'etat* with arguments they picked up in non-Ukrainian reactionary newspapers. One of the favourite arguments in defense of the Junta is that the military had to take power to 'save Chile from economic chaos'. Let us summarize some of the *hard facts* of the Junta's economic policy.

o The Junta itself admits that there are now 700,000 unemployed in Chile, out of an active population of 3 million, that is, around 20 per cent of the active population. And what was the record of the Allende government? Despite an intensive economic blockade by the USA, despite attempts by the Chilean right-wing to disorganize the economy, the Allende government reduced unemployment to 3.8 per cent by 1971 — one year after begin in office. (To understand this achievement one has to compare the figure of 3.8 per cent unemployment with the 6.0 per cent unemployment that existed in Chile during the 1960's.)

o Inflation under the Junta according to its own figures (Le Monde 11.3.1975) rose between September 1973 and September 1974 by 570 per cent. (Between 1965-70, inflation was on the average 26.5 per cent. The Allende government, that 'dis-organizer' of the economy, reduced inflation in 1971 to 22 per cent, and this despite the obstacles mentioned above.)

● Again according to statistics released by the Junta, between September 1973 and September 1974, the price of bread rose by 2100 per cent. The price of sugar in the same period rose by 2300 per cent, milk 1600 per cent, rice 3400 per cent.

● While under Allende, workers received a 20-30 per cent increase in real wages; under the Junta, the purchasing power of those employed in all professions dropped on the average by 45 per cent between September 1973-September 1974. This is an official figure, and it does not take into account the unemployed. To give a more graphic example of the situation in Chile today, the minimum monthly wage in Chile today is equivalent to 50 bus tickets and 35 kilos of bread! For the 700,000 unemployed in Chile who do not even earn the minimum wage, and who are without any form of unemployment benefit, the situation is desperate.

The Junta's economic policy has affected not just the mass of the working class, but also the petty bourgeoisie and even certain layers of the bourgeoisie. The decline in the buying power of a major part of the population, the successive devaluations of the escudo (the currency) and the consequent increase in the price of imported goods, the rise in interest rates, and so on, have bankrupted a large number of merchants and small and middle-size industries. Public employees and white-collar and supervisory workers in the private sector have been fired by the thousands, and the wages of those who can still work are ridiculous.

Even many of those who supported the Junta in the initial stages have become bitterly disillusioned with the military. This is especially true of large sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie. The social basis of the Junta's support in Chile has sunk to an all-time low. But it must be a source of satisfaction (albeit a very, very small source of satisfaction) to Pinochet, to know that he has 'friends' abroad.

When pressed, the reactionaries in the Ukrainian community will absolve the Junta by claiming, 'after all, they struggled against Communism'.

True enough, Pinochet killed Communists, and socialists of all kinds, and Christians, and democrats and ordinary workers and peasants.

But we must ask our Ukrainian reactionaries, why do millions of people outside the Soviet Union freely support the Communist Party? Why does the Communist Party in Italy have well over 1 million members? And in France regularly captures 25 per cent of the popular vote in elections?

Millions of men and women around the world belong to the Communist Party because they think that the C.P. defends and struggles for their interests. Many, although by far not all, support the Soviet Union, even in its internal policy. What should be our approach to these millions?

Do we support right-wing dictatorships? Fascist governments, because they are anti-Communist? Absolutely not! To do that is to precisely reinforce the attitude amongst these millions that all those who oppose the USSR, and the C.P. are fascists of one sort or another. Here ABN and similar groups help the world Stalinist movement in maintaining its hegemony over these millions.

Our task is to be *exemplary* in our denunciation of repressive regimes around the world. To be *exemplary* in our defense of social and economic justice. **OUR TASK IS TO POINT OUT THAT THE STALINISTS BETRAY THESE IDEALS TIME AND TIME OVER AGAIN, AND NOT TO BETRAY THESE IDEALS OURSELVES.**

by Marina Panchyshin



ates in 1972. It was such initiatives, from ionaries in Chile. It was to put an end to was carried out.



Stadium transformed into concentration camp.



# UKRAINIAN COURSES at CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES

## 1975 — 1976 Session

### YORK UNIVERSITY

Courses offered in the field of Ukrainian at York University

#### AS/UKL 041 Elementary Ukrainian

Basic Ukrainian forms and structures for absolute beginners. Intensive written and oral drills, conversation, and laboratory sessions. Films, slides and elementary reading provide cultural background.

#### AS/UKL 141 Intermediate Ukrainian

Systematic review of basic structures by means of dialogues and oral and written drills. Films, slides, recording, and periodicals form the basis for conversation about contemporary Ukrainian culture.

#### AS/UKR 250 Ukrainian Literature, Culture and Society

This course is open to all students. Lectures, discussions, readings, written work and tests will all be in English. Knowledge of a language other than English or French is not required. This course is intended for anyone interested in the culture of Ukraine. We will focus on topics such as: the origin of the Ukrainians and other Slavs, ritual and folklore of the pagan and Christian periods, the medieval period of Kiev Rus', the Cossacks, Romanticism and National rebirth, the dissident movement.

Prof. R.B. Pikulyk, Tel. 667-2574. Three hours. M 2-3; W 2-4.

Prof. R.B. Pikulyk, Tel. 667-2574. Three hours. Monday 2-3; Wednesday 2-4.

### UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

session 1975-76:

#### Undergraduate:

Elementary Ukrainian  
Intermediate Ukrainian  
Advanced Ukrainian

Studies in the Ukrainian Novel (Prof. G. Luckyj)

#### Graduate:

Studies in Soviet Ukrainian Literature (Prof. Luckyj)  
Studies in Contemporary Ukrainian Literature (Prof. Struk)

On the undergraduate level Ukrainian is now a minor (three language courses and four literature courses as well as a culture course are offered over the period of four years).

On the graduate level Ukrainian is a Ph.D. major (four graduate seminars are offered in two years).

#### FOR FURTHER INFORMATION WRITE TO:

Prof. George Luckyj  
Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures  
University of Toronto  
Toronto, Ontario  
M5S 1A1

### QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Introductory Ukrainian at Queen's University

The Department of Russian Language and Literature at Queen's University at Kingston is considering the introduction of a basic language course in Modern Ukrainian during the 1975-76 academic year. If offered, **INTRODUCTORY UKRAINIAN** would constitute a full credit course in the Faculty of Arts and Science.

If you are presently a student at Queen's, or if you plan to enrol at Queen's and would like to include **INTRODUCTORY UKRAINIAN** in your academic program for 1975-76, please write to:

Professor A.C. Wright  
Head — Department of Russian  
Queen's University,  
Kingston, Ontario  
K7L 3N6

### McMASTER UNIVERSITY

#### Ukrainian 2A6

Offered in summer, 1975 and in alternate years.

Prerequisite: Ukrainian 106, or permission of the Department.

This is a language course for those who have acquired the basic knowledge of Ukrainian.

One hour a week will be devoted to a review of basic grammar and thereafter to the study of syntax and phraseology. The main emphasis will be, however, on the practical rather than the theoretical acquisition of Ukrainian.

Two classes per week will be allotted to readings and translations of selected texts from the works of contemporary Ukrainian authors.

The language laboratory classes (one per week) are designed to enhance the student's proficiency in conversational Ukrainian.

With the permission of the Department, Year I students may include this course in their first-year course programme.

May 7-Aug. 6, Monday & Wednesday, 6:15 p.m.

#### 106 Introduction to Ukrainian Mr. Smyrniw

Basic elements of Ukrainian grammar, elementary composition, selected prose readings.

4 hrs. (including language lab.); first and second terms.

Prerequisite: Open.

Offered in 1976-77 and in alternate years.

#### 2A6 Intermediate Ukrainian Mr. Smyrniw

Review of grammar, oral practice, and compositions; readings in the original from representative authors.

3 hrs. (including language lab.); first and second terms.

Prerequisite: Ukrainian 106, or permission of the Department.

Not available to students who have standing in Ukrainian 1B6.

Offered in 1977-78 and alternate years.

Formerly Ukrainian 1B6

#### FOR FURTHER INFORMATION WRITE TO:

Dr. W. Smyrniw  
Department of Russian  
McMaster University  
Hamilton, Ontario  
L8S 4M2

If you can't mail in your application by then call us at (416) 967-0640.

Submit: Name, Address, Telephone, the Ukrainian club of which you are a member, date of birth, school in attendance, year completed, major field of study, and other subjects taken in university or post-secondary school. List any positions or activities in community organizations not necessarily Ukrainian, or any summer work as community organizers. List any qualifications you feel are essential to your successful work on one of the listed projects. Mark your preferences for the projects on a scale of 1-B (most preferred is 1, least is B).

### UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

#### Advanced Ukrainian 426

This course is designed primarily for students who have already acquired some knowledge of Ukrainian grammar. It consists of the review of parts of speech and gradual preparation for composition. Some short stories will be read in class.

Instructor: Prof. V. Revutsky, Year: 1975-76.

For further information write to:

V. Revutsky  
University of British Columbia  
Department of Slavonic Studies  
2075 Wesbrook Place  
Vancouver, B.C.  
6VT 1W5

### UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Ukrainian Courses offered at the University of Calgary

#### JUNIOR COURSES

##### Ukrainian 101 Beginner's Ukrainian I

Gives a working knowledge of the Ukrainian language. A study of the essentials of grammar, reading and drill on useful expressions.

##### Ukrainian 103 Beginner's Ukrainian II

A continuation of Ukrainian 101.

Prerequisite: Ukrainian 101

#### SENIOR COURSES

##### Ukrainian 301 Second-year University Ukrainian I

Advanced grammar and oral practice based on conversational texts.

Prerequisite: Ukrainian 103, or consent of the Department.

Offered in the evening only.

##### Ukrainian 303 Second-year University Ukrainian II

A continuation of Ukrainian 301.

Prerequisite: Ukrainian 301

Offered in the evening only.

##### Ukrainian 321 Ukrainian Civilization

Historical development and contemporary perspectives of Ukrainian civilization; its place in the European setting. Lectures and reading material in English.

##### Ukrainian 351 Survey of Ukrainian Literature and Culture

A survey course of Ukrainian Literature and culture from the Medieval Period of the nineteenth century with emphasis on Shevchenko.

Prerequisite: Ukrainian 303 or consent of the Department.

##### Ukrainian 353 Survey of Ukrainian Literature and Culture

A survey course of Ukrainian Literature and Culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, with emphasis on Franko and Ukrayinka.

Prerequisite: Ukrainian 303, or consent of the Department.

Ukrainian 321 — Dr. A. Malycky  
All others — Dr. O. Prokopiw

#### FOR FURTHER INFORMATION WRITE TO:

Dr. O. Prokopiw  
The University of Calgary  
2920 — 24th Avenue N.W.  
Calgary, Alberta  
T2N 1N4

You are not required to have any previous experience in the Ukrainian community or in any community organizing. All we want is your willingness to learn and to take part. An overriding aim of all SUSK projects is their educational value to the individual participants. ....

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which is scheduled to take place on the Thanksgiving Day Weekend (1975). — positions for 5 students.

2) SUSK Congress organizers and organizers of the Symposium on the State of the Ukrainian Canadian Community: the SUSK Congress and the Symposium will be taking place in Edmonton in the week preceding the Labour Day weekend and during the Labour Day weekend. At this year's SUSK Congress a discussion on SUSK and its role in the Ukrainian Canadian community will take place. The aim of the Symposium is to examine the present state of our community from all possible angles, and to present alternatives for future paths of development. — positions for 4 students.

3) Government Contact: this summer SUSK intends to re-establish tight contacts with the federal Government, primarily on the issues of multiculturalism and immigration. At the present time SUSK can be considered as the only Ukrainian Canadian organization which strives to make and maintain contacts with the government. — positions for 4 students.

Salaries for the first five listed projects are \$90 per week. The next two projects will pay between \$100 and \$110 per week. The last project will pay \$100 per week. To apply, fill out the form below, and mail to: SUSK — Summer Projects, Suite 4, 394 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1X4.



UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA			UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN			UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO		
COURSE	TITLE	INSTRUCTOR	Courses offered in the field of Ukrainian at University of Saskatchewan			Courses offered in the field of Ukrainian at University of Waterloo		
Ukrainian 100	Beginners' Ukrainian	Co-ordinator: T. Carlton	Ukrainian 101 <u>Elementary Ukrainian</u>	The class is designed to enable students to acquire fluency in speaking Ukrainian. Modern audio-visual techniques ensure a mastery of the grammatical structure of Ukrainian and lead to a high degree of competence in reading and writing the language.		Ukrainian 101/102 <u>Beginner's Ukrainian</u>	Basic grammar, reading, oral practice in Language Laboratory, translation, and writing exercises.	
Ukrainian 200	First Year University Ukrainian	Co-ordinator: T. Carlton	Ukrainian 201 <u>Intermediate Ukrainian</u>	This class is designed for students having some previous knowledge of Ukrainian. It will include advanced elements of grammar, readings of selected texts from classical and modern Ukrainian literature, elementary composition and oral practice supplemented by language laboratory work in conversational Ukrainian.		Ukrainian 151/152 <u>First Year Ukrainian</u>	For students with some knowledge of spoken Ukrainian but no previous formal training. The main objective is to achieve correct language usage, oral and written. The course emphasizes: grammar, syntax, reading of texts from literature and press, and the cultural background of the Ukrainian language and idiom.	
Ukrainian 201	Practical Study of the Ukrainian Language	TBA	Ukrainian 210 <u>Advanced Ukrainian</u>	A thorough review of Ukrainian grammar. Reading of selected texts from Ukrainian classical and contemporary literature; Ukrainian composition and translation assignments. Special emphasis on speaking Ukrainian.		Ukrainian 201/202 <u>Intermediate Ukrainian</u>	This course is conducted in Ukrainian and provides intensive practice in grammar, composition, and conversation.	
Ukrainian 302	Practical Study of the Ukrainian Language	TBA	Ukrainian 303 <u>Shevchenko</u>	A general class in Shevchenko, including a detailed analysis of his important works.		Ukrainian 301 <u>Introduction to Ukrainian Literature</u>	Reading and critical interpretation of texts chosen from the works of Skovoroda, Kotliarevsky, Shevchenko, Franko, L. Ukrainka and others.	
Ukrainian 303	Second Year Ukrainian I	T. Carlton	Ukrainian 305 <u>Ukrainian Poetry</u>	Based on the original selections translated into English by C.H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell.		Ukrainian 302 <u>A Critical Survey of Literary Movements in 20th Century Ukrainian Literature</u>	With special attention to the rise of the new angry generation of poets of the Sixties (W. Symonenko, L. Kostenko, V. Korotych, and others).	
Ukrainian 304	Second Year Ukrainian II	T. Carlton		For further information write to: Or. C.H. Andrusyshen Department of Slavic Studies 223 S.T.M. University of Saskatchewan Saskatoon, Saskatchewan		Ukrainian 401 <u>Introduction to Ukrainian Literature</u>	Three hours a week. Fall term.	
Ukrainian 320	Masterpieces of Ukrainian Literature	O. Zujewskij				Ukrainian 402 <u>A Critical Survey of Literary Movements in 20th Century Ukrainian Literature</u>	Three hours a week. Winter term.	
Ukrainian 331	Intermediate Ukrainian Language and Literature I	8. Medwidsky	<b>McGILL UNIVERSITY</b>			Ukrainian 403 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Taras Shevchenko and his Time. Kharkov and Kiev as literary centers; the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius; reading and critical interpretation of prescribed prose, drama, and poetry (Shevchenko, Kostomarov, Kulish, etc.).	
Ukrainian 332	Intermediate Ukrainian Language and Literature II	8. Medwidsky	Courses offered 1975-76			Ukrainian 404 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	The literary revival in Western Ukraine. A critical study of the literary movement with special emphasis on the major authors (Shashkevych, Wahylevych, Kolovats'ky and others).	
Ukrainian 401	Third Year Ukrainian I	8. Medwidsky	141-2400 <u>Introduction to Ukrainian Studies</u>	6 credits; Prerequisite: Permission of the Department.		Ukrainian 405 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 402	Third Year Ukrainian II	8. Medwidsky	141-3400 <u>Intermediate Ukrainian Studies</u>	An introduction to the study of Ukrainian civilization with emphasis on the position of Ukrainian as an Eastern Slavic language with an ancient culture, on the literature of the 19th and 20th centuries, and on the role of the Ukrainian writer in his society.		Ukrainian 406 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 403	Practical Study of the Ukrainian Language	TBA		Instructor: Dr. Roman Olynyk. Monday, Wednesday — 11 to 12 noon.		Ukrainian 407 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 411	Ukrainian Literature to 1880	TBA		For further information, write to: Dr. John Graer Nicholson Professor of Russian Chairman of the Department McGill University P.O. Box 6070 Montreal 101, Quebec		Ukrainian 408 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 412	Ukrainian Literature from 1880 to the 1920's	TBA				Ukrainian 409 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 451	Cultural History of the Ukrainian Language	8. Medwidsky				Ukrainian 410 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 453	Ukrainian Phonetics	T. Carlton				Ukrainian 411 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 454	Ukrainian Morphology and Syntax	B. Medwidsky				Ukrainian 412 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 465	Shevchenko	O. Zujewskij				Ukrainian 413 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 466	Ukrainka	O. Zujewskij				Ukrainian 414 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 467	Franko	O. Zujewskij				Ukrainian 415 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 481	Soviet Ukrainian Literature	O. Zujewskij				Ukrainian 416 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 482	Ukrainian Emigre Literature	O. Zujewskij				Ukrainian 417 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 511	The Structure of Ukrainian I					Ukrainian 418 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 512	The Structure of Ukrainian II					Ukrainian 419 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 616	Medieval Ukrainian Literature					Ukrainian 420 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 641	Studies in Ukrainian Poetry					Ukrainian 421 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 642	Studies in Ukrainian Drama					Ukrainian 422 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 643	Studies in the Soviet Ukrainian Novel					Ukrainian 423 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 650	Topics in Ukrainian Literature					Ukrainian 424 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 696	Studies in Individual Authors					Ukrainian 425 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	
Ukrainian 699	Conference Course					Ukrainian 426 <u>Ukrainian Romanticism</u>	Prerequisite: Ukrainian 401 or admission by consent of the instructor.	

З Воскресінням Христовим вітаємо наших співробітників, читачів, членів Союзу Українського Студентства, Управу Центрального Союзу Українського Студентства, та членів всіх українських студентських союзів, проводячи та членів української канадської організації та установ і редакції української канадської преси та всю українську канадську спільноту.

Вітаємо всі українські установи, організації та пресу поза Канадою. Вітаємо та підтримуємо національні та соціальні рухи спротиву, які змагаються проти ярма імперіалізму, колоніалізму та тоталітарності. Зокрема, вітаємо провідників соціально-національного руху в Україні.

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## IVAN HEL's Last Statement

(Press release received from SIS, March 1975. Edited by Bohdan Yesen.)

HEL'SINKI (SIS) — Ukrainian political prisoner Ivan Hel staged a hunger strike in October 1974 in the hard-labor camp in the Mordovian ASSR where he is serving a ten-year term for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." According to information received here from dissident sources in Ukraine, Hel abstained from food from October 16 to October 30, 1974, in order to dramatize four demands he had sent to Soviet authorities. He had demanded that: (1) the government define the status of political prisoners, (2) the International Red Cross be permitted to aid Soviet political prisoners, (3) the medical services of the camps be taken out of the jurisdiction of the MVD, and (4) he be allowed to marry the woman who bore his child.

Ivan Hel, student, electrical technician, and active participant in the Ukrainian cultural rebirth of the 1960's, was arrested in January 1972, during the massive KGB campaign against Ukrainian intellectuals. At the conclusion of his August 1972 trial, which saw him sentenced to five years' special-regime and five years' strict-regime labor camps and five years' exile, he delivered a statement containing his credo. This "Last Statement" circulated widely in the Ukrainian "samvydav." A copy of the text recently reached the West and is given in full below:

At one definite moment in the history of our people, a complex and important question arose: How to be? The Ukrainian people definitively answered this question more than half a century ago. In their view the answer was principled and final. Hence, the attempts to accuse me of anti-Soviet activity with the intent of undermining socialist society are fictitious and totally without foundation. All of my activities, for which today I sit in the prisoner's dock, were directed at strengthening and improving that system in which I grew up and formed my views. The ideals of this system form the basis of my social outlook. The crux of the matter is not in anti-Soviet activity, none of which actually took place, and this is well known to all concerned.

Our tragedy is elsewhere.

The life of each nation is a natural historical process and no nation has the moral and, all the more so, legal right to alter it or influence its course, or to force upon another its own ideas, culture, or psychology, under the assumption that they represent the absolute truths. But from the time of annexation to Russia, Ukraine keeps losing, with every passing year, more and more of its autonomy and national identity, and its culture declines. After each attempt at liberation, a wave

of destruction and repression followed. Those that did not perish were settled in the North. Cities were built upon their bones, while others, their denationalized descendants, were driven as janissaries to conduct new pogroms in Ukraine. In the 30's, Ukraine lost millions of people and practically all of its most talented intelligentsia as a result of the famine and Stalinist terror. A policy of assimilation is being artificially implemented. A migration of the population is taking place on a truly catastrophic scale.

When in 1952, according to official statistics alone, there were 7 million Russians living on Ukrainian territory, with the full range of institutions of national life (educational institutes, press, radio, theater, publishing houses) at their disposal, by 1970, according to those same sources, there were already 9 million of them. During this same period, millions of Ukrainians were forced to leave Ukraine for one reason or another, and none of them have even one-thousandth of the possibilities and advantages for preserving their national identity that the Russians have. For example, Ukrainians have their own schools in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, but no such schools exist in Russia. This is only a small illustration of a well-developed plan. At this rate of ethnic genocide, what does the future hold for Ukraine? Who shall we become and how many of us will be left in the near future? The dominating postulates of Russia always were the imperial state and the Russification of nationalities. And today, expansionist chauvinism has once again been accepted as the official religion, while morality, the commandments of Christ, and the concepts of freedom and equality developed by humanity over the centuries, have been rejected. Especially today the questions "how to be?" and "to be or not to be?" take on a tragic and frightening sound for Ukraine.

One proof of this is the present trial, the consequences of which I am prepared to accept as a judgement of my qualities as a human being and a citizen.

But you have neither a legal nor a moral right to try me. The highest law and court for me are God and Ukraine, and my indestructible, unsoiled honor. I am a son of Ukraine and in my heart I will carry that which is holiest — the fate of my people, their pain, fears, and suffering. I regret only that I had done so little to actualize these ideas more deeply and widely, to bring them out into the open all over Ukraine, and, through the efforts of the whole nation, to bring them to

fruition.

But nevertheless, I firmly believe that I am here not in vain; that neither iron bars, nor concentration camps, nor even death can kill these ideas. They are eternal, just as eternal and indomitable are my people.

That is why every honest person who considers himself a Ukrainian should stand up and resolutely say: No, we want to and we shall live as Ukrainians, with our ways of thinking, our language and our national culture. This must be done today, because tomorrow may be too late, because the tomorrow of our nation, whose culture goes back two millennia, may become the ashes of the dead, and its language the language of the archives, as Latin became the language of the ancients.

It is true that such words lead one to the prisoner's dock and earn the label — "state criminal." But we know that Russia is adept at handing out labels. In their time, not only Shevchenko, Grabovsky, and Chernyshevsky wore labels, but also hundreds of thousands of fighters from various nations which Russia ruled so cruelly and whose aspirations of freedom she choked. Their suffering was unequalled. . . . Our philosophy and culture have become the hopeful foundation on which relations among nations should be built. Such ideas nourish us today; humanism, democracy, and equality among nations — these are our flag and the goal of our lives.

It was democracy and humanism that became the voice of progressive people during the political thaw that resulted from progress in science and technology and from the partial uncovering of Stalin's criminal activities. These facts were instrumental in the appearance of the Ukrainian renaissance of the 1960's.

I emphasize again that long-term factors in national life and not the revision of the governmental order were responsible for the unrest among these intellectuals.

Born as the sum total of that life, it will last and spread. And the widespread campaign that is being waged at this time against the so-called Ukrainian nationalism only serves to once more underline the validity of our position. All of this shows that Ukraine is deeply troubled by the nationality question, that this problem is not solved and that it is far from a solution, especially an objective one. And the numerous repressive measures testify to the fact that increasing numbers of people began to defend their national and civil rights, that they refused to live as in the past.

### Ганна Черінь

#### СВІТЛІЙ ПАМ'ЯТІ АЛЛИ ГОРСЬКОЇ

Вже п'ятий рік минає з дня смерті талановитої мисткині й відважної патріотки, незрадливої дочки України — Горської. Ще, здається, недавно ми були вражені в саме серце загадковою, неймовірно трагедією, що урвала в розквіті її творче життя — а вже скоро буде п'ять літ як це сталося. Алла вже увійшла в історію мистецтва України і, в неменшій мірі, в історію наших визвольних змагань.

Алла Олександрівна Горська народилась 18 вересня 1929 в зросійщеній родині. Фахову освіту вона здобула в Київській Художній Інституті. Щиро полюбивши Київ і познайомившись із студентами та молодими інтелігентами всіх і різноманітних ділянок, Алла завзято включилась у творчий похід шестидесятників за національне відродження України.

Доскільки про революційний виступ проти совєтської влади не могло бути й мови (про це дбати треба було п'ятдесят літ тому, — тоді така змога була), молодь вирішила, щоб оминити самобичство, боротись легальним шляхом: добиватись прав, задекларованих конституцією СРСР і УРСР, боротись за забезпечення й розвиток української мови, літератури, мистецтва, а також за підвищення економічного потенціалу України та її матеріального рівня. Бо коли людина має досить хліба, вона починає думати і про інші речі. Коли вона голодує, то змушена думати тільки про хліб, як то було за Сталіна.

Алла Горська приєдналась до руху шестидесятників і перейшла на українську мову. В 1972 році вона організувала Клуб Творчої Молоді, що мав своїм завданням об'єднати всіх мистців і молоду інтелігенцію, зби-

ратись для обговорення сучасних подій, влаштувати літературні вечори й мистецькі виставки, національні хори й музичні ансамблі, відроджувати українські традиції й звичаї, допомагати мистцям, в тім числі й репресованим, збирати для них грошові фонди й добиватись їх звільнення та реабілітації. Алла Горська була однією з тих, що розповсюджувала видавня Самвидаву і збирала матеріали, що їх не можна було друкувати під Совєтами.

В шестидесятих роках якраз настав короткий період, коли могли прорости ці творчі паростки. Тоді поехала за собою українську молодь найталановитіша поетеса нових часів — Ліна Костенко, тоді заграла кров у жилах не одного українського мистця. В одних вона побродила й заспокоїлась у стані слабенького кислуватого вищя, в інших була закоркована на певний час, поки не вибухне колись знов, а декому довелось полатитися життям. "Усім нам смерть судилася зарання", сказав один із борців за відродження, поет Василь Стус. Це він казав про тих, що не змогли навіть удавано відмовитись від свого кредо, не змогли ні на крок відступити від обраного шляху, так як Алла Горська.

Малярям припала честь показати відродження наочно, так, щоб кожний, тількино прибувши в Україну, вже його побачив. Тисячі туристів бачать як змінилися її лице. Тепер в містах і селах України побудовані нові урядові й житлові приміщення, новітні палаци, розплановані з розумом і омаком. І скрізь, назовні й усередині, милують око картини, мозаїки, декоративні панно, скульптури, фрески. Грають веселюго питоми народному українському мистецтву фарби, оживляють давні теми вітчизняної мітології, мотиви народних пі-





сень і легенд, постаті народних героїв, вишиті слова Шевченка, Лесі Українки, Франка...

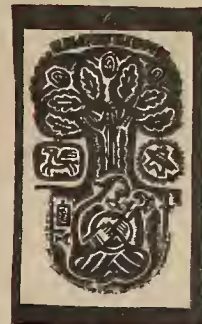
Тільки в шестидесятих роках на Україні почали масово застосовувати в будівництві бетон та плястмаси. Коктейль-голли, під'їзди для авт, вікна з вітражами, балькони, кафе при новобудовах, модерні кінотеатри, побудовані, якщо не на взірцях західньої архітектури, то, принаймні, із свідомістю, що така річ існує, архітектурні ансамблі дали нове поле для творчості мистців. Звичайно, вже в самім проєктуванні повинні були приймати участь художники, а, з другого боку, архітекти мусіли планувати будови згідно з вимогами скульптурного й декоративного оформлення будови. Робити кількопверхову мозаїку чи панно на цілу стіну мусіла ціла бригада, і тому постали спеціальні творчі колективи ідейно споріднених мистців, що брались за великий проєкт і довго, напружено й надхненно разом над ним працювали. Алла працювала в бригаді з Панасом Заливахою, Галиною Синицею, Людмилою Семикіною, Смірновим, і також із своїм чоловіком, Віктором Івановичем Зарецьким.

Поза зовнішньою красою, Алла була прекрасна як рідкісної чесності людина і талановитий і працюючий мистець. Виходячи з традицій народного мистецтва, вона барвисто зображувала у своїх мозаїках сонце, як символ незгасної творчості, жар-птицю безмежних мрій, лань в лісі писанкових візерунків, щоб грала радісно для всіх барвиста алегорія. А в етюдах "для себе" вона малювала задуманих, серйозних дітей з дорослими очима, скорбних матерів, Довженка з захмарним чолом, свої автопортрети. В 1966 році Алла працювала над композицією "Мати" іподілилася своїми задумами з Панасом Заливахою. "Але ж там витанцюються гарні річ, Аллочко", — захоплено відтукнувся азіваха. Вона також робила ескізи декораций і костюмів для сцени.

Більшість її творів лишилися незакінченими, а те, що вона створила, мало відоме поза колами друзів і знайомих. Відбитки її малюнків почали друкуватися в 1960 роках в таких журналах, як "Ранок", а в 1964 році Аллу виключили з Спілки Художників — і ось за що: з нагоди 150 річчя з дня народження Т. Шевченка бригаді в складі Алли Горської, Панаса Заливахи, Галини Севрук і Людмили Семикіної доручили виготовити вітраж для вестибюлю Київського державного університету ім. Тараса Шевченка. За шкідком Панаса Заливахи бригада відтворила гнівного Шевченка, що однією рукою обіймає покривлену Україну, а в високо піднятій другій руці тримає, як прапор, книгу. Над усім — напис: "Возвеличу малих отих рабів німчих. Я на сторожі коло них поставлю слово". Цебто, образ цей означав, що боротьба ще не закінчена, бо Україна в неволі, за ґратами (ґрати були створені лініями, що з'єднували окремі шматочки окла. Як же лютували партійні керівники спілки художників на засіданні з приводу цього твору, запевняючи, що саме для такої ідеї були використані горизонтальні й вертикальні лінії, коли можна було б складові частини з'єднати якось інакше!) Побачивши такий твір та відчувши ідейну небезпеку, партійне керівництво брутально знищило цей вітраж і замінило його пізніше безликим вітражем Задорожного й Перевальського, де Шевченко загублений у натовпі зовнішнього люду, що безмовно стоять, як овечки в загорожі (але знову ж, за ґратами, бо й на цім вітражі складники з'єднані перехресними лініями).

За цю працю Аллу Горську й Людмилу Семикіну виключено зі Спілки Художників України, іншим дали оувору догану, за Панасом Заливахою цілий рік стежили, і в 1965 році заслали його в Сибір, де йому заборонили малювати. На засіданні, де обговорювали Шевченківський вітраж, Алла і її друзі трималися гідно й непохитно, обурені таким сававіям. Але життя інше, і треба було таких мистців, як Алла, — отож, її бригаду посіпають на декоративне оформлення новобудов у Донбасі і поновлюють в спілці. Потім була праця в Краснодоні, що культивує славу героїв Молодої гвардії — юнаків-партизанів у війні проти німців. Разом із тим, Алла невтомно працює для захисту українців-в'язнів та репресованих. До нас спорадично доходили вістки про ту чи іншу заяву протесту, що її підписали ті чи інші видатні українські культурні діячі. Часом там можна було зустріти підпис Ліни Костенко, Франка Драча, Антоненка-Давидовича — не під кожною заявою. І це можна зрозуміти. Але підпис Алли Горської був під багатьма, дуже багатьма індивідуальними й колективними заявами — і таку мужність важко осягнути!

В 1968 році почувався відродження сталінізму. Коли яшнірні відрубають не голову, а тільки хвіст, він



відростає. Це в біології називається регенерацією. Отак і сталінізмові відрубали в 1953 році тільки хвіст, а незабаром той хвіст відріс. В 1968 Алла підписала протест 139 проти утиску права людини на свободу, що був посланий до Косигіна й Подгорного. В наслідок цього та інших "провин", Аллу було знов виключено зі Спілки Художників. Це означало вочий квіток, бо без членства не можна було дістати праці. Чоловіка Алли також покарано суворою доганю. Скульптора Бородея назвали "бандерозцем", а знаного історика М. Брайтєвського виключили з Академії Наук; Івана Драча виключили з партії, а Івана Світличного посадили під поліційний нагляд. Проте, Алла не кається. Вона й далі виступає з протестами проти незаконних арештів, зокрема, проти ув'язнення Валентина Мороза, котрого вона дуже поважала й назвала "квіткою серед снігів". Влітку 1970 року її викликали на допит, але вона відмовилася свідчити проти Мороза. Натомість, вона написала нову заяву до Верховного Суду СРСР проти вироку над Валентином Морозом. Це був її знаменитий — останній — акт вже за кілька днів перед смертю.

28 листопада 1970 року Алла була забита в Василькові, в будинку її свекра, 70-річного психічно-хворого чоловіка. Другого дня свекра була знайдено біля Фастова на залізниці, з відтятою головою. Отже, офіційна версія, в котру ніхто не вірить, була така, що нібито Аллу забив свекор. Але Алла була дужа, а свекор слабосилний; міліція не хотіла відчинити дверей і не спішила встановити ідентичність покійника-свекра. Один із міліційних начальників не стримавшись, вихопився із злісною реплікою "Чого ж ето ви своєї Горської не уберієте!?" Ясно, що непохитну і незломну Аллу російські поіпаки мусіли знищити фізично, і те вони вчинили. Щоб убити її пам'ять по Аллі, партійні керівники пішли навіть на макарбрічний маневр поєслертно поновили її членство в спілці мистців, щоб мати нагоду на її похоронах виголосити офіційну промову від імені спілки й не дати змогу говорити іншим. З цією метою вони не дозволили поховати Аллу на Байковім кладовищі, де опочивають нелегко Леся Українка й Максим Рильський, а дозволили її поховати на новім, нікому не знанім кладовищі.

Похорон спершу оголосили на 4 грудня, і багато людей готувалося прийти, а потім його переклали на 7 грудня, понеділу, щоб перешкодити масовому зібранню. Проте, сотні друзів і прихильників приїхали на Аллин похорон; в її помешканні була влаштована виставка її творів, а на похоронах було виголошено декілька зворушливих промов, що були немов присяга на вірність ідеям, за які загинула Алла Горська. Друзі згадували, яка була Алла Горська, а всі, що це чули розуміли: будьмо такі, як вона. Ось як говорив про Аллу Євген Сверстюк: "Людина, на яку можна поклястися як на самого себе, навіть більше, ніж на себе". Що він мав на увазі, так це те, що коли Ярослав Геврич і Олександр Мартиненко на допитах були примушені "зізнатися", що Алла Горська постачала їм "націоналістичну" літературу і Аллу викликали на "очну ставку" з ними, Алла їм не дорікала: вона розуміла, що ці зізнання вимушені непосльським тортурам, і тому вона на "очній ставі" не дорікала, а розпитувала підсудних про їх здоров'я та потім протестувала перед судовими владами проти злочинного поводження з хворими в'язнями. Так, на Аллу можна було поклястися більш, ніж на самого себе! Вчитель Олександр Сергієнко, немов відпалуючи за таку людяність, на похороні сказав: "Почет (ворогі) ненавиділи її за те, за що ми любимо".



# CLUB NEWS FROM OUT WEST

Whereas most club activities slow down during the exam season, Edmontonians like to do things differently. Parties for the end of March were planned, while the school year had not even begun to finish.\* Several events were offered this term and while the reception was slow to start off, many students, both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian, were turned on and tuned in to some classical music sessions at the U. of A.\* The Berrigan tour was well received in February.\* At the moment, most of the energy exhibited is being channelled to Lessa Suchowsky, who as Congress Coordinator for the 16th SUSK Congress, is busy making arrangements for the big event.

Saskatoon does not officially host a club on the campus, but we have several clubs for University students. Because most of our members live in residence (are from rural areas), some of the residences are in fact complete communities of their own. A few projects are offered at the university through a very helpful and capable staff.\* In hosting the Western Conference, a good deal of enthusiasm from other clubs was brought in — and to think that we really had serious doubts and hesitations concerning the success of this event.\* A project has been submitted to the Government of Saskatchewan for summer fieldworkers, and a Ukrainian immersion course will be offered at Mohyla Institute for students with grade 12 standing and up. For further information contact Mr. Kachkowsky at 1240 Temperance St., Saskatoon.

Four members of the Regina Club attended the Western Conference in Saskatoon. Needless to say, they were very pleased with the atmosphere of the Institute which hosted the event, as well as with the enthusiasm on the part of the other club members from the ole West.\* A pub night held March 14 was a tremendous success thanks to a great crowd. A wind-up party is being considered.\* After the election of the new executive in early April, a program for the 75-76 school year will be formed.

The University of Manitoba U.S.C. has captured the University Hockey Championship after defeating some of the most prominent faculties. The Philip Berrigan tour was successful as far as the turnout is concerned. Unfortunately some of the questions posed were indicative of a generally low level of understanding of the issues which Mr. Berrigan brought forth. Perhaps more such sessions are needed, or even better, more private workshop type sessions where individuals could feel freer to talk and where dialogue would be easier but most important of great educational value.\* The Festival of Life and Learning hosted a Multiculturalism panel which examined the question: Canada's Multiculturalism Policy, Is It Advantageous or Disadvantageous to our Community? Representatives from the Oriental Black, and Ukrainian communities, along with a representative from the Federal government discussed the issue. The Jewish and French quests were unable to attend and it is unfortunate that what could have been a good representation of MULTI-culturalism lacked the diversity. No conclusions were evident but the small audience did seem stimulated and some excellent questions were raised. CBC Radio was on hand to tape the session, so, they too seemed concerned in the issue.

Thunder Bay's annual HONKY NIGHT, once again proved to be an overwhelming success. Among other things, there was a dance contest, good Ukrainian sausages, Varenyky-eating contest, and good music by Yasny. Several parties followed and most out-of-towners were disappointed to leave, but as school beckoned... off they rolled to their Eastern homes. Most of the other activities throughout the year were spontaneous and informal. Good luck to the next executive.

The University of Victoria club has managed to maintain the same degree of enthusiasm and participation throughout the 74-75 school term, and neither weather, exams nor that depressing time of year, which actually doesn't come to this Canadian paradise, could break the vibrancy of the club.\* After a memorable Ukrainian Christmas dinner and carolling on January 5th, the rest of January hosted talks on the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, a trip to the Northwest Ukrainian Festival in Seattle, a skating party, a video show of Ukrainian Folk Dancing, and "Shadows of our Forgotten Ancestors".

\* February brought in a visit by the SUSK executive, a pysanky workshop, a dancing workshop, and a few days mid-term break.

\* Four Victorians challenged March temperatures to arrive at the Western Conference in Saskatoon. U.B.C. hosted a unique graduation banquet this year on February 15. Instead of the traditional Valentine's theme, a hutul atmosphere was created in a gala of Ukrainian finery. National SUSK president Myron Spolsky was guest speaker at the dinner and his thought-provoking delivery was well received.\* The Philip Berrigan Tour, which concluded in Vancouver was greeted with a fairly large audience (about 200 persons) and several media appearances, including the B.C. TV station, an interview with Jack Wasserman on Hour Glass and a radio talk show. Despite Mr. Berrigan's exhaustion, he did add a feeling of humanism by his approach to political prisoners. The remaining months will see the election of the new executive and some plans for next year. Do you remember the six starving Ukrainians who rushed away from the Western Conference to catch a bus?? Well the 'Kalgary Kids' have got to be the most exuberant pack of energy in the West. Admittedly this past year had been a little s-l-o-w, but things are starting to pick up. We are beginning a campaign to recruit new university students and high school graduates. A bonfire and 'foothills' party will undoubtedly increase the club membership by ten-fold.

Saskatoon was the site of the Western Conference March 7, 8, 9, 1975. Ukrainian Canadian students from as far West as Victoria and as far east as Winnipeg, rolled into the Mohyla Institute. For many, it was their FIRST; the first attempt to get involved in SUSK, the first time at a conference, and the first time in Saskatoon. Of course there were a few of the 'old-timers' around to provide direction, information and some thought-provoking analyses. While the National President was unable to attend the conference, a presentation of the future of SUSK was delivered by Western Vice-President Sheila Slobodzian. The grassroots movement seems to have passed and SUSK is moving simultaneously into other phases of individual development. The growing interest in the field of multiculturalism and fieldwork were the prime areas of concern, along with the role of local clubs in initiating action, informing others, and finally, the general state of the clubs. Bohdan Popowych gave an interesting account and analysis of his summer work as a fieldworker for the Saskatchewan government. The differences in ideology of the various age groups of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan was emphasized with explanations of how to deal with them. A discussion of the necessity of the Ukrainian language followed leaving the group considering both the positive and negative aspects and some of the obstacles on the path. Some problems with the Ukrainian community seem to result from the large number of organizations in our community. This topic was elaborated upon in the afternoon with a presentation by Ihor Broda (Edmonton). Besides the fact that we have many organizations, perhaps too many, in the final analysis, there are far too few Ukrainians involved in them. Of over 500,000 Canadians who identified themselves with the Ukrainian-Canadian identity in the 1971 census, only 30,000 are involved in any organizations. When those that are involved in the church groups alone are subtracted, it appears that there are but 3000 active Ukrainians in Canada. Add to this, the narrow-minded ideology of many of the present organization leaders, and some of the qualifications for admission into them, and we find that there is virtually no way for an adult who does NOT speak Ukrainian, or who has not been involved in any organization before, to become a part of the community. For the future it is indeed imperative that new organizations evolve, or that the old ones become restructured to accommodate the 3rd and 4th generations of Ukrainian Canadians who WANT to become involved, and to accommodate the present generation of SUSK graduates who have been involved at a student level, but are no longer students. Brian Obishan, a Metis from Northern Saskatchewan also spoke on

Saturday afternoon. He presented an eye-opening, attention-grabbing account of some of the difficulties he has faced in his fieldwork with Saskatchewan Indians and the Metis. Accusing government in its present form to be the root of all evil, Brian does not believe that the system can be changed by those WITHIN it. He feels that the human potential of his people is being stifled and the lack of understanding on the part of the government, and their refusal to understand, is destroying his people. The Indian has always been in close harmony with nature, and the government is tapping their "resources". Man is at the bottom of the totem pole for the trees, leaves, water, sun... could all survive without man and it is in fact man that NEEDS them. Despite the beliefs of the Saskatchewan Government, the Indians "DO" know what they want.

An interesting slide presentation of a summer course in Ukraine and some Saul Alinsky films left the 30 participants mentally exhausted. Needless to say, the dance Saturday night found everyone in good spirits and after a few birthday celebrations, a long sing-song, some outstanding VESELKA dancing and a good performance by Kamenari, the group knocked out around 5 a.m. Presentations of local club news, problems, and upcoming events were handled Sunday morning. Goodbyes were expressed, safe journeys to distant lands started, and the most popularly heard saying: 'See you at the SUSK Congress in Edmonton' concluded the weekend. Special thanks to Mr. A. Kachkowsky, director of Mohyla Institute for his cooperation in making the conference a success.

## IMPORTANT DATES TO REMEMBER

Important Date	Interesting Event	Fascinating Place
May 10, 1975	Y. & D. Mazurkevich in Concert A Concert of Violin Duos	University of Toronto Medical Science Bldg.
June 7, 1975 — All Day	"Immigration and Ukrainians" — Speakers from the Federal & Provincial Governments — Speakers from SUSK  This will be a pilot project, i.e., if it works, another symposium will be held in the West.  TOPICS: How to get Ukrainians to immigrate to Canada; what actions should take place; the Ukrainians' response to the Green Paper.	St. Vladimir's Institute 620 Spadina Avenue Toronto
June 7, 1975	Presidents' Conference	Edmonton, Alberta
July 4, 5, and 6	"Symposium on Dissent in Ukraine" The Symposium has as its main aim the analysis of the present dissent movement and its development in Ukraine	York University Toronto
August 29, 30, 31	SUSK CONGRESS	Edmonton, Alberta



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Since the 13th SUSK Congress held in Ottawa, SUSK has participated, along with several other Ukrainian and other ethno-cultural organisations, in an action designed to see to the introduction of multilingual broadcasting on the CBC television and radio

## Multilingual

networks. The action has had its ups and downs, but at the present time all indications are that the CRTC, CBC and the Department of the Secretary of State have finally agreed to the introduction of multilingual broadcasting on the CBC television network.

The whole CBC Action stemmed from the CBC's interpretation or rather misinterpretation of the Broadcasting Act, which states in part that: the CBC should "...safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political social and economic fabric of Canada..." "...be varied and comprehensive and should provide reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views ... using predominantly Canadian creative and other resources..." "...be in English and French..." and "contribute to the development of national identity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity". The CBC has chosen to interpret the clause regarding language as being exclusive, meaning that because no mention is made of other Canadian languages, then these cannot be used. (Regardless of their own interpretation, they do broadcast in Eskimo and Indian languages.)

Such an interpretation by the CBC brings it into clear conflict with several federal government policies, as well as with precedents set in the courts: primarily, it is the Official Languages Act that is contradicted, as this body of law clearly states that to use English or French to the detriment of other languages is contrary to the policy of this Act. Furthermore, the CBC's interpretation contradicts the Federal Government's policy on multiculturalism, which, while not proposing to introduce an all-embracing policy of multilingualism, did affirm that languages were of some importance. Furthermore the CBC's prescription is contrary to the basic tenets of freedom of speech and press.

The link between language and culture is a most crucial one. Time and time again throughout the books of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, it was repeated that language is a key to culture, without a language a culture cannot survive, much less develop. Language is the carrier of culture, making possible its development. Culture cannot be seen as a fixed element — it is a process which develops daily with the experiences of a group. It is not enough, within the context of Canada's multicultural policy to exhibit languages and cul-

tures in historical museums and at national multicultural festivals. Such a policy leads to a fossilization of the culture, a withering away of the language; the language and culture are then considered anachronistic and there is an immediate flight by members of that group from their own language and culture, and a process of assimilation into the majority culture and language.

In order for a language and a culture to develop our aim must be to utilize these in a contemporary environment, in daily experiences linked with one's employment, recreation and other facets of daily life which frame the existence of a

## Broadcasting

people. What this basic tenet of the policy of multiculturalism had proposed for the CBC Action group was to bring about the acceptance of the concept of a multicultural Canadian identity. It was supposed to take the place of the bicultural concept of Canada, or something even worse, that of a homogenising all-Canadian concept proposed by some Anglo-Canadian nationalists. SUSK, and the other community organizations, proposed that the CBC introduce multilingual broadcasting on the CBC on a nationally syndicated basis to allow for these programmes, payed for by tax-payer revenues and produced by professional CBC staff, to be aired for the various ethno-cultural groups according to geographical community needs. Equally important is the understanding that the regular programming of the CBC, be it on radio or television must reflect the multicultural nature of Canada, not in the form of special programmes given to this topic, such as "Identities" on CBC radio, or "House of Pride" in television, but throughout its programming. Programmes such as the above two tend to stereotype the non-English, non-French groups, and reduce their cultural attributes to a rendition of songs, examples of folkloric dances, and instructions in the culinary arts of each culture.

It is time for government agencies to realise that the non-English, non-French Canadian communities have a living culture, have a developing political dynamic, and have several unique psyches which are not represented by the Anglo-Canadian or Franco-Canadian psyche, and that these attributes are results of a Canadian experience. These must be examined in the same way that the Anglo-Canadian or Franco-Canadian elements are studied. The non-French, non-English communities are truly microcosms of the broader Canadian community.

Thus, at this point, when the CBC is about to introduce some form of multilingual broadcasting, it is important to remember that there is yet another important element of multiculturalism that must be

implemented. It is also important that both we and the CBC accept and remember that the struggle for the introduction involves more than just a linguistic question.

The question of multilingual broadcasting involves the nature of the relationship between the government and non-English, non-French, Canadians. Whereas, the relationship to the present time could best be described as one of 'assimilator' to a supposed transient phenomena, or protector to emigré group, and obversely, emigré group to protector, this mentality must change with the realisation that the multicultural identity is not a transient phenomena.

For these groups the opposite has been true: most have survived and developed as identifiable ethno-cultural communities, some for several generations. Furthermore, the fact that almost 75 per cent of all Canadians were born in Canada, according to 1961 figures, and the figures for non-English, non-French language retention show that these languages are as much a facet of the Canadian culture as are

## FINALLY

English or French.

Thus, the attitude of all government agencies must be one of government to citizens, one of Canadian government to Canadians, and obversely, one of electors to deputies. This involves utilizing those facilities and resources which the government presently provides only for English Canadian or French Canadian groups, as well as for interest groups, who serve primarily the ruling social élites (which are Anglo-Canadian). Such a utility of the CBC resources is one important aspect of this.

We, and especially members of the Praesidium of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and government bureaucrats, must be cognisant of the fact, that multilingual broadcasting must be introduced immediately, that pilot projects must be run in both Western and Eastern Canada, that the sole financial and resource responsibility for these programmes lie with the CBC just as they assume all technical, resource and financial responsibilities for the production of all other CBC programmes. Finally, that all aspects of promotion, in order to make the general public and the various non-French, non-English communities aware of these programmes, lies solely with the CBC. Ukrainian Canadians and all of the other non-French, non-English communities have been supplying the CBC too long with 1.5 per cent of their income tax without return, and for too long have we been paying to maintain private programmes. Most importantly, one minor step is not to be taken as a signal for more compromises. SUSK, for one, sees this as only the beginning of a struggle with government on the issue of multiculturalism.

Myron Spolsky

## SUMMER JOBS — SUSK

This year SUSK has applied for funding for the following summer projects. At the present time we are hiring students who are interested in working with us this summer. All of the following projects will take place if the government bodies give us money, and to this point the chances look excellent for all.

- 1) Immigration Policy Study Group: the main objective of the project is to assist in the development of a beneficial discussion of the government's 'Green Paper on Immigration'. This is to be achieved by turning to the various communities that will be most affected by any change in the immigration policy. In addition to this, a random sample will be carried out to discover the attitudes of the overall community towards the question of immigration in general, and towards particular groups of immigrants. Toronto was chosen as the focal point of the project since 35 per cent of all immigrants to Canada settle in this metropolitan area. — room for 4 students.
- 2) Woman — The Ukrainian Canadian Reality: the activities and objectives of this project are to produce a film looking at the historical, cultural and socio-economic position of the woman in an ethno-cultural community, specifically, the Ukrainian Canadian community, based on facts collected during research and on the subjective viewpoints of people within the community. The present role of the woman in Ukrainian Canadian society will be examined, and compared to pre-immigration and early Canadian roles. The influences of socio-economic factors such as marital status, work status, and other similar factors will be taken into account and analyzed. — application made for 10 workers.
- 3) Project Dytyna: this will be a Ukrainian orientated centre for the instruction and guidance of Ukrainian under-privileged children, as well as under-privileged children of other ethno-cultural backgrounds. The project will take place in downtown Toronto, with a specific aim of furthering the creation of this form of activity within the entire Ukrainian Canadian community. The project consists of teaching mainly arts and crafts for the National Conference of Youth on Multiculturalism

and various aspects of the Ukrainian Canadian culture. — application made for 6 workers.

- 4) Project MET (Molodechij Eksperymental'nyj Teatr): this is a Ukrainian Canadian Young People's Experimental Theatre. The theatre will present a wide variety of modern Ukrainian drama, written and improvised for the Canadian stage. Special emphasis will be placed on English and Ukrainian language plays by Ukrainian Canadian playwrights. MET will tour some 14 centres with its productions. Public performances will be supplemented by children's drama workshops, wherein creative and improvisational drama will be introduced by MET members. — applications made for 8 workers.
- 5) Summer Fieldwork Projects: grant applications have been submitted to the provincial governments of Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. The main aim of these briefs is to have students working as fieldworkers in the Ukrainian Canadian communities of the three provinces, with given specific tasks, such as working with pre-school children and early grade school children. Depending on the needs of the given local community, the work of the fieldworker will be tailored to the needs of that community. For example, some communities do not have any form of local Ukrainian broadcasting. Others need help in strengthening their community structures. The role of fieldworkers is not to be seen as that of a community saviour, but rather as that of a resource person. — applications made for about 40 students.

THE FOLLOWING PROJECTS WILL TAKE PLACE REGARDLESS OF WHETHER GOVERNMENT GRANTS FUNDS OR NOT.

- 1) Conferences on Multiculturalism: 5 students will be hired to organize a series of conferences on multiculturalism. The aim of these conferences is: to help us renew interest and discussion in multiculturalism; to actively interest non-Ukrainian communities to take part in the development of this issue; to make government agencies at all three levels aware that interest is increasing on the issue; and to help SUSK prepare

Continued on page 12

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Гельсінкі (УІС "СМОЛОСКІП"). З України дісталися сюди самвидавні повісті відомого українського письменника-мислителя Олесь Бердника. Повісті ці були колись здані до друку до різних Київських видавництв. Після нагішні на автора і виключення його зі Спілки Письменників України в 1973 році, ці твори ніколи не були видруковані в Україні і вони знайшли шлях до самвидаву. Згідно з одержаними тут інформаціями, вони є широко поширені в Україні, зокрема серед молоді її студентства.

Сюди дісталися такі три твори: "АПОСТОЛ БЕЗСМЕРТЯ", повість про небувале, написана в 1970 році. Це повість людину, яка силою волі переборолла свої життєві труднощі і фізичну неміч і перед якою виринуло на повну величчю питання — "Що ж таке людина сама собою, поза фахом, поза громадянськими призначеннями?" Будучи поневоленою фізично і духовно, одного разу розум цієї людини "осяяло просте і величне відчуття". Цим відчуттям була ВОЛЯ. "Вона клекоче в кожному листочку дерев, вона струменить в сонячному промінні, вона у весняному полкинку журавлів і в повстанні за свободу, у дитячому прагненні до пригод і в красі квіток, у мукх великого кохан-

ня і в відчаю ученого, який розбиває серце об мури незлічонних таємниць світу... Ми замінили справжню волю до дії її підробкою — незлічонною лавиною програм...".

"ІЛЮЗІОНІСТ", фантастична повість, була на Україну з Планети Свободи. В багезі написана в 1970 році. Вона має приблизно сто сторінок машинопису і є зразком науково-філософської фантастики. Це повість про Ойра-Хана, людину, яка притягох розмовах з молоддю, ця людина висловлює такі думки:

"Свободу не можна дати. І правду теж. Їх треба завоювати в собі, відкрити, як дорогоцінне джерело води, що замулене брудом і сміттям...".

"Коли людина гарна, добра, то вона всюди добра, мудра — у в'язниці, у холоді, в голоді, накраю смерті..." "Скільки підлих людей прикидається добрими, хорошими. Вони не шкодять нікому, а ілюзія правди — страшне лихо... Зло дуже хитре. Воно схоже на багатоліжку з сотнями щупалець. Кожне щупальце щось означає: нікчемність, зраду, байдужість, грубість, лінощі і багато, багато інших. Серед них є одне щупальце — обман. То — найстрашніше щупальце, бо воно має чаклунську здатність підробляти все на світі".

Зокрема цікава розповідь Ойра-Хана про лобут на планеті — "біла червоного сонця, де жили "мислячі створіння, (які

соби на допомогу утворили механічних помічників... механічних рабів... Такі штучні істоти все робили за них — працювали, будували, навіть мислили, пізнавали доволі глибокий світ, його закони... (згодом) вони її перестали бути людьми. Незабаром вони виродилися, почали вмирати. А лишилися на планеті лише їхні механічні подоби — бездушні, безсердечні. Вони не знали, навіщо живуть, яка в них мета, бо виконували тільки програму, котра закладена нерозважливими творцями".

Після мандріви на Землі і чисельних пригод, Ойра-Хан бере українських дітей і з Карпатських гір летить з ними на Планету Свободи. А згодом ті діти вертаються на землю почувши "далекій поклик бою". І вони гукують: "Тримайтеся, друзі, тримайтеся, лицарі волі! Ми йдемо, летимо, поспішаємо!"

"СУЗІР'Я ЗЕЛЕНІХ РИБ", небувальщина, без дати написання. Це твір про глибокі філософські роздуми про Людину, Час, Простір, Всесвіт і гарядущих жителів Свободи. О. Бердник пише в одному місці у цій повісті: "Коли в серці людей народжується прагнення до Свободи, коли овни відчують необхідність нових обривів — це означає, що настала пора народження, що мисляча істота передчуває нову ступінь буття".

Ці твори О. Бердника пов'язані окремою книгою у В-ві "Смолоскіп".

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We inform you that the Ukrainian student quarterly NEW DIRECTIONS will no longer continue to be published.

Although NEW DIRECTIONS has never been a profit-making venture, a combination of unfortunate circumstances conspired over the last year to make further publication impossible. Increased costs of printing, a drastic reduction in advertising revenues, a decrease in the number of subscribers, along with a lack of both moral and financial support from the Ukrainian community at large have forced the NEW DIRECTIONS staff to realize that the material-financial base of the magazine is much too slight for continued publishing. And it is for these reasons that we have chosen to formally end NEW DIRECTIONS magazine.

We thank you for your support.  
 Sincerely,  
 Alexander Motyl  
 editor  
 Fred Siemon  
 editor

THOUGHT NO. \$7\*\*62 i68366

thoughts of life reflect all that patterns of existence ever were, and will be perpetually. as the sad and happy transcend time life goes on and faces change with places of our memory. souls of laughter engulf your flesh, your mind and the essences of life permeate nostrils and the birds and the water and the people all become one for evermore as only freedom could feel. pink air surrounds the cosmic presence of your continual consciousness of never ending inter-related realities and unrealities, so say the people be it that in everyones eyes be the perpetual light of the loving revolution of understanding and experiencing all there is to live and die in. if and but we all tried to follow any thought it should most naturally be freedom so that everything should be attempted in such away as to release the chains of other thoughts that may restrict and limit one's own idea of free thought and in that way then we could continue to strive for equal love and happiness in the so-called "real world", the so-called real world that everyone blindly gropes about in the darkness of limited thinking. donated to the so-called abstract thinkers in the CKBY office of an erection which titillates the inner core of toronto ontario canada western hemisphere earth spaces time universe inverse pervert oblivion of daylight and darkness of shadows that confuse the already very confused so-called cog minds that invest their pains in the fear of loosing their fobs from a system that corrupts absolutely and love that man is capable of giving. may you not take this piece of pieces portraying peace as a nonsensicle montage, only remember that fighting for freedom is all nice and well but first free your mind from hatred to love and then your revolution will be truly desired by all mankind alike. inhuman outhuman human.

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# 5 WOMEN PRISONERS

The Human Rights Commission of the Ukrainian World Congress will begin a campaign aimed at the release of five women from a Soviet concentration camp who are seriously ill and are not receiving medical care. The five women all in their thirties are serving hard labour sentences ranging from four to ten years at the women's compound at the Baryshevo prison camp in Mordovia, USSR.

Senator Paul Yuzyk (Winnipeg), chairman of the Commission, said following a meeting of his commission yesterday that Iryna Kalynets, Stefania Shabatara, Nina Karavanska, Iryna Senyk and Nadia Shumuk require immediate help if they are to survive. He stated that the commission has received information which indicates that their condition is much more serious than previously believed.

The Commission is particularly appalled at the treatment of Iryna Kalynets and Nadia Shumuk whose husbands were also imprisoned and their children left without parents. Nina Karavanska, also has an imprisoned husband. All five women were arrested in a wide crack-down on Ukrainian dissidents in 1972-73 and sentenced in closed trials on charges of "spreading anti-Soviet propaganda". In all cases this "propaganda" consisted of protests of their husbands' and other dissidents' arrests.

The Commission of the World Congress, which represents some three million Ukrainians outside of the Soviet Union and whose Secretariat is located in Toronto will bring the cases of the five women before the Human Rights Commission at the United Nations.

Senator Yuzyk stated that members of the Moscow-based Human Rights committee, which transmits information about conditions in Soviet concentration camps have indicated that all five are suffering from gynecological illnesses and have lumps on their breasts that could be malignant. Sylvia Zalmanson, a recently-released Soviet Jewish activist who has been touring North America in recent weeks and who was confined with several of the women also told of their suffering and called for world-wide action to save their lives. On her speaking tour Mrs. Zalmanson has described the conditions at Baryshevo where heavy work quotas and lack of medical attention led her to stage a hunger-strike with Kalynets, Karavanska, Shabatara and Senyk in December, of 1973. She stated that any letters of protests of inmates are punished by isolation and loss of all Camp privileges.

The World Congress in joining Mrs. Zalmanson's appeal is calling for the release of the women by 1975 which has been designated International Women's Year.

## Nadia Shumuk, philologist

Born in 1942 in the Donbas region of Ukraine, married to Danylo Shumuk (also imprisoned in 1972) with one son, Yaroma. Studied at Kiev State University, employed as a librarian and worked at the Kiev radio station. Arrested in April 1972 and tried in camera in Kiev in March 1973. She was charged with possessing anti-Soviet propaganda and charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. Sentenced to 4 years hard labour in a corrective camp to be followed by exile. Recently threatened with psychiatric internment for her protests concerning camp conditions.

## Iryna Kalynets, writer

Born in 1940, married to poet Ihor Kalynets (also imprisoned in 1972) with one daughter, Dzvinka. Received her degree from Lviv University and lectured at Lviv Polytechnical Institute. Arrested in January 1972 and tried in camera in Lviv, July 1972. Charged under Article 62 of the C.C. of the Ukr. SSR, sentenced to 6 years hard labour and 3 years exile. Participated in hunger-strike December 5-10, 1973. Reported to be suffering from breast cancer.

## Stefania Shabatara, artist

Born in Lviv in 1938, and worked

Continued on page 20

(Press release received from the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, New York, March 1975.)

The following information is contained in Issue Number 33 of the Russian-language "Samizdat" Journal, "The Chronicle of Current Events."

The issue is dated December 10, 1974.

Information has just reached the West concerning several trials that took place in the USSR.

On August 9, 1973 an Ivano-Frankivsk regional court reviewed the cases of 5 young Ukrainians who were accused of forming an "illegal, anti-Soviet organization called the Galician Union of Ukrainian Youth."

The accused were: Dmytro Hrynkiw, who was born in 1948, had a secondary education, and worked as a locksmith; Mykola Motryuk, who was born in 1949, and worked as a locksmith; Ivan Shovkovyy, born in 1950 and employed as a locksmith; Dmytro Demydiv, who was born in 1948 and worked as a mechanical engineer; Roman Chupriy, born in 1948, a student at the Polytechnic Institute in Lviv.

All five men were tried under articles 62 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda) and 64 (organization activity with an intent to commit extraordinarily dangerous anti-State acts, as well as participation in an anti-Soviet organization) of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

Hrynkiw, Motryuk, and Shovkovyy were additionally charged with theft. Shovkovyy was charged with article 222 (illegal possession of weapons; owning or making weapons or explosives) and Hrynkiw with the "appropriation of state or public property; theft."

The defendants were accused under articles 62 and 64 of having conspired in the Fall of 1971 to form "an illegal anti-Soviet organization whose purpose was to engage in struggle against Soviet authorities for the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR, and the creation of a so-called 'independent Ukraine' through recruitment of new members into their organization, through ideological indoctrination of new cadres and others, and through the establishment of ties with other organizations which are enemies of the Soviet Union, among them foreign organizations."

The initiative for the formation of the group came from Hrynkiw. He proposed the creation of the organization, gave it its name, and headed it.

From February, 1972 to March, 1973, the organization met 9 times. At these meetings various papers were presented, nationalist ballads were sung, and "books of an 'anti-Soviet, nationalist character'" were read.

The other criminal statutes charged individuals in the group with having appropriated weapons and ammunition. Additionally, Hrynkiw was charged with having stolen two 'starter's' pistols (used in sporting meets) and having given them to Shovkovyy so that they could be made into firearms. In 1969 Shovkovyy constructed a longbarreled pistol which he was accused of having turned over to the group for use in target practice.

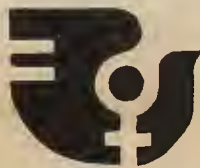
During the closed trial all the accused "recanted fully, and gave full details of their activities, including dates and events." Along with this 7 other members of the organization corroborated the testimony of the defendants, and Hrynkiw's "nationalist notebooks were presented" as further evidence.

The court ruled on the cases of the accused, taking into account their confessions and recantations, and sentenced Hrynkiw to 7 years in camps of strict regime and 3 years exile, Shovkovyy and Demkiw to 5 years strict regime camps. Chupriy and Motryuk each received sentences of 4 years in camps of strict regime.

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P.S. Those of you not going to Europe, please give us a call about 'off summer holidays' in the Caribbean.

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Continued from page 19

For a number of years now, many people in SUSK and Kyk have been sacrificing their time, money and energy while battling the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the CRTC (Canadian Radio & Television Commission) in an effort to move them to broadcast Canadian programmes in Canadian languages other than English and French.

Many briefs, confrontations, and exchanges have occurred between them, and yet the government bodies have consistently adhered to a policy of discrimination and chauvinism. The CBC is just one example of a government institution that is supported by the taxes of all the people - 7 million of which are neither English nor French - and yet only Anglo Saxons and French are to be found throughout the various levels of the power hierarchy. Undoubtedly, a few "Ethnics" are thrown in to keep all those second class citizens quiet, but, (and this was clearly revealed in John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic and just recently in Wallace Clement's The Canadian Corporate Elite),

the higher echelons of our political, economic and social institutions are controlled by self-governing elites, and there is hardly any chance for a majority of Canadians - especially if they're not English or French - of ever getting in.

The CBC has continued to ignore the Canadian reality and is continually producing and broadcasting programs for those Canadians of British descent, with little regard for the other ethno-cultural groups.

The recent news of multi-lingual broadcasting on and by the CBC is unquestionably the most logical and just approach that the CBC could take. But, exactly how sincere is the CBC? If this is just another one of their token gestures in order to satisfy the "non-founding" races, then the CBC is indeed asking for trouble.

"We, Ukrainian Canadians want to be able to see Canadian programmes on Canadian subjects, but in the Ukrainian language. It is a dimension that we make consciously, and that our forefathers made consciously when they settled in Canada in the 1840's. This is not a matter of broadcasting to "immigrants", but a matter of broadcasting to third and fourth generation Canadians in a Canadian language."

there as a tapestry designer, arrested in January 1972 and tried in July 1972. Sentenced to 5 years hard labour and 3 years exile. Charge not known. Participated in hunger-strike December 5-10, 1973. Reported to be extremely ill from gynecological disorders

Nina Karavanska, microbiologist

Born in Odessa in 1925, married to Svyatoslav Karavansky (also imprisoned in 1969). Received her degree from the Odessa Medical Institute and worked there as a researcher. Arrested in December 1971 and tried in camera in May 1972. Charged with disseminating "anti-Soviet" literature under Article 62 of the C.C. of the Ukr SSR, sentenced to 4 years hard labour. Participated in hunger-strike December 5-10, 1973. In May 1974, designated member of the American Society for Microbiology. Reported to be suffering from breast cancer

Iryna Senyk, poetess

Born in Western Ukraine in 1925. Employed as art-historian in Ivano-Frankivsk. Arrested in 1972 and tried in March 1973. Charged for writing poems under Art. 62 of the C.C. of the Ukr SSR, sentenced to 6 years hard labour and 5 years exile. Suffering from tuberculosis of the spine and reported to be suffering from breast cancer



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## Labour camp prisoners try to aid Chilean victims

Four Ukrainian female political prisoners in the Mordovian ASSR labour camps sent an appeal to the camp administration proposing that their wages at hard-labour camps be assigned to a fund for victims of the Chilean Junta.

This request was in response to an appeal printed in issue number 13 of the New Times, a Soviet publication. The news was reported in September, 1974.

through the 33rd issue of the Chronicle of Current Events, which is the Russian-language underground journal.

The four women, Nadia Svitlychna, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Nina Strokata and Stefania Shabaturo, also demanded that a representative from the imprisoned women be allowed to attend a Congress of the International Democratic Federation of Women.

Both demands were denied by camp authorities.

These four women are presently serving sentences of four to nine years for alleged "anti-Soviet propaganda". They are being kept in labour camp number three at Barashevo, Mordovian ASSR, and are reported to be seriously ill.

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/tel. 921-3602 or 961-0499/

All entries must be submitted by June 30th, 1975  
Only Canadian poems will be accepted! 7