

Де редакції й до числа співпрацівників включаются:

Ліда Гнатів
Люба Гузан
Маріяка Гурко
Ірка Оклінок
Олег Румак
Христия Хем'як
Мирислав Шкандрий
Зенке Штгельма
Любоко Шух
Мирислав Юркевич

зому Саді само ту інформацію передрукувало, ця новина дійшла б до тисяч наших земляків.

Як викладає української історії в Гарварді в літній сесії 1972, повністю підтримує думку про потребу «Українського Гарварду» в Канаді.

З привітом!

3. 8. 73

Роман Шпорлюк

W. Motyka
62 Eldridge Road
Bankstown 2200
Australia
31-8-1973

Dear M. S.,

I received your letter dated 21.7.73 and the last issue of "Student", along with a bill for one year's subscription to the said publication. You will find enclosed a bank cheque for the appropriate amount.

May I also add that it was a pleasant surprise to receive some word from Ukrainian students in Canada. I hope this can be taken as an indication that Ukrainian students (in Canada at least) have come to recognize the benefit to be derived from establishing and maintaining communication with Ukrainian students who are isolated from the mainstream of Ukrainian student thinking and activities.

This isolation is particularly relevant to Australia where there exists a singular lack (which cannot be over-emphasized) of communication with Ukrainian students in other parts of the world, particularly with the American continent.

In order to start the ball rolling, I have a specific request which I hope you can fulfill. I, and others, have a keen interest in the present status and development of Ukrainian Studies at various noted universities throughout the world. I have noted that in the July issue of "Student" such a topic is tabled for discussion at the XIVth SUSK Congress and 1973 CESUS Congress.

I presume that it will be fully reported on in a future edition of "Student". In the event that this is not planned for I would appreciate it if you could send me any material on the topic. I would also appreciate it if you could send me any back issues of "Student" which contain such information. I would gladly remit the cost of such issues.

Hopefully this is only the beginning of the two way process of communication.

Sincerely,
W. Motyka

just ads

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

For: Ukrainian Canadian Welfare Services, Incorporated
At.: 2445 Bloor St. W., (Jane and Bloor)

In the following areas:

Information and social services bureau
Drop-in centre (recreational program)
Visitation program
Independent study

When: Anytime 9:00 a.m.-9:00 p.m.

For further information please contact:

Marijka Jaworskyj
Luba Tkachenko — 763-4982 / 763-6641

SUSK is looking for a good second-hand electric typewriter. Phone office: 921-8544.

Students' ball organized by CESUS & SUSK. Saturday, 3rd November, 1973. At 85 Christie, Toronto. 8:00 p.m.

Take advantage of this column to publish activities, or to advertise for free. Write directly to "Student", 67 Harbord St., Toronto.



ПЕРЕДПЛАЧУЙТЕ "СТУДЕНТА"

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ЛИСТИ ДО РЕДАКЦІЇ

нові й минулорічні

Манітобський Університет
Відділ Славістики
Wininger, Манітоба.

Шановний Пане Ш.!

Щиро Вам вдячний за фотокопію «Коріння» Бориса Корнієнка, за яким я вже розбивався понад рік. Писав до знайомих у Києві, Львові і куди лиш можливо було й від них у листах навіть не було згадки про мого прозання. Шасливий збіг обставин (коли переглядав «Студента» і побачив уривки з його книжки) навів мене на щасливий випадок. Це дуже цікавий молодий талант, але не думаю, що його будуть у близькому майбутньому друкувати в Україні. Навпевно не тепер, коли там погалася, після беззвезного Пленуму СПЗ, панічна навізна налізка на творчість характеру й якості Корнієнка і йому подібних. Воно прямо застрашує. А стільки в Україні сьогодні цікавих і талановитих молодих письменників.

Особисто радію, що Ви студіюєте українську, бо справді так мало в нас тепер українців поза Україною. Бажаю Вам творчих успіхів і невгасаючої охоти.

Я був би Вам вдячний, якщо б у майбутньому Ви могли мені переслати дещо цікавого.

Пересилаю Вам наложнисть за копію й щиро дякую за труд Ваш.

З привітом,

28. 6. 73 Ярослав Розумний

Мініганський Університет
Відділ Історії
Анн Арбор, Мініган.
Шановна Редакціє,

Пересилаю цим сек на \$10.00 як передплату на 1973 і 1974 рр. (а також післяплату за попередні числа). Ваше останнє число дуже цікаве — зокрема матеріал про українську мову в державних школах (стор. 1). Чи Ви не могли б встановити обмін між Вашим часописом і українськими виданнями Польщі, Чехословаччини, Югославії і Румунії? Наших земляків там, я певен, дуже пораджу вістна про успіхи української мови в школах Канади, а які ще «Наше Слово» у Варшаві чи «Руске Слово» у Но-

Undated

There is no greater negative, destructive force in the Ukrainian community in Canada than the smug Ukrainian language expert. This person only wants to impress everybody with his grasp of the Ukrainian language. He also wishes to underline how inferior everyone is who can't speak Ukrainian. Thus, instead of drawing people into the Ukrainian community (with the possibility of them learning the Ukrainian language), he merely alienates them. Why don't these patriots do something constructive, like set up experimental study groups in the Ukrainian language for university students who can't fit regular Ukrainian language courses into their schedules?

Get off your butts patriots and do some work.

Oleh Storkewych

Letters to "Student" should be typed, double-spaced and signed. Contributions may be edited for reasons of space. Mail to "Student", 67 Harbord St., Toronto.

catalogue of ukrainian artists

During the summer of 1973 work was started on the catalogue of Ukrainian Canadian artists and groups. The catalogue will include artists in the visual, performing and literary arts fields. The catalogue is scheduled to be published by the end of February, 1974.

The purpose of the catalogue is:

1. to give information about Canadian artists and groups of Ukrainian descent.
2. to exhibit their work.
3. to present a written as well as a visual picture of contemporary Ukrainian Canadian artists.
4. to serve as a vehicle for further cultural development. — write-up and photo study of the Ukrainian Canadian Festival of the Arts — write-up on selected artists and groups, reproductions of certain works, photos of artists in concert and samples of prose and poetry. — written material would appear in three languages: Ukrainian, French and English.

Proposals for the format of the catalogue are:

1. Visual Arts Section
 - to include biographies and write-ups on selected artists, in three languages
 - reproductions and photographs of certain works
2. Performing Arts Section
 - to include write-ups and biographies of artists and groups, in three languages
 - photographs of artists in concert
3. Literary Arts Section
 - to include biographies on writers
 - samples of poetry

The purpose of the directory is to list all Ukrainian Canadian artists and groups, artistic organizations and art galleries.

Each file should contain the following information: professional biography, personal statement about your work, and samples of your work — visual arts, dance and theatre, three photos, if black and white, or three slides of your work, or you or your group in concert of performance; — literary arts field, samples of your writing; — music field, send two short contrasting selections on tape, approximately three minutes long, not older than two years. We plan to have all research completed by the end of October and ask those of you who have not sent in the required information, to send it as soon as possible.

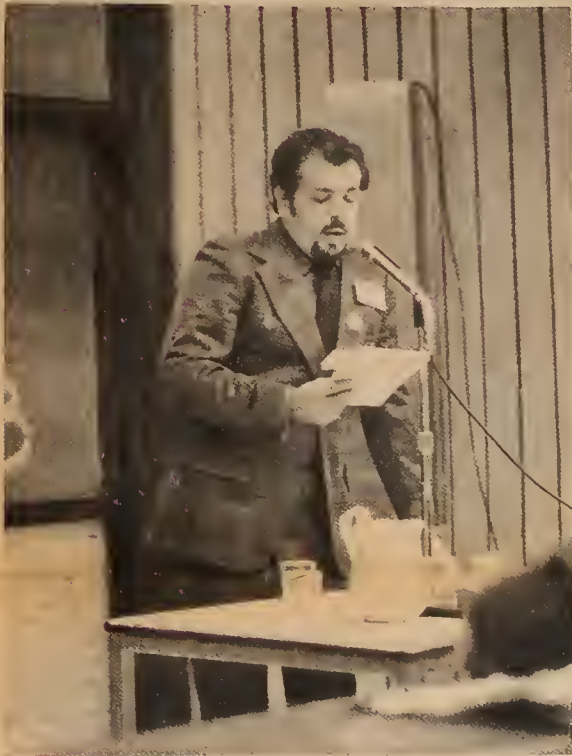
If you know of any artists or groups not yet contacted, please send a list of names to the catalogue committee to the following address:

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN ARTS CATALOGUE
191 Lippincott Street
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 2P3

Our phone number has changed and we can be reached at 921-6049 or 921-3602.

CONFERENCES, CONFERENCES

and more CONFERENCES



Andriy Chornodolsky, CESUS president.

The bland

Well, it looks as though the reactionaries made it again. Mainly due to the lack of an alternative, Chornodolsky and his slate was voted in at the CESUS conference. An effort to knock together an alternative at the last minute produced a mild flurry of excitement and sent Miss Kvitka Semanyshyn rushing around hissing "Tse svynstvo!" Chornodolsky might not be too bad, it was hopefully suggested: After all, he could "use his connections".

Perhaps one should not knock him, however. If all that is expected of CESUS president is writing hundreds of letters then he can surely do as well as anyone else. If his acceptance speech is any indication, Chornodolsky himself seemed more interested in other things: perhaps a career in Ukrainian politics, perhaps a slice of establishment's cake, "those positions" which the older generation have held onto for so long. Indeed, this sounds more exciting than writing all those boring letters asking for money from institutions who do not reply and who are more interested in their own banquets, travel expenses and those displays of affluence at the Four Seasons Sheraton Hotel.

Another painful scene repeated itself at the Plast congress in Detroit last month. Most of those diehards, the H.P.U. members, looked as though they would not live to the next congress but, nevertheless, they were determined to cling on and knock down any suggestions or innovations from below.

Favourite whipping-boy, Dr. Darewych, was of course, mercilessly attacked almost from the first speech. What was more disturbing was the manner in which the old guard showed their determination not to have a stone of the establishment touched.

Every tactic from filibustering to shamelessly ignoring motions was used. If one adds to this such "natural hazards" as a bad chairman, senile old men making their farewell speeches and wishing to dedicate their last years to working for Plast, endless discussions on minute details of a boy-scout's etiquette, one has a good picture of the chaos and frustration which dominated the whole proceedings.

One delegate finally stood up and exploded: "One of the rules of Plast conduct is

Honesty—what is happening here is dishonest."

As one newcomer to the proceedings remarked: "No asitrays in the conference hall (Plastuny are not supposed to smoke), ten dollars entrance for the banquet and no drinks (Plastuny are not supposed to drink) —what hypocrisy!" A little more of that youthful idealism Plast propagates might be practised in its own house.

At the TUSM conference in Cleveland last month, the right-wing took over. (To the average American-Ukrainian the "right" means "those who do not rock the boat" and the "left" is rapidly becoming synonymous with "capable of thinking critically" and "hard-working.") Those well-known Marxists, Bohdan Futala and Oles' Chemi, left the organization quietly after three years of hard work. Almost the only display of any dissatisfaction with the establishment at this conference was the passing of a motion refusing to send the annual greetings to Mr. Stetsko this year.

The general feeling after all this "Well politics is an old word and an older game, whether its Watergate, CESUS or Plast."

Reporting on the conferences in the Ukrainian press was, as usual, closer to fiction than to fact. "Homin Ukrainy" mentioned the voicing of "socialist opinions" in the CESUS discussion on national liberation struggles but ended the article with "common sense, however, in the end prevailed". It seems that nothing has changed. The Ukrainian press, through ignorance, apathy or by inclination still avoids expressing any critical opinion or taking any enquiring attitude. It is still interested in mere symbols: "a Congress took place", "300 people attended", "good sense prevailed", rather than admitting that CESUS will probably remain an ineffectual paper organization for another three years or that the Plast congress was a near-theatrical farce on the subject of senility.

And that's not all, there is still the World CYM congress, CKBY, provincial KYK conferences and more and more and more.

M. Vynnycluk



leading the bland. Miss Semanyshyn and Mr. Chornodolsky on the front row.

Стецько

Персонаж комедії Г. Ф. Квітки-Османенка "Сватання на Гончарівці", недоумкуватий, зарозумілий, парубок.

Вживається як синонім до слова "дурень".

з "Молодої України" (липень 1965 р.)

cont. from page 1.

тура», це дуже мала частинка того пережитого-відчутого, що ми називаємо культурним надбанням народу. Ще в 30-х роках Богдан Ігор Антонович писав: «Слід пригадати відому, не один раз висловлювану, проте ще несприятливу й непоширену правду, а саме, що національний характер не творить у мистецтві народна або історична тематика чи наслідування народних або наших давніх способів оформлення мистецького твору. Аж соромно повторювати такі трюїзми, але годі. Мистецтво само про себе є суспільною вартістю, а нація, це, очевидно, суспільство; отже мистецтво само про себе є також і національною вартістю. Мистець є тоді національним, коли признає свою приналежність до даної нації та відчуває співзвучність своєї пошуків із збірною психікою свого народу... Національної оригінальності не треба шукати виключно в невродливості та бувальщині. Їхня парадність і чистість є дуже та дуже сумнівна, в кожному разі не стовідсоткова. Борис Антоненко-Давидович у своїй відомій повісті «Смерть» говорить, що українська нація винайшла тільки «плахту й бандуру». Це, звичайно, помилка. Ми навіть бандури не винайшли, бо, як загально відомо, прийшла вона до нас звідси з Італії та ще й до цього дуже пізно».

Висновок з цього такий: культуру не можна ототожнювати з зовнішніми формами, в яких у даному часі вона себе виявляє. Але в яській громаді не передбачається відхилення від усталених норм: якщо не ходиш до церкви, носиш довге волосся чи не займаєшся йогою — ти вже не українець...

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

Сьогодні, коли організоване українське життя існує вже довгий час на цьому континенті, легко переконати себе, що тутешнє українське суспільство таки зберегло свою унікальність. І справді, існує різниця між українським та північно-американським суспільством — але тільки на перший погляд. Оцінюючи свої успіхи, українці користуються північно-американським мірилом — автами, заощадженнями, хмародерами. Політичне становище нашої громади покривається з офіційним, урядовим становищем до тієї міри, що навіть американська несамолюбність у Вестні не викликає сумнівів щодо характеру та намірів уряду, який за неї відповідає. Коли українці перестають судити незалежно про вартість, тоді й культура їхня стає пліткою, а різниця між нею й місцевою культурою — поверховою. Не дивно, отже, що молодь відвертається від українства, не бачачи в ньому нічого своєрідного.

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

УКРАЇНЬСЬКА МОВА В ДЕРЖАВНИХ ШКОЛАХ ОНТАРІО

Рух за введення української мови в державних школах Онтаріо почався приблизно в 1968 році. Перед тим були заходи Комітету України Канади в формі листів і петицій до міністра освіти Онтаріо, однак вони не дали бажаних успіхів.

В 1968 році рух за впровадження української мови в державних школах Онтаріо поживнявся головно тому, що в Управу КУК влилася «молода кров». Тоді було створено при КУК окремий комітет для переведення цієї справи, на чолі якого став учитель середньої школи і голова департаменту географії в Централ Тек, п. Вавришин, а членами — проф. Струк, проф. Буриштинський, мр. Шимко, проф. Даревич та проф. Дершко. Постійні інтервенції цього комітету в міністерстві освіти спочатку теж не мали успіхів. В той час міністром освіти Онтаріо був теперішній прем'єр Дейвіс.

Щойно в 1971 році, коли міністром освіти став Роберт Велш, етнічні групи Онтаріо, в тому числі й українці, дістали дозвіл і право на введення своїх рідних мов у державних школах.

Реалізація цієї справи стрінулася на практиці з поважними труднощами: треба було знайти кваліфікованих учителів і виготовити підручники та допоміжні матеріали згідно з вимогами міністерства освіти. Однак найважливішою справою було зацікавити й організувати учнів в поодинокі школах, які б домагалися введення навчання своєї рідної мови.

Результати подекуди були добрі, як наприклад в Тандер Бей та в Судбурах, де українці живуть у поважній кількості пропорційно до решти населення.

В Торонто було тяжче. В Раннімід Коліджіст Інститут в окрузі Йорк, де було велике число українських учнів, комітет вів переговори з директором школи літньої місяця. Хоч пані Сірко, трост Норм Гарріс і п. Юрій Лучків провадили посилену акцію, директор школи за кожним кроком ставив спротив. Він старався знеохотити учнів, подаючи їм неправдиві інформації, мовляв, українська мова — це втрачений кредит, або, щоб одержати повний кредит, треба мати дуже високу оцінку. Коли ж, все таки, на курс української мови записалося 39 учнів, директор школи вкотре скапітулював.

У Вестерн Тек, де вже був некредитований курс українознавства на вечірніх курсах для 200 студентів, коли заведено кредитовані денні курси української мови, директор школи «забув» подати українську мову на лисі про рази курсів.

У Блур Коліджіст Інститут заходи комітету провалилися через брак ініціативи й підтримки зі сторони учнів як також через диверсійні заходи учителя (директора) Роберта МекКоннелла та інших.

Найкращі успіхи були в Гамберсайд Коліджіст Інститут, де тепер навчають української мови в 11, 12 і 13 класах. Тут число учнів в українських класах перевищило кількість учнів в класах інших модерних мов. Виявляється, що це не тільки солом'яний вогонь: в 1972-73 на українську мову вписалося 85 студентів, в нв 1973-74 передбачають 130 студентів.

Що властиво рідше про успішні результати у введенні української мови в державних школах? Голова комітету при КУК, п. Вавришин, вважає, що найважливішим моментом є зацікавлення українських учнів і їхня ініціатива зв введення навчання їхньої рідної мови у їхній школі. Він подає приклад Гамберсайд Коліджіст Інститут, де українські учні дуже активні. Вони домоглися від директора дозволу звести окремий український відділ бібліотеки в їхній школі.

Приходить на думку питання, чому більшість директорів державних шкіл та Освітньої Ради є звичайно в опозиції до введення української мови в державних школах. На думку п. Вавришина причини є такі: По-перше, учителі інших чужих мов, наприклад, французької, німецької і т. п. побоюються, що втратять студентів своїх клас на користь курсів української мови. Це, між іншим, так і сталося. По-друге, директори, які змагаються до інтеграції шкіл, бояться, що їхня школа перетвориться у Вавилонську Вежу, якщо кожнв етнічна група заведе свою мову.

Однак, помімо цієї параної, цього року 7 державних шкіл в Онтаріо мають українську мову у своїх програмах навчання, а на другий рік 7 нових шкіл уведуть українську мову як повноцінний кредит у своїх програмах. Відрадною фактом було голосування Асоціації учителів модерних мов за встановлення відділу учителів української мови. Тільки два голоси було проти, між іншим звісний директор Блур Коліджіст Р. МекКоннелл.

Варто зробити малу дисгресію і відмітити факт, що перед першою світовою війною були вже введені двомавні (вигло-французькі й англо-українські) курси в державних школах, які однак пізніше закрили. Причиною зміни статуту української та інших етнічних груп були події зв'язані з першою світовою війною. По-перше, уряд відчув, що етнічні групи не асимілювалися і не були надто готові боротися в канадському війську часто проти країни, звідки вони походили. Коли український католицький єпископ Н. Букда зробив нетактовне політичне потягнення проповідуючи, щоб його вірні не билася проти Австро-Угорщини — це вже було рівнозначне зі зрадою Канади. Багато українців арештовано і заслано до концентраційного табору коло Капускесінг. Виходить, що перед першою світовою війною ми були в далеко кращій ситуації. Опісля треба було знову починаати майже спочатку, але цим разом ще й з ворожим наставленням до нас зі сторони уряду.

Справа погмалу поліпшується. Перші труднощі в зв'язку з введенням української мови в державних школах побороно. Дли навчання української мови в державних школах Онтаріо спочатку прийнято підручник-манускрипт проф. Данила Струка. Тепер учителі Вавришина і Дуравель є в процесі видання початкової граматики української мови. На видання цієї книжки одержано від уряду \$7,000.00. В цій книжці застосовано нову методику навчання, а саме аудіо-лінгвістичну. Цей дуже потрібний підручник появляється на початку вересня цього року.

Як бачимо, від 1968 року по сьогодні, зроблено велику роботу в справі введення української мови в державних школах Онтаріо. (Рівночасно українську мову признано як повнокредитовий курс в університетах Торонто, Оттви, Лондону, Ватерлоу й Гамілтоні.) Завдяки на-полегливим старанням комітету при КУК на чолі з п. Вавришином і при підтримці цього українського громадянства, а передусім українських учнів, що не раз проявляли велику ініціативу, здобуто значні успіхи.

Та не можна спочивати на лаврах. Ще треба зробити багато, щоб охопити всі державні школи Онтаріо, в яких є більше число українських учнів. Треба подбати, щоб навчання української мови в державних школах поставити на високому рівні, забезпечуючи ці курси висококваліфікованими учителями і добре підготованими підручниками.

Дальші успіхи залежатимуть від постави усіх українців Онтаріо, громадських провідників, а перш за все учнів-українців, що вчаться в державних школах.

Маріяна Гурко

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24-ГОДИННА СОЦІАЛНА ОВСЛУГА



ПН. ЛЯЛЯ КОМАР

Dear Ms. Komar:

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

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

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

Yours truly
Infuriated.

Dear Infuriated;

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

What you write about as "snobbery" is more often the inability of Ukrainian men and women to deal with each other as people and the confusion on both parts in dealing with each other by the trappings that men and women in the Ukrainian community are identified with. The women after all are the future mothers and the men, as typical of the general society, treat them as only suited for that purpose: of course, Ukrainian women do not think, cannot possibly be exciting to talk to, let alone have a relationship with. This problem is compounded by those Ukrainian women who constantly think about catching a husband, and paint themselves up like peacocks to entice men. They are encouraged by their families who ultimately see women's role in society as the mother and homemaker and by the Ukrainian organizations who push them into organizing teas and educating the youth. Men obviously in our community, are the thinkers, the political animal, the intellectual. The problem should be a concern for both women and men, who are forced to take on these roles.

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

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

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

co-operation be planned.

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

RIGHT ON INFURIATED, DO SOMETHING ABOUT YOUR CONDITION!

КУЛЬТУРНА ПОВЕДІНКА

Одиною з передумов життєвого успіху, й хто знає чи не найважливішою, — це культурна поведінка, це одним словом штука життя в громаді.

Розгляньмо ж по черзі чого від нас вимагатимуть, щоби ми могли завоювати собі ім'я культурної людини, або як англичці зовуть «бути джентелменом».

1. Чистота

Волосся причісууй старанно, але не масти його всякими брилянтинами аж до липкості.

2. Одяг

«Як тебе бачать так тебе цінують» каже прислів'я. Ніщо не відпихає більше від тебе товариства, як неохайність та заєдбаність в одязі. Можеш бути вбого вдягнений, але обов'язково мусиш бути вичищений, мусиш мати всі гудзики на своєму місці. Одяг не сміє воняти потом, беизиною, чи кухнею. В першу чергу сорочка мусить бути чистою і добре випрасувана. Те саме із хустиною до носа. Скарпетки обов'язково свіжі і цілі. Одяг повинен бути однотонний, в однім кольорі і одного крою. Зимною темний тяжкий, літом легкий, яскравий. Білий, а головню сорочки зимою білі, літом можуть бути і кольорові та не крикливі. Те саме відноситься до краватки. Криклива краватка зраджує брак доброго смаку естетичного. Капелюх чи шапку носи просто й в природний спосіб, бо саме простота це основна прикмета джентелмена.

3. Добра поведінка

В першу чергу постава твого тіла при зустрічі зі знайомим мусить бути природна. Пам'ятай однак, що погідність духа, легкий дотеп, добрий гумор це ознака здорової душі. Гляди прямо, а не спускай очей мов засоромлений. Сиди чи стій прямо. Пам'ятай, що гарні, природні і доцільні рухи викликають не раз більше чару, чим краса чи багаті прикраси.

Сидячи в гостині не втягай віг серед хати ані не закладай рук в кишені штанів.

Вистерігайся таких рухів, які є заборонені з одної сторони законами, а з другої таких, що противляться пристойності та естетичні, це значить таких, що викликають в оточенні обридження.

Не харкай і не плюй на долівку. На вулиці плюєш в хустину, дома до сплювачки. Не заглядай в хустину коли висакає носа. Не зівай в товаристві, а коли вже мусиш це зробити (десь в полізді чи почерзальні), то прислони завжди рота рукою і вистерігайся при тому стогнати, ричати. Одним словом зроби так, щоби навіть ніхто не помітив. Не чіхайся. Не добай ані не виривай собі волосків з носа. Не обгризай нігтів. Не стукай ногами чи криком.

Дальшою прикметою це спосіб говорення. Говори завжди спокійно і не надто голосно. Навіть коли говориш про речі, які тебе самого захоплюють або коли ти чимось подразнений, старайся говорити спокійно. Приро в товаристві вражають всякі недовгагання а мові як хрипливий голос, шепелявіння, загинування чи всякі непотрібні вставки в ролі «паузи», чи «чуси» або «знаєш» повторювані кілька разів в однім реченні.

4. Візити (відвідини)

Візитні картки крім імені і прізвища повинні мати теж подану адресу. Жівки вживають візитних карт без адреси і посилають їх своїм приятелькам чи сімейним родинам. Ніколи чоловікам.

При відвідинах хворих вручається візит й говоряться про веселі займаючі речі, ніколи про всякого рода клопоти чи про речі прикрі для нього.

При візитах коидоленційних не говори ніколи про помершого, щоби не доливати горя по втраті дорогої людини. При коидоленційній візиті говори лагідно, притишено і обов'язково вдягни темний одяг і темні рукавички. На візит не тягай із собою клунків чи собак.

5. Прийняття гостей

Коли ти прийшов в гості, то чекай аж господар тебе представить другим гостям. Ніколи не йди представляти сам себе. Уважай, щоби ти не стояв або не сидів обернений плечима до когось з гостей. В розмові старайся говорити своєю рідною мовою, хіба що хтось тебе чемно попросить, щоби ти перейшов на іншу мову, якщо можеш. Ніколи в гостях не говори на теми релігійні ані політичні, бо легко можеш замість приятелів з'єднати собі непотрібних ворогів, а господарям клопіт.

При привітанні і прощанні дивись прямо в лице другій особі та подавай цілу долоню. Не стискай поданої руки аж до болю ані не придержуй у своїй надто довго.

6. Прошений обід

Обов'язком чоловіка є завжди бавити свою сусідку з правого боку й пилькувати, щоби вона мала повну чарку і тарілку.

Не гаряло спиратись на стіну криєла ані лягати грудьми на стіл. Для других будь услужливий, але не подавай комусь через стіл або другим поплід ніс.

Не витягай з вази квітів. Не говори, коли маєш повний рот. Не чтай підчас їди. Коли не знаєш як і чим якусь страву їсти, дивись, як це роблять другі.

7. Весілля прийняття

Коли гості приходять вечером, тоді час приходити на гутірки або якихось культурних розвагах, як спів, музичні розваги чи літературні вечори.

Розмова ведеться про літератури, мистецтві, театральні, спортивні, рідше про родинні, чи домашньо-практичні справи. Гостиня є на те, щоби трохи відірватися від отчої буденщини.

Папире і паял курять папіроски. Некурцям подається цукорки або помадку.

Господар мусить пам'ятати, що не всі гості мають однакову голову, що не всі однаково витримують діїна алкоголю. Перепиттям шкодимо не лише здоров'ю людини, але можемо й замість приємності, справити багато клопотів. Тому обережно, дуже обережно з напінками, бо хата, до того ще культурна хата, це ве коршма.

Уривки з статті п. н. «Шлях до успіху», що появилася в "Календарі українця у Великій Британії на 1955 рік".

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The continuing debate on the CBC's discriminatory broadcasting policy received fresh impetus from several events this summer: the use of Gaelic was banned on a radio station in Cape Breton and a lively reaction to this event was seen in the press. The question of the banning was raised in the Commons on 21 September 1973 and referred to the Standing Committee on Broadcasting. Opinion against the CBC has begun to harden and with the approach of the CRTC hearings in October and conferences on multiculturalism this autumn, further developments are expected. Some of the materials dealing with this discussion are reprinted below.

Message from the President

The issues that presently face SUSK are many and varied. There is the question of multilingual broadcasting on the CBC-AM radio network, the question of the oppression of Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals, as well as the relationship between the Ukrainian-Canadian student and post-secondary education. Also there is a need to develop Ukrainian cultural programmes, such as the organizing of a Ukrainian writers conference, and the development of closer ties between the various Ukrainian youth organizations.

This list is by no means exhaustive but, rather, it is a general outline of our work in the coming year. Presently, the question of multilingual broadcasting on the CBC is one of our main concerns. To facilitate an input of ideas on this matter, a resume of our position regarding this item follows as such:

The question of multilingual broadcasting arose from the CBC's cancellation of ethnic programmes on a recently purchased radio station. The question has developed beyond this specific case to encompass the whole of the CBC radio network.

Basically the conflict centres around the interpretation of the Broadcasting Act. It is section 3 of the Act that enunciates Canada's broadcasting policy. Here we find expressed the ideals to which Parliament felt the Canadian broadcasting system should be directed, the most important of which (for our purposes) is to "contribute to the development of national unity and provides for a continuing expression of Canadian identity."

In order to implement this policy, the Act engaged two agencies: the Canadian Radio and Television Commission, which is to supervise and regulate all aspects of Canadian broadcasting; and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, a publicly owned corporation bound to pursue the policy of the Act, but nevertheless falling under the jurisdiction of the CRTC.

Now, our increased concern for national unity is not unnatural. Canada is a country where geographic factors militate against inter-relationships on a cross-country basis. Combined with the influence of North American mass culture, this obstructs cooperation and mutual understanding among Canadians. Geographic barriers lead to an inability to appreciate the differing values of the various groups that make up our society, and this in turn manifests itself as a problem of national unity.

Just as a society in general, so too the continued development of a society's component ethno-cultural communities is crippled by geographic barriers. Not having one geographic base, being dispersed inter-provincially, ethno-cultural minorities see

geographic barriers as a challenge to their power of self-determination as communities.

The common denominator of members of an ethno-cultural community is their culture. But culture is not something that an individual retains for himself—it is not a personality trait—rather, it is something that he shares with others. Broadcasting for this reason must be the most important present priority for ethno-cultural minorities—IT IS A QUESTION OF SURVIVAL AS COMMUNITIES. Through broadcasting ethno-cultural communities can link one member to another and thereby strengthen their inter-provincial community ties. This is just as important to the overall society as it is to each ethno-cultural community involved, because as each ethno-cultural community strengthens its inter-provincial ties it also strengthens Canadian unity.

Furthermore, broadcasting has an important role in reflecting Canadian identity. Too often we helplessly witness the media propagating North American mass culture with its potent assimilative force. The influence of North American mass culture was one of the motivating forces behind the Federal Government's multicultural policy.

The work which stands before us as members of SUSK is both exciting and important. It is so not only to the development of the community but also to our personal development. Through active participation in interesting areas, we come closer to understanding who we are and what is the purpose for our existence. This is a process which does not occur in "normal" post-secondary school studies, but in many ways this "internal education" is more important than the "external education" of school. In the end it will be the former that decides how useful the latter will be.

Thus we have a symbiotic relationship with SUSK since the basis of SUSK's strength is the participation of individuals. Both club executives and the National Executive can come up with myriads of interesting projects but they will merely become intellectual flotsam without you, the individual student's involvement. You are SUSK. Not the national executive nor the club executive, but you, the student in university, technical college, teachers' college, agricultural college, etc. working together with these executives.

Though there are certain issues set before the national executive and we in turn have set out certain ways to tackle these issues, it has not been possible to consider all the aspects of these issues. This is where you, the individual member of SUSK, are important. Everyone has an idea of what to do concern-

ing a certain issue. For this reason the national executive has set up various policy committees. If you have any ideas concerning any specific topic or project dealing with the Ukrainian community here in Canada or in Ukraine send them in so that they can be used. Every idea and comment is important if you believe it is important. All issues and projects of any organization such as SUSK are relevant to the national executive if they are relevant to individual people within SUSK.

It is as important that as many people as possible take part in the decision-making process and also in the implementation of policies. Once more it will be local initiative and personal commitment that will give us strength. We can do a great deal together and we will do a great deal together.

Once Canadian identity was recognized as multicultural, one would expect that a broadcasting system that is to reflect Canada's identity would start multicultural broadcasting. However, the proscription against the use of languages other than English and French has been maintained by claiming that the silence of section 3 with respect to broadcasting in other languages is a mandate to keep the status quo.

The curious claim that the multicultural character of Canada can be reflected by English and French broadcasting shows a basic ignorance about the relationship between culture and language. Without a strong language orientation Canada's multicultural policy will buy us, for many millions of dollars, nothing more than a short term illumination of a variety of cultural groups. It must be understood that without its own language, a culture evolves into a caricature. A different language cannot assist in the development of another culture because each language is the result of a unique set of socio-cultural conditions and thus cannot be readily used to transmit the full meaning and weight of another culture.

If we are serious about our multicultural society, then we must as far as possible advance the position of each of our minority Canadian languages. Clearly if language is the key to culture then a multicultural identity cannot be reflected in a bilingual broadcasting service.

However, to change the existing situation, be it in the CBC or the Ukraine, requires personal commitment and initiative. Only by working together will we be able to create those things we believe are necessary and thus benefit society. We have a job to do.

Yuri Dashko

The CBC's decision to remove Gaelic from the CBI program MacTalla an Eilean is significant to the accelerating Cape Breton Gaelic revival mainly because it appears to reflect Federal Government indecision about the importance of language to its multiculturalism policy. Many ethnic groups, including the Cape Breton Gaels, have long since concluded that preservation of language is essential to preservation of true culture. But the Federal policy makers still have the question under study and the CBC appears to have already made its collective mind up. "Multiculturalism yes, multilingualism no," said CBC vice-president Lister Sinclair in Halifax last week. In the bluntest terms, he noted that the CBC just can't afford multilingual programming. Which makes sense in terms of network programming, but not in terms of local programs originating from the many strategically located CBC outlets such as CBI. However, with Gaelic being recognized by local private radio, the removal of the language from MacTalla an Eilean doesn't pose any threat to the future of the Gaelic revival, and despite the editorial comment in Saturday's Cape Breton Post, the local Gaels have no interest in going national. So the immediate problem is the effect that the CBC's negative attitude to multilingualism might have on the Ottawa planners, a group that can be expected to react more strongly to cold financial arguments than to a pro-multilingualism case founded on soulful cultural considerations. (In that regard they might examine Devco President Tom Kent's statement on the relevance of Gaelic to the economic redevelopment of Cape Breton.) Mr. Kent's statement is the most productive and hard-nosed to come out of the MacTalla an Eilean controversy and will hopefully do much to counter the CBC input to the multilingualism debate.

Anyone who's been confused at some of the other comment heard over the past week would do well to read the Gaelic Society of Cape Breton's publication Caidreabh 72, which is in effect, a manifesto for the Gaelic revival movement in Cape Breton.

In regard to the special status of Gaelic in Cape Breton for instance, to the "Gaelicness" of the people, Professor John A. MacDonald, principal lecturer in Celtic at Jordanhill College in Glasgow said: "In British Columbia I met many Gaelic speakers all of whom had



"Ukraine on, eh?" Hossled by Vuyko nusi

Gaelic

On Aug. 15, The Globe carried a front-page story, CBC Ban on Gaelic Program Angers Cape Breton Scots. Let me assure you that Cape Breton Scots were not the only ones angered by the CBC move.

The CBC policy prohibiting the use of languages other than English and French in broadcasting (with the exception of Indian and Eskimo languages in the Northland?) is to be deeply deplored. It reflects the attitude of appointed ears, who would protect the Canadian from undue Americaniza-

tion, balkanization, a identity with a general nadiana as The Wives both R, and the Fors.

The CBC Language Sinclair is using to than English and F stations is not to be t That policy is a CBC tion '3 of the Broado n' only conflicts with the policy as mentioned i violates the policy of Act (which protects from discrimination),

hosts: Culture without Language

learned Gaelic, their mother tongue, in their native Scotland, but among those I met only one young person, born and bred in Vancouver, who spoke Gaelic. There was a vague and general interest in things Scottish but as a selection of the wider community our Gaelic speakers in British Columbia did not even attempt to establish any kind of ethnic identity.

"I was aware that things were different in Cape Breton and I had from time to time read about the early settlers and had heard and read some of their songs and stories. At the same time it was difficult to imagine that there did exist in this day and age, so far from the homeland, a community supremely confident in their language and traditions. I was amazed, to say the least of it, to meet such fluency in Gaelic and I was equally intrigued to find our native dialects so beautifully preserved."

As for the attitude of the Gaelic movement to other cultures, especially the French, here's what Caidreabh 72 had to say on the subject of identity: "What is identity but an acceptance of one's origins? French Canada has abandoned an identity created for it by non-French Canadians and the new freedom has given Canada its first genuine cultural movement. They did it on racial terms, but for the most part avoided the evils of racism because they avoided making value judgments about other cultures. Ukrainians, Germans, Italians, and even Gaels want to strengthen their cultural identities. Everyone has a different approach but they have a reasonably good chance of success providing they avoid destructive value judgments."

And of Ottawa's new multiculturalism policy, the Gaelic Society had this to say: "Without a strong language orientation Canada's multicultural policy will buy us, for many millions of dollars, nothing more than a short term illumination of a variety of cultural groups. It will be of great entertainment value to everybody and it could even lead to creative exchanges between the various groups."

"But the light will wane steadily as Canada's third languages decline and eventually will be extinguished as the last of our real tradition bearers passes away — the kilted figures will continue to dance to the bagpipes, but when the language is gone it will be the dancing and music of ghosts."



Talking finance

"Ceud Mile Faighte, eh? That's Gaelic, isn't it?"

"Why yes, Mr. Sinclair, Gaelic it is. We have quite a few Gaelic speakers here in Cape Breton. We've been providing them with a program locally called Island Echoes which is bilingual, English and Gaelic."

"Gad, Gaelic on the CBC? You jest. Haven't you read the CBC Manual, my good man? Don't you know that only native tongues are permitted on the CBC. Goodness me." "Well, Gaelic is considered a native tongue here, Mr. Sinclair. We have thousands of natives who speak it."

"That's not what I mean by a native tongue. Wait till I get out my trusty manual so I can tell you exactly what is meant by a native tongue as it applies to the CBC." "I really don't see why you should be so excited, Mr. Sinclair. There's not really all that much Gaelic. There's singing, violin selections and pipe tunes. It's quite harmless, actually."

"My dear man, we have sections in the manual to cover all those items, violin music, singing, Gaelic or

otherwise, and piping also. Now let me see. It seems Gaelic singing, and musical selections, violin or pipes or even accordion or what have you would be quite acceptable on the network, but never the spoken word. Now we must decide what steps are to be taken in this matter. First, any Gaelic interviews are out, completely."

"What if the interviews were sung, would that qualify under whatever section governs these matters?"

"I fail to see the humor in that remark. I also fail to understand how you were unaware of the CBC rulings on these matters. What do you do with your manuals? Use them for doorstops? Now, let me see. I suppose we could deplete the Gaelic spoken word from this program over a certain length of time. Perhaps six months to a year. How would that be? Sort of a phasing-out process?"

"Well, one thing we do have in Cape Breton is tremendous expertise on the subject of phasing-out processes whether it be phasing out a coal mine, a Coastguard College or Vocational School classes. I might warn you, however,



we also have experts on reaction to phasing-out programs who can become quite vociferous if they choose to do so."

"Be that as it may. We will begin by depleting all Gaelic words beginning with the letter 'a' this week and all the Gaelic words beginning with the letter 'b' next week, and so on until the spoken word has been phased out completely."

"Won't that be somewhat hard on the MC, not to mention the effect it may have on the listeners?"

"Well, it will simply mean closer attention to the preparation of a script, that's all. I'm sure it can be accomplished quite easily. In fact, I feel that settles things here nicely. I really have very important matters to which I must attend. We're planning great things in regional programming which will allow all of Canada to hear each region of this great country as it really is, except for the spoken word, of course. Can you imagine Canadians in Vancouver hearing the Gaelic language on the CBC? Or Canadians in Sydney hearing Ukrainian

originating, say from Edmonton? Hardly. We must have a truly national network all across this great country. We have chosen to be a mosaic rather than a melting pot. Don't you love that line? I use it all the time. And as a great, truly Canadian network, we must be very discriminating in what we air."

"Well, if the network is going to start, telling us what to wear."

"I said 'air', not 'wear'. Although that kilt and tam o' shanter are hardly suitable for office apparel."

"Well, we knew of your Gaelic heritage and we hoped to impress you by wearing these."

"My good man, my heritage has nothing to do with it. It's the CBC we are discussing. Your heritage has nothing to do with it either. We have no intentions of doing anything to erode ethnic cultures. But it is hardly our job to save them. We must confine ourselves to our native tongues. Take it from me, friend, it's the easiest way out."

(The Highlander, 22 Aug. 1973)



Vuyka outside CTV

alkalization, and other threats to our with a generous serving of such Ca- as The Wives of Henry VIII, Eliza- and the Forsyte Saga.

CBC Language Policy, which Lister is using to force languages other English and French off CBC-owned is not to be tolerated by Canadians. is a CBC interpretation of Sec- of the Broadcasting Act which not conflicts with the federal multicultural is mentioned in your article, but also the policy of the Official Languages high, protects non-official languages discrimination, and conflicts with the



Planning tactics

CRTC policy which interprets Section 3, the very same section, in a different way.

Either the CBC language policy must be changed, or the multicultural policy, the Official Languages Act, and the CRTC policy must be changed—one or the other. Perhaps bureaucrats of Mr. Sinclair's ilk in the CBC would be wise to visit Cape Breton Island to reflect upon their avowed goal of "providing for a continuing expression of Canadian identity" through the CBC. Since the removal of ethnic-language programs on CBC in St. Boniface, it would certainly not be advisable for Mr. Sinclair to venture as far as Manitoba, for there he will be

"inundated" by ethnic battle-hymns and manifestos by wild-eyed cossacks.

Andriy Semotuk
President Ukrainian Canadian University
Students' Union
Toronto

(Globe and Mail 22 Aug. 1973)

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What can we learn about the Anglo-Left?

A left-wing commentary on the article, "The Unmaking of the Minister of Culture."

by W. Asper

Rae Murphy (*Last Post*, Sept. 1973) is one of those rare occurrences, someone in Canada's "left-wing establishment" who has actually acknowledged multiculturalism. In fact, you would be hard pressed to think of another leftist who has written anything on the subject in the past decade.

True, as a member of the "establishment" *Last Post* editorial board, it behooves Murphy to toe traditional policy and style in his writing. Thus we get limits in his article—he normally stops at criticizing the "right" with no attempt to improve on positions in the "left", in a style usually marked by cynicism rather than analysis.

Readers should not be surprised. *Last Post* is the kind of magazine which (along with the government's CBC ads) places advertisements for revolutionary marxist literature on the page exactly opposite from a blurb for the far from revolutionary Soviet, "Progress Books".

Despite this ideological potpourri, Murphy offers us a number of comments and impressions which, on the one hand, might be said to characterize the thinking of the Canadian left; while on the other, the views of Anglo-Canadians on multiculturalism. What then, can non-Anglo, left-wing proponents of multiculturalism learn about the views of this, the Anglo-Left "establishment"?

Lesson 1

The first impression one has is that Murphy's chauvinism is a little more moderate, if not qualitatively different, from that which we normally have come to expect from Anglo-Canadians. A realist, he neither denies the multiplicity, nor magnitude, of ethno-cultural communities. And unlike those reactionary apostles of Anglo hegemony, his premise seems to be that power could well be stretched to include other minorities. But his sympathies are fuzzy and lack consistency. His most progressive comments are taken uncredited from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's Brief to "Heritage Ontario," and he mocks the "ethnic" nature of government-supported programmes without really attempting to provide alternatives in the political interests of ethno-cultural groups. Murphy's opinions, like those of the *Last Post*, are those of the moderately reformist Anglo-Left.

One can learn a major lesson about the Anglo-Left if one cares to examine Murphy's opinions more closely. Firstly, his opinions are not those of the culturally quasi-American. Originating among those of British cultural descent, this cultural pattern resulted when this charter group stopped attempting to create culture, in English, independently of the United States. Rather than drawing on the strengths of the British-Canadian cultural heritage, this category was sucked into the American cultural orbit. Their cultural product in Canada is a standardized and weak form of "Americana." I do not think that Murphy's writing belongs to this category. He belongs to that section of Anglo-Canadians who understand the imperialism of American culture in Canada. He tries, if not to negate then to neutralize it by concentrating on things Canadian.

Lesson 2

The second and overriding fact one meets is the almost total obliviousness in the "left establishment" to recent theoretical advances made in debates on multiculturalism. This ongoing analysis has reconfirmed, and extended, many principles consistent with progressive social analysis. These include: (1) analyzing disparate power relationships among ethno-cultural groups using class-conflict analogies; (2) looking at assimilation and its relationship to control of the

work place; (3) resting the future existence of ethno-cultural pluralism on the concept of group democracy; and, (4) showing concrete ways in which social change may be made relevant and realistic to vast sections of the Canadian peoples. None of this analysis seems to have penetrated to the "establishment" Left.

Nor, it seems, is the Left aware of the dynamic oppositional process now underway within minority groups as a result of the emasculated version of multiculturalism the federal government has introduced. The struggle for groups rights, as with the native population, has revealed to a large number of people the contradictions between theory and practice in the government's policy. Although feigning citizen participation, the Federal and Provincial governments do not allow community controlled representative bodies any significant role in decisions on public spending which fundamentally affect their community lives. Murphy criticizes government practise but in doing so throws the baby out with the bath-water—for the multicultural theory under which the government is operating is based on notions of democratization and equal distribution of resources, in the field of social policy. Attaining such a policy concession from the government (albeit theoretical) is a major accomplishment, and should be supported.

But there is a difference between Murphy's Anglo-Canadianism and that of the Irish, Welsh and Scottish-Canadian communities. Unlike people in this category, Murphy's type of Anglo-Canadianism has no collective sense and no sense of community culture. It is largely individualistic and only occasionally dabbles in collective existence. As the dominant charter members of Canadian society, Anglo-Canadians had no need to develop culture collectively. After all, Canada's institutions were theirs, and they were THE social models. The sense of "community" which ethno-cultural groups know: the relative insignificance of competitive individualism and class conflict within these communities; the sense of historical and linguistic differentiation from the general society—these are the attributes which Anglo-Canadians are unaware of.

The Anglo-Canadian society is structured and differentiated within itself. In many ways segments of that society are not politically self-conscious, and are often themselves not aware of how they function in their own group-interest—calling their assumptions "normal" while they discriminate against the Canadian minorities. Proponents of multiculturalism should be aware how deeply ingrained Anglo-Canadian biases are. Even after experiences with French-Canada, the reformist Anglo-Left has still not identified its own groups' ideology and must be confronted with its own ethnocentrism.

Increasingly the collective political consciousness (what Murphy calls "nationalism") of many communities is being harnessed to progressive social movements in Canada because of the resistance of the Federal and Provincial governments to the implementation of multiculturalism in areas such as education, social welfare, and mass communications. This is clearly obvious in Quebec. The Ukrainian-Canadian community, too, is a case in point. Over the past several years, large segments of the community have begun to reexamine their relationship to the status quo, and to seek an understanding of why nationality and racial discrimination continue to exist.

Haidasz, on the other hand, perhaps has recognized this potential "danger", and in response initiated his ridiculous plan to give the "ethnic" press (i.e. press published in the other Canadian languages) 1/4 million dollars in useless advertising. Since the Ethnic Press Federation later passed a resolution defending Haidasz's action (1), we can assume that Haidasz's buy-a-friend politics

succeeded.

The "left establishment", although criticizing, has defaulted in trying to win the support of ethno-cultural communities. True, some comments and policies of the Left have condemned the exploitation of immigrants as a class. But this kind of analysis has not been articulated in defense, not of immigrants, but of long established Canadian ethno-cultural communities. These cultural-linguistic groups, as with French-Canadians and the native peoples, have been ignored, misunderstood and exploited as a class. The Left must educate and convince Canada's minorities of their concern for them as community entities and must support multiculturalism as the advance of their political achievement. Socialism and multiculturalism are mutually supporting analyses. The Left is defeating itself by not understanding and championing this issue.

Lesson 3

Murphy's article in *Last Post* is heavily dependent on his image of Ukraine and the role of the Ukrainian-Canadian Community in its national liberation. In view of Murphy's errors in fact and judgement, his thesis, which extends the "establishment Left's" opinions, deserves some comment.

Despite what Murphy has been told by some obviously very conservative people, the dynamics of history are increasingly carrying such groups as Ukrainian-Canadians to support a socialist analysis with relationship to their group's country of origin: Ukraine.

This occurs partly because groups such as Ukrainians are in essence international in character, having minority communities in countries around the world. The multiplicity of ideologies in host countries forces a synthesis and the development of progressive politics. Secondly, today Ukraine (along with other Republics of the USSR) is in process of building to a revolution of national liberation. The majority of analyses being developed in the Ukrainian SSR, and supported by the Ukrainian-Canadian community, are extensions of socialist thought. For example the relationship of nationalism to revolutionary change is being understood both for its implications in the USSR as well as in Canada. This is internationalism working in its most dynamic way.

However, in his article, Murphy ignores this entirely. By reading from a 1940 source, he implies that the Ukrainian community is pro-fascist and right-wing. This then is the third major lesson: how the "Anglo-left es-

tablishment" currently sees the Ukrainian community and its politics towards Ukraine. No doubt the "establishment" has been influenced by that section of our community which centers around the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC). It is their anti-revolutionary and pro status-quo position of Ukraine that Murphy is humming. Ukrainian-Canadian socialists have been passive in this respect far too long. The AUUC has been unchallenged in the pro-Soviet and Stalinist false images of Ukraine that it has presented to the Canadian Left. The result is that the Canadian Left has the warped conception of Ukrainian politics and history. The Canadian Left, seemingly, is unaware of the 1917-1919 socialist revolutionary traditions of the "Tsentralna Rada," of the "Trudovi Kongress" and the "Directoria", and the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, and equally unaware of how the communism of the Ukrainian SSR during 1920-30 was destroyed from without and replaced by an imperialistic Russifying centralist bureaucracy. (It is not aware how a popular national liberation movement, which was developing an increasingly socialist programme, fought both Nazis and Soviets during the war.) And perhaps most critical, the "left establishment" seems to be deaf to the writings of socialist dissidents in Ukraine today. Ignorant of the reality of history, the Canadian "left establishment" falsely misinterprets what are complex Ukrainian politics.

The lesson this time for the Canadian Left, is that it must begin to appreciate the historical experiences which make up Ukrainian-Canadian politics with respect to Ukraine. The "left establishment" must understand that Ukrainian socialism has been moulded in the crucible of practice, and that its comprehension of the means for a democratic revolution in Ukraine may not be consistent with establishment views.

There is a gap, then, between Ukrainian-Canadian socialists and their "establishment" colleagues. The lesson to be learned is that the Canadian Left has a responsibility to interact and aid in the development of Ukrainian-Canadian politics so that its policies with respect to Ukraine continue to be progressive. On the other hand Ukrainian-Canadians also have a responsibility to interact with the Canadian Left, and, as in the case of multiculturalism and the Ukraine, to place progressive policies to the fore.

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Emerging opposition currents in the USSR

By Ted Hording

[The following article is reprinted from the spring 1973 issue of *International*, theoretical journal of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

The political atomization of Soviet society is perhaps the most difficult of Stalin's legacies to overcome. However, after decades of life under a system of terror which froze society in a state of immobility and inertia, people in the USSR are slowly reacquiring the habits of forming and expressing independent political opinions. Ever since Stalin's death in 1953, a rise in political consciousness has been increasingly apparent. It has been an uneven process, but the long-term trend is undeniable. Moreover, in the last few years the process has been accelerating. This growing repoliticization, and the various opposition groups it has thrown up, are the signs that the beginning of the end of the bureaucratic ascendancy is now imminent.

The struggle of the new Soviet oppositions for the political regeneration of their society is taking place under extremely difficult conditions. An appreciation of some of these conditions is central to an understanding of the contemporary dissident movement.

Problems of Opposition

First, there are tremendous obstacles standing in the way of the theoretical development of that opposition. Stalinism bequeathed Soviet society a profound ideological disarray by discrediting the ideas of Marxism. The struggle to discover the real meaning of revolutionary Marxism is the major ideological task facing the Soviet oppositions.

In this struggle for Marxist theory, the Soviet oppositions are without access to information about world revolutionary developments. This means that the Marxist dissident gets very little support and encouragement from developments outside the Soviet Union and cannot profit from the discussions and experiences of the international revolutionary left. The May 1968 events in France, for example, whose importance in the rise of revolutionary vanguards in Europe needs no emphasizing, are totally unknown to the Soviet dissident. All he can know about May 1968 is what he read in his press and what he heard from the Voice of America. The Soviet press presented the events as the sabotage, by a section of students led by "werewolves" like Cohn-Bendit backed up by Katanga mercenaries, of the peaceful efforts of the French Communist party to win better wages for workers. Needless to say, the Voice of American Imperialism did not present a much truer picture of events.

Secondly, the Soviet dissident is denied knowledge of his own history. The period of the twenties is a closed book. Documents of that period are all kept under lock and key in closed library sections. It is dangerous for a Soviet citizen even to study carefully books of that period which the authorities themselves have published. One Soviet student was recently expelled from Moscow University for an intensive reading of a Bukharin text on sale at Soviet bookshops. Ivan Dzyuba, a Ukrainian dissident, had his entire Lenin library confiscated for taking an "unhealthy" interest in Lenin's writings on the national question.

Thirdly, in the purges Stalin eliminated an entire generation of Bolsheviks. An official Yugoslav estimate is that between 1936 and 1938, 3 million people were executed, 6 million were sent to camps (few to return), another 8 million were arrested. This of course does not include the hundreds of thousands who were victims of earlier repression, or the thousands of Trotskyists shot in the Vorkuta camps. With the physical annihilation of an entire generation of Bolsheviks, the revolutionary Marxist tradition in the Soviet Union received a monumental defeat. When sections of Soviet youth began once again to become to some degree politicized, they tried to search out former camp inmates and remaining old Bolsheviks—but these were few and far between. Whenever the youth did come in contact with an old Bolshevik who could answer their questions, and offer a key to the understanding of contemporary society, their political development was remarkably rapid. The old Bolshevik Kosterin, when released from concentration camp, politicized a circle of people whose names read like a Who's Who of the Soviet opposition—Grigorenko, Yakir, and Yakhimovich, to name only a few.

Finally, the Soviet bureaucracy maintains a massive apparatus of police repression. The existence of this secret police apparatus is of course a sign of the chronic instability of the regime. It is evident that social control in the Soviet Union can only be maintained by direct and constant invigilation. The police system penetrates society, isolates the individual, and fragments his socio-political existence. Under such conditions, discussion and political debate is an extremely dangerous enterprise. The bureaucracy unleashes one wave of repression after another in a desperate effort to suppress even the most partial repoliticization. Over the last year, the Soviet leadership has opened up its latest sweeping campaign against dissidents. Hundreds of oppositionists have been arrested—over 150 in the Ukraine alone.

So if the Soviet oppositions often appear naive, confused, and feeble, Marxists in the West, before leaping to criticize them, should make a serious effort to understand the difficult conditions in which they develop.

Opposition Currents

For Trotskyists, there are four key questions concerning opposition in the Soviet Union. 1) To what extent does it exist within the working class? 2) To what extent do the various dissident groupings understand that the central political contradiction of Soviet society is that between the working class and the bureaucracy? 3) To what degree have they broken with all conceptions of the reformability of the bureaucracy? 4) Do the demands they raise have an antibureaucratic revolutionary dynamic?

These questions cannot at present be answered adequately. It is almost impossible to ascertain the relative weight and importance of the various oppositional currents in the Soviet Union because of the very scanty information that reaches the West and the necessarily clandestine nature of much of their activity. There is no need to dwell on the problems of making a proper analysis, but clearly these are formidable.

There are three broad trends of antibureaucratic opposition in the Soviet Union. The most visible from outside the country is constituted by the dissi-

dent intellectuals. These have focussed primarily on the issue of civil rights, fighting for the intelligentsia's most cherished right of free expression and communication. But the denial of such basic democratic rights in the Soviet Union is an absolutely indispensable aspect of bureaucratic rule. The bureaucracy cannot grant such rights as freedom of speech, press, and assembly without fundamentally undermining the very basis of its power. The struggle of the intellectuals for democratic rights is therefore situated within the dynamic of permanent revolution. In order to secure democratic rights, the intelligentsia has ultimately to pose the question of the abolition of the bureaucracy as such.

The second major current of antibureaucratic opposition in the Soviet Union is the struggle of the national minorities. In a society where 46.6 percent of the total population is non-Russian, the issue of national oppression is critically important. The struggle to end national oppression in the Soviet Union is intensifying sharply, as the recent riots in Lithuania indicate. In the non-Russian republics a powerful indigenous proletariat has been created by the development of industry. It is they who are destined to be the leaders of the national minorities in all their future struggles.

Finally, there is opposition within the working class, which is at present focussed on questions of poor living conditions, price increases, etc. Unfortunately, we know least about this most important of all oppositions. In fact, as one Soviet dissident, Andrei Amalrik, has written: "No one, not even the bureaucratic elite, knows exactly what attitudes prevail among wider sections of the population." The upper strata of society, he continues, have "a surrealistic image of the working masses." (*Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, London, 1970, p. 30.)

There are, of course, other forms of opposition to the existing regime—some of them extremely reactionary. Among the most important of these are the Jewish movement to leave the Soviet Union for Israel; the various religious groups such as the Baptists; and the various Russian nationalist and Slavophile groups. It would be wrong to leave the impression that these currents are insignificant: quite the contrary.

Russian nationalism/Slavophilism, for example, is becoming a major influence among the upper strata of Soviet society. This current is reactionary through and through. It is racist and chauvinist. It attacks the regime for "betraying traditional Russian values," and attacks Marxism as a "foreign transplant." It rejects the October Revolution as "un-Russian," and eulogizes the "mystical qualities of the

Great Russian soul." The credo of this current is best expressed by a recent samizdat document called "A Word to the Nation," signed by "Russian patriots." The "patriots" write: "We are facing the threat of biological degeneration. This danger threatens not only us but the entire white race. If we do not take timely measures we may live to see ourselves playing the part of pawns or at best passive observers in the battle between the black and yellow races for world supremacy. Democratic institutions do not play a healing role, but rather aggravate the disease. . . . More important to us than the victory of democracy over dictatorship is the moral reorientation of dictatorship, an ideological revolution of sorts. . . . Long live the victory of Christian civilization over the chaos which has

arisen against it! Long live a great, single, and indivisible Russia!" ("A Word to the Nation," *Survey*, Summer 1971.)

It is well known in the Soviet Union that Slavophiles have the backing of many high party and secret police officials. While a left oppositionist like Grigorenko is locked up for over three years in a psychiatric hospital, notorious reactionaries like Osipov produce and circulate their rubbish in relative freedom. The officially sponsored "Rodina (Motherland) Clubs" are known to everyone in the Soviet Union as one of the principal centers of this form of reaction.

These right-wing elements of opposition, however, despite their importance, will not be examined in this article, which will confine itself to those with an antibureaucratic revolutionary dynamic.

Working-Class Opposition

The struggle of the Soviet working class against the bureaucracy has centred primarily on questions of social and economic inequality, low wages, poor living conditions, price increases, and the severe factory regime. This struggle is bound up with the state of the Soviet economy, which must therefore be described briefly.

The Soviet economy today suffers from a deep malaise. Figures for 1971 show that the growth of real income per capita has been the slowest for nearly a decade. The 1972 statistics for the yearly plan-fulfillment of the current five-year plan show that there has been no significant increase in consumer goods. The plan for housing in 1972 was once again underfulfilled by 10 percent. In the same period, national income per head grew about 3 percent per annum; but if one takes into account recent price increases, then the growth in national income per head is negligible. At the same time as the economy stagnates, the educational level, industrial experience, and expectations of the Soviet working class have increased. The promise of a consumer society, which the bureaucracy held out to the working class after Stalin's death, has failed to materialize, and there is bitter resentment.

Unable to organize itself into genuine trade unions or other autonomous organizations, with no real possibility for expressing its class interests, the Soviet working class has remained seemingly passive. Of course, any organized form of opposition with generalized demands is difficult in the context of a factory regime which keeps detailed files on every worker, where every worker must carry a "labour book" which registers his work record, and where an extensive system of informers on the shop floor keeps the secret police informed of opinions expressed. Under these conditions, much working-class opposition is an opposition of despair, expressed through individual acts. This takes the form of industrial sabotage, extremely shoddy production, high rates of absenteeism about which the press complains almost daily, rampant alcoholism, and what Soviet bureaucrats call "acts of organized hooliganism."

But the Soviet working-class opposition has not been limited to this type of activity. There have been literally hundreds of occasions in the last decade when the working class has broken out into more open protest, often in the form of violent spontaneous outbursts. It is interesting to note the speed with which these outbursts develop, and how quickly they spread if the bureaucracy fails to contain them by cordoning off the city in which they occur. In 1962, for example, when Khrushchev announced

Cont. on back page.

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price increases in meat and dairy products, the action was greeted in many factories in the Soviet Union with sit-down strikes, work stoppages, and street demonstrations. In Novocherkassk the working class marched to the Party headquarters to protest against the increases. This march sparked off a riot, and within a day the riots had spread to other cities in the region, such as Donetsk (the mining centre) and Zhdanov. Special KGB [secret police] divisions had to be flown in to suppress the disturbances. A similar situation occurred last summer, when large-scale riots were reported in Dneprodzerzhinsk and Dnipropetrovsk, sparked off by a strike in protest against low living standards.

An interesting form of working-class protest took place in Krasnodar, in the Kuban, several years ago. Here the working class, exasperated by the shortage of consumer goods, staged a three-day stay-at-home strike. But perhaps the best organized of strikes to have taken place recently was the Kiev hydroelectric plant strike in the Ukraine. Here the workers actually organized mass meetings which were addressed by their own elected representatives, where bureaucrats who tried to address the workers were physically evicted from the platform. The strike was about housing shortages. But during demonstrations which the workers organized, banners were raised calling for "All power to the Soviets."

Recently several leaflets circulating chiefly in Leningrad raised the slogan "For a general strike." This example, like the others mentioned, is an indication that it will not be very long before the proletariat reenters the political arena.

In the context of the economic crisis as felt by the working class, it is important to emphasize the crucial role played by women in the protest actions. There is almost total employment of women in the Soviet Union, but on the average they receive 50 percent of the male wage. Furthermore, they still carry the burden of housekeeping, cooking, and queuing, and are therefore more acutely aware of the shortages than men. In Novocherkassk in 1962 it was working-class women who, having calculated the cost of the price increases in terms of the family's weekly income, initiated the demonstrations.

A final observation about the pattern of working-class opposition relates to the tendency for unrest to occur most frequently in the peripheral areas of the Soviet Union—that is to say, in areas at quite a distance from the central Moscow-Leningrad region. This does not mean that strikes have not taken place in the central regions—indeed they have, at the Moscow Moskvitch plant, for example. But large-scale activity, and mass actions involving all sectors of the working class, nevertheless occur more frequently in the peripheral areas.

There is a good explanation of this. The bureaucracy finds it most difficult to penetrate the peripheral areas, especially the non-Russian republics, and therefore a greater measure of spontaneous action is possible in these regions. Also, the central regions are highly favoured in terms of the flow of consumer goods and employment possibilities. Material shortages and unemployment are much more severe in the "provinces." This pattern has serious implications for the process of political revolution, for it means that those areas which are of the least strategic importance have the greatest opportunity for action.

To be continued

In next issue.



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