

СТУДЕНТ

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ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО
СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

Canada's Newspaper
for Ukrainian Students



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STUDENT ETUDIANT

— ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ —

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Думки, висловлені в поодиноких статтях, необов'язково відповідають поглядам редакції чи видавництва.
Видавництво — СУСК.

"STUDENT" is a national tri-lingual and bi-monthly newspaper for Ukrainian Canadian students and is published by the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK).

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

The opinions and thoughts expressed in "STUDENT" represent the particular situation in which the Ukrainian Canadian student movement finds itself, both within the Ukrainian Canadian community and within Canadian society.

We reserve the right to edit articles and letters for control on length, taste and legal matters.

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18th CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., August 28, 1977

(Unless otherwise indicated, all resolutions were passed with a significant majority).

#1

Whereas the constitution of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union provides that one of its specific aims is "the realization of a progressive multicultural and multilingual Canadian society," and

Whereas the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union recognizes that the Federal government has consistently failed to support the aspirations of Canada's ethnocultural groups to develop within Canada such a progressive multicultural and multilingual society, and

Whereas the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union recognizes that there is a need for the creation of an independent government body to supervise, monitor, assess and report on the Federal Government's implementation of its policy of multiculturalism and to ensure that such policy is effected to its fullest extent and also developed as and when required,

Be it Moved That this Congress directs the National Executive to commence specific action directed at having the Federal Government appoint a Commissioner of Multiculturalism to assume such responsibility.

#2

Whereas the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union recognizes the desirability and effectiveness of having both the National Union of Students and L'Association National des Etudiants Ouebeccois promote and recognize the issues of multiculturalism,

Be it Resolved That the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union immediately initiate contact with the NUS and Aneq in order to encourage these national organizations to adopt a favourable position on the concept of multiculturalism and to promote it in all spheres of their activity.

#3

Whereas the character of the struggle for national and social justice in Ukraine is in a constant state of flux, determined by various local and international forces, and

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THE PRESIDENT ON SUSK

Andriy Makuch

The book of Samuel relates how the young David stood before Goliath and proclaimed his intention to slay him. The giant was amazed and took light the threat; subsequently, he was struck down by a well-thrown rock. Since then, giants have taken greater heed of such warnings.

I am not advocating we seek Goliaths to slay, but rather wish to underline that a well-directed force can be very effective — particularly if it is judiciously applied. SUSK must keep this in mind over the coming year. The problems we, as part of the Ukrainian community, now face are formidable, and there is neither time nor manpower to waste.

The immediate necessity is to realistically assess our priorities and actions. SUSK has developed a tradition of fantastic analyses and solutions which, for several years now, it has been unable to substantiate. The result has been incomplete or unfeasible grant projects, a loss of credibility (especially among member organizations), the unpleasant inheritance of large debts, and most severely, a loss of momentum. No longer able to sustain the "movement" as it once existed, we are back to square one. It was a long time coming.

Successive congresses (since 1974 in my own recollection) have failed to resolve anything. Too often, rhetoric is confused with relevant discussion.

The departing address of the 1975-76 SUSK President, Sheila Slobodzin, criticized these futile "long-winded never-ending brainstorming sessions"; ironically enough, this was shortly after the Congress had passed 38 grueling resolutions. But she was right — a

change in attitude is necessary. This idea was reiterated by Mariika Hurko in opening the 18th Congress this year, and formalized by Andriy Semotluk's presentation of "The Ukrainian Students' Movement In Context" (to be printed in the next issue of STUDENT). It was a most listless and disturbing Congress — the ritual burying of an albatross mythology. There were no great funeral orations, no tears cried. No one cared. Not that they were incapable of it, but because the entire issue was so far removed from their own reality (especially those attending their first Congress), that they had no idea of why they should. Such a sad spectacle must never be repeated — entrenched ideas can be very limiting.

Many people have expressed relief that the National Executive is now out West (perhaps a retention of the stigma that society here is less decadent? fresher and more dynamic?). That in itself will not solve our problems, for it is not likely we will find a Moses here to lead us into the wilderness. We have no ready answers. This should be a year of crucial debate with STUDENT as an excellent forum (it will be appearing monthly). Local clubs hopefully will stimulate some discussion from the resolutions (No. 16, in particular) and will participate actively in the pages of STUDENT.

Finally, it appears that the next Congress will be crucial in determining whether or not a Ukrainian students' movement is still alive in Canada. The future lies with the individual students themselves. Being an incurable optimist, I think SUSK's future is very important.

18th SUSK CONGRESS

Ivan Javorsky

The 18th National SUSK (Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union) Congress was held in Vancouver from August 24-28, with over 100 students from all parts of Canada participating. Some of the special invited speakers at the Congress were Andriy Semotluk, Nadia Kazymyra, and Roman Petryshyn, who spoke about SUSK in the late sixties and early seventies, some aspects of the early history of the Ukrainian community in Canada, and the sociology of Ukrainians in Canada, respectively.

Other questions discussed at the Congress were the present situation in Quebec (Marc Huty, a representative of the Association Nationale des Etudiants Quebecois, spoke on this topic), student dissidents in Ukraine (Roma Andrusiak), and the Canadian constitutional debate (Volodymyr Kuplovskiy). Bohdan Zherebets'kyi conducted a dance seminar, while Prol. Valerian Revuts'kyi spoke on Ukrainian drama and theatre and Iakiv Maidanyk, well-known Ukrainian Canadian caricaturist and painter, reminisced about his past. Congress participants also had an opportunity to hear Leonid Plyushch, who was attending the World Federation for Mental Health Congress being held in Vancouver.

On the last day of the Congress resolutions (the full text of which are reproduced elsewhere in this issue) were discussed and voted upon by the assembled student delegates. It was moved that the two most widely discussed resolutions (nos. 12 and 13) be

publicized in the Ukrainian press. The 1977-78 executive was then elected.

The composition of the new executive is as follows:

President: Andriy Makuch (Edmonton)
Vice-President Responsible for Multiculturalism: David Lupul (Ottawa)
Vice-President Responsible for External Liaison: Taras Pavlyshyn (Winnipeg)
Vice-President Responsible for Human Rights: Roma Andrusiak (Toronto)
Secretary: Ivan Javors'kyi (Edmonton)
Treasurer: Nestor Makuch (Edmonton)
Assistant Editors: Yuriy Stebelsky (Edmonton), Mariika Hryn (Toronto)
Past President: Mariika Hurko (Toronto)

The National SUSK office will now be located in Edmonton, at the following address: 11246-91 Street, Edmonton, Alberta, T5B 4A2. The existing office in Toronto will continue to be maintained as an eastern regional office at the following address: 131 Lippincott Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2P3.

The new executive wishes to thank the Vancouver Ukrainian Students' Club, especially Congress co-ordinators Iris Achtemichuk and Vera Yeleniuk, for an excellent job of organizing the Congress.

Special thanks to John Mockler and the Alberta Handicapped Forum Ltd.

NUS BACKS CZECH AND POLISH OPPOSITION LEADERS

The recent conference of the National Union of Students (Britain) mandated its representatives to press for speakers from the Polish Workers Defence Committee in Warsaw and Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia to address the next meeting of the European Students' Union, scheduled to take place in Poland in November of this year. The Students' conference also challenged the decision to hold the meeting in Poland, arguing that the venue should be changed to protest the repression of Polish workers following the strikes against the food price increases last year.

The far left in the student movement have been fighting the present leadership of the NUS for several years now over the need for an active campaign against repression in East European countries and the Soviet Union. It was minority socialist members of the Students' National Executive that argued against the Czech puppet student union CSUV being represented at the International Seminar on Chile held in 1975. The decisions of this last conference are, however, the first time that the proposals of the socialist minority have been actually adopted as policy by the Student's Conference.

(Reprinted in part from Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, No. 2, May/June, 1977)

Resolutions... from p.2

Whereas the current opposition movement in Ukraine has based its defence of human rights on the humanitarian sections of the Helsinki accords on European Security and Cooperation, and

Whereas perhaps for the first time in recent history the Ukrainian oppositionists have taken the offensive in the struggle for human rights by forming The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, resulting in repressions, persecutions, arrests and leading to assaults upon them by KGB authorities, and

Whereas the history of the dissent movement in Ukraine can be characterized by, firstly, appeals to the government and party grounded in the constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and most recently by appeals to the other signing member states of the Helsinki accords in an attempt to hold these governments to their word, and

Whereas there is presently the imminent threat of a possible government pogrom on the opposition movement in the USSR, and therefore there is a need today for agitation to prompt the governments that signed the Helsinki accords to act in defence of the oppositionists, and

Whereas the ideological and inter-party internecine strife within the Ukrainian community is an impediment to the need to defend the dissent movement in Ukraine, and therefore there is a need for a common single united front to help the dissent movement in Ukraine, and Whereas the situation in Ukraine is becoming critical and successively worse,

Be It Resolved That SUSK recognizes that:

1) It is not sufficient to be satisfied with conferences, seminars and random individual support for the dissent movement among the media and government.

2) It is important to have mass petition-writing campaigns to the Canadian government, the Opposition party and civic groups, and to initiate an assault on the Canadian media.

Further, SUSK calls on its member clubs, in cooperation with existing defence groups to:

1) Organize mass letter writing and petition campaigns, rallies and demonstrations in defence of human rights in Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union.

2) Solicit support from other student organizations in SUSK's efforts.

#4 Whereas information in the area of human rights and Ukraine is a prerequisite to effective defence work,

Be It Resolved That SUSK strive to make such information available by encouraging each member club to establish a book-table dispensing literature on dissent in the Soviet Union.

#5 Whereas the publication of STUDENT has been constantly stated as a priority for Ukrainian Canadian students, and

Whereas STUDENT has been printed on an irregular basis in the previous two years,

Be It Moved That the publication of STUDENT be a prime concern of SUSK and that atleast four issues be published during the forthcoming academic year.

#6 Whereas STUDENT is a cross-ideological publication reflecting the views of Ukrainian Canadian students, and

Whereas SUSK is a federation of Ukrainian Students' Clubs which functions in both internal, i.e. coordinating, and external, i.e. representative, capacities,

Be It Moved That STUDENT grant equal weight to both national and local club interests by having a number of clubs, specifically

- Toronto

- Edmonton

- Winnipeg

- Vancouver - Saskatoon

directly undertake the gathering of materials for submission to STUDENT. Each of these clubs will be responsible for approximately half the articles in a given issue. The other half will be gathered by the editorial board's solicitation.

#7 Whereas STUDENT is a national forum for the exchange of opinion among Ukrainian students, and

Whereas STUDENT requires the cooperation of its members to raise advertising revenues and to submit articles and indeed, has been dependent on individual initiative, and

Whereas it is estimated that the annual budget for a four-issue year of STUDENT will be \$2,000,

Be It Moved That advertising for STUDENT be collected by local Ukrainian Students' Clubs, with the following recommendations:

Calgary.....	\$150.
Saskatoon.....	\$200.
Vancouver.....	\$100.
Edmonton.....	\$200.
Winnipeg.....	\$200.
Hamilton.....	\$100.
Waterloo.....	\$50.
Toronto.....	\$400.

#8 Whereas it is desirable to decentralize the responsibility of the STUDENT editorial staff in the particular areas of collecting articles and advertising,

Be It Moved That Regional Correspondents coordinate funding and article submissions in their respective areas. These will be, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario.

Further, **Be It Moved That the above mentioned Regional Correspondents be appointed by the Congress and be held responsible to the Congress.**

#9 Whereas personal contact between the clubs and the National Executive is essential to establishing strong cooperation among the members of the Union,

Be It Moved That Eastern and Western representatives of the National Executive undertake atleast one visitation to clubs in their respective regions.

#10 Whereas the files and archives of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union are of great value to students of Ukrainian Canadian history, and Whereas the files and archives of SUSK have not been used to the fullest extent by the membership and successive executives of SUSK,

Be It Moved That the Congress ratifies the contract negotiated by the president of SUSK and the Public Archives of Canada in the matter of donating SUSK files to the party of the second port.

Further, **Be It Moved That the Congress directs the National Executive to prepare the files for an orderly transfer to the Public Archives of Canada.**

#11 Whereas Leonid Plyuschch is the only Soviet Ukrainian oppositionist to be released by the Soviet authorities and currently living in the West, and

Whereas he has demonstrated himself to be among the most active of all former Soviet political dissidents working in defence of his comrades, hitherto the victims of repression by internment in camps, prisons and psychiatric asylums for their political views, and

Whereas Leonid Plyuschch has shown himself to be a consistent and outspoken proponent of the right of the Ukrainian nation to self-determination and of Ukraine's independence within a democratic Ukrainian state, recognizing that only state independence will realise national and social justice for the Ukrainian nation, and

Whereas the Kyiv-based Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords has named Leonid Plyuschch to be the representative of the Group in the West,

Be It Moved That the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union supports and recommends Leonid Plyuschch's activity in defence of human rights and all political prisoners in the Soviet Union.
(The above resolution was passed unanimously)

#12 Whereas the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is a cross-ideological umbrella organization coordinating Ukrainian Canadian organizations whose roots are founded in various political, social and cultural trends, and

Whereas the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine is seeking to impose an anti-socialist, totalitarian and reactionary posture to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee by exercising its veto power against the invitation extended to Leonid Plyuschch to address the 12th Ukrainian Canadian Congress on the pretense of his holding democratic, humanitarian Marxist and atheist convictions, and

Whereas Leonid Plyuschch is an outspoken advocate of the Ukrainian nation's right to self-determination, proponent of an Independent Ukrainian state as the only vehicle to realizing national and social justice for the Ukrainian people, and official representative of the current oppositionist struggle in the Ukraine today,

Be It Moved That this Congress condemns the leadership of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine for playing into the hands of the KGB by slandering the official representative of the struggle in Ukraine and by obstructing defence work on behalf of this same struggle.
(Passed by a overwhelming majority)

#13 Whereas the Ukrainian Canadian community supports the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for an Independent Ukraine, and

Whereas the Ukrainian Canadian community supports the right of all nations to self-determination, and

Whereas the Quebecois nation is struggling for the right to self-determination and national sovereignty,

Be It Moved That the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union recognizes the Quebecois' right to self-determination in their struggle for independence.

Furthermore, **a sovereign independent state being the highest expression of the will of a national people, we support such a right to self-determination provided that all national minority rights be preserved within such a state.**

Be It Resolved That the resolution condemning the leadership of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine for playing into the hands of the KGB by slandering the official representative of the struggle in Ukraine, and by obstructing defence work on behalf of this same struggle, as well as the resolution supporting the Quebecois' right to self-determination in their struggle for independence, be disseminated to all Ukrainian newspapers by the National Executive.

#15 Whereas the basic constitutional structure of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, in providing the six major member organizations with the right of veto, consequently prohibits the exercise of the democratic of the Ukrainian Canadian community, and

Whereas the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (LVU) has exercised its veto to prevent Leonid Plyuschch from addressing the 12th National Ukrainian Canadian Congress, and

Whereas the right of veto granted to the six major organizations within the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has in fact been exercised, thereby allowing the retention of organizational community control by non-democratic means, by a single organization,

Be It Moved That the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union strongly condemns all six major organizations in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee for their untelling use and unquestioning support of the right of veto, thereby undemocratically denying and suppressing the fundamental right of unhindered self-expression of political, social and cultural views of Ukrainians holding various convictions.

#16 Whereas it is evident from this Congress that the relationship between the various clubs of SUSK and the functioning of the National Executive needs re-evaluation,

Be It Moved That the individual clubs be asked to present position papers to the National Executive which would contain the club members' opinions as to what issues should be priorities for SUSK in the future. These papers are to be presented no later than the Western Conference and their contents should become the main concern of the next Congress.

#17 **Be It Resolved That the position of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee representative be deleted and**

Be It Resolved That the position of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee representative be deleted and its responsibilities delegated to the Vice-president responsible for External Liaison.

"IT IS NOT SOVIET SOCIETY THAT PRODUCES 'DISSIDENTS'. THEY ARE CREATIONS OF 'BOURGEOIS' PROPAGANDA"

Vera Dumyn

There have been mounting signs of a stricter policy towards dissent in the Soviet Union during the past nine months. Among the principal casualties in this campaign are members of the Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR and its branches.

The Helsinki monitoring groups gained support during 1976 when international sentiment against the political repression in the Soviet Union and East European countries forced leaders of the European Stalinist parties and CP-led trade unions to condemn violations of democratic rights in the USSR. This in turn, pressured the Soviet bureaucracy to release two prominent dissidents Vladimir Bukovsky and Leonid Plyuschch. So long as the main pressure on behalf of the dissidents came from leaders of Communist parties and representatives of the trade unions, it was difficult for the Soviet leadership to justify imprisoning these dissidents as 'agents of foreign reaction'.

However, the Soviet government regained the initiative against political dissidents after January, 1977, when the US State Department and President Jimmy Carter issued statements of 'concern' for human rights in the Soviet Union. Following the arrest of Helsinki monitoring group members in February, 1977 the Soviet bureaucracy has tried to discredit the oppositional movement in the USSR by implicating dissidents with foreign espionage agencies and nationalist organizations.

Furthermore, by fabricating links between these organizations and individual dissidents, the Soviet government, in its charges of treason, raises the real possibility of death sentences for those who establish any contact with Westerners, particularly correspondents and journalists.

Concretely, the charge of treason has been levelled at least one of the founding members of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group - Anatoly Shcharansky. Treason is defined in Article 64 of the Russian Criminal Code (Art.56 Ukr.) as consisting of the following acts:

- to engage in espionage
- to transmit state or military secrets to a foreign state
- to flee abroad or to refuse to return from abroad
- to render aid to a foreign state in carrying on hostile activity against the USSR.

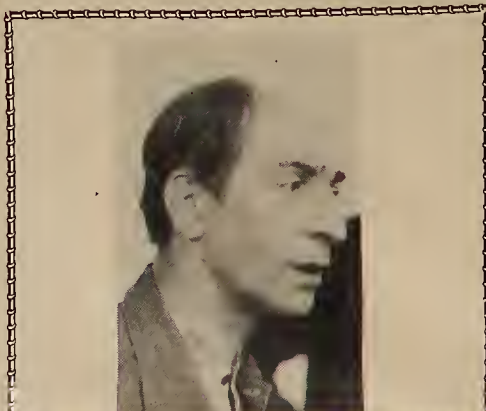
Article 64's broad definition of treason makes it applicable against any dissident who has had contact with individuals or groups from the West.

To date the Soviet government has presented no evidence that Shcharansky or any other dissident provided military secrets to the CIA. The publicized testimony of S. Lipavsky in March 4 and May 8th issues of 'Izvestia' purporting to link dissidents to the CIA contained no evidence. Furthermore, President Carter's conscience provoked him into stating categorically that Shcharansky was not employed by the CIA.

The Soviet government's campaign is not directed exclusively at its own citizens. An example that dramatizes the bureaucracy's extreme reaction in clamping down on its citizens' contacts with the West is the recent arrest of a British student teacher, Andrii Klymchuk in Ukraine.

On August 5, Radio Kiev announced that the KGB had detained Klymchuk, 21, while visiting Ukraine with a tour group from England. According to the announcement, Klymchuk was engaged in 'hostile acts' and carried with him 'photographic films with coded reports from an emigre centre of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists abroad

Cont'd on p.16



LEONID PLYUSHCH

Leonid Ivanovich Plyushch, a Soviet Ukrainian mathematician, after a four year incarceration in Soviet prisons, of which two and a half years were spent in a "psychiatric hospital" (asylum), was released on January 8, 1976 following an international campaign on his behalf, and emigrated to the West. He presently resides in Paris with his wife and their two sons.

Born in 1939, Plyushch finished the faculty of mechanics and mathematics at Kiev University in 1962. Until 1968, he worked as an engineer-mathematician at the Cybernetics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

From 1966 Plyushch wrote letters to samvydav where he discussed the anti-democratic nature and practice of the Soviet regime vis-a-vis the national question, human rights, ideology, etc., and signed a number of public appeals and petitions to democratize Soviet society.

In 1968 Plyushch was dismissed from his job at the Academy of Sciences for his letter to the newspaper *Komsomol'ska Pravda* protesting the illegal and unfounded arrests and convictions of human rights activists A. Ginzburg and Yu. Galanskov.

In 1969 Plyushch became a member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR.

In 1972 Plyushch was arrested by the KGB and imprisoned for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". After an examination at the notorious Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry diagnosed him as suffering from "sluggish schizophrenia" characterized by "messianic and reformist ideas", he was incarcerated at the Dnipropetrovsk Special Mental Hospital.

For the next two and a half years Plyushch was tortured by physical abuse and administration of "neuroleptic" drugs, haloperidol, triflazine etc., and insulin with the intention of destroying him mentally and physically in order to extract from him a retraction of his beliefs. In addition, Plyushch was confined with violent and mentally deranged criminals, with whom he had continuous and unavoidable confrontations.

A further indication of the strength and perseverance of Plyushch was the unanimous agreement by all western psychiatrists who examined him after his release, that although his health would be permanently damaged due to the barbaric administration of drugs, Plyushch showed absolutely no sign of mental illness, and was totally sane.

This blatant abuse of psychiatry for the purposes of Soviet political expediency so incensed all concerned and democratically minded people

that at an international defense campaign, beginning with the Soviet Initiative Group and including Amnesty International, The International Committee of Mathematicians, Western psychiatrists, and a multitude of defense groups (Ukrainian and other) was initiated. Heated debate in the British and Spanish, but particularly, in the French and Italian Communist Parties, keenly followed and encouraged by the broad left, led to the condemnation and censuring by these European parties of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) for its anti-democratic abuses of human and civil rights.

In fact, it has been theorized that the phenomenon of "Euro-Communism" and the European CPs' gradual breaking from the dominance of the CPSU is in part due to the former's acceptance of the principles and cause championed by Leonid Plyushch and the people whom he defends, Moroz, Chornovil, Svitychnyi, etc.

Since his emigration to the West, Plyushch has unflinchingly devoted all his time to writing and speaking on the conditions of life in the Soviet Union, unequivocally defending human and civil rights, national self-determination for Ukraine and all republics, socialist democracy etc.

Plyushch has been particularly active, as a member of the International Committee Against Repression: East and West, condemning the Soviet Union's abuse of psychiatry for political purposes.

In addition, Plyushch was the chief spokesperson for the Helsinki Monitoring Committees in the Soviet Union at the Belgrade conference to review the Helsinki accords, which was held in June of this year in Belgrade Yugoslavia, and which continues this fall. He leads a live member group of former Soviet dissidents Lyudmyla Alekseyeva, Vladimir Bukovsky, Valery Chalidze and Andrei Amalrik, each of whom were appointed by the Helsinki Groups themselves.

As indicated by the commission of Plyushch by the Helsinki Monitoring Committees of the Soviet Union to be their western representative and by information from Soviet samvydav/samizdat literature smuggled to the West, it is evident that Leonid Plyushch is *de facto* spokesperson for the opposition movement of the Soviet Union.

SOVIET PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE CONDEMNED

Zorjan Hrom'jak

The struggle to combat the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes throughout the world, has become especially intensified in the past few years due to the consensus amongst democratic forces that psychiatry is an extremely powerful science and therefore, the ramifications of its abuse are particularly dangerous.

Established international organizations such as Amnesty International, many ad hoc or particular interest defense committees, and concerned people throughout the world have had their work in this capacity reinforced by recent international exposure and censuring of psychiatric abuse in the Soviet block nations, South East Asia, South America, etc.

The world became acutely aware of the abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union when in 1971, in a letter smuggled to the West, Vladimir Bukovsky appealed to the Congress of the World Federation for Mental Health in Mexico City, to investigate abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union.

More recently, the international defense campaign for Leonid Plyushch, is an example of the struggle to locate and alleviate individual cases of psychiatric abuse. Plyushch's case, however, was only a symptom of a much deeper and widespread sickness, and exposed the political expediency of a degenerate and corrupt socio-economic system. It became evident to concerned people of the world that the causes of these particular incidents must be dealt with concurrently. The struggle took on an aspect of an international approach to politics and psychiatric ethics.

Leonid Plyushch, an individual example of a person victimized by, and liberated from, psychiatric abuse for political purposes, has become a spokesperson for the international struggle against abuses of psychiatry.

In conjunction with this concern, Plyushch was invited to attend the 17th Congress of the World Federation for Mental Health, Vancouver, B.C., August 21-26, 1977, as a delegate and participant in the Congress workshop on "Psychiatric Ethics and Incarceration".

Plyushch's factual and objective presentation of Soviet psychiatric abuse, corroborated by former Leningrad psychiatrist and oppositionist Marina Voikhanskaya, had both a profound emotional and intellectual effect on the Congress. Plyushch's and Voikhanskaya's testimonies, the invaluable role of workshop coordinator Dr. N. Hirt, along with the crucial contributions of his psychiatrist colleagues Drs. Bloch and Clark of the United Kingdom and Dr. Friedman of the U.S., and the effort of the workshop participants, led to the final acceptance and passing by the executive of the W.F.M.H. a resolution condemning the Soviet Union for its abuse of psychiatry for political purposes. Amongst other things, the resolution asked the government of the U.S.S.R. "for the immediate release of all dissidents who have been inappropriately hospitalized". The resolution further called for active support for present victims of Soviet psychiatric abuse, notably, for Ukrainian-Jewish psychiatrist Seymour Gluzman.

Immediately after his participation in the W.F.M.H. Congress, Plyushch flew to Hawaii to attend the 6th Congress of the World Psychiatric Association (W.P.A.) in Honolulu (August 28-September 3). As described in their publications, the Working Group on the Internment of Dissidents in Mental Hospitals has indicated how the Soviet Union has attempted to manipulate the W.P.A. in order to cover up their notorious abuse of psychiatry. During its ten-year involvement in the W.P.A. the Soviet delegation led by such "psychiatrists" as M. Varlanyan, G. Morozov, and Snehnevsky, has continuously lied to and coerced fellow delegations to the W.P.A. to remain oblivious to, or silent about its repeated breaches of psychiatric ethics.

The scenario at the 1977 Congress was however notably different.

The delegation of psychiatrists from the U.K., the U.S., Australia, and Canada, and many individual psychiatrists responding to the calls of the "Public Group to Promote the Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the U.S.S.R." (headed by Prof. Yuriy Orlov), many western psychiatrists mentioned earlier, and most notably Leonid Plyushch, to investigate Soviet psychiatric abuse, created a powerful lobby force in Honolulu

to include as part of the Congress program sessions concerning themselves with political abuses of psychiatry.

Although the Soviet delegations attempted manipulations were again obvious, by their boycotting all sessions aimed at the investigation of psychiatric abuse in the Soviet Union, and by their threatening to withdraw from the W.P.A. due to this investigative activity, the congress heard testimony from Leonid Plyushch, Drs. Voikhanskaya and Bloch and others on this subject. The efforts of Plyushch and the Western psychiatrists involved, were rewarded when the Congress passed a resolution by a vote of 80 to 88, censuring the Soviet Union for its abuse of psychiatry as a tool of political repression.

Furthermore, the congress voted, by 121 to 66, to establish a permanent committee to investigate the political manipulation of psychiatry anywhere in the world.

Although to date, the Soviet delegation has not withdrawn from the W.P.A., the humiliation and chagrin it has suffered internationally from the two W.P.A. resolutions and the resolution passed by the W.F.M.H. is evident from its virilic condemnations of all those associated in engineering the resolutions.

According to its ostensible commitment to the Helsinki Accords, the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights and the resolutions of the W.F.M.H. and the W.P.A., the Soviet Union will be forced to accept these newly created parameters through which further investigation of Soviet psychiatric abuses will be attempted and which will hopefully lead to some alleviation of the current problems of psychiatric abuse and political manipulation of psychiatry in the world especially in the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, one can only accord to Leonid Plyushch and to those aforementioned western psychiatrists, their immense contribution to the international struggle for freedom and democracy, by their bringing to world attention the abominable conditions of psychiatric abuse for political purposes in the Soviet Union, and their success in beginning to break barriers of ambivalence, fear and apathy, in the world regarding the anti-democratic and anti-progressive nature of the Soviet regime.



CDSPP

An estimated minimum of 10,000 political prisoners is now known to exist in the Soviet Union, according to Amnesty International's Report of 1975. This number is incongruous with the democratic rights guaranteed in the Soviet Constitution, such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, worship, travel and elections. Hopes of liberalization in the post-Stalin period resulted in the emergence of an opposition to the government's policies on cultural, literary and national questions, and in the growth of numerous underground publications. However, since the mid-1960's the Soviet regime has responded to this movement with mass arrests and trials. Today, the imprisonment of Soviet oppositionists, and in some cases, their confinement to psychiatric prisons necessitates a response of solidarity from all democratic forces in the West.

There exist a number of committees in Canada which concern themselves with the plight of individual or group cases. However, the committee feels there is a need for a broader based committee which would take up the defense of all Soviet political prisoners, on a similar basis to the already existing committees in New York, Paris, London, and Toronto.

This defense committee will be operating within the following framework:

(1) The Committee will base all of its actions on the defence of democratic rights of all people in

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Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union

EASTERN CONFERENCE

WHERE: McMaster University (Hamilton, Ont.)

WHEN: October 21-23, 1977

WHAT: Topics to be discussed include human rights and the defense of Soviet political dissidents. A dance will also be held on Saturday, Oct. 22, at the Ukrainian Cultural Center.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION WRITE TO:

McMASTER UKRAINIAN STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
BOX 303
McMASTER UNIVERSITY
HAMILTON, ONTARIO

STUDENTS DEMOS IN ESTONIA

Vera Dumyn

The massive and militant student demonstrations of 1968 have shown that student solidarity can constitute a powerful political force capable of challenging the institutions of a society. Often the common characteristic of student movements in the 1960's and early 1970's was the students' expression of deep dissatisfaction with the quality of life, the established values, and the system as a whole.

In the Soviet Union and East European countries, hopes sprang up for democratization of student life during the 1960's. After the crushing of the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia in 1968, all such attempts were halted. Tighter political controls were instituted over student activities.

One of the consequences of stringent political censorship of student life recently surfaced in the form of a massive student demonstration in the university town of Tartu, in Estonia, on December 3-4, 1976. Soviet army units were put on alert and special contingents of KGB officials were flown into Estonia's largest student centre when spontaneous demonstrations threatened to get out of the bureaucracy's hands. The demonstration was an expression of the students' dissatisfaction with the constant and increasing political control of student activities.

The demonstration was sparked by the sudden cancellation of a five-band concert at Tartu State University because of the "program's acuteness and political nuances". The students, who had bought tickets in advance, were locked out of the university and interpreted the cancellation as another example of censorship of student activities. Students began to encircle the police and pelt them with bricks at which time police vans arrived only to find that the size and intensity of the demonstration was quickly acquiring massive proportions. When the vans were forced out of the university courtyard by the demonstrators, a certain degree of solidarity developed within the demonstration which inspired the students to broaden the demonstration to include the entire student population in Tartu.

When some reluctant students asked in whose name were the demonstrators ordering students out of dormitories and into the streets, the reply was, "In the name of student solidarity. Let's demand student democracy". The slogans that were chanted were: "Open the borders", "Freedom of Assembly", "Live up to the Constitution!", and "Down with the police!". Four hours after the start of the demonstration, the ranks of the protestors swelled from 300 to 1000, all marching towards the City Hall Square, where they were met by rows of police along the streets.

The students responded by pressing themselves tightly together and taunting the police by chanting "Our police are

protecting us!". The entrance to the City Hall Square was barred by police who photographed and filmed the demonstrators for later identification. Some of the students managed to reach the Square and tear down the banner that had been set up in celebration of Soviet Constitution Day (December 5), shouting "Up your ass Russian, you tormentor of the Estonian people!"

Most of the students that were arrested were released the following day on the condition that they sign statements. During the following week every student in the city of Tartu had to give written explanation of what they did on the night of December 3-4.

News of this demonstration reached the West when some of the participants of this demonstration sent a letter informing the Estonian emigre community in Stockholm of the demonstration. This letter ends with the following statement:

Censorship, and the distortion and inadequacy of information, of which young people are acutely aware; the lack of prospects for sincere self-realization and an honest career; the senselessness of so-called communal work and its bureaucratic (Komsomol); the constant, oppressive control of political officials, security men, and informers; the ever increasing emphasis placed on Marxist 'religious' topics and military training; the recent worsening of living conditions (the rising cost of living and the shortages of some foodstuffs) — all this constitutes a background sufficient for expressions of dissatisfaction. The direct cause may often be incidental. The mutiny on the battleship Potemkin in 1905, was provoked by worm-infested meat that was to be fed to the sailors. Completely rotten spiritual food that has been fed to the young intellectuals of Tartu for years finally caused a spontaneous reaction.

The militant student movements in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have another common characteristic (with the exception of Poland): their isolation from the working class. The lack of close ties with the workers' movement has its historical origins in the relative passivity of the workers who have been straight-jacketed in parties, unions which are dominated by privileged bureaucracies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Whatever advantages the students have in their articulation and concentration in huge educational institutions cannot overcome the fact that by themselves they do not possess the number or social weight of a class which, by virtue of its essential role in production, can stop the functioning of the economy.

RESOLUTION 12 (LIGA GREET'S PLYUSCH)

Mykola Khyshcheych

Delegates to the 18th SUSK Congress in Vancouver, representing thousands of Ukrainian Canadian university students from campuses across the country, unanimously relayed their full support behind recently released Soviet Ukrainian oppositionist, Leonid Plyusch.

In light of his active work in the West in defense of all Soviet political prisoners, and his outspoken advocacy of the Ukrainian nation's right to self-determination, Leonid Plyusch has become a symbol of the struggle for socialist democracy in the USSR.

It was with this spirit that SUSK along with the New York Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, launched a tour for Leonid Plyusch to speak in major centres across Canada and the US.

Consequently, it was heartening to be informed that the Praesidium of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) extended an invitation to Leonid Plyusch to deliver a keynote address on "Dissent in the Soviet Union" at the 12th UCC Congress (Oct. 7-10), which would wind up his North American speaking tour.

However, after the invitation extended by the UCC was accepted by Plyusch, the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (a member organization represented on the Praesidium of the UCC) reversed its original decision and exercised its veto power to prevent Plyusch from addressing the 12th UCC Congress.

Furthermore, the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine (LVU), it seems, has manifested more than just adamant refusal to have Leonid Plyusch appear at the upcoming UCC Congress, by issuing directives to its local branches instructing its membership to ignore his speaking engagements and discredit his defense work.

How are these current developments to be understood? Can these irresponsible actions mean that the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, only lends 'conditional support' to Soviet Ukrainian oppositionists, i.e., defends them while they are incarcerated in prisons, labour camps and psychiatric asylums - but upon their release withdraws their support, slandering and discrediting them with the same tactics as the KGB attempts to?

By reversing their decision on the UCC invitation and moreover, by continuing to discredit Plyusch on the pretense of his humanitarian and democratic Marxist convictions, the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine has overtly discarded its mask of objectivity, regarding the Ukrainian question, and revealed its reactionary and totalitarian posture.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee can no longer permit the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, which has politically disqualified itself by its handling of Plyusch, to manipulate its endeavors and to misinform the Ukrainian community at large.

It is therefore with deep concern for the future political development of the Ukrainian Canadian community that an overwhelming majority of delegates to the 18th SUSK Congress, resolved to strongly condemn the leadership of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, for playing into the hands of the KGB in obstructing defense work by unjustifiably slandering the official representative of the struggle in Ukraine, Leonid Plyusch.

Whereas the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is a cross-ideological umbrella organization coordinating Ukrainian Canadian organizations whose roots are founded in various political, social and cultural trends, and

Whereas the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine is seeking to impose an anti-socialist, totalitarian and reactionary posture to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee by exercising its veto power against the invitation extended to Leonid Plyusch to address the 12th Ukrainian Canadian Congress on the pretense of his holding democratic, humanitarian Marxist and atheist convictions, and

Whereas Leonid Plyusch is an outspoken advocate of the Ukrainian nation's right to self-determination, proponent of an independent Ukrainian state as the only vehicle to realizing national and social justice for the Ukrainian people, and official representative of the current oppositionist struggle in the Ukraine today,

Be It Moved That this Congress condemns the leadership of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine for playing into the hands of the KGB by slandering the official representative of the struggle in Ukraine and by obstructing defense work on behalf of this same struggle.

(passed by an overwhelming majority)

META

META is a forum for critical analysis and discussion of the Ukrainian question, Eastern Europe and related international issues. Issue 2 contains a comprehensive Dossier on Plyusch (\$1.50).

Issue 3-4, special double issue contains an analysis of the 1976 Polish workers' strike, an article on 'Makhno and his Enemies', and other materials (\$2.50).

Write to:

META
P.O. BOX 324,
STATION P,
TORONTO, ONTARIO,
CANADA

CIUS CONFERENCE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS, MULTICULTURALISM AND SEPARATISM

Dave Lupul

A conference on the topic of Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism and Separatism was held on September 9-11, 1977, at the University of Alberta. Sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the aim of the conference was to reassess the viability of the federal policy of multiculturalism in view of the victory of the pro-separatist Parti Quebecois in last year's Quebec provincial election.

THE PQ POSITION

The opening address to the conference was given by the Honourable Camille Laurin, Minister of Cultural Development for the Province of Quebec. Dr. Laurin, the chief architect of Quebec's new Charter of Language Rights (widely known as Bill 101), spoke of the need for Quebec to become independent if it is to "join the mainstream of modern history."

Dr. Laurin claimed that "Quebec doesn't want to be 'separated' to isolate itself behind a wall of China and to make Quebecois an isolated, primitive tribe". He believes that the province already has sufficiently distinctive cultural, social and economic institutions to be an autonomous state. Quebec simply wishes to gain control over these institutions in order that the Quebecois people may chart their own future in the fields of culture and social policy.

Dr. Laurin suggested that the first step in gaining control of these institutions would be for Quebec to attain independence from Canada. Subsequent to independence, as a sovereign state Quebec would be willing to surrender part of its national sovereignty by entering into an economic association with the rest of Canada.

However, such an arrangement would be satisfactory only if Quebec is recognized as an equal partner in its association with the rest of Canada.

The following remarks were initially prepared in the hope that they could be delivered in the form of a statement contributing towards a discussion on the theme of "Multiculturalism and Separatism: The Search for a Ukrainian Consensus." Unfortunately, this session - which concluded the conference - had to be cut short for reasons of time, and the opportunity to express these ideas never presented itself. The topic of that final discussion and the theme of the conference and the theme of the conference. "Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism and Separatism: An Assessment" - when they are considering these remarks.

To begin with I want to say that I have one major objection to make, which I will follow with a number of general observations and a concluding recommendation. My basic position should become clear in the process of my articulation and development of those thoughts; I

It is within Quebec itself that the Parti Quebecois' desire to change the status of English is focussed. "Numerically", Laurin stated, "the English-speaking have been a minority, but they've always been an economic majority. English Quebecers have often demonstrated some antagonism, some indifference and occasionally, some contempt for the French majority's culture". The English in Quebec remain "a powerful pole of attraction" for other minority groups who have been persuaded by the English that the French would like nothing more than their elimination.

However, the new language charter which Laurin will implement was designed to ensure the survival of French as the "national language". Having ensured that survival, Laurin stated, an independent Quebec would not only allow minorities to keep their own cultural traditions and languages, but would actively promote educational programs within the Quebec school system to keep them alive. The government was in the midst of preparing a study into the feasibility of providing teaching in languages other than French or English at the elementary school level. Courses at the secondary level in the history and culture of the larger ethnic groups such as the Italians, Greeks, Jews and Ukrainians have also been suggested.

A second white paper on language is forthcoming in the fall of this year, which would attempt to define the place of minority languages in Quebec society. It would not propose the assimilation of minority groups to the French language but instead, would seek their integration into the Francophone rather than the Anglophone sector of Quebec society.

ETHNIC GROUPS AND QUEBEC

Several sessions focussed on ethnic groups in Quebec and in Canada as a whole. Professor

Roman Serbyn of the Université de Quebec a Montreal and Professor Ivan Myhal of Bishop's University presented papers on the topic of "Separatism and Ethnic Groups in Quebec."

Professor Serbyn stressed the need for ethnic groups in Quebec to take their own stand on the issue of Quebec independence. It would be disastrous to their interests to mirror either the Anglophone or Francophone positions with respect to the issues facing Quebec in the future. However, ethnic groups in Quebec must realize the impossibility of returning to the position which they held during the 1950's whereby they could live in Quebec without having to acquire a working knowledge of the French language. All non-French, non-English minorities should accept French as the official language of Quebec. But they must also insist on full recognition and support for the right of minority groups to develop their own language and culture within whatever political structure the people of Quebec decide to vote for in the promised referendum.

Professor Serbyn's view of the independence issue is that while Ukrainian-Canadians must support Quebec's right to self-determination, they should not give unqualified support to the independence movement within Quebec. He stressed that this should not be identified as being a Leninist policy with respect to the national question in Quebec, because Lenin's application of this same position (with respect to the right of the Ukraine to self-determination in the period 1918-1924) was contradicted by the actions of the Communist Party of which he was leader (for example, the continual violations by the Bolsheviks in Moscow of the sovereignty of the Rada as well as their opposition to the establishment of an independent Ukrainian Communist Party). Therefore, this right was merely a formal right and

not one recognized in practice. Serbyn stressed that Canadians, on the other hand, must recognize this right in practice as well as in theory.

Laurin rejected the existing political structure of Canada, stating that federal intrusions into areas of provincial jurisdiction have continually undermined attempts by Quebec governments to safeguard the French language and Quebecois culture. Federal policies (which developed out of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission in the 1960's) directly brought about the situation whereby Quebec was "forced to become bilingual while the rest of the country...remained unilingual and under no obligation to establish bilingualism as a policy."

The minister claimed that the original confederation of 1867 had been a political agreement by two founding peoples which guaranteed rights to both English and French-speaking Canadians. But the terms of this agreement have been altered by English-speaking Canadians, resulting in the present, unequal relationship between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Confederation has failed due to the fact that Quebec's identity developed along lines distinctly different from that of English-speaking Canada.

Quebecois see the present federal policy of bilingualism within a multicultural framework

as an attempt to dilute the original spirit of Confederation. In their eyes, it fails to recognize that Quebec has all the prerequisites of a nation and therefore, that French-speaking Quebecois cannot be treated as simply an ethnic group "comme les autres". Quebecois wish to safeguard their language and culture within their own territory - the province of Quebec. They are not seeking a universal pan-Canadian bilingualism in which everyone should speak both French and English. Rather, Laurin stated, the Quebec government wishes to see Quebec as unilingually French as the rest of the country is unilingually English.

Professor Myhal criticized the federal government's approach to the language issue in Canada. He sees the debate over linguistic policy in Canada as revolving about two opposing conceptions of language rights. In the current federal version, bilingualism stands for the principle that all citizens have the right to address their national government in Ottawa in the official language of their choice, as defined in the Official Languages Act passed in 1969. This kind of recognition of the language rights of the individual is consistent with Trudeau's philosophy of liberalism, which is oriented toward the rights of the

Cont'd. on p.11



Drs. Bociurkiw, Lupul and Laurin

THE EDMONTON CONFERENCE:

One Student's Opinion

Jars Balan

government offices, editorial conference rooms and university campuses — that not even self-proclaimed "separatists" are as yet in agreement on the explicit meaning of the word. It seems to me that most non-Francophone Canadians simply cloud the issue with the emotional connotations they attach to the word in their reactions to the separatist "threat." However, since it is not up to the Ukrainian Canadian academic community to provide a working definition of Quebec independence — that task at this preliminary stage of the posing of the national question can only belong to the separatists of Quebec — they cannot be faulted for their failure to do so. Which leads me to suggest that perhaps the separatist concern of the conference was premature and an "assessment" of the situation would yield more tangible results when the P.Q. definition of separatism is fully developed and understood by all.

For, contrary to what Monsieur Laurin claimed in his opening night address, the ball is now in the Quebecois court. Until the wording and ideology behind the P.Q. referendum is clear, most of the editorializing and extemporizing in Anglo Canada will be nothing more than a particularly dangerous exercise in especially complicated situation without proceeding from a common set of assumptions is a lot like shooting in the dark — you tend to hit a lot of innocent people and trigger meaningless exchanges of gunfire. And musing about the possibility or impossibility of using force or the

threat of economic sanctions to keep Quebec in confederation — as Professor Tarnopolsky did, joining the company, I might add, of such distinguished men as Trudeau and Blakeney — is like playing with fire in a haystack. Idle speculation of this sort can only be detrimental to any attempt to resolve the national question. It seems to me that for the time being we who live in Anglo Canada must resign ourselves to waiting patiently in the other room until our Habitant friends reach a consensus among themselves and come up with a concrete proposal regarding what they want out of a relationship with us. When they have taken their position we will be better able to formulate and present a counter-offer; and at that time negotiations can begin to work towards a settlement. But all this mulling about sending in troops before we know what it is we are opposing shifts the atmosphere of that of confrontation. Which brings us to my next point.

This separatist "scare" should come as no surprise at all to anyone who had taken the trouble to learn Canadian history and the history of the Quebec people; yet judging from the reaction of the media since the election of November 15th, you'd think that Canadians had just discovered the "problem" of Quebec. I would like to suggest that two factors are at play here; the fact that reporters and editors know hot copy when they see it (after all, it is one function of the bourgeois press to make money),

Cont'd. on p.12

academics but to the fact that most of the statements were so general in their wording that ideas never confronted each other on the common ground of meaning. And surely the success of any dialectic is predicated on an understanding or mutual agreement concerning the terminology employed. As I recall, of the present-



B. Krawchenko and R. Petryshyn

tations I attended (all but one) only Mr. Roman Petryshyn's made any attempt to provide pertinent definitions and the terms of reference before approaching the topic at hand.

For instance, the word "separatism" was an integral part of the discussion that weekend, yet the only thing that one can establish about its use at this point in time is that it obviously means many different things to many different people — in Quebec, in rural Alberta, in the Liberal Party, in the Ottawa bureaucracy, on Bay Street and in the theoretical wing of the Parti Quebecois. So what exactly did Professor Bociurkiw mean when he said that the multicultural movement would probably be destroyed in the Anglo-Canadian backlash that would inevitably follow should the "separatists" have their way in Quebec? For it is clear from the debate emanating from Quebec — where it is being conducted daily in taverns, shops, in lectures and on the streets, and not only in



Drs. Rudnytsky and Bociurkiw

IN SEARCH OF A DIALOGUE:

As an observer at the recent Conference on Multiculturalism and Separatism I was struck by the apparent incongruity of the issues facing the Ukrainian-Canadian scholars who were assembled here in Edmonton. I mean, how can one compare Quebecois nationalism with multiculturalism? Perhaps as an irresistible force meeting a seemingly immovable object? The analogy would have one believe that, on the one hand, there exists a movement for Quebec independence, filled with the vitality of a government avowedly committed to that goal. On the other hand there lies multiculturalism, a federal policy without a conception, strewn with contradictions and misconceptions, its implementation "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing". Surely there must be a common thread running between the two concepts of multiculturalism and Quebecois nationalism. Otherwise, why the need for such a conference?

Why indeed? The conference struggled for two days to define what kind of Canada Ukrainians would seem to favor, and the consensus seemed to suggest that it would be a multicultural one, perhaps one nation, perhaps two, but certainly committed to the defence of democratic principles and minority rights.

Unfortunately there was very little discussion of what people meant in speaking of the term multiculturalism. Thus the lack of a common definition hampered the attempt to get at the heart of the issues facing Ukrainian Canadians, Quebecois and Canadians in general.

I had never seen a conference of this nature before, monopolized

as it was by representatives of the liberal and progressive spectrums of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. The audience was largely composed of professionals from the Ukrainian community in Edmonton, with a sprinkling of academics and civil servants from outside Edmonton. Ironically, the absence of the established right-wing nationalist community made those discussants of liberal convictions appear to be quite conservative on certain issues, when challenged by those to their left on the political spectrum.

The challenge from those putting forth a socio-economic analysis of the issues of multiculturalism and independence to those who defended a political-linguistic-cultural analysis of these issues threatened to develop into a full-fledged discussion by the end of the conference but, unfortunately, time ran out. Hopefully, Professor Tarnapolsky's suggestion that this issue be debated further at a future conference will be taken up by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

No concrete recommendations were arrived at as to the position which Ukrainian-Canadians should take on the Quebec issue. But as Professor Lupul had stated in his opening remarks to the conference, "Those here expecting to hear 'the Ukrainian-Canadian viewpoint' will probably be disappointed. No consensus is likely to emerge, nor should there be one."

In view of criticisms from the Ukrainian-Canadian Committee (KYK) directed at the Institute for holding such a conference, Professor Lupul's insistence on the right of Ukrainian-Canadian academics to take stands independent of community pressures was a welcome challenge to KYK's traditional

view of what the Ukrainian community in Canada should be. A monolith of unanimity in which there is no room for discussion of controversial issues.

The presence at the conference of Camille Laurin, Cultural Minister in the Parti Quebecois government, was a blow to the conservative Ukrainian hierarchy's strategy of avoiding the issue of Quebec independence. For to take a stand, either way, would involve KYK in controversy and expose it to attack. A stand in favour of recognizing Quebec's right to self-determination would be interpreted by the Federal Liberals as virtually an endorsement of the Parti Quebecois' position on independence, and would open KYK to the brunt of the Trudeau government's disapproval at a time when they are expecting some long-awaited pre-election "goodies". On the other hand to deny that the Quebecois people constitute a nation and that they have a right to self-determination would put them in a hopelessly defensive position vis-à-vis the more progressive elements of the Ukrainian nationalist community and would expose them to charges of hypocrisy for supporting the right of the Ukrainian nation to independence while denying that of another people in a similar situation.

But the Institute Conference was prepared to take the issue headon, for it was under no obligation to formulate a uniform position regarding Quebec. So, enter Monsieur Laurin, a lecturer in psychiatry by profession, who became a convert to the cause of Quebec independence after diagnosing the problem of the Quebecois as one of "a chronic state of insecurity". A man who says he "feels more like a scholar than a politician," yet by virtue of

MULTICULTURALISM MEETS QUEBECOIS NATIONALISM

Alex Tymofienko

having authored the new Language Charter of Quebec, has had to put up with a storm of criticism, abuse and frustration during the seemingly interminable series of hearings this past summer, which only a seasoned politician could survive. Perhaps the second most powerful man in the Parti Quebecois government, Laurin is a study in grace under pressure; his slow deliberate style unravels his diagnosis of the problem of Confederation to the audience as if he were still a teacher of psychiatry and it his students.

Laurin begins by appealing to the emotions of the largely Ukrainian audience. "Liberty," he says, "has a particularly profound connotation, especially to Ukrainians". Those Ukrainians who have left part of their hearts attached to Ukraine surely would like to see it free and independent, he continues that is the very same objective of the Parti Quebecois government, which wishes not to separate from Canada but to make the Quebecois "masters of their own destiny" in the process of developing its culture "it is Quebec's wish not to break up, but to build". This is why "independantistes" are insulted by the use of the term "separatism"; it is inaccurate and it is used by Anglophones to misrepresent the aims of the Quebec government. Moreover the word "separatism" has certain negative connotations surrounding it which the neutral term independence does not have, and therefore the latter term is preferable according to Laurin.

The bulk of Laurin's response is familiar to those who have studied the Quebec issue. Laurin's underlying philosophy concerns the liberating value of nationalism to the collective psyche of a people.

However, too often the value of a nationalist movement is restricted in its scope to a certain class of people and in this respect, the Parti Quebecois has yet to prove that it serves the interests of the average working man in Quebec.

Laurin correctly identified one to the major sources of discontent over language policy in Quebec as being the lowly socio-economic position of the French-speaking population of Quebec. Because of the dominant position of English in the economic sector, the Quebecois have remained near the bottom of the scale of per capita income in their own province, behind even recent immigrants in this respect. Dr. Laurin argued with great force that only with the establishment of French as the language of business in the province would this inequality be redressed.

The Parti Quebecois' Language Charter has given it a temporary victory over those elements within the Anglophone community who have tried to dilute the concept of "two founding peoples" within Confederation. Strong elements within Canada have sought to substitute for it the Anglo-Canadian nationalist ideal of "One Canada" in which English would retain a pre-eminent position and all other languages and cultures would be treated on an equally patronizing basis. In this respect, Laurin regards the Bilingual and Bicultural Commissions concept of "folkloric multiculturalism and restricted bilingualism" as only a slight concession to the ultimate Anglo-Canadian goal of assimilation of all peoples within Canada. The Language Charter is an attempt to prevent this from ever occurring in Quebec.

Con't on p. 11

ABOUT THE QUEBECOIS NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Marc Hufty

The following article was edited from a speech given at the 18th SUSK Congress by Marc Hufty, a member of the Central Council of ANEQ (l'Association Nationale des Etudiants du Quebec).

I would like to thank the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union in the name of all Quebec students for giving us a chance to explain our situation and our struggle.

I would also like to salute the 18th annual congress of Ukrainian students and tell you that ANEQ wishes to establish ties and collaborate with your organization. This collaboration could take several forms, cultural, political or others.

We hope to share with you our fundamental goal of defending the interest and the well being of students within society.

History of the Nationalist Movement in Quebec

Before getting into the heart of the subject I would like to give you a few historical notes on Quebec.

We can divide our history into three parts, the first one beginning with Jacques Cartier and ending in 1760; the second one continuing from 1760 through to the 20th century; and, the third one which brings us up to the present day.

Between 1534 and 1760, a colony is born and led by a French regime until 1760, when Quebec City falls into English hands. Social structures at that time are altered and will remain essentially unchanged until the 20th century.

At the top of the revised pyramid of power we find the English administration, un-

derpinned by the English merchant class. French clergymen and leaders are next in line, and they form the upper strata of the French-Canadian mass. The Indians are low man on this totem pole. Of French America only 85,000 French-speaking people remain (in 1760), living in a distinct, cultural milieu. They are dominated by an elite that is subservient to the conquering English.

In 1763, the Treaty of Paris relieves France of all her American possessions and for all intents and purposes confines French-Canadians to Quebec where they may speak their language and practise their religion. Quebec Act, in 1774, then establishes borders and an English colonial government. The Quebecois are allowed to keep the French civil code but must adopt the English criminal code. At this time, certain privileges of the Catholic clergy are also restored. Seventeen years later, the Constitution of 1791 divides the Dominion into Upper and Lower Canada and gives some effective power to Montreal merchants. Although in Lower Canada (Quebec) 120,000 people speak French and only 9,000 people are English speaking, English is proclaimed the official language of Lower Canada.

The Durham report, prepared in 1839 on orders originating in London, England, recommends French-Canadian assimilation made possible by the unification of both Canadas. Durham considers French-Canadians to be inferior and suggests that it is for their own benefit that they be integrated into the British way of life. This report was to initiate the demise and eventual extinction of French-

speaking Canadians.

Upper and Lower Canada are then united in 1840 on Durham's recommendations. French Canadians number 650,000, while the English Canadians are 450,000 strong. In the combined legislature each side gets 42 representatives. Twenty-seven years later confederation brings about the birth of the modern Canadian nation. Canada in 1867 consists of 4 provinces and by then French-Canadians are a minority.

The Twentieth Century sees American capital literally pouring into Quebec until Americans own 75% of the primary sector of industry, 60% of the secondary sector, and 53% of the remaining economy. What is not owned by the Americans is generally the property of English-Canadians. Traditionally confined to the liberal professions and agriculture, French-Canadians find themselves in a situation where others control their economy.

This concludes my brief sketch of the general history of Quebec. Let us now turn our attention to the specific history of the nationalist movement in Quebec.

Let us now turn our attention to the specific history of the nationalist movement in Quebec.

In the 1830's severe poverty in rural Quebec sparked a large protest that was organized and led by the "Patriotes". This movement was severely repressed by martial law and deportations. During those years and continuing through the rest of the nineteenth century, there was a significant exodus of French-Canadians who left and settled in the US. Tensions between English Canada and French Canadians continued to exist in the following decades, surfacing with the wartime conscription crises. But the problems weren't fully articulated until the Quiet Revolution.

The Quiet Revolution

Such is the name given to the awakening which followed the

election in 1960 of Premier Lesage's liberal government under its slogan "équipe d'unionnerie".

During this period the largely rural society that was Quebec underwent enormous changes, among them a movement for the democratization of education. It was at this time that different autonomist movements began to emerge from the various nationalist currents.

The RIN (Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale), formed in 1960, launched a fight for independence and against the English capitalists. It managed to win 10% of the popular vote in the election of 1966 before dissolving in 1968 with the recommendation that its members join the M.S.A.

The F.L.Q. (Front de libération du Québec), a violent group premised on confrontation politics, hoped through bombs and other terrorist acts to bring about an uprising in Quebec. Born in 1963, it achieved a notoriety that vastly exceeded its very small numbers, especially with the events of 1970.

The P.S.Q. (Parti socialiste du Québec), which was both socialist and "independantist", was a similarly small grouping formed mostly in unionized workers that soon dissolved. Most of its members joined the Parti Quebecois. Another organization, the Parti-Pris, worked towards the goals of socialism for Quebec and its cultural liberation. It managed to launch a well-known publishing house.

The R.N. (Regroupement national) was essentially formed of the right wing of the R.I.N. and it threw its support behind the M.S.A. in 1968. Other nationalist groups which had their origins in the 1950's were the Mouvement National des Quebecois, Mouvement Quebec Français, Revue Socialiste, Parti Republicain du Québec, Revolution Quebecoise, Alliance Laurentienne and the Societe St-Jean Baptiste. But the most important political grouping to emerge during this period was the

M.S.A. (Mouvement Souveraineté-Association).

The M.S.A. was born in 1967 out of a schism within the Liberal Party of Quebec, and was led by René Lévesque and a few other liberals.

In 1968 the R.M. joined the M.S.A. and the R.I.N. was disbanded with the recommendation that its members support the M.S.A.

It is important to consider at this point some important events that formed the background to the development of these groups. It seems most natural to begin with the October 1970 crisis precipitated by the kidnapping of two political figures. The circumstances surrounding the whole affair are still obscure, as the federal government and the R.C.M.P. are suspected of having acted illegally, and Laporte has since been linked to the mafia. Other information that will shed light on the matter is sure to surface in time, however, the fact remains that the police authorities and the army created an atmosphere of panic that was used to identify and arrest leftist militants. Roughly 400 unjustified arrests were made under the provisions of the War Measures Act. Another instance of police repression was Le Samedi de la matraque, which took place in 1964 on the occasion of the Queen's visit to Quebec. A nationalist demonstration at that time was brutally dispersed by the police forces. Similarly violent tactics were used by the police during the St-Jean Baptiste parade of June 24, 1968. On that occasion marking the name day of Quebec's patron saint, militants (of the R.I.N. in particular) turned over a vehicle as part of their protest against the symbol attributed to the Quebecois, the lamb. In French, the same word "mouton" is also used for "coward". St-Jean Baptiste day has been increasingly understood as Quebec's "national" day.

Con't on p. 12

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA THE FUTURE

Roman Petryshyn is a research associate with the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and a former SUSK activist. The following article is taken from a presentation given by Mr. Petryshyn at the 18th SUSK Congress, held in Vancouver, August 24-28, 1977.

This paper will be divided into three sections: Firstly, Quebec as a nation will be discussed and an explanation offered of what is happening there.

Secondly, ethnicity will be discussed and it will be argued that an ethnic group is not a nation, but that nevertheless it is a distinct historical social formation.

Thirdly, on the basis of an understanding of what a national liberation movement is, and of what multi-ethnicity or multiculturalism is - suggestions will be made as to what Ukrainian students ought to be doing to protect and develop the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN QUEBEC?

One cannot understand Quebec unless one looks at the Quebecois as historically formed people. The events of November fifteenth, when the Parti Quebecois (P.Q.) was elected, cannot be understood separate from the fact that the Quebecois resisted conscription to both world wars, that there was vast support among the Quebecois for Riel (whom Anglo-Canadians hung), that there was the 'Patriotes' rebellion in Quebec in 1837-8 and most fundamentally that the original French settlers on the St. Lawrence were militarily conquered by force of British arms.

In one word it is imperative to understand that, in real social and economic terms, the Quebecois have been a colonized people, and that they have exhibited two hundred years of resistance to this colonization.

How did this colonization emerge historically, and what consequences does it have for Quebec today?

The demand for luxury goods in the fifteenth century put the fleets of Spain, Portugal, England and France into the high seas. The Spanish and Portuguese sought Peruvian and Mexican gold and silver. The English searched for fish off North America and for sugar in the West Indies. The French searched for beaver and fur. Neither French nor English merchants wished to pay for settling North America. For over 150 years, North America was seen as a hinterland which it didn't pay to colonize and only when scarcity forced a rivalry for the fur trapping areas did the need for military protection necessitate settlement to protect merchants' interests. New France was made a Royal colony in 1663. By the mid-eighteenth century, international economic competition intensified. The one and a half million English, German, and others in the thirteen colonies reached out for dominance in the Acadian and Newfoundland with settlement and food trading. Conflict carrying over from European war between French and English ensued. Louisiana was destroyed in 1755, the Acadians were exiled and finally in 1759 Wolfe took Quebec. With the treaty of Paris, France gave away control of the 65,000 inhabitants of New France. But the Canadienne remained and from this point onward we will witness their social evolution. In time, they came to view the new British dominant group, and its Loyalist mercantile class which

settled in Montreal (that is, its more desirable parts) to control the fur trade, as a colonizing and alien group - in terms of their control of the economy, culturally, religiously and linguistically.

The eighteenth century was the age of the English industrial revolution which urbanized towns, aggregated and mechanized agriculture, replaced artisan craft by machine production and eventually replaced the dominance of merchant and landowning classes by an industrial factory-owning class. British industrial needs for raw materials and markets for manufactured goods necessitated and enabled the expansion of the British Empire. Canada provided an ideal hinterland to this metropolitan need. Anglo-Canadians grew in power and strength, while the Quebecois, structured around a feudal seigneurial agricultural system (ideologically controlled as a theocracy by a collaborationist Church), settled into a relationship of being a politically and economically as well as militarily defeated people. Quebec's social structure mirrored these developments and developed a stratification where English administration and factory owners were a group above, and the Indians a group below, the French. From the original conquest, Anglo-Canadian supremacy in Quebec carried on through the Quebec Act of 1774, the Constitutional Act of 1791 (creating Upper and Lower Canada), the Rebellion of 1837 and the founding of Confederation. From the fur trade through to the CPR investments, and consequently, all Canadian tariff and immigration policy, control over the economy by both British and Anglo-Canadian financial houses, has been handed down through history into the system of privileged hierarchy in Quebec's economy today.

As an indication of what this means, I'd like to give you some statistics in answer to a few key questions:

1) Who controls the key sectors of Quebec's economy - Quebecois or others?

Francophone establishments are concentrated in industrial sectors which pay the lowest wages, and which essentially produce for a local market, exporting only 5% of their goods. There are only two sectors - wood and leather - in which 50% of value added by enterprise is controlled by Francophones. On the other hand, there are nine sectors - including clothing, textiles, printing and publishing and beverage industries where Anglophones control, and in nine other - including the industries manufacturing petrol products, non-ferrous metals, transportation equipment, and chemical products where foreign interests have majority holdings.

2) How much of this control is American?

Canada itself does not control, or own its own economy. Confederation meant that Canada established a tariff policy to favour some Canadian, principally Anglo-Canadian manufacturers. One result of this policy was the creation of American branch plants:

By 1887 there were 82 American-controlled establishments in Canada (50 in Ontario and 25 in Quebec). By 1913 there were 450. By 1926 - US investment was 53% of all foreign investment in Canada, over-shadowing British capital. By 1963 - 60% of Canadian

manufacturing, 75% of gas and petroleum, and 59% of mining and smelting were owned by Americans.

This degree of investment and control continues on in Canada today. What can be said about it is that Ontario is favoured over Quebec in development. Comparing the production value of manufacturing industries, in heavy industry, Ontario controls 52% to Quebec's 31%, whereas in industry related to natural resources, Quebec has 24% to Ontario's 20% and in light industry (food, beverage, textiles, leather, clothing) 45% to Ontario's 28%. A strong manufacturing and balance of economy reproduces itself. In 1975 capital expenditure rose by 37.6% in Ontario and by 18.2% in Quebec. In addition, unemployment is consistently higher in Quebec (over 20%) than in Ontario (providing cheap labour as a resource, in the view of profit-making industry) and the standard of living generally in Quebec is 25% lower than the Canadian mean and 50% lower than the American mean.

3) What are the social consequences of the colonial situation over the Quebecois?

As a result of the nature of the political economy in Quebec, the average income of Canadians of British origin is 42% above the average income of the Province.

In colonial societies, immigrants who are not of the dominant strata identify themselves with the dominant power and serve the privileged minority not the oppressed majority. Ethnic groups have thus integrated themselves in with the English linguistic and cultural milieu. In 1973, all ethnic groups (with the exception of newly-arrived Italians and colonized Indians) were higher wage earners than the French. French-speaking Quebecers here suffer the social penalty of being French-speaking for being themselves they are discriminated financially and socially in a province where they are the majority.

One policy put forward to try to improve this situation is bilingualism. Yet a B.S. study in Quebec showed that if an Anglo-Canadian is bilingual, as are Franco-Canadians, the bilingual Canadian of British origin made \$2,038 more than the bilingual person of French origin. The problem is not with language, but with the colonial nature of Quebec's society.

The choice facing French-Canadians throughout history has been - assimilate or be poor. The Quebecois, in partially uniting the national and social question for workers, are building a nation around the latter. That Quebecois nation, in comparison to Anglo-Quebecois, includes a disproportionate large number of individuals on welfare, more living in slums, in denser housing, have less adequate health care (higher infant mortality, more cancer, higher incidence of infectious diseases). Lower-property values mean lower taxes and consequently a lower standard of schooling, less access to parks, public libraries and services.

These inequalities have reproduced and perpetuated themselves. Only a political mobilization by the people will resolve the political and economic dominance of a society. The P.Q. can be the escalation of Quebec's mass mobilization, if the P.Q. can continue to address itself to the real interests of the Quebecois.

ETHNICITY

Now, let us turn our attention to the social groups called ethnic groups. These are real and historical formations. Their distinctive social history - whether through a process of immigration or racial discrimination - is unlike that of social groups which are history-less. My contention is that a group or community which is ethnic has a historical consciousness emerging out of a common social experience which a group such as a youth had movement, for example, does not have. Ethnic groups have demonstrated the ability to reproduce themselves generation after generation, in some cases over thousands of years. This indicates that it is a social phenomenon which is real and unique.

However, let us be clear that ethnic groups are not nations.

1) They aren't conquered on their territory by force of arms - though they do establish private space.

2) They are not oppressed as an entire people into a colonial economy. Rather they are integrated into a single economy as individuals and communities to a greater or lesser extent. There is, as well, an economic system within ethnic groups that is not accessible to the society as a whole.

3) They are not discriminated against separately, politically - although there is a social discrimination.

4) In consequence, ethnic groups cannot carry out an autonomous transformation of the political economy of their society, (although they can alien themselves with either conservative or progressive forces in the society).

Ukrainians in Canada, for example, in contrast to the Quebecois, were never militarily conquered in Canada, have had few attempts at creating an independent Ukrainian economy and they have had no discriminative legislation aimed at them in particular, that is, they have never been dealt with as a distinctive whole people. Unlike the Quebecois, Ukrainian-Canadians never tried to capture territorial political power, and instead of celebrating the moments of resistance to Anglo-Canadian capitalism, (Hynchuk in 1933, Two Hills marches, the bilingual schools question) the writers of our history on the whole have purged these events as if they were blots of dishonour, rather than the history creating events which they actually were.

Ukrainian-Canadian ethnicity has been formed basically through the voluntary assimilation of Ukrainians into Anglo-Canadian economy, and a reduction to private funding of a community in lieu of a public Ukrainian identity, and stands in contrast to the Quebecois' nationalist identity which emerged historically in resistance

to Anglo-Canadian colonialism, and which demands public awareness and public support for its existence.

The objective conditions, then, are not the same in forming and developing an ethnic group and a nation. However, just as one can develop full national self-determination and create the conditions for the successful reproduction of a national society, so too one can build towards having the maximal conditions for the reproduction of social life in the community (whether these maximal conditions succeed is another question) to draw an analogy between the nation's society and, the ethnic group's. Let us call it, "micro-society". I use the term "micro-society" both to denote that the ethnic group is not a complete society unto itself, can never be institutionally (i.e. economically) complete, and is a sub-unit of a larger economy, where (A) the ethnic category as a whole is integrated into a larger social economy, (B) where there does exist an autonomous 'ethnic economy within a private community, (C) and where the majority of the ethnic category participate in both economies. The struggle between these two economies is at the root of the assimilation process.

The micro-society's dynamics operate much in the same way as does a colonized national society. Economic and therefore political control is central and governs its social structuring and potentials. Micro-societies aspire towards institutional completeness and independence. Survival of the micro-societal unit is one of its paramount concerns and ethnic class political movements arise for this purpose.

If we continue to draw an analogy between nations and ethnic communities, then we see that the development of certain sectors are vital if we are to maximize an ethnic group's ability to socially reproduce itself.

1) Community economy. The degree of control a community has over an economy will govern how much relevance those communities will have to the real social lives of people. A maximally independent economy (eg. Hutterite) will allow ethnic community reproduction. The Ukrainian community economy is built principally around: credit unions and co-ops - small Ukrainian-language businesses (insurance, kovbassa shops & other food shops, export to Ukraine, bookshops, lawyers, restaurants) - social agency staff (churches, newspapers, printers, radio, etc. communications, administrators-politics, community government) - public financial sector (education, levels, communication, administration i.e. police multiculturalism; research) - voluntary labour (labour, donations) 2) Territory. Although few ethnic groups have a consolidated territory where they control public institutions, all ethnic communities create private space (commonly community halls, churches, etc.) which is in fact control over territory on which political control is exercised.

3) Political economy.

a) in relation to the community.

b) in relation to the nation.

The nation's dynamics are class power, correct or incorrect.

4) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

5) Political dynamics.

public institutions, all ethnic communities create private space (commonly community halls, churches, etc.) which is in fact control over territory on which political control is exercised.

6) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

7) Political dynamics.

public institutions, all ethnic communities create private space (commonly community halls, churches, etc.) which is in fact control over territory on which political control is exercised.

8) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

9) Political dynamics.

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10) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

11) Political dynamics.

public institutions, all ethnic communities create private space (commonly community halls, churches, etc.) which is in fact control over territory on which political control is exercised.

12) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

13) Political dynamics.

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14) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

15) Political dynamics.

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16) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

17) Political dynamics.

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19) Political dynamics.

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20) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

21) Political dynamics.

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22) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

23) Political dynamics.

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24) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

25) Political dynamics.

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26) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

27) Political dynamics.

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28) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

29) Political dynamics.

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30) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

31) Political dynamics.

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32) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

33) Political dynamics.

public institutions, all ethnic communities create private space (commonly community halls, churches, etc.) which is in fact control over territory on which political control is exercised.

34) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

35) Political dynamics.

public institutions, all ethnic communities create private space (commonly community halls, churches, etc.) which is in fact control over territory on which political control is exercised.

36) Social dynamics.

voluntary labour, donations, etc.

37) Political dynamics.

public institutions, all ethnic communities create private space (commonly community halls, churches, etc.) which is in fact control over territory on which political control is exercised.

CANADA AND QUEBEC: FUTURE

DOMAN RYSHYN

3) Politics As a correlate of the economy can be found in two sectors:

a) in relationship to the society
b) in relationship to control over the community's economy.

The nature of issues in both sectors may be different but the dynamic to explain positions, that is class position, is still the most correct way to explain political action.

4) Social Reproduction A large establishment of professional and voluntary workers is developed to maintain the variety of necessary structures to maintain and reproduce the community.

Schools (Ridni shkoly, kursy, NTsh, Kindergartens, Ukrainian as a second language, CUIS, Harvard).

Churches

Communications (newspapers and publications, radio, television)

Political groups (administrators)

Social services

Community recreations (men, women, youth, family)

Some areas existing in society are developed in various groups in various ways or not at all, precisely because they are groups and not nations - i.e. Police - courts, military law.

I have drawn the parallel between ethnic groups in Western society and colonized nations for a number of reasons:

1) I believe that the reasons for political mobilization which takes place in both proceeds in the same manner. There is a tremendous amount in common between the struggle for survival of the Ukrainian-Canadian ethnic group and the Quebecois nation - even though their maximal potential results are quite different.

2) Both movements are peoples' investments which are real and exist independently of governments. The flurry of concern for multiculturalism and bilingualism in recent years occurred not because of this or that governments' humanitarian concern for culture and language. On the contrary, governments historically have proven to be instruments of obstruction and oppression to the real cultural and linguistic concerns of people living in Canada. The only reason why governments since the 1960's have taken any interest in these areas at all is because people, led by the Quebecois, have begun to mobilize independently and have forced governments into conceding part of the peoples' rights back to them.

3) It should be clear from what has been said so far that I believe that Ukrainian-Canadian existence is inextricably linked to the success of the Quebecois struggle. Their's is the nationalism of a colonized people. It is their struggle which has resulted in small concessions called "multiculturalism" or other ethnocultural groups. It is their degree of success which will alter the Canadian Constitution and which will better enable them and us to protect our Ukrainian and Quebecois communities in the future. It is fundamentally in our interest to support the Quebecois' national struggle for democratic self-determination. Conversely, it is in the interest of the Ukrainian-Canadian community to resist the line of the

Liberal government, the "national will", a state nationalism currently being propagated by Ottawa's state bureaucrats solely in their own interest. Forced into choosing people, it is clear that our support must go to the latter so that they might remove the source of their oppression.

In Canada it is the Quebecois' national liberation movement which is the leading edge of social change. Many in Anglo-Canada, in the interest of speeding up change here as well, wish to constrain the Quebec independence movement within the existing Canadian framework, arguing that is will assist both Quebecois and Anglo-Canadians. I say they are wrong. The Quebecois must be endorsed and supported in going as far as they can to achieve their society. Such an advance will speed up beneficial change in Anglo-Canada far more than any other strategy whose essence is to constrain Quebecois and therefore Anglo-Canadian progress.

I believe that this principle as well as being true for Canadian society as a whole, is also true for the political treatment of ethnic minorities in this country. Some would say that the policy of multiculturalism, has been gained by virtue of the fact that Quebec is agitating for French rights within Confederation, and that multiculturalism as a policy will disappear in the Anglo reaction that will inevitably come after Quebec's independence.

Yes, it is true that the groundwork for political sensitivity to multi-ethnicity was laid by the Quebecois. But ethnic groups, although unfortunately never managing to actualize "The Third Force", also did demand political recognition, and this was a historical milestone for Canadian (non-immigrant) minorities. The Quebecois' struggle, as a spinoff, stimulated the inauguration of the struggle of Canadian minorities for their just and rightful claim to the resources they need for survival and development. Once begun, as with Quebec's nationalism, so too with Canadian ethnicity, there is no erasing or going back on public gain and consciousness of these historical achievements - at least not without a great struggle of people against government.

It must be realized that multiculturalism can be developed by governments in two ways - either sincerely or for opportunist political reasons. I suggest to you that the Federal government's policy since 1971, with a Ministry-then without-and this spring, again with a Ministry of Multiculturalism, is not a sincere policy. Multiculturalism as it has been developed is not an attempt to meet the real social, economic, linguistic and cultural needs of Canadian ethnic groups. Rather, it is an ideological tool to dampen the attractiveness of Quebecois anti-colonial nationalism. It holds up the falsely-idealized model of other ethno-cultural groups throughout Canada, as if to say to the Quebecois that all are thriving, all are well in a Liberal Canada. There is no need for independence. It is no accident

that the paltry few million that have been spent on ethnics, have been spent on demonstrating folk arts. How can the Quebecois even consider independence - why just look at those laughing, smiling happy faces! Be French Canadian, and not Quebecois - you too can have all this happiness from a benevolent and paternalistic Ottawa government. Small wonder that multiculturalism has been greeted with cold hostility and indifference in Quebec.

Equally, it is not surprising that the only cases where multiculturalism is financing real social programmes (e.g. Edmonton's bilingual education in the public schools) are the result of real ethnic power at the Provincial level where ethnics have some influence and not opportunist "konekiura" (because we're not included in Canada's power structure), allying with this or that Federal government against a popular movement.

We must learn from the Quebec social and national struggle and realize that multiculturalism, as a sincere social development programme opposite to the symbolic exploitation that goes on now, can only be won if we want it and fight for it as our right, a right that is currently being obstructed by various governments. Only when we develop real power on our own, will multiculturalism be a sincere programme maintained solely for the needs of ethnic communities rather than a smothering blanket of vacuous ideology to be used against the Quebecois.

Perhaps by supporting the Quebecois, in the short term, we can lose the present multicultural programme - although I doubt it. I doubt it because I know that ethnic groups in Canada are a well organized, large independent social force which will demand its rights. If it were not so, no amount of money in multicultural grants could create ethnicity; and indeed there would be no need for multiculturalism, even if we could lose this small multicultural grants programme, nevertheless, it is in the long term, in the political interests of ethnic groups to realize who is friend and who is foe. It is not the Quebecois who have been destroying our community - it is the Anglo-Canadian and his control of our economic destiny.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

In concluding, I wish to put forward three theses, a programme of action, which I put to you as students - a sector of society which has in recent years given a lead to our community in respect of its political position in contemporary Canada:

- 1) Defend Quebec's right to self-determination
- 2) Defeat chauvinism and racism
- 3) Build multiculturalism

I DEFEND QUEBEC'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION!

In putting forward this thesis, I argue that it is just and, therefore in our interest, to defend the right of Quebec's residents to decide their own political fate - democratically, without government or business interference and, for what is, in their view, their own best interest. Each of these elements is what we want for our own community - and to have it ensured in our community we must defend those principles in the society at large. Naturally at this time, these principles must

be defended in the case of the Quebecois deciding on how they wish to rectify their unjust colonial situation.

There are a number of ways in which self-determination can be argued:

-TRUDEAU' LIBERAL BILINGUALISM:

more bilingual speakers in the Federal government. The November 15 election demonstrated that this policy is a total failure.

-Special status: argues that Quebec ought to get control of more rights from Ottawa, but without constitutional amendment.

-employment agencies

-agricultural budget

-reform institutions

-various federal cost sharing schemes - family allowances, pension, social welfare, housing, student grants, some financial and regional development; institutions: like insurance and trust companies.

-access to international relations, broadcasting, immigration

-civil courts

-language policy

-increase in direct (or indirect) taxation.

Yet, is this policy to be accepted by other Provinces? Or will they too take away all reason for central government in Ottawa to exist. Such a formula creates one, two or more central governments. Where then is the single state?

FORMAL INDEPENDENCE: This may be seen as the PQ's policy and is understood as attaining independence through the ballot box, and then renegotiating a common-market arrangement with Canada. In view of the fact that the PQ now has about 18% of the population supporting it for independence, it is questionable whether an election campaign can mobilize people into a serious anti-colonial step into history.

MASS MOBILIZATION FOR INDEPENDENCE: What brought the PQ into power was these promises of non-corrupt, responsive, good government. This is an answer to the social and political needs of Quebec workers and citizens. Only by continuing and defending the interests of the majority working class - rather than the profit making elites - can there be a mass base support for the independence movement to free themselves both from Anglo-Canadian political control and Anglo-Canadian and American economic dominance. After such an independence, the development of a Canada-Quebec customs union will bring extremely beneficial support to all social groups who will be mobilizing to defend their interests against the Canadian government and American controllers of capital.

Although I personally believe the Quebecois will be most successful with the latter approach (an analogy I draw from my understanding of what is happening in Ukraine), all forms of self-determination must be defended and all gains (bilingualism) defended. It is after all the Quebecois who suffer their fate and exist in their impoverished status. All gains are to be defended and they will decide what is right for them.

II DEFEAT ALL RACISM AND CHAUVINISM!

Self-determination must be defended against those interests in Quebec and Anglo-Canada who want to prevent any correction of the present Anglo dominance of society and who will invite racism and chauvinism, eventually leading to a vast array of repression to stop the Quebecois from gaining majority control. We have already seen this with respect to the CRTC hearing on separatism in the CBC, and in cases in which the use of the military is CONTEMPLATED.

Racism and chauvinism, which arise as a defence of one's privileges, must be resisted at all times.

As a students' union, you can do much to challenge these tendencies within our own community. Equality of peoples is the fundamental principle of sincere multiculturalism and must be continually fought for.

Among Ukrainians, this is probably most unfortunate in Montreal. Although there are many Ukrainians who are part of the French majority in Quebec, by and large Ukrainians have joined with other ethnic groups in becoming "les Anglaises" in Montreal. For financial and career gain, Ukrainians identify with the economically privileged English minority; to be more exact, the Ukrainians have become a privileged group within the working class. Although explainable, if Ukrainians independently begin to discriminate against the Quebecois, insult and degrade them, this is morally despicable. Even middle men who work or even serve the colonizers, can empathize and respect the majority population.

Certainly our community organizations - which we Ukrainians control - can do more for a Quebec-Ukrainian alliance, and we must do so if we are to live in Quebec expecting our community there to grow and develop.

III BUILD MULTICULTURALISM!

For both Quebec and Anglo-Canada, ethnic groups such as the Ukrainians, on the strength of their own political power supported by democratic allies, must build multiculturalism on their own. Multiculturalism, or the viability of ethnic communities in Canada, can be built if people have access to the resources they need from society, and have the internal will and capacity to live alternative cultural lives, thus pluralizing the norm of the entire society. In the Ukrainian case, our priorities are as follows:

-Our Ukrainian Canadian economy - credit unions, co-ops, worker co-owned, Ukrainian speaking industry, the public system must be used and the private sector improved (e.g. ridni shkoly).

-Social services: professional staff, bilingual -Creative development and access to the Ukraine

-Communication: professional production

-Politics: support anti-discrimination and ethnic rights in democratically controlled society.

Much of this we must do ourselves - the time for empty speeches without concrete action is over. We must produce it - a question of our community's survival.

MINORITIES & QUEBEC

Address given by the Minister of Education, M. Jacques-Yvan Morin, (translated from French), 19 February 1977 at the Hotel Statler in Montreal, on the occasion of the 55th anniversary of Ukrainian independence.

Introduction by Professor Roman Serbyn

Since the November 15 election, the Ukrainian community has upon two occasions had the opportunity to meet a minister of the new Parti Quebecois government. Three weeks ago, at a conference organized by the Ukrainian-Canadian Committee of Ottawa and the Hon. Jacques Coure, Minister of Immigration and Menpower, participated in a colloquium on the problems of multiculturalism. Today, we have the honour to welcome among us the Hon. Jacques-Yvan Morin, Minister of Education and Deputy Prime Minister.

These two encounters constitute a striking proof of the desire to begin a dialogue, a desire which is felt on the part of all the ethnic groups [of which the Ukrainians are not the most numerous, but surely among the most dynamic] as well as by the Government of Quebec. Our quest of honour this evening is particularly well-placed for us to find out the attitudes and the projects of his government which are of prime concern to ethnic groups. His background being that of a jurist, academic and politician, M. Morin has militated over the years in these bodies where the problems of culture and language were always in the foreground. This background as well as his current post will undoubtedly give him a great perception of the two preoccupations of this evening's audience:

- 1) To commemorate with dignity the national rebirth of the Ukraine which led to the proclamation of independence of the National Republic of Ukraine in 1918.
- 2) To find out the place of Quebecois of Ukrainian origin in Quebec, not only insofar as what they deserve as individuals, but what they deserve as an ethnic cultural community as well.

Speech of M. Jacques-Yvan Morin

M. President, M. Minister, M. Senator, M. Deputy Mayor, Reverend Fathers, my dear friends, (dorozi ukrainski!) dear Ukrainians.

I would truly have shown bad manners if I had refused to come and celebrate with you this evening the anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Ukraine "free, sovereign and independent", as expressed in its official proclamation. It was in my youth that I first heard of the Ukraine and it was in a form which appeared to me filled with mysteries. Indeed, it was in a song which spoke of the wind of the Ukraine that I learned of this immense country, mysterious for a Quebecois who, himself, inhabits a valley, not less immense, but who has a little in common with those undulating plains, beaten by the wind. This song remained anchored in my mind and I sing it again on this occasion. It was like a friend, "Ukraine... A tree in the wind, the plain so distantly extending, hear you not this song from a lost heart, raked by the shivers of the wind." It was very beautiful!

For a very long time I have had this poetic and splendid image of Ukraine. It was not until I was a student at McGill University that I was confronted by some more lasting realities. As I wanted to study journalism, the director of the "McGill Daily" said to me: "You must go to New York, to interview Alexander Kerensky before he dies". Kerensky was much older than I had been able to ascertain at the time, but having accepted the invitation, I paid a visit to New York to meet this former politician.

That was my first contact with the history of the Ukraine, with the difficulties which have marked the history of that country since the Middle Ages and which are still present. I learned many things from Kerensky, of the things which he had hoped to accomplish. I learned the history of your country as well as those of the Byelorussia, the Baltic States, Finland, Poland and all the other states of Eastern Europe which have been linked from the beginning with that colossus which seized the vast expanse of the Asian hinterland.

It thus gives me particular pleasure to be with you this evening to talk to you of that which could signify for us Quebecois what this historical date signifies for you. For a government which seeks to democratically accomplish, with a sure step, the independence of Quebec following a referendum, the example of your country is truly remarkable. Your tenacity, the courage of your people, your open attitude towards the place of minorities living inside Ukrainian territory, constitutes a lesson for us. Your indomitable national energy, your will to remember your heritage and to "not let go", as we say in Quebec, reveals so many lessons for us in these difficult moments.

But it is not only that. If that were all, it would still be significant. It is equally the fact that you constitute, here in Quebec as well, one of the oldest groups. You have contributed to the development of Quebec, devoting your energy here as well as to the development of Canada. You have contributed to the cultural richness of Quebec; this has not been sufficiently recognized up to now.

The Quebecois government welcomes you and thanks you for your work on behalf of our and your Quebec.

This evening I had the intention to talk to you very briefly about two major subjects. Firstly, I would like to say some words concerning the future of Quebec, and of lessons that link us; from this perspective, with the history of Ukraine. I would also like to respond to certain apprehensions towards this movement which only yesterday seemed confined to the opposition, but which, on the contrary, since 15 November appears to have taken form and soon without doubt will succeed. I know that this uncertainty exists. It is moreover completely natural and not at all astonishing. It would be unnatural for me not to attempt to explain, in response to these apprehensions, what the future holds, and to tell you not only of how we conceive this future, but also what your role is in this new historical current. We share this in common with the Ukraine; the basis of our nation, that which is in fact its foundation, its language. I understand the profound attachment which you have shown towards your language and, of course you surely will not be astonished by that which we give to ours. In this, we have something in common. Moreover, as both our nations' languages are neighbors of colossuses, whether they be the Soviet Union or the United States, it would be well worth taking into account all of the differences which could exist between these two historic situations.

It is, above all, in the name of language that the Central Rada tried to obtain greater autonomy for the Ukraine, in the spirit of a Russia which would have become a federation. The Ukraine constituted a nation until 1654 and Russia had already conceded a great deal of autonomy to it, but this was violated without end by the succeeding regimes to the point of its becoming completely inoperative. It is because Quebec also possessed a language and a

culture different from the rest of North America and because it constitutes a nation like the Ukraine that we have been induced to maintain this "backward" language: from the conqueror in 1774 in the Quebec Act; then in 1791 by a grant of the Chamber of the Assembly; in 1837 after a period of violent unrest in this country; in 1867 inside a Canadian federation, in which we have obtained certain limited rights which are real and which have taken a definite place in the spirit of Confederation.

It is again for the same reason that today we are attempting to do what the Ukraine wanted to do in 1917-1918. Our peoples have this in common: they are patient; perhaps too patient. They would have possibly accepted autonomy if it had been a true form of autonomy, and if it had been one fully accepted and respected by their respective ruling powers. Quebec could almost repeat today in the same terms as the first Universal of the Rada: "*Henceforth, the Ukrainian people place upon themselves the responsibility of determining their own destiny.*" We could say the same thing with regard to Quebec since November 15.

Of course, this does not prejudice at all the verdict of the Quebecois on the day when we ask them what they intend their future to be, but we believe that the Helsinki declaration applies not only to Eastern Europe and Ukraine, but equally to Quebec. In the Helsinki declaration, accepted by Canada, not only are the signatories committed to respect the right of peoples to self-determination, but also, to give effect to this right. It goes far: it is an international commitment, before the world. And this is why I speak to you of the future, since it is rapidly approaching.

This future, will be that of a country which, of course, will want to be politically independent, but associated in an economic plan with Canada since Quebec has no intention to leave North America! Quebec wants to remain a part of North America as much as the Ukrainian communities want to remain living throughout all of North America and to retain the links between themselves, as much as you, Ukrainians of Quebec, have the desire to be North Americans. However, we are North Americans who speak the French language and we constitute a distinct nation which has had, like yours, extensions in all of North America. Over the years, we have literally exported a million of our people to New England and another million to Canada.

As well, we hope that Quebec will also be a North American country in its economy and perhaps, a little in its mentality, since the Quebec nation is neither entirely European, nor entirely North American. It is North American by its geography and by its destiny, but not entirely by its culture or values.

The second lesson that I retained from Ukrainian history is that of the respect Ukraine has shown towards its minorities, which the Central Rada demonstrated in the first of its Universals. Ukraine as you know, understood at that time and still understood that 24% to 25% of its population consists of persons of whom the mother tongue is not Ukrainian. Your conduct toward these minorities was perfectly exemplary. You went so far as to recognize their right to have seats in your Rada. You consistently displayed an attitude of welcome towards them (except, of course, when they belonged to enemy armies occupying your national territory).

And thus, I believe that Quebec must take inspiration from this model of exemplary behaviour. In the Quebec of the future, whatever its destiny may

be, whatever the result of the referendum, it will have to build a new place, larger than before, for its minorities. Quebec will have to respect the right to a separate identity of groups which have come to join the Francophone founders of this country. Quebec must not only respect this right to an identity, but also will have to recognize the right to full and complete participation of groups of other ethnic origins which align themselves with the Quebecois in developing the country.

In a Quebec which no longer fears for its language, nor for its existence, I believe it is possible to make great progress along the road towards respect for the distinct identities of my own people, that of the Ukrainians, and those of others. Furthermore, Ukrainians are not alone in the Quebec of today. There are, certainly, some groups more important than yours, such as the Italians and Greeks, as well as certain groups which are of less importance. You are a group of several thousand, there being between 25,000 to 30,000 Quebecois of Ukrainian origin. It is a group that one cannot neglect, nor can one ignore its contribution to the development of Quebec.

Concerning education - I will only take responsibility with regard to education since it is my ministry. Recently, I've been forced to reflect on the language problems which have posed themselves. I can say to you that the following are among our priorities. Firstly, we want to assure that the teaching of the French language, the maternal language of the majority of the citizens of this country, will be made the object of a planned effort to improve its quality. It will be made the object of concentrated and urgent studies of programs and teaching methods with equal attention being given to the evaluation of the results. We want to correct a certain carelessness which has characterized recent years. We equally are going to recognize that the teaching of the second language, English, is important in North America and we will give it the place to which it is suited, having taken into account, of course, the necessity to anchor well the French language in the minds of our children before they begin learning a second language.

We are also going to organize instruction intended for the various ethnic groups in the French public schools and this is one of the firmest of my proposals - instruction for groups like yours which are now completely Quebecois and which have the right to seek recognition for their identity in the educational system. Of course, it will not be a Ukrainian School, but it will be an opportunity to learn the Ukrainian language at the secondary level, and will eventually, for example, include optional course in the history and culture of the Italian and Greek civilizations.

I believe that a Quebec which feels certain of itself, which no longer feels threatened by any form of domination and which puts into effect the proposed language policy, will permit itself to be more generous than it has been in the past. This, no doubt, is not "news" since I have on occasion hinted of it. Years ago I cherished this project of recognizing the cultural, economic and social contribution of groups, such as yours, which came to help us in developing Quebec and in making it what it is today. This allows me to be a little more precise as to our language policy. Although naturally I cannot, this evening, allude to the details of the future legislation that Dr. Laurin will have the honour of presenting to the National Assembly in several weeks. Everyone can confirm the

failure of Bill 22, as much in its failure to give a proper place to minorities as in its failure to satisfy the needs of the majority. It will be replaced by a charter which will affirm the French face of Quebec and which will set all to work so that this face remains irrevocably French in the future. Of course, we will also have to recognize, as I've already said, the usefulness of knowing a second language and of mastering it well.

We're conscious of the fact that we cannot isolate ourselves. If by chance, you were under the misapprehension that we would dream of "unslitching" Quebec along the Ottawa River so as to thrust away from North America in order to get closer to Europe or France, I can assure you otherwise. Geographical realities prevent us from proceeding in that manner even if that was the profound desire of some of us. We live in North America and we must surely take this into account; Indeed, we have already taken it into account.

We know that we have a treasure under our feet which belongs to you as well as us. It is the St. Lawrence Valley, an immense channel of fluvial, commercial and economic penetration into the industrial empire of the Great Lakes, into the centre of America. We have the privilege, by having been bequeathed by history and by certain "errors of navigation" of Jacques Cartier, to be astride one of the great economic routes of the world and we are conscious of this! The government is conscious of this and it knows what springs from this heritage of ours, from obligations to cut this country from North America since our Quebec is essentially a channel of penetration into the interior of America. That which is essential for our economic life cannot be amputated. On the contrary, we must develop this channel, but develop it for ourselves, Quebecois of all origins, and for ourselves, without excluding the other benefits which could flow from their presence in the geographical centre of North America.

We are, my dear friends, sitting upon a treasure, but we have not exploited it as we should have in the past since we were not free to do so. We were not free to fully develop this country by ourselves and for ourselves. Henceforth, we want to develop it with you and with Canada, of course. That is indisputable. But we also want to develop it by ourselves and for ourselves. This is the modern sense of independence, not to cut ourselves off from the rest of the world, but on the contrary, to open ourselves to the world. We must open it ourselves, however, by avoiding the direction of a government which, in spite of all its good will, will always remain fundamentally foreign.

But dear friends, we have every intention of materializing, in concrete terms, this policy of opening Quebec; we have already begun. We have invited you - I speak on behalf of the Prime Minister, M. Rene Levesque, in the name of the government and of the deputies of the Parti Quebecois in the National Assembly, and I speak, moreover, on behalf of all Quebecois of old stock - we have the honour to invite you to develop this vast country with us. Come without reticence to join us. I know that there were some prejudices in the past, some misunderstandings, but this must change rapidly if Quebec wants to assume the stature of a state. It must accept the responsibilities which come with statehood, as the Ukraine did in 1918.

My dear friends, Ukrainians and Quebecois, we witness with the same patience, we have in common the same stubbornness! We have equally the same ideals of independence and of respect for our neighbours.

We have the same duty. Glory to the Ukrainians! Glory to the Quebecois! *My mejem, od nakoru metu. Slava Ukrajini! Slava Kebekovi!*

Lupul...from p.6

individual as opposed to those of groups or collectivities. The nationalist Quebecois version espouses collective language rights - it perceives language as being a carrier of culture, as well as being an instrument of communication. People who speak a common language develop a common culture and develop a sense of group consciousness and, in doing so, acquire aspirations for nationhood. This philosophy is the main rationale behind the Parti Quebecois' Language Charter.

The Quebecois resistance to the principle of multiculturalism as enunciated by Trudeau is precisely because he fails to recognize the validity of the latter concept, namely that the French language can be a vehicle for national aspirations rather than simply an instrument of communication. The insistence by various ethnic groups in the past that their languages be treated on an equal basis with French merely reinforces the antipathy of Quebecois to multiculturalism. Such a stand fails to recognize the quite different role which French plays as both the language of communication for almost 30% of Canada's population in the public and private sectors as well as a carrier of culture.

ETHNICITY AND CLASS

Roman Petryshyn, a research fellow with the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, outlined the theory that there exists a three-tiered system of ethnic ranking within Canada, based on barriers to social mobility within the socio-economic class structure of Canadian society. In this hierarchy, those of Anglo-Celtic origin tend to be over-represented in positions of wealth and power at the top of the scale, while Canada's indigenous peoples (the Indians, Metis, and Eskimos) remain at the bottom. Ukrainian-Canadians are concentrated somewhere in the middle sector of this social hierarchy, along with most other ethnic groups of similar European origin. Ukrainian-Canadians have generally found access to socially desirable professions and are not subject to the kinds of overt discrimination which is experienced by native people and the visible minorities (i.e. blacks, Pakistanis, Chinese, etc.) Nevertheless, barriers to entry into political, economic and social elites have remained for Ukrainian-Canadians. Similar barriers exist against people of non-Anglo-Celtic origin, partly as a result of established attitudes of Anglo-conformity.

This enforced pressure to conform has forced Ukrainian-Canadians to develop their culture in the private rather than the public sector, and has led to a high rate of assimilation. After all, growing up in dark, gloomy parochial Saturday schools and at ritualistic Sunday afternoon church basement concerts can hardly encourage the development of pride in one's cultural background. Instead, youth tend to reject these kinds of institutions for those represented by the highly sophisticated, brightly-lit, modern classroom and the excitement of a Rolling Stone's rock concert. To reverse the trend of assimilation would require the full implementation of a policy of multiculturalism, which would entail the use of Ukrainian in the institutions of the public sector such as the school and the work place, as well as the breakdown of all barriers to entry into Canada's elite circles.

Petryshyn sees the failure of multiculturalism as stemming from its failure to attract the support of the broad mass of working people in Canada. Rather it has been articulated and developed according to the perceptions and needs of middle class ethnics. The cultural division between the lower and middle classes is apparent in the understanding of the culture which many urban middle-class Ukrainians and Canadians possess toward popular rural festivals such as Dauphin and Vegreville.

THE MULTICULTURAL POLICY

In the following session, Professor Bociurkiw of Carleton University traced the history of the development of multiculturalism as a government policy, and the response of various segments of the Ukrainian-Canadian community to this policy. He traced the beginnings of the government's recognition of multiculturalism back to the representations of Ukrainians and other ethnic groups to the Bilingual and Bicultural Commission, the efforts of the Canadian Folk Arts Council and the Conference on Cultural Rights organized by Senator Paul Yuzyk in 1958.

Professor Bociurkiw discussed the evolution in the policies of various Ukrainian-Canadian Organizations - KYK, AUUC, SUSK - towards multiculturalism. He gave SUSK credit for the key role it played in influencing the federal government's decision to formally acknowledge the multicultural reality of Canada in 1971 and to set up a multicultural department in the following year. However, he felt the increasing pre-occupation of SUSK with matters of internal organization and finance and its disillusionment with KYK (leading some of its leading figures to turn towards neo-Marxist tenets) weakened the impact of SUSK's lobbying positions on the federal government.

Professor Bociurkiw criticized KYK for its lack of initiative and its failure to adequately represent Ukrainian-Canadian interests to the government. He also attacked the lack of commitment on the part of the federal government and the multicultural departmental bureaucracy to the policy, noting their failure to spend all the funds allocated to the program.

On the following day, Professor Tarnapolsky of York University identified several issues which he felt were basic to the question of multiculturalism in Canada. One of these was the need to entrench basic language and cultural rights in a new Canadian constitution, in order to prevent non-English, non-French minorities from becoming third-class citizens within Canada. Democratic rights are indivisible, Professor Tarnapolsky maintained, and therefore rights given to one group must be given to all. He stressed that it is necessary to build "ethnic power" along avenues of common interest among all ethnic/cultural groups in Canada. The need for co-operation among these groups is especially necessary to properly represent their interests on two key issues: the addition of languages other than English and French in CBC programming and the formulation of non-discriminatory laws with respect to immigration to Canada. The Professor urged the establishment of a non-profit corporation to build professional cultural associations in the Ukrainian-Canadian community, which would be responsible for furthering the development of culture in the fields of media productions, dancing, drama and theatre.

Professor Tarnapolsky described the constitutional problems involved in defining the future relationship of Quebec to Canada as being complex, and that may require a solution similar to the devolution of power currently underway in Great Britain. It would be wrong continued Tarnapolsky, to assume that there will necessarily be a satisfactory continuation of economic relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada should the former become independent. However, Ukrainian-Canadians should defend the principle of the right of self-determination, and allow Quebec to decide its own future.

REGIONAL FEDERALISM

The Director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Professor Lupul, posed three options for Canada to pursue in its present political crisis. It could accept the analysis of the separatist and begin arranging for the possible attainment of independence of Quebec. Dr. Lupul rejected this as a viable alter-

native, arguing that Quebec's fate is inextricably linked with that of Canada and that both Quebec and a multicultural Canada would not be able to survive the pressure for assimilation to the American way of life in the event of separation.

He also rejected the status quo position of "co-operative federalism" as currently practised by the Canadian government. The federal policies of bilingualism within the civil service and extension of bilingual services to French-Canadians across the country have not addressed the heart of the problem, said Professor Lupul, which is the Quebec English minority's insistence on acting like conquerors in refusing to speak French. This arrogance on the part of the English in Quebec has led to the growth in strength of the separatist movement. Multiculturalism has not been treated in a serious manner by the Liberal government, partly because of resistance from Quebec.

As a third alternative, Professor Lupul proposed a form of "regional federalism" which would maintain Canada together as a single political entity. Individual regions within Canada could set their own regional language policies which would reflect the ethnocultural background of their population. In the Prairie region, for example, larger ethnic groups of German or Ukrainian background could have their languages available as a second language within the educational system. A Canada which offered such linguistic freedom would make its people feel more secure and help cement Confederation.

Professor Lupul stated that Quebec's language problems would be solved by making French the working language in Quebec, and by making the English minority speak French to the French-speaking Quebecer. It is not so much bilingualism that Quebecers oppose he said, but "one-way bilingualism where only the French become bilingual." The multicultural policy has failed because the implementation of bilingualism has failed. The only way bilingualism and multiculturalism can succeed is by a system of regional federalism in language and cultural policies, he said, "in a country of minorities, all minorities stand or fall together."

TOWARDS A UKRAINIAN- CANADIAN CONSENSUS?

The final panel discussion centered around an attempt to attain a consensus from the Ukrainian-Canadian academics on the issue of multiculturalism and separatism. All speakers agreed that Quebec's right to self-determination must be recognized. But at the same time, it was suggested that it would be unwise for the Ukrainian-Canadian community to support the independence movement in Quebec.

The conference participants also indicated that in order to further what they considered to be the proper goals of multiculturalism, socio-economic opportunities must be expanded for all Canadian citizens, especially those in the lower social and economic echelons of society in which ethnic groups are over-represented.

However, Professor Tarnapolsky raised a fundamental question with regard to the value of a class analysis in the study of the Ukrainian-Canadian community as advanced in some of the papers at this conference. He suggested that a good topic would certainly make a good topic for the next in the series of conferences on Ukrainian-Canadian themes which the Institute hopes to hold, of which "Ukrainian-Canadians - Multiculturalism and Separatism" was the first.

Editor's note: The papers presented at this conference will be published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and will be available in the near future from the Institute.

Tymolienko...from p.7

The critiques of Laurin's position, contained in the questions which Professors Bociurkiw and Tarnapolsky posed to the minister following his speech, centered upon the potentially disastrous effect of Quebec independence on the movement towards multiculturalism. Professor Bociurkiw's contention that there would be a backlash against minorities in general, and French-Canadians in particular, in the event of Quebec independence is difficult to refute, and Dr. Laurin's reply asserting his belief in the tradition of civility and respect for democracy in Canada is perhaps too optimistic an estimation of this country's capacity for tolerance. The current experience of the Inuit people in Quebec, who refuse to have their traditional right to speak English as their second language taken away, is the case in point. Clearly the Quebec government is not a model of social tolerance nor have most other governments in Canada been strict upholders of minority rights.

Both questions sounded Laurin out on the independence issue and questioned both the feasibility and the desirability of an independent French-speaking state in North America. Laurin was forced to accept Professor Tarnapolsky's analysis that Quebec could never be fully master of its own destiny because it would still be constrained by economic and geographic forces. It is a question of relativism, the issue being how much independence can Quebec realistically attain?

Its alternatives are: 1) a more decentralized federal system, 2) special status within Confederation 3) some form of economic association with Canada in the event of its economic achievement of nationhood.

From a psychological standpoint, the emotional feeling which would arise from the creation of an independent Quebec would no doubt be a positive outcome. However, from a practical standpoint it might be more logical for the PQ government to pursue a policy of negotiating some form of associated status while still within Confederation, as Quebec is likely to be offered more generous terms as a member of a federated country than as an independent nation. If my assumption is correct, then the PQ's argument for the need for independence loses much of its force. For if Quebec could obtain substantially the same terms within a

federation as from without, would there still exist a commitment on the part of the PQ to independence? Frankly, I doubt it.

Dr. Laurin impressed the audience with his moderate tone and the eminently reasonable arguments which he advanced. Confronted with the choice of independence with a highly restricted form of economic association or special status with the existing unfettered freedom of trade between Quebec and Canada, I suspect that after long and careful consideration, Dr. Laurin would choose the latter alternative over the former. The logic of the situation suggests that economic considerations would win out over the emotional stake involved in attaining an independent Quebec. However, should the rational considerations fall out to the emotional, it would not be the first historical instance in which this has occurred, neither is it likely that it would be the last.

And what of multiculturalism? Whatever the outcome of the referendum on independence, the demographic basis for multiculturalism will still remain - the non-Anglo, non-Quebecois ethnic groups will not disappear overnight. Perhaps Professor Lupul's suggestion for different linguistic and cultural policies within different regions of Canada is the most rational way to apply a multicultural policy across the country. In this way, Quebec could have a multicultural policy which would be tailored to the requirements of its social reality, while Ontario, the Prairies, B.C. and the Maritimes could pursue other variations which would take into account each region's differing demographic basis.

However, this would constitute only a beginning to the difficult task of defining the issues involved in re-delegating powers of jurisdiction in a new constitution. The thorny problem of formulating a coherent national economic policy, from both the monetary and fiscal standpoints, would still have to be resolved. Without a satisfactory solution in this area the former proposals for dividing the implementation of multicultural policies by regions would hardly succeed in getting off the ground.

In any event, the development of multicultural policy within Canada will be subject to the national objectives of Quebec as well as Ottawa. In the ensuing debate, it is the task of the Ukrainian-Canadian community to reach outside of the narrow confines of its organizational structures and ensure that it has a voice in the formulation of these national objectives.

ДІЯЛОГ

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Hully, from p.7

Let us now consider the Parti Québécois and its rise to power. At the end of 1968, the M.S.A. became the Parti Québécois, which means the P.Q. was formed by people from multiple origins (R.I.N., R.N., and others) and ideas, giving in common the wish to realize Quebec independence. In 1970, the P.Q. obtained 23% of the popular vote, 30% in 1973 and 40% in 1976. With this sharp progression, in a span of 8 years the P.Q. managed to ascend to power.

The Present Situation

What then is the present situation? Let us begin with the question of who wants independence. A recent survey indicated that 40% of Quebecers were in favour of "Souveraineté association" as the political destiny for Quebec. And the majority of those people, according to statistics are members of the middle class.

Why? Because the basic argument of the independence platform concerns cultural survival and control of economy. The cultural survival of the Francophones is seen to be an impossibility in a milieu where they cannot themselves control all the factors influencing their culture. Others have as their principal argument the economic question, claiming that Quebecois lose an enormous amount of money by leaving their economy in foreign hands without being able to change financial matters in the present system.

It is clear that there are two views of Canada and federalism as seen by Francophones and by Anglophones. For Francophones confederation was seen to secure the cultural and economic protection of the Quebec people. An union of states where each stays free and keeps its autonomy, was considered by the Quebecois to be their best guarantee of survival, since power remained in the province's hands. But Anglophones, with the exception of the West, have always wanted a strong central government, in this way making a minority of the French-Canadians. In the Anglophone conception, Ottawa is more and more a centralizing agent, though the provinces are beginning to protest. One thing is certain, the Quebecois are much more sceptical than the Anglo-Canadian in his understanding of federalism.

Further proof that there is a fundamental difference in the Quebecois and Canadian conception of federalism is evident in the 1942 referendum on conscription, when 85% of Francophones voted 'against' while 80% of Anglophones answered 'in favour' of the question 'are you in favour or against the conscription?'. If one were to sum up worried about the centralization of power in Ottawa and would like Quebec to be "maître chez lui" ("master in his own land").

As for the question of Quebec and multiculturalism, one should be careful not to make a voluntary (or not) regionalism and nationalism. Presently, Anglophones confuse these different ideas. The yearning of Quebec for extended powers isn't an issue of regionalism, as Trudeau would like to present it, but a nationalist aspiration. Quebecois want to form a nation, a people, and they want to be considered as one of the two founding peoples and not as an ethnic minority or "une province comme une autre".

The desire of the other provinces to extend their powers is a matter of regionalism, since this differentiates an Ontario from a Manitoba except the place where they live. They speak the same language, they live the same way and come from the same civilization or have been integrated into it. Quebecois have nothing against multiculturalism, but they refuse to be treated as an ethnic minority similar to others. The day, when Canada will recognize that the Quebecois are a nation and not an ethnic minority, many problems will be simplified.

In the matter of Quebec's own minorities, it should be recognized that at present about 18% of

Quebec population is non-Francophone. The problem is that this percentage increases each year since the immense majority of the immigrants integrate into the Anglophone sector, a situation which has obvious long-term consequences for Francophone Quebecois.

It is clear that in the present context, where the economic life of North America and Quebec is controlled by English-speaking people, immigrants tend to assimilate into the Anglophone sector. At the present time it's more economically advantageous for them to become Anglicized rather than to enter into Francophone society.

But should the economic activity of Quebec be conducted in French, a natural movement of immigrants into the Francophone majority and the ethnic minority would result. In any case, whether or not Quebec becomes independent, Quebecois will not allow that sovereignty to be won at the expense of the minorities. Quebec is presently a privileged place for ethnic minorities and we intend that it remain so.

At this point it might be timely to remember that Quebec has immense resources which at the present time it doesn't control. The economy is developed but does not benefit everyone. The Parti Québécois and the supporters of independence want to take back the wealth of the land and control over the economy, by virtue of autonomy. Federalists, however, are frightened that independence would ruin Quebec. The P.Q. envisions an independent Quebec that is open to the world, against imperialism and militarism, and agreeable to in-cooperation. Quebec has already started to make its presence known on the international scene, which is to be expected of a sovereign government.

The Student Movement and Independence

Finally, I want to say a few things about the student movement and independence. To begin with, UGEO (L'Union générale des Etudiants du Québec), which existed from 1964 to 1969, supported national liberation and independence. However, ANEQ (l'Association Nationale des Etudiants du Québec) hasn't taken the position in this debate since it is not its first priority and it wants to consult its members on the question before taking an official stand. But it should be understood that ANEQ recognises the status of nation for the people of Quebec, after all, it is a national organization in the same way as the N.U.S. The debate on this issue has been initiated already and should bring results very soon. Of the youth in general it should be noted that the majority of those who sympathize with the idea of independence are under the age of thirty-five, and that the ideal of independence is very popular in the student movement.

In conclusion I want to observe that since 1970 the Parti Québécois has softened many of its positions. It has become more oriented to winning elections. The left wing has quieted down so as not to compromise the popularity of the P.Q. by associating it to socialism.

One thing, however, is certain: independence or not, what is of prime concern is what will happen economically and culturally. Presently unemployment is very high and it is highest among the young. If independence is made without social reforms, what will be its accomplishment? So it is important to see that the system is reformed, whatever it may be (federalist or independent). For many, independence is the quickest means of arriving at a people's government. A lot of hopes are being placed on the independence movement, and a people is waiting the verdict of history.

I hope, that by these comments I have helped you to better understand what is happening in Quebec in terms of the nationalist movement.

Ballan, from p.6

and emballed politicians know the value of a good smokescreen. I am of the opinion that the real crisis facing this country now is boring, brutal and potentially explosive economics, and not the existence of a separatist government in Quebec. All of the politicians are well-aware of this fact of contemporary Canadian life — even Levesque — since positions at the pinnacles of power afford them an excellent view of what's happening around them. That they would so readily use a "motherhood" issue like Canadian unity to deflect attention from the failing economy of Canadian society bespeaks their cynical opportunism. I suspect that the organizers of the conference have been duped into believing that Quebec should be the focus of our attention now — why else spend a weekend discussing how the separatist "peril" related to Ukrainian Canadians instead of analysing the threat posed to our continued existence by a collapsing economy.

My point is this: the present situation in Quebec is just the most recent event in a long line of developments that stretch back two hundred years to the Plains Abraham. And just as it has taken twenty decades for the people of Quebec to pose the question of their separate identity and national aspirations, it is going to take more than a few years for us to rework our relationship with them. Surely this idea was at the core of Keith Spicer's remarks at the banquet on Saturday night.

What then prompted the CIUS to join in on the national debate at this particular moment in time? There isn't any hurry — we've got until the referendum, and even then the discussion will not stop — and there are certainly more pressing concerns the Ukrainian-Canadian community should be dealing with. The desire to be "topical" isn't enough — it merely reflects the manipulative power of the media. In short, this atmosphere of "national crisis" has been whipped up, and it has swept up the Ukrainian Canadian academic community with it. We as a community, have plenty of time to jump onto the bandwagon of the national unity debate — at least two years, during which we could prepare ourselves individually — because the real crisis of Quebec is yet to come. With one eye on that future, we should direct our attention to the more mundane disasters at hand. Whatever happens in the next few months, the "problem" of Quebec won't be resolved in a single election and we can be sure that it won't go drilling off into the Atlantic....

With that in mind, I would like now to examine the second "problem of definition," namely, the altitudinal use of the word "multiculturalism." It is clear from the confusion surrounding this word that the concept has never been explicitly defined in social, political, economic and cultural terms, and that it can therefore be interpreted according to one's particular needs. Obviously, the way "multiculturalism" is mouthed by campaigning politicians differs radically from the way the word is used by activists pleading for something as specific as multilingual broadcasting or bilingual schools. And it is by now abundantly clear that most governments take it to mean pictures of colourful "ethnic" festivals on tourist brochures and a seemingly endless stream of grant applications to cover the cost of everything from red dancing boots to trips abroad. In short, despite all of the conferences that have been held over the years by students, academics and organized ethnics; despite all of the editorials that have been written in the various languages of the Canadian "mosaic"; despite all the policy declarations of the many levels of misgovernment; the word "multiculturalism" still suggests more than it means. Saying that it's premised on the desire for a

culturally pluralistic society where everyone respects their neighbour's right to be different is fine as a broad humanistic principle and as a place to begin, but it isn't very useful as a working definition in briefs and petitions to the institutions that shape Canadian life.

At the risk of being accused of making a killing in founded generalizations, I think that it would be fair to say that almost all of the participants at the conference seemed to feel that the multicultural ideal was in danger at this time, especially in the light of developments in Quebec. I would argue that the original drive towards that hazy goal of a multicultural Canada has simply and quite predictably run out of gas; and that our current floundering has more to do with the origin and the inadequacy of the initial multicultural conception than with the present situation in Quebec. What is most needed now is for the Third Element to reassess and redefine their understanding of multiculturalism in concrete terms. The ball is in our court once again, and no matter how bored academics may be with the topic, the fact still remains that we must have a more specific idea of what we want a multicultural Canada to be. It seems to me, that now is the perfect time for such a reassessment — six years after Trudeau's multicultural declaration, and while the jury is still out in Quebec. Although it is self-evident that part of that reassessment involves familiarizing ourselves with the situation in Quebec — especially the minorities position under a P.Q. regime — our prime concern at this point in time has to be the development of a consensus definition of "multiculturalism" among Ukrainians in all parts of Canada. I think Dr. Lupul put it best when he said that we had to decide if we were "in it for real."

Either an effort has to be made to revive the issue of multiculturalism (assuming of course that ethnic or ethnic communities should resign themselves to life and death on the slowly eroding islands of their existence. Each community must decide for itself, and as Ukrainians the members of the CIUS have a role and responsibility in the serious matter of that decision, as it pertains to the Ukrainian community. That multicultural budgets can be slashed with a minimum of fuss, and that cabinet portfolios responsible for multiculturalism can be sloughed off to incompetents or down graded and dish out to pay political debts, would certainly suggest that most governments don't take the Third Element very seriously anymore, especially in this time of economic crisis. It is true that there have been some exceptions to this rule — Alberta in particular deserves mention here — but the general pattern across the land has been one of declining influence. It is only an issue in certain heavily ethnic political constituencies. Everyone, of course, is for multiculturalism the way that everyone is for motherhood and a chicken in every pot, but specific demands for public and government support of the development of minority cultures have been generally sidestepped and the money has gone to presentations of museum culture.

Although it can't be denied that the rediscovery of one's past plays an important role in the evolution of a contemporary identity, the time has now come for the emphasis to shift from the collection of relics to the creation of a new but traditionally-based lifestyle. It is necessary for us to begin dismissing our demands on the assumption of the continued existence of "ethnic" communities, and to do this we will have to know who we are and what we want to be. This is the question the Quebecois must ask themselves now, and it is the question that has been asked in all parts of the world with increasing frequency in the last fifteen years. And although it is helpful for us to exchange ideas

with the Francophone community within Canada, it would be equally valuable for us to compare notes with a host of other minority groups, ranging from the gays to the handicapped, and from the Dene people to the American blacks. Actually, it would probably be most beneficial for us to seek our comparisons with groups more like ourselves, like the Estonians, the Latvians, or the Dukhobors. Because the fundamental principle at stake is not the question of Quebec's future within confederation, but the broader question of minority rights. The national question is just one aspect of this problem — so why all this concern about Quebec?

The final "problem of definition" I want to consider is the matter of "the Ukrainian-Canadian community." As it was often referred to in the course of the conference. We all like to congratulate ourselves on the role that "the Ukrainian-Canadian community" has played in the raising of the multicultural banner, but what exactly are we saying? It is my contention that this "Ukrainian-Canadian community" is simply a myth that activists from the organized sector of the Ukrainian population continue to propagate despite the fact that hardly anyone — especially the mandarins of federal politics — believes anymore. Unless, of course, we take "the Ukrainian-Canadian community" to mean that diaphanous handful of organizational activists (mostly post-war emigres) who make a point of attending concerts, demonstrations, and three meetings a week. But if we take "community" to mean a group of people who share similar ideals and lifestyles and who interact daily in social, economic, political and cultural spheres, then a "Ukrainian-Canadian community" with all intents and purposes no longer exists. So when we say "Ukrainian Canadians" we should be careful to distinguish if we mean that broad swath of people scattered across the breadth of Canada who show up on the census once every ten years or that figment of the imagination the Ukrainian Canadian Committee like to conjure up. I would say that this lack of definition is at the core of the problems we as a people are facing today, and that it is here that we must focus our attention and energies.

A major reason why multiculturalism is in its present state of casualism my reader once again that this is only an opinion — is because Trudeau and other seasoned politicians know that the issue is a paper tiger manufactured by an insular minority. If they have any doubts their impressions would be quickly confirmed by a single meeting with KYK. Multiculturalism and the continued existence of ethnic communities in Canada simply represent a serious ballot box threat to most politicians, the way that the issue of Quebec is a basic concern for all federal parties. This is a significant factor to remember cause there is evidence to suggest that Trudeau has used and will increasingly use multiculturalism and organized ethnics in his struggle with Levesque. Unless functioning Ukrainian communities exist, there is a very real possibility that Ukrainian Canadians of all levels of awareness and activity will either be used by federalist politicians and/or sold out by the leadership that claims to represent them. Similarly, our best guarantee for survival should a hostile environment towards minority groups be the result of a traumatic divorce with Quebec, would be the existence of well-defined Ukrainian communities across the land. The way our needs and aspirations would have to be accommodated in any arrangement or rearrangement of the state, since we would be a political reality and not a cultural myth. Individually we haven't got a hope in hell of sustaining a Ukrainian element in the identity of North American society; as a

group we stand a fighting chance.

In sum, my argument is this: instead of collectively agonizing over the fate of Quebec within Canada — a fate that won't be decided by Ukrainians as a people — our immediate concern should be for our own survival in *Diaspore*. By this I don't mean to suggest that we be self-centred or indifferent to the future of Canada, or that we shouldn't be involved as individuals in the present debate over Quebec's status; only that as a collectivity our energies should be first directed to the matter of our own continued existence as a unique entity within North American society. By coming to terms with our problems we will be better able as a group to participate in the resolution of the problems that face Canadian and North American society in general.

The national question that has been posed by Quebec (and, I might add, the Innuist and the Dene people) wasn't resolved in Ukraine between 1917-1929, and it won't be resolved in Canada in a similar span of time. We can best contribute to a discussion of the subject if we first know who we are and what we want out of our relationships with other groups in society; until we establish these basic facts about ourselves for our own benefit and the information of others, much of the talk of our so-called leadership on our behalf will be talk that exists in a vacuum. Unfortunately, however, because of our unique situation, we don't have time that either Quebec or Canada has to resolve the problem of our identity as a group. Five years from now — when the economic crisis has deepened and the dialogue between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians has advanced to another level — it may be too late to pick up the threads of our heritage and tradition in Canada. The time to do that is now.

Which brings me to some observations I would like to make concerning the end result of the conference...

What, may one ask, was accomplished in three days of discussion? To begin with, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies established itself as a respectable presence both at the U of A and in the Canadian academic milieu in general — a feat which was accomplished in part by scoring a minor coup in bringing Monsieur Laurin out West for the first time. This accomplishment is not to be belittled; nor is the fact the conference brought together Ukrainian-Canadian academics for a weekend of mutual interaction and getting to know one another. From such seeds, a sense of community grows. But what was achieved in terms of the theme of the conference? In my opinion, very little. About the only tangible conclusions that emerged was that Ukrainian-Canadian academics as a group seem to feel that Quebec should have the "right" to separate, which one must concede is a relatively "progressive" view. But this tentative position — again, I am basing my argument on an impression and not on an actual vote — was qualified with a "God forbid that it should actually happen," which is in keeping with the liberal tradition (six of one, half-dozen of the other) that predominates at most Canadian universities. Was the money, time and energy expended in reaching this conclusion, really worth it? It is true that one learned some interesting things in the process — for instance, that Francophone Canadians had failed to penetrate the Canadian economic elite after two hundred years of cohabitation with les Anglais — but is equally true that the same amount of information could be garnered from a weekend spent reading. Again, there is a nagging doubt: was the effort worth it?

I would like to suggest that the time might have been better spent assessing the current position of Ukrainians in Canada and establishing priorities in the development of a strategy for the preservation and rejuvenation of

Ukrainian life in Canada. Assuming, of course, that we think the trouble is worth the effort. In a phrase, I want to suggest that Ukrainian-Canadian academics "begin to provide some intellectual leadership" for the Ukrainian population in Canada, by elaborating, clarifying and propagating some of the ideas at stake in the creation of a multicultural society. Further, I want to call upon the members of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies to break with the tradition of English bourgeois scholarship and to return to the popular heritage of Skovoroda and Franko, whereby intellectuals found their truths and challenges among the people. May they put some of their expertise and energy to work in the reconstruction and re-organization of the Ukrainian-Canadian community (from the ground, up), instead of frittering away their time developing theories or talking in abstract circles around the issues that confront Ukrainian Canadians every day. And may this spirit characterize and define the work and orientation of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Is it too much to ask of academics that they forsake of their scholarly pursuits at the university for work in the realm of practical experience? I think not, for it seems to me that the fate of the fledgling CIUS is intimately bound up with the fate of Ukrainians in Canada. Can the former exist in any significant way without the latter?

But all this talk is just talk if it isn't accompanied by some practical suggestions. For this reason I would like to propose that the CIUS sponsor a series of regional conferences — to be held over a period of three years and organized by students and academics — to raise the question of "multiculturalism" and "the Ukrainian-Canadian community" among the Ukrainian population of Canada. I propose that a broad cross-section of people be invited to participate at these conferences as speakers, panel members, and confused, disillusioned, or just concerned Ukrainian Canadians. I propose that this spectrum of people, ranging from farmers to teachers, from union leaders to businessmen, from artists to factory workers, be given the opportunity to express their ideas and opinions about multiculturalism and being Ukrainian, and that they be encouraged to submit any concrete proposals they might have concerning these matters. Finally, I propose that the organizers of these regional conferences present their results at a general conference which would address itself to the task of redefining multiculturalism in social, economic, political and cultural terms, and then suggest a strategy for the reconstruction of the Ukrainian-Canadian community.

You say this sounds like a job for the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and not the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies? Technically, you're probably correct. But let's not kid ourselves when our back is against a cold brick wall: KYK is an ideologically bankrupt relic of another era, and is quite incapable of providing the necessary leadership. Let the mortician tend to this corpse of Ukrainian organizational life; we, the living have more important things to do.

CDSPP...from p.5

the Soviet Union to express their views. This defence will not be conditional on whether or not we accept these peoples' points of view.

(2) The Committee will seek support from only those individuals and sectors of Canadian Society which have a clear record of supporting democratic rights. We will not align ourselves with any activity by any group or individual who, while working on the defence of political prisoners in the USSR, is supporting political repression in other countries.

(3) The Defence Committee will direct its activities at the larger Canadian public and at the international community in an attempt to bring about a change of public opinion on the question of Soviet political prisoners. Only a shift in the public consciousness will ensure a continuing and abiding support for political prisoners and democratic rights.

In order to carry out these aims, the Committee will participate in organizing rallies and public meetings, and will provide information service (publications, pamphlets, leaflets, speakers) to all interested groups and individuals.

The Committee appeals to all individuals to actively support it and its campaigns. Information of our activities can be obtained by subscribing to a mailing list for \$1.00.

For further information, please write to: Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 6574, Station C, Edmonton, Alberta, T5B 4M4.

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Сюди дістався заклик на оборону членів київської Української Групи Сприяння Виконанню Гельсінських Угод, який підписали шість громадян СРСР. Нижче подаємо повний текст заклику:

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23 квітня були заарештовані і поміщені в ізолятор КДБ міста Києва члени Групи Сприяння Виконанню Гельсінських Угод на Україні:

1. Маринович Мирослав, 28 років, вища освіта /електронік/, який не працював за спеціальністю, а перекладачем.
2. Матусевич Микола, 30 років, виключений з історичного факультету Київського університету. Працював принагідно.

Обидвох обвинувачують в антирадянській діяльності.

23-24 квітня проведено 12 обшуків в різних містах: Києві, Рівному, Дрогобичі.

Серед них -- у 76-річного Бориса Дмитровича Антоненка-Давидовича. Обшук тривав 17 годин. Відібрані рукописи, над якими він працював багато років. Обшук проводив підполковник КДБ Шаровалов. На запит Антоненка: "Що, повертаються сталінські часи?", Шаровалов відповів: "Я і за Сталіна працював і не встидаюсь цього".

Йому не встидно, що співробітники КДБ розбили двері у Ганни Коваленко, увірвалися без хазяйки в квартиру і провели обшук.

Без пред'явлення ордера на задержання, цілі доби протримали Коваленко в ізоляторі.

Дружина Матусевича Ольга на знак протесту проти арешту чоловіка здала комсомольський квиток і проголосила голодівку.

Українська Група складається з 11-ти осіб:

1. Микола Руденко -- заарештований.
2. Петро Вінс.
3. Оксана Мешко.
4. Ніна Строката.
5. Микола Матусевич -- заарештований.
6. Мирослав Маринович -- заарештований.
7. Іван Кандиба.
8. Левко Лук'яненко.
9. Олександр Тихий -- заарештований.
10. Петро Григоренко.
11. Олександр Бердник.

В Одесі заарештований 3 березня 1977 містечкознавець Василь Барладян, держить голодівку.

Люди доброї волі!

23 квітня в місті Києві знову заарештовані члени Української Групи Сприяння Виконанню Гельсінських Угод інженер Мирослав Маринович і Микола Матусевич. З 11 осіб Групи 4 особи за решіткою.

Хто наступний?

О. Мешко і П. Григоренко, замучені тюрмами, важко хворі?

Л. Лук'яненко і І. Кандиба, які відбули по 15 років в таборах і не залюбилися?

Вимучена Ніна Строката, яка недавно повернулася з табору?

Молодий, добрий Петя Вінс, чи чесний, мужній письменник О. Бердник?

Хто наступний? -- До Вас, люди доброї волі, цей запит.

Ви можете зупинити арешти і розправу над борцями за права людини. Ви можете відроджувачому сталінському злу сказати "Ні!" Домагайтесь свободи в'язням совісти.

Зінаїда Григоренко, Татяна Великанова, Олександр Лаут, Юрій Гримх, Володимир Сквірський, Олександр Іванченко.

Травень, 1977 року

HELSINKI GROUPS REPPRESSED

Roma Andrusiak

During the past year the Soviet Union has adopted a policy of harsher repressive measures towards dissent. The principal targets in the current drive have been the members of the Public Group for Furthering the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR and its branches. These groups have established themselves for the purpose of monitoring compliance by the Soviet Union with the human rights provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The arrests of dissidents began in February; by April at least nine prominent human rights activists have been jailed. Most of them are members of monitoring groups. One of the groups - the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, had four of its six members arrested in the past six months. Two members of the Kiev-based group have been tried and sentenced in closed court proceedings in the town of Druzhkova, some miles north of Donetsk. The two are Mykola Rudenko, a well-known writer and head of the group, and Oleksii Tykhyi, a teacher. Both were charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and received the maximum sentences: Rudenko received seven years' imprisonment and five years of exile; Tykhyi, ten years' imprisonment and five years of exile.



Mykola Rudenko

The convictions of Rudenko and Tykhyi are significant because of their possible impact on the fates of at least two other members of this group - Myroslav Marynovych and Mykola Matusevych, who have been arrested but the specific charges against whom are not yet known.

The Ukrainian public group was formed on November 9, 1976, six months after the formation of an analogous group in Moscow by Yuri Orlov.

The document announcing its formation identified six members by name and four others members were identified in their subsequent documents. They are: Mykola Rudenko, 56, writer, poet and former editor of the literary journal Dnipro; Oles Berdnyk, 50, science fiction writer and author of 30 books; Petro Grigorenko, 70, the best known activist in the human rights movement and the group's representative in Moscow; Levko Lukyanenko, 50, jurist arrested in 1981 and sentenced to death which was later commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment; Nina Strokata, 52, microbiologist and wife of the noted writer Svyatoslav Karavansky; Ivan Kandyya, 47, jurist; Myroslav Marynovych, 28, electrical engineer; Mykola Matusevych, 33, historian; Oleksii Tykhyi, 48, teacher.

In early February of this year, Soviet authorities began a coordinated crackdown on both the Kiev and the Moscow monitoring groups. On February 3, Ginzburg was arrested. This was followed, on February 5 by the arrests of Rudenko and Tykhyi. Orlov was arrested on February 10 and Shcharansky a month later. Two other members of the Ukrainian group, Marynovych and Matusevych were arrested on April 23 without formal charges being lodged. This indicates a deter-



Myroslav Marynovych

mined effort on the part of the bureaucracy to crush the activity of the Helsinki monitoring groups.

The aim of the current crackdown has been the destruction of what could be the seeds of a truly organized movement. The increase of dissident activities in Eastern Europe in the past year has, undoubtedly, been a matter of considerable concern to the Soviet bureaucracy which would like to forestall a situation similar to that in Czechoslovakia in 1968. The drive against leading dissidents goes beyond the attempt to test



Mykola Matusevych

"Carter's commitment to human rights", it represents an intensified effort to stifle criticism and to isolate the various groups from each other.

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НАДЗВИЧАЙНИЙ КОНГРЕС ЦЕСУС-У

Надзвичайний конгрес делегатів складових організацій головної управи Центрального союзу українського студентства відбувся в Торонті. Завданням цього союзу є об'єднувати всі українські студентські організації світу, які знаходяться поза межами України. До союзу належать: СУСК -- Союз українського студентства Канади, СУСТА -- Союз українських студентських товариств Америки, СУСТЕ -- Союз українських студентських товариств Європи, ТУСМ -- Товариство українських студентів імені Міхновського, студентський відділ при ОДУМ -- Об'єднання демократичної української молоді, та ідеологічна організація Зарево.

Попередній конгрес делегатів ЦесУС-у відбувся в Філадельфії в серпні 1976 р. Тоді переобрано членів управи на трирічну каденцію. Чотири місяці опісля (підчас пленуму) зрезигнував новообраний голова Андрій Чирівський.

"На цьому пленумі /я/ не стрінув миру. Я стрінув антагонізм, ненависть, особисті закиди кримінальної брехні на особу мого батька... Замість виrozumіння, я стрінув особисті інтереси і егоїзм, брак співпраці і вияви злої волі... Неможливість праці в Центральному союзі українського студентства."

Разом з ним зрезигнувало ще три члени головної управи, яка складається з п'ятих осіб. В результаті цього кроку, згідно з статутом, ведення справ перейняла на себе Контрольна комісія під головуванням Зеновія Зварича. Ця комісія мала скликати в якнайкоротшому часі надзвичайний конгрес з метою вибрати нову управу. І саме 6-ого й 7-ого серпня відбувся при торонтському університеті надзвичайний Конгрес ЦесУС-у.

На з'їзді учащало понад 100 студентів-делегатів. Вони репрезентували понад 3300 українських студентів, які вчать в університетах країн заходу.

Підчас звітів, дискусій та виборів думки делегатів були поділені. Одні обстоювали думку, що Центральний союз українського студентства, як організація повинен об'єднувати, координувати і давати напрямні складовим студентським організаціям. Інші вважали, що ЦесУС повинен служити для дискусій і обміну думками, щодо актуальних, поточних проблем українських студентів.

Новообраний голова ЦесУС-у, Богдан Гаргай, недавно закінчив ступень бакалавра з економіки в Англії. Тепер він живе в Канаді та вивчатиме журналістику при торонтському університеті.

Оскільки підчас з'їзду виникла суперечка щодо цілі ЦесУС-у я звернулася до новообраного голови з питанням, яка на його думку повинна бути мета студентського союзу?

"ЦесУС, якщо ми хочемо брати глобально -- це є організація, яка об'єднує і координує різних студентських світових товариств. І українські студенти на теренах своєї дії... повинні здобувати освіту і знаннями допомагати ще краще розвинути українську громаду на місцях їхнього поселення."

-- Які у Вас приблизні плани на майбутнє ЦесУС-у?

"Отже то тяжко сказати генерально, які плани я маю особисто, бо це було треба озгіднювати з новою управою. Але особисто, якщо брати під увагу я хотів би звернути особливу увагу, щоби координувати роботу по таких справах; в першу чергу -- зоорганізувати і видати бюлетень ЦесУС-у, в якому можна було б подавати успіхи наших українських студентів, про можливості українознавчих студій і інших студій, рівнож видати довідник про українських політ'язнів, які тепер є і представити це на ширший форум."

Справу українських політ'язнів обмірковувано перед закриттям надзвичайного з'їзду. Резолюцію в справі оборони засуджених Олексія Тихого та Муколи Руденка, членів київської групи сприяння гелсінським домовленням, було прийнято одностайно.

Наступний конгрес головної управи Центрального союзу українського студентства відбудеться через два роки.

Оксана Винницька

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Dumyn... from p.3

with instructions on carrying out hostile anti-Soviet activity in the republic'. Klymchuk was also supposedly carrying large sums of money 'intended to finance these hostile acts.' A member of the same tourist group, Jaroslav Zayets, stated that on their way back from Odessa to Lviv they were informed that their luggage had been mistakenly sent to Moscow. At this time Klymchuk arranged to meet with his aunt. Prior to meeting her he went to a store and thereafter never returned. Zayets was informed that Klymchuk had gotten lost, and upon returning to Moscow Zayets found the locks of his rediscovered luggage broken off and the luggage searched. Subsequently he was interrogated by the KGB for two hours with questions as to the nature of Klymchuk's trip; who funded the trip and how much money did he carry. Zayets stated that Klymchuk had no more than \$100 in cash and travellers checks. A leading member of England's Ukrainian nationalist organization stated no secret instructions were given to Klymchuk and that his trip was entirely funded by his father, as a gift.

The Soviet bureaucracy will no doubt use Klymchuk's arrest as a pretext in implicating dissidents with intelligence agencies and nationalist organizations in the West, thereby discrediting the opposition in the USSR and undercutting support from the movement. Because the drive against the leading dissidents inevitably exposes the Soviet bureaucracy to charges of violation of human rights, concentrated efforts are being made to brand dissidents as traitors and subversives. The dissidents that have been arrested in 1977 have often been tried on criminal rather than political charges thus making the Helsinki monitors appear as a group of common criminals. This practice of charging dissidents with criminal charges is a means of avoiding embarrassment and accusations of charging dissidents for perfectly legal activities.

*Vasyl' Zakharchenko, "Pravo buty chesnym", *Literaturna Ukraina*, July 19, 1977

**Brown, M., *Fermant in the Ukraine*, 1971, p.62

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