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EDITORIAL NOTE

This is a student journal with a difference. Its aim is scholarly, not journalistic, though occasionally good journalism may also find a place here. The contributors will not be professors, but primarily graduate students, and the contributions must deal with Ukrainian and related topics. The journal will also print some poetry and prose, translations, reviews, discussions, interviews and letters to the editor. The scholarly, academic side will be balanced by materials for the general reader.

The journal is published under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, which, though providing a forum for the widest possible expression of opinion, does not, of course, endorse any of the points of view which may appear. It is hoped that, like the Institute, the journal will inject new life into Ukrainian studies in Canada. While trying to keep a share of Canadian content, it will be open to contributions in English, French and Ukrainian from around the world. These may include essays, excerpts from theses and specially written articles. Before acceptance, the quality of the contributions will be judged by the editorial board and other academic reviewers so that a high standard will be assured. This is the principal reason for the existence of the editorial board which is composed of both faculty members and students. It is hoped that the editorial committee, which is more directly responsible for the journal, will, in the course of time, have a larger representation of students. The journal will appear in the fall and in the spring.

The success of our venture depends not only on the editors, but on all the contributors and participants. A new forum for graduate students in Ukrainian studies has been created. We welcome your interest and support.

Ludmilla Bereshko-Hunter

THE SEARCH FOR THE IDEAL PLACE IN PANTELEIMON KULISH'S "CHORNA RADA"

Panteleimon Kulish's **Chorna Rada** depicts a society under stress. The literature of such a society often responds to the pressures that beset it with wide ranging self-analysis and an imaginative recapitulation of its origins and progress. Fully achieved, the backward glance sets certain preoccupations in perspective, adjusts a people's perception of itself, relives and reinterprets communal history. In this case, that historical reconsideration is achieved through the topos of the World Upsidedown, a vision which has preoccupied poets from as early as the writers of the Biblical myth of **The Revelation.** It also appears in the work of Rabelais **(Pantagruel),** Chretien de Troyes **(Cliges),** Shakespeare **(Troilus and Cressida),** and more recently in W. B. Yeats ("The Second Coming"), and Alfred Jarry **(Ubu Roi).**

The characteristic of the World Upsidedown is opposition, usually between an old order and a new one or between existing good and threatening evil.[1] This kind of clash is always accompanied either by violence, disorder, or horror. Such disruption inevitably raises the question of how, when, and where a resolution can be found, if at all. Each of the responses that **Chorna Rada** provides is intimately linked with a specific way of life, either on the **Sich,** or on the **khutir.** It is no surprise, then, that the quest for the Ideal Place should be one of the dominant preoccupations of the characters in Kulish's novel. Zaporizhzhia is the memorable place that most of them look to. From the beginnings of time it has been the "sertsem ukrainskym."[2] This is the place where "rozlylas kozatska slava po vsii Ukraini,"[3] and where Ukrainians from every walk of life gathered and formed a united national front. It is the **locus ille locorum.**

> На Запоріжжі воля ніколи не вмирала, давні звичаї ніколи не забувались, козацькі предковічні пісні до послідy дней не замовкали.[4]

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[1] Ernst Robert Curtius, **European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,** trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1953), p. 98.

[2] Panteleimon Kulish, **Vybrani tvory,** ed. M. D. Bernshtein, **Chorna Rada** (Kiev, 1969), p. 78.

[3] Kulish, p. 53.

[4] Kulish, p. 78.

At this point it might be useful to repeat some historical facts connected with Zaporizhzhia. Ukraine's strategic position on the Black Sea had made the country prey to continual invasion from the Asian steppes and from the Mediterranean lands, to say nothing of the all too frequent misunderstandings which arose with such border countries as Poland and Russia. Life at the crossroads can bring its rewards; however, once the pressures mount from all sides the survival of the nation becomes endangered. We have only to witness the events that led to the collapse of the Kievan Realm to find an example. Nevertheless, by the 15th century Ukrainians were able to force the various invaders out of the country. This was due to the organization of the Zaporizhian Sich which was founded as "a typical result of [Ukraine's] border position."[5]

Also, it is important to stress the psychological consequence of the country's geographical position. The general population lived in an atmosphere of insecurity. At any moment they could fall victim to attack. However, because Ukraine had many enemies pressing on all sides instead of just one enemy against whom she could have united, there arose the added difficulty of internal instability. All this made the possibility of splintering within the country that much more certain. The mood of the country is best illustrated in the kind of shelter people constructed for themselves. Cherevan's homestead is a good example.

> А те Хмарище було окрите гаями, справді наче хмарами. Кругом обняла його річка з зеленими плавами, лозами й очеретами. Через річку йшла до воріт гребелька. А ворота в Череваня не прості, а державські. Замість ушул — рублена башта під гонтовим щитом, і під башту вже дубові ворота, густо од верху до низу цвяховані. Бувало тоді, у ту старовину, таке, що і вдень і вночі сподівайсь лихого гостя — татарина або ляха.[6]

The Zaporizhians were determined to provide a defense for the country; however, life on the **Sich** was often harsh and demanding. It required a great deal of endurance. In fact, a man's self-esteem and worth was almost entirely based on his ability to be courageous and to withstand pain. This is illustrated in the scene where Tur is beaten. Generally speaking, Cossacks were forced to fight almost continually because of the frequency of invasion. They often lost many of their own men who were either killed or taken into captivity.

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[5] V. Kubijovyc, "The Territory of Ukraine," **Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia,** vol. I, p. 15.

[6] Kulish, p. 49.

Often victims themselves, the Cossacks developed a strong sense of sympathy for the underdog and the ordinary man with a grievance.

> Жаловались миряне і попи благочестивії тілько далеким своїм землякам — козакам запорозьким.[7]

Old Puhach, for instance, takes it upon himself to guard the interests of the peasants who feel scorned. Tur is also always on hand at a difficult moment. He helps Shram, saves Petro, offers to change places with Somko, and brings the Cherevan family to safety. These two traditional Zaporizhians, Tur and Puhach, fight for an ideal society in which there will be no victims and in which justice will rule supreme. Tur's speech to Somko clearly demonstrates this. He tells the Hetman he wants him to escape from prison "shchob pravda uziala verkh nad kryvdoiu."[8]

The key to the Cossacks' survival and their ability to avoid foreign domination lies largely in a way of life that is best described as a system of nomadic anarchism. These knights were able to preserve their ideals and their personality through constant movement and continual revolt. For them, identity existed independently of Place. Tur, for instance, believed that any attachment to Place was bound to be restrictive because it inhibited his freedom. Hence his scorn for the joys of the hearth. In this "babsk(e) tsarstv(o)"[9] life is circumscribed by "khata, pich, podushky,"[10] he says. But, a Cossack needed more.

> А козакові поле не поле, море не море, щоб ізнайти долю. Козацька доля в Бога на колінах. Туди і рветься наша душа...[11]

Life on the **Sich** teaches this Zaporizhian that everything on earth is temporary, worthy of neither "radosti" nor "pechali."[12] Thus, Tur plunges into the quest for glory and adventure. He defies all limitations and ignores all consequences. Through recklessness he is able to suspend Time (at least social time if not devouring time) and to live outside yet another boundary. For Tur, Zaporizhzhia is not simply a geographical place. It represents a philosophy of life which he carries in his heart and which, pre-

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[7] Kulish, p. 52.
[8] Kulish, p. 189.
[9] Kulish, p. 97.
[10] Kulish,p. 131.
[11] Kulish, p. 131.
[12] Kulish, p. 90.

sumably, he will continue to follow even in the Black Mountain. "V nas nad use — chest i slava,"[13] he says to Chornohor.

> Про славу думає лицар, а не про те, щоб ціла була голова на плечах. Не сьогодні, дак завтра поляже вона, як од вітру на степу трава; а слава ніколи не вмре...[14]

Cossack tradition is, therefore, more important than Place. It is also more important than the appurtenances of Place, houses, stoves, and women. This is precisely the reason why Puhach and the other Zaporizhian elders renounce Ivanets. The new Hetman violates **Sich** tradition when he refuses to issue an order to have Oleksa Senchylo beaten after he has broken the rule of celibacy. "Na chim derzhytsia Sich i slavne Zaporizhzhia, te povernuv ty na smikh,"[15] the old men say to Ivanets. But, he replies, "komu v nas ne po nutru, toi nekhai ide na Sich isty sushenu rybu z syrivtsem."[16]

For Shram, unlike Puhach and Tur, the nation's deepest traditions and oldest customs cannot be disembodied and dislocated. They cannot simply exist in the human heart. This old Cossack believes his country to be the Place where happiness can be realized on earth. In fact, he considers Ukraine to be a kind of Blessed Isle that has been bestowed on man by God. Ultimately, Shram's allegiance is twofold — to the nation and to the church. In his opinion, the noblest act is to die "za tsilist Ukrainy."[17] But, when the customary order is turned upsidedown and when the very kernel of the nation — Zaporizhzhia — gives birth to "khyzhykh vovkiv da lysyts,"[18] he presumes that God's will is at work and that the Day of Judgement has finally come.

> ...мабуть, не така Божа воля, щоб Україна з упокоєм хліба-солі уживала! Чи, може, приходить уже кінець світу, що возстане свій на свого?[19]

Shram absorbs himself entirely in the dilemma of Ukraine. In fact, he judges everyone he meets in terms of the depth of their commitment to the nation. When he sees the jolly Zaporizhians in Kiev, he is as attracted to their devil-may-care attitude as Cherevan and Somko are. However, he checks his feelings rather

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13 Kulish, p. 104.
14 Kulish, p. 104.
15 Kulish, p. 181.
16 Kulish, p. 181.
17 Kulish, p. 62.
18 Kulish, p. 115.
19 Kulish, p. 114 — 115.

quickly because these men are no longer the idealistic Cossacks of the old **Sich** days. More important, Shram realizes that a national state cannot hope to survive on the Cossacks' loose principles of freedom. As he says, "si bratchyky, smiiuchys, cholovika kupliat, smiiuchys, i prodadut."[20] The interests of the townsmen and peasants also threaten political stability. The zealous old Cossack is frustrated and annoyed with their greed for property and cannot see the legitimacy of their complaint. He calls them "sliporozhdennii" and he accuses them of living "u tiazhkomu neduzi."[21] From his point of view their priority ought to be Ukraine. It is a mistake for these people to think that the acquisition of more land will provide freedom and happiness. These can only be truly realized when the nation is secure. Shram is equally critical of a glorious past in spite of the fact that he tends to regret it. Khmelnytsky may well have been a true hero who managed to unite the country, but he was not free of error. "Mozhe b, i batko Khmelnytsky pozhyv ishche na sviti," says Shram, "iakby ne svatavs iz liakhamy."[22]

However, it is also significant that Shram and Somko should always refer to each other as father and son, for these two men represent the valour and the wisdom **(fortitudo et sapienta)** of a class of people who have lost credibility due to their own degeneration. Shram may accuse the Zaporizhians and the townsmen of depravity, but the city Cossacks are hardly different. Teteria, for example, allies himself with the Polish enemy in order to assure power for himself; Vasiuta disrupts the Hetmanate with his senile delusions; Ivanets satiates his vengeance by creating opposition, and Somko cannot contain his own pride. In the midst of this, Shram presents a rather Quixotic picture as he rides around the countryside sparring with his own people in order to save Ukraine.

But not all of the Cossacks who fought with Khmelnytsky remain in the political arena. Cherevan, for example, has left Zaporizhzhia and the life of the sword entirely. In his old age he is no longer interested in skirmishes like the ones that are taking place outside of his door. In fact, he looks upon the Black Council as an interference with his personal happiness on the **khutir.** In his view, the homestead provides him with all the resources he needs to lead a fulfilled life. He can live close to the rhythms of nature and withdraw from the cares of the world. He is not interested in philosophizing. He does not understand or really care about the chaos which has taken hold of Ukraine. He even allows

[20] Kulish, p. 90.
[21] Kulish, p. 116.
[22] Kulish, p. 125.

his wife to make all the major decisions and to organize the management of the household. "Moia premudrist... znaie tilko nalyty ta vypyty; a tam sobi mizkuite, iak khotia," he says to Shram. "Na te vy popy, na te vy muzhi sovita, na te vy narodni holovy."[23] Nevertheless, he is a good natured and generous fellow. He is not stingy with his wealth and uses it freely to secure the freedom of Cossacks from Turkish captivity and to bring them back home. But this is the extent of his active involvement because Cherevan "ne liubyv niiakykh svarok."[24] Unlike Shram and Tur, he is not a possessed man. He is satisfied with what he has and wants to be left to enjoy it. Nothing delights him more than to sit and listen to the old minstrel's songs or to marvel at the intricate social behaviour of his bees. Nothing perks him up as much as the prospect of a fine drink and a luscious bowl of **varenyky.** He does not search for an Ideal Place because he has found it. True happiness is to live in peace and quite on the **khutir** and to take pleasure in the daily habits of life. Thus, he says to Shram:

> — А що нам, бгате, до Вкраїни? Хіба нам нічого їсти або пити, або в нічому хороше походити? Слава тобі, Господи, буде з нас, поки нашого віку! Я, бувши б тобою, сидів би лучче дома та їв би хліб-сіль з упокоєм, аніж мені битись на старість по далеких дорогах та сваритись із міщанами.[25]

Mrs. Cherevan's brother has also settled on a homestead. However, Hvyntovka's **khutir** manifests none of the friendly atmosphere found on Khmaryshche. Actually, it is an example of the disintegration of **khutir** life because Hvyntovka has replaced the traditional customs with Polish gentry ways. These are the "shliakhetskii zvychai"[26] that Somko fears may grow rampant in Ukraine and which he declares have already contributed to the corruption of the Cossacks. Cherevan may have known his brother-in-law to be a "zhvavyi... kozak,"[27] but now he is a total degenerate. He is vengeful with his wife, greedy with the peasants, and hypocritical with his friends and relatives, to say nothing of the opportunism which underlies his concern for the homeland.

The significance of the **khutir** cannot be overlooked. The novel opens and closes on the homestead, and, after all, Shram's son does end by settling on Khmaryshche. In Kulish's philosophy the **khutir** symbolizes the reconciliation of opposites. It is both

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[23] Kulish, p. 63.
[24] Kulish, p. 73.
[25] Kulish, p. 74.
[26] Kulish, p. 85.
[27] Kulish, p. 159.

a bower and a stronghold. It provides the expanse of the steppe and the amenities of the city. But most important, it represents man's possibility to retain his purest self intact. Kulish's ultimate goal was the organization of Ukraine on the principles of **khutirs,** on the basis of moral good rather than dislocation and violent aggression. This, at least, was his paramount social philosophy.

Yet, in spite of his deep commitment to **khutorianstvo** as a political solution, in his novel Kulish never indicates that Petro's way of life on the homestead will contribute to solving the difficulties of the struggling Ukrainian nation. Young Shram has all the qualities of a brave knight as he has dared to encounter death for both love and war, the first time when he swims the river Sluch under bullet fire, and the second time when he fights Tur. Nevertheless, his priority is always love. In this respect, he is not unlike many 19th century heroes, and more particularly — Tolstoy's, who, seek their fulfilment in marriage. Or in Tur's words, "mabut, vas nianky vzhe zmalechku zahodovuiut takoiu kasheiu, shchob i z syvym volosom ne perestavav cholovik lypnuty do bab!"[28] Petro is far happier sitting in the bakery, smelling bread, looking at flowers, and admiring Lesia than fighting for his homeland. Ultimately, he must pay a price. He will remain isolated and distant from the dilemma of Ukraine. The last lines of the novel foreshadow this. All the contradictions, the disputes, the betrayals, everything passes "mov prysnylos."[29] Kulish has pulled a juggling trick. Dream becomes reality and vice versa. Petro's desire for Lesia is realized while the conflict among the Cossacks virtually dissolves away, as if it did not happen. Yet, we can only be but briefly consoled by the perfect joy that Petro does finally secure. In fact, the discussion about Tur and the appearance of the holy man at the end of the book shifts the emphasis away from young Shram's temporal fulfilment and acts as a deeper, questioning reminder that all struggle has not come to an end.

For the old minstrel life on earth is incomplete. True happiness, he believes, is only possible with God in heaven. Although the **kobzar** says, "ne slid meni vstriavaty do tii zaveriukhy,"[30] and consequently refuses to take sides, he does make another kind of choice — between good and evil. For example, he considers Ivanets to be marked by the devil and condemns all of his actions. He is, also, critical of the city Cossacks who have adopted Polish ways and who live in shameless luxury. The holy man is always on the side of Christian mercy, humility, and compassion. The "sostrada-

[28] Kulish, p. 132.
[29] Kulish, p. 195.
[30] Kulish, p. 59.

nie"[31] that rules Prince Myshkin dictates the holy man's actions as well. Not for one moment of his earthly existence does he stop being a true soldier of God. He may stand aloof from the quarrels taking place in Ukraine, but his is a vital source of consolation for his people and, through his songs, a continual reminder of his nation's past. It is, after all, he who actively rescues Ukrainian Cossacks from Turkish captivity, and it is he who passionately sings historical songs "shchob cholovik na dobre, a ne na zle pochuvsia."[32]

The holy man can live in serenity in the midst of strife because his "Zaporizhzhia" is in heaven. But Shram and Tur are caught in the deepest realities of earthly existence. They, more than anyone else in the novel, live out the full complexity that attaches to Zaporizhzhia — the place where myth and history conjoin. These two men represent the opposite sides of the same coin. Shram implicitly believes in the historicity of Zaporizhzhia — in the proven and witnessed fact of a group of people who united for the sake of their country. This event becomes his ideal. He confronts all the present difficulties in Ukraine with an abstracted vision of how to solve the problems, a vision based on a certain possibility or myth of Ukraine. Tur, on the other hand, believes in the mythology that surrounds Zaporizhzhia — in the realizability of dream and freedom through a specific way of life. He literally actualizes the principles he worships regardless of the consequences. His ending is perhaps the most frustrating and disturbing. Shram dies for the good of the cause, but Tur is left to live out the predicament of the Ukrainian nation.

Although the country is on the verge of collapse, although Tur is unsuccessful in persuading the Zaporizhians to join forces with Somko, although he does not persuade the Hetman to leave prison, and although the ideal Ukraine, based on the highest principles of freedom and justice, has rapidly disintegrated and seems impossible to re-establish, despite all this Tur has no choice but to remain faithful to his dream. In other words, the nation may hardly exist, but a specific idea of a particular kind of nation does. Tur is, ultimately, without a place and without peace. The tears mixed with laughter at the end of the novel, when he talks about Somko, reflect the tragic absurdity of his condition. He is virtually condemned to be a nomad, to spread the glory of Ukraine until a time comes when all those who ravaged it will learn, if ever, "zhyty myrno."[33]

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[31] F. Dostoevsky, **Idiot** (Kishinev: 1970), p. 239.
[32] Kulish, p. 60.
[33] Kulish, p. 132.

Despite the fact that the novel ends with the reunification of Petro and Lesia on the **khutir, Chorna Rada** leaves the reader with little sense of completion, and though the political struggles seem to have settled, no real resolution has been found. The World Upsidedown has not been transformed into a picture of harmony and integration. Instead, the fundamental predicament of a nation which has been unable to fashion itself into a political entity is more deeply underscored. Petro's life on the **khutir** is, after all, entirely absorbed in the delights of domesticity. It is connected to Place but not self-consciously so. His ideal of love is not matched by an ideal of nation. He lives on the **khutir,** but his concern is not Ukraine. It is Tur, the anarchic Zaporizhian, who is eternally faithful to the ideal of his country, and yet he chooses to exile himself in the Black Mountains and to spread the glory of his homeland there. These paradoxes are appropriate to a nation powerless to effect a practical reconciliation amongst its competing visions of purpose or possibility. The dissatisfaction of internal contradiction remains the most aesthetically satisfying conclusion for the novel, if not the most heartening prognosis for Ukrainian history. From this perspective, **Chorna Rada** would seem to validate and strengthen the standpoint of the holy man whose outlook enables him to transcend the national predicament and find a solution in heaven. However, some readers might prefer to think that the plight of Ukraine is best lived out by Tur. His anarchism and dislocation are properly understood as the reaction of a man frustrated and impotent in the face of an inability to "napravyty bratchykiv na dobru dorohu."[34]

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[34] Kulish, p. 195.

Oleh Ilnytzkyj

ANTONYCH: INTIMATIONS OF MORTALITY

(A discussion concerning five poems)

Antonych has a cycle of poems, united by theme and images, which conspicuously bear in their title the word **persten.** Of the five poems in this cycle, four appeared in the 1934 collection, **Try Persteni,** while the fifth poem, entitled "Nash persten", was for some reason excluded at that time, although now it appears in the 1967 'Slovo' edition of Antonych's works. The four poems which were originally in the cycle are: "Try persteni", "Elehiia pro persten pisni", "Elehiia pro persten molodosti", and "Elehiia pro persten nochi".

A glance at the titles of the above poems will show that the term **persten** is used in contexts that do not immediately reveal its meaning. While one can by a stretch of the imagination find an explanation for the individual and specific use of the word, it is difficult to find immediately a meaning which would be as transferable as its usage. It is probably safe to say that the poetic imagination of the reader will not immediately make unconscious connections between the literal meaning of the word and its metaphoric implication (something which it can do quite easily, for example, with an expression like "krylata skrypka".)

There is, of course, the possibility that this term need not have any one, all-encompassing signification; it may be possible that **persten** means and implies something different in each title and with each usage within the different poems. This is possible but very unlikely for the followiny reason: all the poems mentioned above deal with essentially the same theme. Therefore, as variations on a theme, one can expect that the poems will show a certain thematic relationship in the use of this particular word.

What is the theme of these poems? The answer: creativity itself, or more precisely, the creative process. The theme is unquestionably old. But, despite its age, it is handled with a uniqueness that is remarkable.

Antonych consistently focuses on two moments in these poems: the moment before or immediately following the creative or imaginative ordeal, and on the moment itself. This moment of creative seizure is portrayed as a combination of madness and mystical rapture. Antonych has a characteristic manner of describing these moments (which is further proof, if any is needed, of the essential unity of these poems). The description is usually in terms of expansion or explosion, of an upward surge:

Підноситься угору дах,
кружляє дзбан, співає скриня.
(„Три перстені")

Розсунулись, мов карти, стіни,
угору стеля поплила,
і вікна згасли в синій тіні,
найближчі речі вкрила мла.
(„Елегія про перстень молодості")

Хай серце сп'янене в цю мить
окрилюється і горить,
нехай зриваються увиш
думки схвильовані й крилаті!
(„Елегія про перстень пісні")

With such striking similarity among the poems, it is necessary to expect that the term **persten** will have a more or less constant meaning or signification. The purpose of this paper will be to elucidate this meaning and to apply it to a broad description of this cycle.

The first poem of this cycle, "Try persteni", must be considered the theme poem, for it contains the kernel of the images and motifs that are developed, expanded and repeated in the other poems. This is also the poem where the word **persten** makes its first ambiguous appearance:

В квітчасті скрині співний корінь,
п'янливе зілля, віск, насіння
та на самому дні три зорі,
трьох перстенів ясне каміння.

As we have already discussed above, it is very difficult to decide immediately what Antonych has in mind in the last two lines of the stanza. On the one hand, the rings are just other objects in the chest. But, on the other hand, they are both more prominent and more mysterious than the other objects. But, leaving for the moment the specific meaning aside, we can go on and speculate that the three rings mentioned in this poem must be the "persten pisni", "persten molodosti", and "persten nochi" which are the subjects of the subsequent poems. This is a fair assumption, considering the relationship in themes and images in the poems, and assuming that the number three (appearing twice) is not there by chance.

Unfortunately, at this point we still have not explained the meaning of our word. Nor does the appearance of the term within the four poems of the 1934 collection help us much in deciphering

its mystery. For example, "Elehiia pro persten pisni" has only one overt use of this word in the body of the poem, and that explains almost nothing:

На дверях дому знак зловісний,
на дверях дому — перстень пісні.

Just why **persten pisni** is connected with a bad omen, is something that is not apparent from the context in which it is used.

Of even less help is "Elehiia pro persten nochi" which uses the word only in the title of the poem. Here, without some comparative approach, the title would be permanently obscure.

Just slightly more helpful is "Elehiia pro persten molodosti", where the metaphor of the **persten** is vaguely developed:

Ось краще бережи
Твоєї молодості перстень.
Отих хвилин,
коли ще світ, мов серце, був широкий,
коли ще хлопцем сивооким
сміявся щиро і дзвінко
та без журби мантачив дні.

Ironically enough, our best conception of what this word signifies comes from the fifth poem of the cycle, "Nash persten", which was not in the original collection of **Try Persteni,** but which was written at the same time: "Elehiia pro persten molodosti" was written on August 25, 1933, "Nash persten" was written on the 14-15 of the same month and year. This poem has a formulation, **persten, chas** and it reads as follows:

І кров і ртуть — вогонь і холод,
що жилами пливуть крізь тіло —
мов перстень, час замкне навколо
непереможно і всеціло.

Of all the poems, this is the only one to formulate a simile with the word **persten** rather than a metaphor, and for this reason the meaning of this word becomes more accessible. The context makes it clear that the ring is an image of a closed circle, and symbolic of continuity, of an eternally repeated time-cycle. In another sense, we can speak of the ring as symbolic of a world, that is, of a realm in which a particular state of existence is unfolded. Thus, basing ourselves on the poems of this cycle, we can speak of Antonych's poetic ego inhabiting three worlds: the world of the song, the world of youth, and the world of night. These worlds are at once distinct and united, i.e. united in the conscious-

ness of the poet. There is a hint of this unity in "Try persteni", where among the enumerated objects of creativity **(krylata skrypka, chervonyi dzbanok** — a symbol of creative intoxication) there is a flowery chest, which contains the three rings (see p. 13 for quote) and which, like receptacles in general, seems to be a symbol of the poet's creative imagination or unconscious.

We must note, however, that this ternary of worlds has an internal division. The division in the ternary is between the ring of the song and the ring of night on the one hand, and the ring of youth on the other. The first two can be united under the single heading 'art' since the night is often the time of creative activity and the song the metaphor of that activity. Thus, simply stated, the division of the three worlds amounts to a division between youth and art, with both having a particular semantic connotation and a particular poetic realization.

The ring of youth is consistently used by Antonych to connote a chain of events that evoke innocence and happiness. In "Elehiia pro spivuchi dveri" he writes:

> О молодосте, ти одна
> незаплямована й хороша.

In "Elehiia pro persten molodosti" we have the same association of innocence with youth (for exact quote see p. 14).

Whereas the ring of youth evokes innocence, the two other rings ('art') consistently are associated with death and coldness. Consider the following:

> І *місяць* — мідний птах,
> таємна рожа неба, *лампа*
> *поетів* та сновид
> веде мене в сріблистих снах
> зигзагом мрій та безумства
> понад безодню світу.
> Мов *ртуть* підноситься солодкий жах
> до горла і до мізки,
> аж струни-нерви задрижать.
> Тоді вдаряє пісня стусаном ножа,
> тоді лунає пісня різко.
> („Елегія про перстень молодості")

This passage demonstrates that the moon is the poet's inspiration as well as the cause of his madness. The inspiration is explained as "sweet horror" and the creation of the song (poem) as the striking of a knife. **Rtut,** or mercury, is a creeping poison and appropriately enough, in another poem, it is associated with cold-

ness: "I krov i **rtut** — vohon i **kholod**". The suggestion above that the moon is somehow associated with death is made more explicit in "Elehiia pro persten nochi": "Misiats mertvyi, misiats synii...". Again, in "Elehiia pro persten molodosti", the poet questions himself if it is worth his while to exist in the cold aura of beauty and art.

Ну, сам скажи,
навіщо це усе,
навіщо мерзти
в краси холоднім сяйві.

It may seem strange indeed to have an artist relating his art to death and coldness. It may seem even stranger if we state that for Antonych, his art and his poetry is in the final analysis an act of sin and like every sin it exhibits the pleasure of transgression, as well as remorse. This is an explanation that in the light of the above dichotomy that we have described is almost inevitable. Put bluntly, Antonych's poetic ego vacillates between the innocence of youth and the culpability of adulthood. And, as in the Christian concept of sin, the issue is knowledge ("zabazhalos meni naraz chohos neznanoho") which for Antonych is synonymous with art. We will remember that one of the most striking images in this cycle of poetry is the biblical image of the poet, who, as a youth (!), picks words from a tree:

Вихожу в сад, слова зриваю,
дерев натхненних щедру дань.
(„Елегія про перстень пісні")

It is this image that connects the three worlds of Antonych's poetry. Innocence (youth) partakes of the fruit of knowledge (**slovo**, art) and in a paroxysm of pleasure and pain, dies:

І словом просто в серце тну,
аж трисне кров, мов крик одчаю,
з нестями й щастя умираю.

The connection between fruit, death, coldness, art, sin, and the loss of youthful innocence is demonstrated in the final stanza of the poem "Nash persten":

До всього людського причетна,
гордуючись шляхом утертим,
ось молодість високолетна
зірве холодний овоч смерти.

It is clear that art (epitomized by the word or fruit) is an act of sin, a tasting of the fruit of knowledge, that brings spiritual

death. For this reason, the imagery which is connected with the act of creation is also the imagery of death and coldness. As the cycle draws to an end, Antonych presents no resolution to this problem; there is only the feeling that for the artist the **persten** is just a vicious circle:

І завжди ніч і ніч відвічна
і перша й тисячна й остання.

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THE ORIGINS OF THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION OF 1648

It is implicitly understood, or in some cases directly asserted, that the Cossacks in 1648 were politically immature and therefore unable to make the most out of their success.[1] But, as will be demonstrated, this assumption is fallacious and provides an insufficient explanation of Cossack actions. In this part, the political development of the Cossacks will be examined against the background of their material conditions of existence.

Ukraina 1600 — 1648

The de facto rulers of **Ukraina**[2] were the magnate families, which not only owned great expanses of land, but were responsible for the defence and administration of the country. Individuals such as Vyshnyvetsky, Nemyrych, Czartoryski and Koniecpolski, were the "appanage princes" of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth **(Rzeczpospolita)** and were subject neither to the **Sejm** (Diet) nor to royal authority.[3] These magnates administered their lands through agents who were responsible to them, while the economic exploitation of the magnate latifundia was in the hands of leaseholders or **orendars.** On the local level representatives of the central government had no authority to speak of, while for the whole of **Ukraina** there were only two **Voievodas** (provincial governors) who were only two equals among other magnates.

By the 1640's the Podillia and Kiev provinces had a minimal average population density of 11 persons per sq. k., while that of Bratslav had a minimum of 21 per sq. k.[4] These lands attracted an ever growing number of people primarily because of the much lower levels of labour obligations and monetary and **obrok** (payments in kind) rent. However, these favourable conditions were offset by the fact that **Ukraina** was open to the devastating annual incursions of the Crimean Tatars.

1 V. Antonovych, **Korotka istoriia kozachchyny** (4th ed., Winnipeg, 1972), p. 110.

2 The term **Ukraina** is used to designate the steppe borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth **(Rzeczpospolita).** The terms "Rus," "Ruthenia," "Ruthenian" refer to the Orthodox population of the Commonwealth, and correspond to the modern Ukrainians and Byelorussians. "The Ukraine" applies to the territory of the present Ukrainian SSR.

3 For a discussion see Z. Wojcik, **Dzikie pola w ogniu** (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 139 - 142.

4 O. Kompan, **Mista Ukrainy** (Kiev, 1963), chap. I.

The defensive incapacity of these lands was primarily a result of the "magnate system." Individually powerful and having at their service retinues of up to 6000 well armed men, the magnates, had they banded together, would have provided a respectable defence force. But given the character of relationships among themselves and their political beliefs, the only common interest which the magnates had was to keep royal power limited.

It may be asserted that the military insecurity of **Ukraina** was a more important reason for economic exploitation than was class conflict. Economic relations on the local level were characterized by the fact that the **orendar,** in face of the prevailing insecurity, was out to make as much as he could as fast as possible.[5] Although the contract between the **orendar** and the magnate usually did involve some stipulations concerning the rates and levels of the obligations upon the people, the fact that the **orendar** by the same agreement was usually given full legal rights over these people meant that the **orendar** was able to increase the rates of obligations and duties at his discretion.

Unlike in the more western areas of the **Korona** ("The Crown", the Polish half of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), these increases were not only imposed at a faster rate, but were imposed upon people who either considered themselves not subject to such duties or who were unable to understand the rationale for such duties. As sons of settlers who had come to **Ukraina** under the terms of **sloboda** (freedom from labour obligations and rents, promised by the landowners to new settlers for a stated period of years), they had grown up in conditions of complete economic freedom. Thus in **Ukraina** there prevailed a situation where levels of exploitation were continually increasing because of the insecurity, but the settled population was reluctant to accept passively such unprecedented duties.

The nature of relationships on the magnate level further contributed to the insecurity and exploitation rife in **Ukraina.** Waging wars on one another either for reasons of pride and/or revenge, or in the hope of increasing their private military and economic resources, the habits of personal violence of the magnates hardly alleviated the condition of life in the land. Because the royal courts were unable to enforce litigation among the gentry, the magnates at times used their own forces to "enforce" a decision. But the general rule was that the disputes among the magnates involving issues of power, wealth or prestige were ulti-

5 I. D. Boiko, **Selianstvo Ukrainy** (Kiev, 1963), pp. 165, 186, 191.

mately settled through the threat or exercise of private violence.[6] Thus, whether because of an **orendar's** desire to obtain a maximal profit, a Tatar raid, or an inter-magnate squabble, the fact that the settled population of **Ukraina** suffered material and physical losses may be attributed primarily to the arbitrariness and insecurity inherent in the "magnate system."

Within such an environment lived the Registered Cossacks. Initially organized under the authority of individual **starostas** (governors of frontier fortresses), in 1583 they were constituted as part of the royal army. In return for their service these Cossacks were guaranteed certain rights and privileges, and, it was this legal recognition of rights and privileges which differentiated the Registered Cossacks from all the other Cossacks. It must be understood, however, that the registration of the Cossacks split them more or less along an already existing differentiation. The Registered Cossacks tended to be selected from what may be called the more "conservative" element. These men had houses, families and property. Those falling outside the register tended to represent the more "radical-egalitarian" Cossacks. However, it is important to understand that the basic desire of the latter group was to enter the register thereby obtaining all the benefits and guarantees inherent in the status of Registered Cossacks. These divisions were not as rigid in real life as they were on paper; in reality, the situation was fluid.

One of the most important rights of the Registered Cossacks was his right to own land. But although in theory he held land by virtue of being in the register, or because he possessed a royal charter to his land, in reality the Registered Cossack held his land at the discretion of the local magnate.

The Registered Cossacks were all well off, while some were actually wealthy. Khmelnytsky in 1647 declared his total assets to be 1000 florins,[7] and he is usually described as being a "middle class" Cossack. In reference to the Registered Cossacks, the Polish Hetman Potocki wrote that they were sufficiently well off to enable them to serve in the army without pay.[8]

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6 Even if a court decided in favour of the plaintiff, it had no means of enforcing its decision. It was up to the plaintiff himself to enforce the decision.

7 I. Krypiakevych, ed., **Dokumenty Bohdana Khmelnytskoho** (Kiev, 1961), doc. 1.

8 I. Krypiakevych, **Bohdan Khmelnytsky** (Kiev, 1954), p. 46.

The Cossacks and the Commonwealth

The Cossack was in an interesting position, because he thought he should have been better off than he was. To a great extent this sense of incongruity was the result of a self-image which the Cossacks had of themselves as knights and servants of the King. This self-image found its roots in the battles waged by the Orthodox Cossacks against the infidel Tatars. But a much more significant impetus in the formation of the Cossacks' self-image was the act of 1583 which removed the Registered Cossacks from the jurisdiction of the **Starostas** and put them under the authority of the King. From this date, as part of the royal army, the Cossacks came to view themselves as a military entity exempt from normal civil authority and subject only to the King.

This self-image, however, did not result in a political position. It was only when the material conditions of existence of the individual Cossack became such that they induced him to act politically in defence of his interest that this image played a key role. This transition may be located in the first decade of the 17th century.

First, was the fact that by the 1610's **sloboda** terms had just about run out in all the settled parts of **Ukraina.** Given the absence of numerous complaints from the Cossacks concerning their persecution and oppression before the 1630's, it would seem safe to conclude that previously they had been able to establish themselves, not because they had rights and privileges due to a "knightly people," but because in the same manner as the rest of the population in **Ukraina,** their farms fell under the term of the **sloboda.** Upon the expiration of **sloboda** terms there was absolutely no reason, as far as the **orendar** or magnate was concerned, why a Cossack — Registered Cossacks included — should not be treated as any other peasant.

Second, beginning in the 1610's, an increasing number of Rus' gentry began joining the Cossack organization. These men, in possession of all the rights of the gentry, nevertheless could not meaningfully exercise their rights in face of the dominance of magnates. And, in the hope of securing themselves materially, they were given a convenient opportunity to join the Registered Cossacks during the time of the Polish campaigns in Muscovy.[9]

9 It may be assumed that just as numerous members of the Polish gentry found a convenient outlet for their energies in the service of the magnates, many Ruthenian noblemen took the opportunity to enter the Cossack organization. See W. Lipinski (V. Lypynsky), **Z dziejów Ukrainy** (Kiev and Cracow, 1912), pp. 208 - 222, 258, 314 - 346; M. Hrushevsky, **Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy,** vol. VII (New York, 1956, reprint of

By virtue of their education the gentry soon monopolized most of the executive positions and all the administrative posts within the Cossack organization. And, by establishing themselves in this way at the head of the Cossacks, the gentry not only began to channel the energies of the Cossacks into new directions, but infused them with new ideals. The hitherto unsophisticated and heavy handed attempts by the Cossacks to secure their economic and social interests began to take on a more deliberate and articulate character.

Thus, under the leadership of Hetman Sahaidachny, the Cossacks supported the struggle of the Orthodox church for more rights within the **Rzeczpospolita** (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), while in return the higher Orthodox clergy wrote panygerics and eulogies glorifying the Cossacks. This latter point is noteworthy because it provided the Cossacks with an aura of historical legitimacy and social respectability which to some extent must have influenced the decision of an individual Ruthenian nobleman to join the Cossacks rather than to seek his fortune in the service of a magnate.[10]

The position of the Registered Cossacks cannot be understood without taking into account their rather incongruous conception of their status. The insecurity of **Ukraina** provided the military rationale for their existence as a special social group. Yet, this same insecurity was a major factor in driving them to complaints and rebellion. The Cossack thought that he deserved more than he had. Thus, in spite of their professed loyalty, the reality of their position was no doubt frustrating. And here may be found that inherent tension which drove them on to seek different methods to secure their collective group interests. By 1648, this dynamic had resulted in many Cossacks coming to the conclusion that given the failure of previous revolts and the inability to obtain substantial improvements within the limits established for them, it was necessary to redefine these limits. Politically, a key factor in this transformation was the fact that the Ruthenian gentry articulated the desires of the Cossacks in terms which they thought were in accord with the basic values of the Commonwealth.

The majority of the Commonwealth's nobility hardly regarded the Cossacks as knights. At best the Cossacks were tolerated as a necessary evil, and at worst as churls. Many members of the

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the 1909 ed.), p. 287; vol. VIII, pt. 2 (1956, reprint of the 1922 ed.), p. 317.

10 M. Hrushevsky, **Kulturno-natsionalnyi rukh na Ukraini v XVI - XVII vitsi** (n. p., 1919), pp. 187 - 207; **Harvard Ukrainian Studies Newsletter,** October 1972, p. 11.

gentry no doubt agreed with the statement made by King Sigismund III Vasa in 1625: "Although a greater of their number are not of the gentry, they are nevertheless allowed freedom of person and the right to property just as the foremost estate of the **Rzeczpospolita.**"[11] This ambivalence of attitudes concerning the Cossacks was reflected in vacillations of Polish policy. The government, unable to totally destroy the Cossacks, needful of their military services, unable to register every Cossack, yet at times dragged into war with Turkey because of them, was in a difficult position. Official policy vacillated between extremes. Thus, for example, in 1597 the Cossacks were declared outlaws, while twenty years later an unprecedented number of 10,000 Cossacks was registered.

As mentioned earlier, the Registered Cossacks may be regarded a conservative social group which at times was compromised by the activities of their more radical counterparts. The Registered Cossacks were never really predisposed to subversive intrigues, and for a long time their activities centered upon obtaining the maximal extension of their rights **within** the framework of the register.

The two leading representatives of this accommodating policy were the Hetmans Samiilo Kishka (1600 - 1602) and Petro Sahaidachny (1616 - 1622). The basic strategy of these men was to secure a realization of the best possible terms for the Cossacks within the framework of the existing constitutional order. To this end, they offered to restrain the Cossacks from raiding Turkey, or they denied the **Rzeczpospolita** the military services of the Cossacks until such time as the government agreed to meet the Cossack demands.

In 1632, however, a very significant change occurred in the Cossacks' demands. In that year, for the first time, they became political in the sense that the realization of these demands required a fundamental change in the constitutional structure of the Commonwealth. Under Hetman Kulaha-Petrazhytsky (1631 - 1632), the Cossacks petitioned the electoral **Sejm**[12] that they, as knights and defenders of the state, were entitled to full political equality with the gentry.[13] Ignoring for the moment the class

11 Cited in K. Szajnocha, **Dziela** (Warsaw, 1877), vol. IX, p. 135.

12 The Electoral Diet (**sejm elekcyjny**) convened at the time of the election of a King. The King, however, was not elected by the Diet but by a general assembly of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility (**szlachta**), in which every member of the noble class had the right to participate in person.

13 M. Hrushevsky, **Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy**, vol. VIII, pt. 1, pp. 136-151.

egoism of the gentry, one must be aware that the granting of such a petition would have annulled the laws of 1505, 1578, 1607 and 1641, which collectively defined who was eligible to enter the gentry and how he was to go about it. But even of greater constitutional significance were the changes which would have to be introduced to provide for over 8000 new noblemen.

Upon receiving this petition, the members of the **Sejm,** somewhat abashed, passed it on to the Senate where it was immediately rejected not only with anger and contempt, but with detraction. One senator, in response to the petition, succinctly expressed not only Polish policy, but the Polish attitude towards the Cossacks:

> The Cossacks are a part of the **Rzeczpospolita** like hair and nails are a part of the body. When either of these gets too long they become noxious, and they are cut. So do we deal with the Cossacks. When you are not numerous you may serve the **Rzeczpospolita,** when there are too many of you then the **Korona** would fear a rebellion of the peasants against the gentry.[14]

The significance of the petition of 1632 lies in the fact that it reflected the presence of a higher level of political conceptualization among the Cossacks. It demonstrated that there were individuals within the Cossack organization who understood the need to undertake concrete political action in pursuit of the collective interests of the Registered Cossacks. In conformity with their self-image as knights, and in light of failures in the past to obtain redress by resorting to rebellions and useless complaints, the Cossacks' political ideal at this point in time was equality with the gentry. For the next sixteen years this ideal seems to disappear, and the political development of the Cossacks seems to come to a halt. But in 1648, in response to more or less the same conditions, and after a period of more rebellions and complaints, the political ideal of the Cossacks had evolved. By 1648 the Cossack elite was thinking in terms of absolutism and territoriality.

In 1628 the Prince of Transylvania, Gabor Bethlen, provided a perceptive insight concerning the political potential of the Cossacks, and what they needed to realize their potential.

> With regards to the Cossack nation the views of [the Polish Chancellor] Zamojski are known, who stated that this menace would one day destroy Poland if it someday finds for itself an intelligent and noble leader and organizer... Many sagacious and notable men have deliberated the possibility

14 **Ibid.,** p. 150.

> as to whether the Zaporizhian nation, driven to despair by the oppression which has been abiding since [1625], would separate from Poland, recognize one of the neighbouring monarchs as protector, build a separate commonwealth, establish for itself its own law, and rule itself through a new administration.[15]

The Role of Bohdan Khmelnytsky

"The leader of the Cossacks was Bohdan Khmelnytsky, an intelligent and valiant old soldier."[16] So wrote a contemporary catholicized Ruthenian nobleman, Ierlich. As is known, no later than 1654, Hetman Khmelnytsky had already decided to "build a separate commonwealth." But in 1648 this leader had no desire either to destroy Poland or separate Ukraine from it.

In 1648 the Hetman was 49 or 50 years old, and at this age it is rather doubtful that he was a wild-eyed radical or revolutionary. As the eminent Ukrainian historian Krypiakevych wrote:

> ...the problems which manifested themselves during the course of the national-liberation war had their origins earlier, and Bohdan Khmelnytsky still before 1648 had ample opportunity to come to face with them and to establish his own perspectives.[17]

Khmelnytsky was educated in a Polish gentry school, and was what may be called a "career officer," working his way through the ranks of the Registered Cossack army. In the course of his life he spent two years in Turkey as the prisoner of a Turkish Admiral, and in 1645-46 he commanded a detachment of Cossacks in France in the service of Mazarin. Holding the rank of Army Chancellor **(Viiskovyi Pysar)** in 1636, he was a man of significant importance among the Cossacks, and he served on numerous delegations of Cossacks sent to Warsaw (1637, 1639, 1646, 1647). As Krypiakevych suggests, in the course of these experiences he had opportunity to become familiar with the leading persons of the Commonwealth. Khmelnytsky was able to see how limited the King was in his authority and how the magnates were indeed appanage princes. In the course of his travels, he could see the consequences of this political relationship in the everyday life of the people of the **Korona Polska.**

15 Text cited in V. Lypynsky, **Ukraina na perelomi** (Vienna, 1920), p. 149.
16 A. Baraboi, **et al.,** eds., **Dokumenty ob osvoboditelnoi voine ukrainskogo naroda 1648-1654 gg.** (Kiev, 1965), p. 8.
17 I. Krypiakevych, **op. cit.,** p. 60.

Khmelnytsky thus had an opportunity rare for a Cossack. He was able to observe the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in a larger perspective and compare and contrast what he saw with his experiences of life in other states. It may be asserted, that from this perspective Khmelnytsky could realize that Cossack grievances were only a small corollary to the much more basic issue of the power of the magnates, and that in view of this relationship he came to understand that the desire of the Cossacks for improvement in their status was in reality contingent upon the realization of wide-scale change in the basic structure of the **Rzeczpospolita.**

Czaplinski's well known raid took place sometime between December 1645 — May 1646, and it was an important event in Khmelnytsky's life. However, the effect of this raid upon Khmelnytsky must be assessed in view of four other major experiences in his life, namely the nature of his education, his closeness to the Cossacks, his time spent abroad, and his familiarity with the politics of the Commonwealth. In view of these factors, Khmelnytsky's personal experience at the hands of Czaplinski had two effects. First, it did not motivate him to casual rebellion or to retribution in kind, but rather to political action. Secondly, Khmelnytsky's actions were done with the knowledge that behind Czaplinski stood the magnate Koniecpolski who in turn controlled hundreds of other Czaplinskis, and that because of others like Koniecpolski the Cossacks could secure no redress from the King. As Lypynsky wrote: "In order to make such encroachments on himself and others impossible in the future, it was not enough to destroy Czaplinski, but the whole structure of illegality and lawlessness upon which the **Rzeczpospolita** then stood."[18] Such an explanation of the significance of Czaplinski's raid places hitherto overemphasized secondary issues in their proper place.

By August 1647 at the latest, Khmelnytsky and his closest lieutenants began planning the "revolt." Necessarily aware of past successes and failures, the military potential of the Cossacks, the impotence of royal authority and the gentry in face of magnate power, Khmelnytsky sought to secure the collective interest of the Registered Cossacks by reforming the **Rzeczpospolita** through the exercise of military power.

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18 W. Lipinski, **Z dziejów Ukrainy,** p. 358.

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THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN CANADA 1900 — 1918

During the period from 1900 until 1918 Ukrainian socialists in Canada passed from under the utopian socialist, agrarian radical, and democratic nationalist influence of the Ukrainian Radical Party into the sphere of the two Ukrainian Social Democratic organizations, and finally, between 1915 and 1918, into the orbit of the Bolsheviks. The transition from the subjective, ethical socialism of the Radical Party to the objective, scientific socialism of the Bolsheviks was not simply a consequence of the extension of Old World allegiances and influences into the immigrants' new environment. It also reflected the changing social structure of the immigrant community from which the Ukrainian socialist movement drew its recruits, and the increasing alienation experienced by many Ukrainian immigrants within the Canadian economic and political system. While the majority of the Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada prior to 1905 were agricultural settlers who attained a measure of material prosperity after a few years of back-breaking labour, a very large proportion of those who arrived after 1907 constituted a proletariat recruited by railway and mining interests anxious to create a reserve of cheap labour. For the latter, integration into Canadian society was a much more painful experience. Theories of immediate, radical, social transformation appealed to this group in particular.

I

Traditional interpretations of the Ukrainian immigrants' experience in Canada have stressed the beneficent influence of Canadian society and institutions on the immigrants. According to these interpretations, impoverished, culturally neglected, morally unenlightened Ukrainian immigrants, who fled from economic exploitation and political oppression by foreign colonialists in their homeland, were offered the chance to "make something of themselves" in Canada "the land of equal opportunity." On the prairies, where they cultivated millions of acres of virgin soil, the immigrants found the freedom and justice they had been denied for centuries. Gradually they mastered their rowdy temperament, became acquainted with the democratic process, acquired the virtues of thrift, sobriety, and prudence, and learned to cherish "the Canadian way of life." Because they were hard working, determined, persevering, and imbued with a deep respect for Canadian political

and economic institutions, many Ukrainian immigrants managed to establish themselves as independent farmers, secured advantageous business opportunities, attained a comfortable material standard of living and became model citizens. The names and achievements of Ukrainian-Canadian businessmen, professionals and politicians, all of humble peasant immigrant origins, are offered as irrefutable evidence of the marvellous process of personal improvement and upward social mobility that has transpired in Canada.[1]

Historical evidence does not substantiate this interpretation. A significant proportion of the Ukrainians who arrived in Canada prior to the first world war did not establish themselves on the land. In the prairie provinces alone, well over 20% of Ukrainians remained in urban centres, while almost all Ukrainians who settled outside the prairies also remained in towns and cities. The majority of these, as well as the over 50% of all Ukrainian agricultural settlers, who spent years as wage-labourers before they were able to establish themselves as farmers, experienced an excruciating initiation into Canadian society. Not only did traditional customs, social habits, and work patterns have to be discarded in an effort to adjust to a new unfamiliar industrial discipline, but the immigrants were also subjected to severe economic and social exploitation, and became the objects of nativist hostility. Although Ukrainian immigrants experienced initiation into Canadian society in a variety of occupations, work on railroad construction and in the mines were the most typical forms of non-agricultural employment during the first two decades of the century.

Between 1900 and 1918 the length of Canadian railway mileage increased from 18,000 miles to 38,880 miles.[2] Most of the new track was laid after 1907 when federal restrictions on oriental immigration prompted Canadian railroad interests to turn to southern and eastern Europe for its "coolie labour."[3] Italian labourers were preferred by railroad contractors but Ukrainians and other groups of settler-immigrants were also recruited. By the early 1920s Ukrainians, who comprised about 13% of all "navvies," constituted the single most numerous national group employed on railroad construction.[4] Working conditions on the railroads were deplorable. In 1912, a foreign consul with intimate knowledge of conditions in Europe and South America stated that he knew "...of no other country where the rights of workmen have been so flagrantly abused as on railway construction in Canada."

1 The classic example of this interpretation may be found in Paul Yuzyk, **The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), pp. 45, 206-07.

A Canadian observer, who was a spokesman of capitalist rather than labour interests, noted that "...prisoners who comprised the convict gangs... were better housed, had shorter hours, and were as well fed as were the navvies..." Conditions in the construction camps, the same observer alleged, approximated "lesser forms of serfdom" and "peonage."[5]

According to inaccurate official statistics, the total number of employees killed on railroad construction during the period 1901 - 1918 was 3667. Another 41,274 were injured. The same statistics reveal that another 8,557 persons (excluding passengers) were killed as a result of accidents on the railroads, while 52,555 persons were injured.[6] A great many of these were Ukrainian immigrants. Throughout these years almost every issue of every Ukrainian-Canadian newspaper carried news items about Ukrainians who had been killed on railroad construction. Thus, for example, many Ukrainian navvies were killed between Fort William

2 **The Canada Yearbook 1921** (Ottawa, 1922), p. 532.

3 Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the 'Foreign' Navvy, 1896-1914," **C.H.A. Annual Report 1972** (Ottawa, 1974), p. 141.

4 This figure was calculated from information provided in Edmund W. Bradwin, **The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada 1903-1914** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 249. The book was originally published in 1928. Other national groups employed on the railroads and the percentage of the workforce they represented, were: American 1.9%; British 8.1%; British-Canadian 10.7%; French-Canadian 11.3%; Polish 3.9%; Yugoslavian 6.4%; Czecho-Slovakian 8.9%; Italian 7.0%; Danes 3.0%; Norwegians 4.7%; Swedes 7.7%; Finns 9.5%; Others 3.8%.

5 **Ibid.**, pp. 212, 8, 75. Bradwin's observations about the manner in which navvies were transported to construction sites is worth noting: "...To protect themselves, the employment agents would sometimes dispatch the men who had signed up with them for railway work in car lots, with two guards in charge... The doors of the coaches bearing the labourers were locked for some hours while passing through towns of the mining district... During those particular years cases were not infrequent of men being handcuffed and thus manacled conveyed under guard to a camp..." p. 60.

6 **The Canada Yearbook 1921**, p. 532. The figures for passengers during these years were: 592 killed, 5839 injured. Canadian railroads were among the unsafest in the world at the turn of the century. In 1903, the number of passengers killed/million carried, on Canadian railroads was 2.39. Only Egyptian railroads were more dangerous (2.73). In European states the ratios were: Austria 0.07; Hungary 0.21; France 0.02; U.K. 0.07; European Russia 0.88. During the same year the number of passengers injured/million carried on Canadian railroads was 11.65. This was the highest ratio in the world. The ratio in European states was much lower: Austria 1.37; Hungary 0.82; U.K. 1.43; France 0.82; European Russia 5.40. See **The Statistical Yearbook of Canada 1903** (Ottawa, 1904), p. 458.

and Sioux Lookout in 1906; near Vermillion, B.C., in 1909; and between Hector and Field, B.C., in 1910. In February 1912 an explosion on the Canadian Northern tracks near Fort Francis killed 13, including 6 Ukrainians, and seriously injured 5 Ukrainians. In January 1916, outside Brandon, a C.P.R. train crashed into a snow-plow carrying an "extra-gang" of 60 Ukrainians and Poles, killing 17 instantly, injuring 15 critically and wounding 25.[7]

Those who survived had to endure intolerable working conditions and irregular, exploitative wages. The average working day lasted 10 to 12 hours at 15c to 20c an hour. Thus most navvies earned $1.75 to $2.00 daily, except when inclement weather prevented work. However, it was not unusual for navvies to work 16, 18 and 20 hours daily, while on "extra-gangs," which looked after track maintenance and repair, wages for a 10 hour day were $1.35.[8] It should also be noted that $4.50 was deducted each week from the navvy's wages for food and board, and an additional $1.25 was deducted each month for medical services which were rarely provided. When one considers that most navvies were already indebted before they started working, as a result of advances granted to them for transportation fare to the construction site and for the purchase of proper clothing and equipment, it becomes obvious that even after three or four months of work many navvies were left with almost no net wages. Peonage, with workers forced to work indefinitely until their debts to the company were paid up, was not unknown.

Unlike seasonal employment on railroad construction, mining was a permanent year-round occupation. Skilled Anglo-Saxon labourers comprised the largest proportion of miners, although almost 50% of those employed in mining were "foreigners." Unskilled southern and east European immigrants were recruited because they were perceived to be a malleable, nonunionized source of cheap labour. By 1914 Finns constituted 3.5% of the mining force;

7 **Kanadyiskyi Farmer** (Winnipeg), 24 July, 1908; 1 January, 1909; 30 April, 1909; 16 July 1909; **Ranok** (Winnipeg), 14 February, 1912; 12 January, 1916. See also Petro Kravchuk, **Na Novii Zemli** (Toronto, 1958), p. 103.

8 The data was gathered from reports in the Ukrainian language press, 1906-1919. Bradwin provides the same information. For behind the scenes glimpses into the life of navvies see **Frontier College Papers,** Public Archives of Canada. The letters and reports of individual instructors are particularly interesting. They reveal, for example, that navvies were sometimes expected to work "...from 7 in the morning until 8, 9, or 10 o'clock at night. Others work from 3:30 or 4 in the morning until 10, 11, and 12 o'clock..." **F.C.P.,** vol. 26, D. McCallum to Headquarters, July 17, 1916; vol. 17, J. G. Gould to Alfred Fitzpatrick, July 31, 1913.

Italians constituted 8%; and Slavs constituted 11%.[9] The last group was particularly numerous in the Crows Nest Pass District and in northern Ontario. Ukrainians made up a sizeable proportion of the Slavic miners. They were concentrated in Canmore and Lethbridge, Alberta; in Hillcrest, Hosmer, Fernie, and Mitchell, B.C.; in Sudbury, Cobalt, Coppercliff, and Timmins, Ontario; and in Val d'Or and Rouen, Quebec.

Wages were better than those on railroad construction, but as more "foreigners" were recruited, management took an increasingly callous approach to safety precautions and regulations. The accident rate among "foreigners" was particularly high. Many Ukrainian miners died as a result of accidents in the mines.[10] Ukrainian miners were among those killed in mining disasters in Coalhurst and Belleview. In June 1914, 30 Ukrainian miners were among the 190 casualties of the Hillcrest mining disaster.[11] In the Ontario and Quebec mines the lung disease silicosis was widespread among Ukrainian miners. The miner's working day lasted 10 to 12 hours, occasionally 16 hours. Most miners grossed up to $100.00 monthly. However, after deductions for food, quarters and equipment, most were left with net earnings of $40.00 monthly.[12]

On railroad construction and in the mines an ethnic caste system existed. In the mines most skilled mechanics, certified miners and supervisors were Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. Slavs and Italians were usually employed as underground labourers, miner's helpers and surface labourers.[13] On railroad construction the hierarchy of functions was more complicated. In general, Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians were employed as machine operators, mechanics, repairmen, and skilled rock blasters, as well as walking bosses, inspectors and camp foremen. Slavs and Italians worked with shovels, hoes, and barrows as "muckers" and ditch-diggers, and on railroad maintenance.[14] A semi-racial demarcation which attributed specific characteristics to the various national

9 Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: the Anglo-Canadian Perspective", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1973. Chapter 5.

10 Donald Avery, "Continental European immigrant workers in Canada 1896-1919: from 'stalwart peasants' to radical proletariat", **Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology**, February, 1975. p. 57. See also, **Kanadyiskyi Farmer** 3 July, 5 October, 1908; 25 June, 1909; 9 February, 15 June, 1910; **Robotchyi Narod** 15 October, 1913.

11 **Robotchyi Narod**, 19 June, 1914; **Ranok**, 28 June, 1914.

12 **Kanadyiskyi Farmer**, 31 August, 1910; A. M. Shlepakov, **Ukrainska Trudova Emihratsiia v S.Sh.A. i Kanadi** (Kiev, 1960), p. 122.

13 Donald Avery, "Continental European immigrant workers...". p. 57.

14 Bradwin, **The Bunkhouse Man**, pp. 91-112.

groups provided ideological justification for this caste system. Workers, it was believed, belonged to one of two groups: "whites" and "foreigners." Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians and French-Canadians belonged to the former; Slavs, Italians and Orientals belonged to the latter. The "whites," it was alleged, were distinguished from the "foreigners" by their superior intelligence, by their skill as workers and by their "sheer native ability." They were believed to be virile, clear-headed, quick thinking and self-reliant. The "foreigners," especially the Slavs, were believed to be "slow and immobile, lacking initiative... with but limited mechanical ability... easily brow-beaten... just plodders in the day's work..." Nevertheless, their "quiet strength," "unpretending courage," "perseverence" and "staunchness" guaranteed that "...the Slav can and does succeed even as a railway navvy."[15]

If the conditions of labour failed to destroy the Ukrainian immigrant labourer's illusions about the "legendary liberty and prosperity" which he expected to find in Canada, the economic recession which reached serious proportions in 1913 and the outbreak of war in 1914 with its attendant consequences did the job. When the economy went into recession the immigrant was the first to feel the effects of unemployment. By the summer of 1913 thousands of unemployed Ukrainians were beginning to congregate in urban centres, especially in western Canada. While some were arrested for loitering, a number were deported. Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers began to advise prospective immigrants in Galicia and Bukovina to stay at home.[16] On May 26, 1914, 2000 unemployed workers, mostly Ukrainians, marched through the streets of Winnipeg with shovels demanding "work or bread." When police

15 **Ibid.**, p. 105.

16 **Kanadyiskyi Rusyn** (Winnipeg), 5 July, 1913; **Ranok,** 15 July, 1914. During this period Ukrainian immigrants were jailed for eating out of garbage cans while others asked to be jailed in order not to starve. **Ranok,** 21 January, 1914. In May 1914 the government passed the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill, changing the naturalization procedure. Formerly the submission of an affidavit to a commissioner establishing the fact that the immigrant had been domiciled in Canada for three years was enough to obtain a naturalization certificate. The new Act required five years residence in Canada, adequate knowledge of the English language, acceptance of the application for naturalization by a superior court judge, and empowered the Secretary of State to withhold certificates from applicants deemed a threat to the "public good." The ravages of unemployment had been experienced by Ukrainian workers on numerous occasions before 1913. In May 1908 there was hunger in North Winnipeg. A number of deaths, suicides and faintings from hunger were reported. **Ranok,** 15 May, 1908; **Kanadyiskyi Farmer,** 29 May, 1908.

attempted to arrest a Joseph Dudar who was addressing the workers, the demonstrators proceeded to beat the policemen off with shovels.[17] By the time war broke out, thousands of unemployed workers, including great numbers of Ukrainians who often ate at 48 hour intervals, were wandering in groups from city to city in search of work.

War aggravated an already grave situation. Large numbers of "enemy aliens," immigrants from non-Allied countries, were dismissed from their jobs. In Fernie, Mitchell, and Nanaimo, B.C., as well as in Hillcrest, Alberta, over 500 Ukrainian miners lost their jobs.[18] The loss of employment was particularly devastating for those immigrants who usually sent a portion of their earnings home to Galicia and Bukovina. A number of mass demonstrations by non-unionized "foreigners" occurred in Winnipeg in 1915. On 19 April a gathering of 5000, which demanded "bread and work" and asserted that it represented people who were not "enemies," was dispersed by club swinging police. Three days later 15,000 demonstrated. On May 14 hundreds of unemployed "foreigners," including many Ukrainians, left Winnipeg for the United States in search of work, and because they feared persecution as "enemy aliens." About 200 of the marchers were arrested at the American border and placed in Canadian internment camps.

In August 1914 Parliament passed the War Measures Act which permitted the government to make decisions by orders-in-council without the need to justify its actions in Parliament. "Enemy aliens," were ordered to report or register monthly with the police. Those who failed to report, or who, for some reason were deemed a threat to national security, were interned in one of twenty-four internment camps. A total 8,579 "enemy aliens" were interned during the war. Of these, 5,954 were classified as Austro-Hungarians; the majority of these were Ukrainians.[19] In the detention camp at Brandon over 800 of the 1000 interned prisoners were Ukrainians. In Kapuskasing over 500 Ukrainians were interned. At Spirit Lake there were over 800 Ukrainians.[20] A Press Censorship Board was established in June 1915 to monitor the "alien" foreign language press in Canada. Not only was criticism of Canadian and British foreign and domestic policy construed as treason, but the Ukrainian press was warned that "...any criticism

17 **Ranok,** 27 May, 1914.
18 Shlepakov, **Ukrainska Trudova Emihratsiia,** p. 183.
19 Sir William Otter, **Internment Operations 1914-1920** (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1921), p. 6.
20 **Robotchyi Narod,** 28 October, 1915; **Kanadyiskyi Rusyn,** 3 November, 1915; Kravchuk, **Na Novii Zemli,** p. 118.

levelled against the Russian Empire during the continuance of the present war can only be regarded as equally serious as if levelled against the British Empire."[21] Finally, in September 1917 the Wartime Elections Act was passed. It disfranchised all naturalized citizens born in enemy countries and naturalized after 1902.

By 1917 the Canadian economy had suffered heavy losses of manpower as a result of the war. In spite of the fact that they had been deprived of their civil rights, the labour services of the "aliens" were required to stem the growing labour shortage. Consequently all persons above the age of 16 were required to register with the Canadian Registration Board. An "anti-loafing law" was enacted in April 1918 which required all male residents of Canada to be "regularly engaged in some useful occupation."[22] Finally, in September 1918, as a result of growing fears that labour unrest among "alien" workers was somehow connected with Bolshevism, two orders-in-council were passed: all foreign language publications were suppressed and a number of left-wing organizations were outlawed. A month later the Public Safety Branch was set up to enforce this legislation. Many Ukrainian immigrants personally experienced the full weight of these government enactments, while the entire community was exposed to outbursts of nativist hostility and intimidation by private individuals and citizens' groups.

II

The first Ukrainian exponent of socialism in Canada was Kyrylo Genik, the educated and articulate leader of the second organized group of Ukrainian agricultural settlers who arrived in Canada in 1896. Prior to emigrating to Canada Genik had been acquainted with some of the founders and most prominent members of the Ukrainian Radical Party.[23] After his arrival in Canada, Genik, who was appointed a federal immigration officer in Winnipeg, in 1897, became the spokesman for the Ukrainian community and an advisor to incoming immigrants. He also acted as the Canadian correspondent of the Radical Party's organ **Narod (The People)**, published in Galicia, and of **Svoboda (Liberty)**, the first

21 Chief Press Censor (**Secretary of State Papers**), Public Archives of Canada, vol. 43, file 196-2, Col. Chambers to editor **Canadian Ruthenian**, 15 August, 1915.

22 **Canadian Annual Review** 1918, p. 491.

23 Genik and Ivan Franko were close acquaintances. He is mentioned in Mykhailo Vozniak, "Ivan Franko v dobi radykalizmu", **Ukraina**, Kiev, 1926, and in Oleksii I. Dei, **Ukrainska Revoliutsiino-Demokratychna Zhurnalistyka**, Kiev, 1959, p. 272.

Ukrainian-language weekly in North America, published in Olyphant, Pennsylvania. On two occasions Genik articulated his socialist views in **Svoboda.** In an article entitled "The Labour Question," Genik explained the impact of technical innovation, the Industrial Revolution, and the accumulation of capital on the process of social differentiation. Although "...there are single individuals who have millions of dollars at their disposal and millions of individuals who have only the hands with which they labour at their disposal...," Genik assured his readers that the emergence of an international socialist movement promised a brighter future for all men. "Workers need no longer console themselves with the hope that perhaps some day things will get better — rather they should boldly and openly join in the struggle against capitalism and exploitation, and demand absolute social justice, justice to which they are entitled as human beings. How is one to adapt to this struggle? The answer is: through unification, by forming associations of workingmen of all nationalities."[24] Two years later, in an article entitled "What every labourer should know," Genik explained that the worker's labour was the source of all wealth. Consequently, if "...workers provide mankind with all its material goods and services they are entitled to benefit from these themselves. They are entitled to have comfortable dwellings, good food, good and comfortable clothing, and access to schools, theatres and libraries..."[25] As the opposite was the case, Genik again urged the necessity of creating workingmen's associations.

Genik and a large number of the earliest Ukrainian immigrants to Canada had emigrated from the Kolomyia and Sniatyn districts of eastern Galicia. In these districts the Radical Party had originated and become influential among the peasantry.[26] By 1900 a number of fairly well educated peasants from these districts had gathered in Winnipeg and formed the nucleus of an informal reading society in Genik's home. Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrych, Ivan Danylchuk and Iurko Syrotiuk, Dmytro Solianych, Hryhorii Kraykivsky and Petro Zvarich, who soon moved to Edmonton, and somewhat later Myroslav Stechishin, Taras Ferley and Jaroslav Arsenych all came from the Kolomyia-Sniatyn region and had been

24 **Svoboda,** 8 March, 1900.

25 **Svoboda,** 2 January, 1902.

26 For the Radical Party see Vozniak, "Ivan Franko v dobi radykalizmu", and Yaroslav Bilinsky "Mykhaylo Drahomanov, Ivan Franko, and Relations Between the Dnieper Ukraine and Galicia in the Last Quarter of the 19th Century", **The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.,** 1959, pp. 1542-66.

exposed to Radical ideas. Unlike the vast majority of Ukrainian settler-immigrants who had been impoverished, in many instances landless peasants in their homeland, many of these young men were sons of small landholders descended from a strata of the lower gentry. Although by the late nineteenth century their material conditions of life rarely distinguished members of this strata from the ordinary peasantry, "traditions of status, learning, and leadership" as well as "the consciousness that they had never been serfs of the lords of the manors," still lingered among members of this group.[27] The Radical Party's efforts to transform the Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia and Bukovina into an independent, conscious and active agent of its own liberation appealed to members of this group. In western Canada members of this group kept in touch with the Radical movement in their homeland and preached the gospel of Radicalism, as they understood it, among their countrymen. They subcribed and provided information about life in Canada to **Hromadskyi Holos (The Community Voice)**, a Radical party organ, read, discussed and distributed pamphlets written by members of the Radical Party,[28] and, because they were comparatively well educated, assumed leading positions in the Ukrainian immigrant community.

The best illustration of the utopian, agrarian, and subjective quality of the socialism which shaped the outlook of the earliest Ukrainian socialists in Canada is provided by an experiment undertaken in 1902-03.[29] At the turn of the century Genik was visited by Ivan Dorundiak, the representative of a group of Ukrainian students living near Kolomyia, in Galicia. Dorundiak had been selected to locate a suitable site for a Ukrainian commune which his Galician friends hoped to establish in North America as soon as they managed to emigrate. Genik referred Dorundiak to Agappius Honcharenko, an aging Ukrainian reli-

27 Vladimir J. Kaye, **Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. XIII-XIV.

28 The booklets distributed were especially those of Mykhailo Drahomanov, the "father of Ukrainian Radicalism". These included **Vira i hromadski spravy (Religion and Politics)**, **Opovidannia pro zazdrykh bohiv (Tales of jealous Gods)**, and **Rai i postup (Paradise and Progress)**. For a discussion of Drahomanov see Ivan L. Rudnytsky (ed.) **Mykhaylo Drahomanov: A Symposium and Selected Writings**, Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., Spring, 1952.

29 See Teklia Danys, "Ukrainska Komuna v Kalifornii", **Kalendar Ukrainskoho Robitnychoho Soiuzu**, 1936, pp. 52-57; Myroslav Stechishin, "Ukrainske Bratstvo v Kalifornii", **Kalendar Ukrainskoho Holosu**, 1940, pp. 111-121. Mykhailo Marunchak, "A. Honcharenko i K. Genik ta Kanadski Ukraintsi", **Studii do Istorii Ukraintsiv Kanady**, vol. IV. (Winnipeg: UVAN, 1973), pp. 162-87.

gious dissenter and political fugitive from the Russian Empire.[30] Honcharenko lived on a 60 acre farm near Hayward, California, and was willing to share it with his countrymen. Arrangements were made to accomodate the communards on Honcharenko's property as soon as they arrived. In the meantime, Genik undertook to publicize the venture among certain Ukrainians already living in Canada. By the fall of 1902, Iurko Syrotiuk and Ivan Danylchuk with their families had moved to Hayward from Canada and established the "Ukrainian Brotherhood" on Honcharenko's property. Members of the Brotherhood did not recognize private property. Myroslav Stechishin, Taras Ferley, Hryhorii Kraykivsky and Hryhorii Danys also joined the Brotherhood within the next few months. Yet, by the summer of 1903 the Brotherhood had been forced to relocate its commune and soon thereafter the experiment failed completely. Except for Ferley, who may have been dispatched by the initiators of the venture, none of the originators had managed to emigrate from Kolomyia before the experiment was pronounced a failure. With this failure all hope of establishing a chain of communes in North America, shared by the group of Radical students in Kolomyia, also died.

The Ukrainian Brotherhood failed to survive for at least two reasons. In the first place, few if any of the eleven persons who participated in the venture were accustomed to the physical labour required of them. Secondly, apparently no one had a clear idea of how the commune should function and what its ultimate aims were. Stechishin described the experiment in the following terms:

> ...While one thought the Ukrainian Brotherhood was an attempt to live a real Christian life in accordance with the principles of Lev Tolstoi, another thought of the Brotherhood

30 Honcharenko was born in 1822 or 1832 into a family of the Ukrainian Cossack **starshyna.** He entered the Pecherska Lavra monastery and in 1857 was appointed to serve in the Russian church in Athens. There he began a correspondence with Herzen and the editors of **Kolokol.** When this was brought to the attention of Russian officials Honcharenko fled to London. After returning to the Near East he was again forced to flee, this time to the U.S.A. Here, he finally settled down in San Francisco, and after publishing and editing the Russian-English **Alaska Herald,** purchased a farm. See Ahapii Honcharenko, "Spomynky Ahapiia Honcharenka", **Narod,** Kolomyia, 1894, № 6 (9193), 7-8 (124-26), 9 (134-39); in 1893-94 Honcharenko published a number of items in the Radical Party's organ. Also see, T. Luciw, **Father Agapius Honcharenko: First Ukrainian Priest in the United States** (New York, 1970); and, M. Varvartsev, "Ahapii Honcharenko — Pioner ukrainskoi emihratsii v SShA", **Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal,** № 6. 1969, pp. 115-119.

> as the modern equivalent of the Zaporizhian Sich, a third saw it as an agrarian union, a fourth conceived it to be a co-operative, a fifth saw it as a colony with good, selected neighbours. It was also possible to regard the Brotherhood as a "commune" of sorts.[31]

Although a number of the communards continued to live together, sharing their property for almost a year after the collapse of the experiment, by 1905 all had gone their separate ways.

Stechishin and Ferley returned to Winnipeg in 1906 and became involved in the Shevchenko Educational Society. The Society was a gathering spot for the better educated, more progressive immigrants, many of whom were students at the Ruthenian Training School and soon thereafter became the first Ukrainian bilingual school-teachers in Manitoba. In addition to the poetry of Shevchenko and Franko, the novellas of Franko and Stefanyk, and the popular pamphlets on religion, politics and history prepared by Drahomanov, members of the Society also read the works of Marx, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Reclus.[32] Their outlook on political and social issues had not yet crystallized.

Developments within the Ukrainian-Canadian community, as well as those among Ukrainians in the Austrian and Russian Empires were probably responsible for this indecision. In Winnipeg, Genik, Bodrug, Negrych and Danylchuk had assumed leading positions in the struggle of the Ukrainian (Greek Catholic) immigrants against the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time they had formed the Northwest Publishing Company, and with funds provided by the Liberal Party, published **Kanadyiskyi Farmer (The Canadian Farmer)**, the first Ukrainian-language paper in Canada. Simultaneously in Edmonton, Zvarich and Kraykivsky, who along with Pavlo Rudyk had also been involved in the religious controversy, were establishing business enterprises which would place them among the wealthiest Ukrainians in Canada within a decade. While these men, who were all reputed to be "radicals" and "socialists" and considered themselves as such, were being gradually integrated into the Canadian political and economic system, in Galicia, the Radical Party, formerly the only significant Ukrainian political party, had experienced a series of schisms. By 1900 it had split into three factions. The moderate wing renounced the Radicals' militant anti-clericalism and their maximum economic program, which called for the collectivization of the means of production, and formed

31 Stechishin, "Ukrainske Bratstvo...", p. 120
32 **Kanadyiskyi Farmer**, 27 September, 1907.

the National Democratic Party. The party's left wing consolidated itself as the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Bukovina, and proclaimed its solidarity with the Polish and Jewish working class. The Radical Party continued to exist, spreading its influence by establishing branches of the **Sich** organization among the peasantry. The organization was based on "democratic, progressive and anticlerical" principles, and attempted to teach the peasantry to "think and act independently" without clerical tutelage. Almost simultaneously, Ukrainians in the Russian Empire had also formed a number of legal and illegal parties which tended to split and reconsolidate at regular intervals. Consequently, between 1900 and 1906 Ukrainians in Winnipeg contributed to a fund, the proceeds of which were distributed equally among the Radicals, Social Democrats and National Democrats, while on one occasion they also sent funds to the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party founded in Kharkiv, in the Russian Empire.[33]

III

At this juncture, the future of the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada was determined by a curious turn of events. In 1905, the year that the Socialist Party of Canada (S.P.C.) was formed, the "general rehearsal" for the "great October" was staged in the Russian Empire. Two years later one of the minor participants in this upheaval arrived in Winnipeg. Pavlo Krat-Ternenko (Paul Crath), who claimed to be a former member of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party and one of the founders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union **(Spilka)**, came to Winnipeg in the autumn of 1907.[34] Here he became a frequent and popular lecturer

33 Mykhailo Marunchak, **Studii do Istorii Ukraintsiv Kanady,** vol. IV. p. 219.

34 Krat was born in 1882 in Hadiach near Poltava into a family descended from the Ukrainian Cossack **starshyna.** His father was Principal of the Agricultural College in Poltava and later Chief Agricultural Instructor for Southern Russia. He completed his post secondary studies in 1903, spent 1904 on the Japanese front, and participated in disturbances in Lubni during the Revolution. As a result of his involvement in these, he moved to Lviv in 1906, registered at the University and on January 23, 1907 gained notoriety for leading a furious student demonstration. After being arrested he fled to Vienna, where he may have helped members of **Spilka** establish **Pravda,** a paper which Leon Trotsky edited from October 1908 until 1912. (See Isaac Deutscher, **The Prophet Armed,** New York, 1965, p. 198). From Vienna, Krat journeyed to Winnipeg, via Switzerland and Liverpool. The "buntarstvo" so characteristic of Krat was reflected in the poetry and short stories which he published in Winnipeg during the next few years. For a biographical sketch of Krat see **Secretary of State Papers,** P.A.C., Papers of the Chief Press Censor, vol. 90, file 249-2.

at meetings of the Shevchenko Educational Society. Together with Myroslav Stechishin, Krat organized a Ukrainian branch of the S.P.C. in Winnipeg. Simultaneously, Ukrainian branches of the S.P.C. were organized in Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, and in Nanaimo, B.C., and a socialist paper **Chervonyi Prapor (The Red Banner)** began to appear. It was dedicated to the task of "...creating among Ukrainians in Canada cadrés of socialist fighters for a new socio-economic order, for a better way of life for all people, a way of life which mankind cannot realize under the capitalist system."[35]

Krat and Stechishin laid the groundwork for the shift from the agrarian populism of the Radical Party toward Social Democracy. Their interest in the condition of the growing number of Ukrainian immigrant-labourers, as well as their insistence on at least a measure of autonomous status for Ukrainian socialists in the S.P.C. won popular support. Nevertheless, Krat's influence on the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada was ambiguous from the very beginning. Combining "...the formulas of a simplified Marxism and a naive romantic patriotism [with]... the confusion... [and] great emotional excitability..."[36] so typical of most early twentieth century Ukrainian Social Democrats in the Russian Empire, Krat was one of the most dynamic and active organizers and prolific writers among Ukrainian socialists in Canada, all the while displaying an evangelical enthusiasm for enlightening and raising the "slumbering" Ukrainian working masses. Yet he also introduced a strain of adventurism and intrigue, which occasionally had damaging consequences for the movement.

The Ukrainian branch of the S.P.C. established its headquarters on the premises of the Shevchenko Educational Society. A rivalry soon developed between Krat and Taras Ferley. In addition to tactical differences, the two men also clashed on the issue of membership in the Shevchenko Educational Society and proprietorship over its premises. Unlike Krat, Ferley opposed giving non-Ukrainian members of the Ukrainian branch of the S.P.C. a voice in matters pertaining to the Society, which included non-socialists among its members. As a result, a breach occurred within the Society and it soon disintegrated. The more radical members, including Stechishin and Vasyl Holowacky, followed Krat. The moderates, or "nationalists" as they soon came to be called, mostly

35 "Toma Tomashevsky pro Sotsiialistychnyi Rukh mizh Ukraintsiamy v Kanadi", in Marunchak, **Studii...**, p. 144.

36 Ivan L. Rudnytsky "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Ukraine", **Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.**, 1958, p. 1403.

students and graduates of the Ruthenian Training School, grouped themselves around Ferley.[37] Rivalry between the two groups increased steadily after 1909.

Chervonyi Prapor appeared eighteen times between November 1907 and August 1908. It failed to survive for even one year because of financial difficulties and because Krat was forced to leave Winnipeg. A renewed effort to establish the foundations for a Ukrainian socialist party was started in May 1909, when the first issue of **Robotchyi Narod (The Working People)** appeared, edited by Myroslav Stechishin. The new paper appealed to all "workers of the world" to unite, and, during Stechishin's term as editor, reprinted articles and stories by Ivan Franko, Vasyl Stefanyk, and Volodymyr Levynsky, translated articles by a number of American socialists, and editorialized on issues pertaining to the organization of the Canadian working class. The response, although not overwhelming, generated enough interest to convoke a conference of representatives from each of the ten already existing Ukrainian socialist groups in Canada. Held on November 12, 1909, the Winnipeg conference proposed the formation of a Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats in Canada (F.U.S.D.C.), which was to become an autonomous affiliate of the S.P.C.[38]

37 This group was also known as the "populists" (**narodovtsi**), and as the "independents" (**samostiinyky**) (not to be confused with the Independent Greek-Ruthenian Church). In fact they were a liberal, middle class group. Composed primarily of the first Ukrainian school-teachers, businessmen, professionals and well-to-do farmers, the group had established its own paper — **Ukrainskyi Holos (Ukrainian Voice)** — by March 1910. Zvarich, Kraykivsky and Rudyk in Edmonton, were also associated with this group. The paper's editorial policy rested on the conviction that the majority of Ukrainians were not being proletarianized but rather, were becoming independent farmers and small businessmen. The editors expressed few apprehensions about the values on which the capitalist system rested; they were not perturbed by the fact that under capitalism production was carried on for profit rather than for the satisfaction of basic human needs. They exerted themselves to raise the cultural, educational and economic standards of the Ukrainian immigrants in order to help them adopt to their new economic environment and thereby make them more economically competitive with the rest of the population.

38 **Robitnychyi Kalendar** (Winnipeg, 1918), p. 97. (After the first draft of this paper was prepared in March 1973, Petro Kravchuk published a series of excerpts from a forthcoming book of his which will be published under the title "Ukrainskyi Sotsialistychnyi Rukh v Kanadi 1907-1918". The excerpts appeared in **Zhyttia i Slovo**, the weekly organ of the Assoc. of United Ukrainian Canadians, during the first three months of 1976. Although Kravchuk's study is based exclusively on materials published by the socialists themselves, and has some glaring omissions, I have refered to his study while preparing this draft for publication. — O.M.)

However, the conference stressed that class rather than nationality was to be the principle on which the F.U.S.D.C. would be organized. Autonomy was demanded in order to facilitate the dissemination of propaganda among workers of various national backgrounds in their own native language. The conference also criticized the S.P.C Dominion Executive for refusing to join the Socialist International and for opposing all trade unions and female suffrage. It was decided that if the S.P.C. refused to grant it autonomy, the F.U.S.D.C. would co-operate only with those S.P.C. branches which refused to submit to the Dominion Executive. The conference also accepted resolutions which expressed its solidarity with Ukrainian-Social Democrats in Europe, proposed that Ukrainian workers join unions organized by the I.W.W., and suggested that farmers establish co-operatives. Myroslav Stechishin was elected secretary of the F.U.S.D.C. executive committee which was composed of two Winnipeg members, two Alberta members and three members from B.C. Branches of the Federation were located in Winnipeg, Brandon, Calgary, Edmonton, Cardiff, Vostok, Phoenix, Hosmer, Canmore, Vancouver and Montreal.

In July 1910, the F.U.S.D.C. broke all its ties with the S.P.C. and became one of the groups which founded the Social Democratic Party in Winnipeg. The Federation was dissatisfied with the S.P.C. because it refused to recognize F.U.S.D.C. autonomy and refused to co-operate with "reformist" candidates nominated by the Manitoba Labour Party prior to the July provincial election.[39] Thus, on July 24, Stechishin, together with Herman Saltzman, R. A. Rigg, Jacob Penner and others, played a leading role in the formation of the Social Democratic Party (S.D.P.).

The first convention of the F.U.S.D.C. was held in Edmonton from August 22 to 27, 1910. In addition to drafting a constitution, the convention decided to affiliate the Federation with the S.D.P., to recognize **Robotchyi Narod** as the official organ of the Federation, and to expand its organizational and propaganda activity by appointing a part-time party organizer and extending publication to include pamphlets and short works by prominent Ukrainian, European and American socialists. Commitment to international working class solidarity did not impede commitment to the struggle of Ukrainians for national liberation. The convention resolved to create a Society for the Liberation of Myroslav Sichinsky, a student sentenced to life imprisonment for the assassination of

39 See Martin Robin, **Radical Politics and Canadian Labour 1880 - 1930** (Kingston, 1968), p. 110; Ernest Chisick, "The Development of Winnipeg's Socialist Movement, 1900 - 1915", unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972, p. 78.

Count Potocki who had implemented repressive policies against the Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia. A "Council of Seven" was elected to serve as the executive arm of the Society which was committed to securing Sichinsky's release as well as to contributing moral and financial support to the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Austrian and Russian Empires. The Society provided the F.U.S.D.C. with a popular cause around which it could rally many Ukrainians. In 1910 party membership stood higher than at any time prior to 1915. The convention completed its work by electing a new executive, composed predominantly of Albertans. Roman Kremar (M. Solodukha) of Calgary became the new secretary of the Federation.

Nearly all of 1911 was marred by a power struggle between the executive in Alberta and the editors of **Robotchyi Narod** in Winnipeg. Kremar and his associates made repeated attempts to have the party organ transferred to Edmonton. Although personal ambitions played a part in the struggle, formally it revolved around the issue of whether the F.U.S.D.C. should affiliate with the S.D.P. or return into the fold of the S.P.C. The S.P.C., which had refused to recognize F.U.S.D.C. autonomy, had become a doctrinaire "otherworldly educational and propagandist sect" with no international affiliation. It refused to participate in elections on any level or to even consider the possibility of securing remedial legislation. All trade unions were condemned for "diverting workingmen from the true cause of revolution."[40] The editors of **Robotchyi Narod** in Winnipeg were opposed to the S.P.C. for these reasons. In February 1911, Kremar began publishing **Nova Hromada (The New Community)**, which unilaterally proclaimed itself the "official organ of Ukrainian Social Democrats in America."[41]

A convention of Ukrainian Social Democrats was convened on May 2, 1911 in Edmonton by Kremar. Recognized by only five of seventeen branches of the F.U.S.D.C. and a minority within the executive committee, the Edmonton "convention" proceeded to form the Federation of Ukrainian Socialists (F.U.S.) with **Nova Hromada** as its organ, and decided to apply for membership in the S.P.C. In June 1911, the F.U.S., unlike the F.U.S.D.C., was admitted into the S.P.C. as an autonomous organization. Because the conflict between the two factions had a demoralizing effect on new branches of the F.U.S.D.C., the editorial board in Winnipeg held a party conference at the end of September 1911. A new Winnipeg based executive was elected. Stechishin and Holowacky assumed leading positions. The conflict within the Federation con-

40 Martin Robin, **Radical Politics...**, pp. 94-100.
41 **Robitnychyi Kalendar**, p. 101.

tributed to the disastrous debut made by the S.D.P. and the F.U.S.D.C. in federal politics. In the September 21, 1911, Dominion Election R. A. Rigg and Vasyl Holowacky failed to win seats. Holowacky failed to win a single vote in 44 of 66 polls in Selkirk.[42]

On November 10, 1911, Sichinsky escaped from prison after guards had been bribed with money collected by the Soviety and other North American Ukrainian organizations. Although he remained in hiding until 1915, his rescuers were brought to Canada and toured F.U.S.D.C. locals. The success of the campaign revived the Federation and seemed to open up new vistas. The editors of **Robotchyi Narod** even suggested that "...Robotchyi Narod has rescued Sichinsky; now we shall liberate Galicia."[43]

As 1911 drew to an end, dissension within the Federation also began to wane. When the Canadian Socialist Federation (composed of eastern branches of the S.P.C. which had broken away from the Dominion Executive) and the S.D.P. decided to amalgamate as the Social Democratic Party of Canada (S.D.P.C.) in December, 1911, Kremar's F.U.S. held a conference. It was decided that a further conference should be held to resolve the dispute with the F.U.S.D.C. On February 8, 1912, formal resolution of the conflict was placed in the hands of a tribunal composed of leading members of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Bukovina. Kremar refused to comply with this arrangement. Soon most of his followers dispersed, and by September, 1912, **Nova Hromada** stopped publication.[44] The Ukrainian socialist movement, however, was again united within the F.U.S.D.C.[45]

(To be concluded in next issue) University of Manitoba

42 Chisick, "The Development...", p. 93.

43 **Robotchyi Narod**, July 10, 1912.

44 Kremar promptly organized a "Ukrainian National Organization of Alberta" with its own newspaper **Novyny (The News)**. In all likelihood the paper was funded by the Conservative Party.

45 Not all of 1911 was wasted. In the winter, a series of "Free School" lectures was sponsored by the F.U.S.D.C. in Winnipeg. Lectures on topics such as female emancipation, the Inquisition, the relation of churches to the institution of slavery, as well as on the theories of Darwin and Kropotkin were delivered by members and non-members of the Federation. Pamphlets such as Stechishin's "Smert' za 8 hodynnyi den", commemorating the Haymarket Riot, and "Shcho Dumaiut Sotsiialisty?", which explained concepts such as surplus value, class struggle, socialist society, and social democracy, were also published.

A NOTE ON OLES HONCHAR

In a system where a writer's standing is determined less by his talent and more by his adherence to official ideology, the Ukrainian novelist Oles Honchar has risen very high indeed. Chairman or First Secretary of the Ukrainian Writer's Union since 1959, he has also been a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and he has been awarded both the Shevchenko Prize (in 1962) and the Lenin Prize (in 1960 and 1964). Another measure of the esteem in which Honchar has been held is the frequency with which his work has been translated both for internal consumption (into some twenty "national" languages) and for export to the people's democracies.[1]

These positions and honours have made Honchar more important as a highly placed literary functionary whose public pronouncements carry considerable weight than as a writer. His stature as a writer has accordingly been generally judged on political criteria. John Kolasky, for example, calls him "one of Ukraine's most talented writers," while Abraham Rothberg remarks that "in April [1964], the Lenin Prize was carefully awarded to a noncontroversial candidate, Oles Gonchar, an obscure Ukrainian writer..."[2]

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[1] V. S. Babych's **Tvory pysmennykiv Radianskoi Ukrainy v zarubizhnykh vydanniakh, 1945-1966: bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk** (Kharkiv: Knyzhkova Palata URSR, 1968) lists seventy-six translations of Honchar's writings, but all of these appeared in the people's democracies, giving Mihajlo Mihajlov some justification for saying, his anti-Ukrainian tone aside, that "no independent publisher has been moved to print them." **Moscow Summer** (New York: Farrer, Straus and Giroux, 1965), p. 184.

"Die Mamajtschuks" was included in Anna Halja Horbatsch, **Ein Brunnen fuer Durstige und andere ukrainische Erzaehlungen** (Tuebingen and Basel: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1970), pp. 216-240. English translations of Honchar have been limited to those published in Moscow and translated "from the Russian": Oles Gonchar, **Short Stories** (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n. d.). Two stories by Honchar were included in **Stories of the Soviet Ukraine** (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), pp. 65-94.

[2] John Kolasky, **Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification** (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1968), p. 202. Abraham Rothberg, **The Heirs of Stalin: Dissidence and the Soviet Regime, 1953-1970** (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 134. Rothberg was taken to task by a reviewer, however, for calling Honchar "an obscure Ukrainian writer" when **Sobor** "has been the center of intellectual discussion in the USSR for years, and he was the chairman of the Ukrainian Writers Union under Khrushchev." Wolfgang Leonhard, **The Russian Review**, Vol. 32, № 1 (January 1973), p. 85.

Honchar was born in 1918 in the Poltava region and studied journalism and literature in Kharkiv in the 1930s. He fought at the front during World War II, was twice wounded, and received several decorations. He began publishing short stories in 1938, but it was the publication of his trilogy **Praporonostsi** ("The Standard-Bearers") in 1947-1948 that brought him fame. Since then he has published some twenty books, the best known being **Liudyna i zbroia** ("Man and Arms," 1960), **Tronka** ("The Sheep-bell," 1963), **Sobor** ("The Cathedral," 1968), and **Tsyklon** ("The Cyclone," 1970).

Honchar's earlier books are generally concerned with the "fraternal friendship" of the Soviet peoples and the idea of Soviet messianism in Central Europe. **Praporonostsi,** for example, approvingly depicts the advance of the Red Army in 1944 and 1945. In **Liudyna i zbroia** Honchar moves back in time to write about the Soviet defeats in the summer of 1941. Honchar's front-line experiences have also served as the basis of various short stories and novellas, including **Vesna za Moravoiu, Ilonka, Hory spivaiut,** and **Modry kamen.** His other important subject is the history of southern Ukraine. Both **Tavriia** (1952) and **Perekop** (1957) depict the civil war in the steppe provinces, and the area serves as the setting of **Sobor.**

But Honchar's position vis-a-vis the timid and obscurantist literary establishment has not been without its ambiguities, and he cannot be immediately classified, unlike most officially recognized writers of his generation, as a Stalinist. The keynote speech that he gave at the Fifth Ukrainian Writers' Congress in November 1966 is revealing of his cautious fence-straddling: he makes reverential bows in all the right directions and at the same time manages to say some very complimentary things about the younger writers who were for the most part later cowed into submission.[3] Honchar criticizes the wave of self-satisfied, primitive, and vulgar writing that was then (and still is) inundating all the significant accomplishments in literature. He admits that "nothing terrible happened" when Kafka was finally published in the USSR and he cautiously grants writers the right to be interested in Freudian psychoanalysis. He even refers delicately to the persecution of artists under Stalin and brings up, with some conviction, the "national" problem: Russification and the discrimination of Ukrainian language and culture.

A turning point in Honchar's career — indeed, in the Ukrainian literary process as a whole — was established in 1968 by the

[3] **V. z'izd pysmennykiv Radianskoi Ukrainy** (Kiev: Radianskyi pysmennyk, 1967), pp. 29-74.

publication of his novel **Sobor.**[4] Its literary merits aside, **Sobor** has been widely interpreted in the Soviet Union as an affirmation of the continuity and vitality of Ukrainian culture. The novel's focus on major social problems in Ukraine has been brilliantly analyzed by Ievhen Sverstiuk in his essay "A Cathedral in Scaffolding," which can now be read in George S. N. Luckyj's translation.[5]

Marta Olynyk's translation of two key chapters in the novel will give a further idea of the book. The other item published here — and it too relates to **Sobor** — is a speech made by Honchar at a gathering of writers on his fiftieth birthday in Kiev on 3 April 1968. The speech has apparently not been published before, but it is known to have circulated in **samvydav,** and there have been reports that a copy of the speech — along with writings by Dziuba and Moroz — was confiscated from the poet Ivan Sokulsky, who was active in cultural affairs in the Dnipropetrovsk region and has been identified as the author of the "Letter from the Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk."[6]

[4] **Sobor** (Kiev: Radianskyi pysmennyk, 1968). There have also been several emigre reprints. The novel has been translated into German and Polish: Olesj Hontschar, **Der Dom von Satschipljanka,** translated by Elizabeth Kottmeier and Eaghor G. Kostetzky (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1970); Oles Honczar, **Sobor,** translated by Kazimierz Truchanowski (Warsaw: Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1972). After publication of **Sobor** was banned in the Soviet Union, a Russian **samizdat** translation by Roman Rozental appeared.

[5] Ievhen Sverstiuk, **Sobor u ryshtovanni** (Paris: P.I.U.F.; Baltimore: Smoloskyp, 1970); **Clandestine Essays,** translated and with an introduction by George S. N. Luckyj (Cambridge, Mass.: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1976).

[6] **Ukrainskyi visnyk I-II** (Paris: P.I.U.F.; Baltimore: Smoloskyp, 1971), pp. 38 and 129-133.

Олесь Гончар

СЛОВО НА ВЕЧОРІ 3 КВІТНЯ 1968 РОКУ

Дуже тут по-ювілейному жарко, я вам співчуваю, тому постараюсь, щоб слово моє було коротким. Насамперед хочу від душі подякувати всім товаришам по праці, які вважали за потрібне влаштувати цей вечір і відважно взяти на себе чималий, зв'язаний з цим клопіт.

Дякую всім вам, що прийшли сюди, а також і тим, що приїхали — гостям із Москви, із Російської Федерації, нашим вірним друзям, з якими нас єднає одна спільна велика братерська справа. Всім, кого я з хвилюванням слухав на цьому вечорі, всім читачам, які ласкаво озвались до мене в ці дні — моє щире спасибі.

Чув сьогодні тут слова, дорогі для мене. А, мабуть, неминучі в таких ситуаціях щедроти та перебільшення будуть сприйнято тверезо ще і як знак чемності моїх друзів — отже, можу запевнити, що з цього боку мені не загрожує втратити почуття реальності. Розумію, що мана ця адресована не стільки особі, скільки всій нашій літературі — саме так розглядаю цей вечір.

Не приховаю: справді маю почуття гордості з того, що випало мені ось багато вже літ працювати у великій літературі українського народу.

Шлях нашої літератури пролягає через віки, вона була живим голосом і совістю народу на протязі його історії, сповненої такого драматизму. Не раз щербились шаблі і списи ломались. І якщо народ вистояв, оборонив себе від понищення, то зробив це не так зброєю мілітарною, як силою духа свого, невичерпним творчим потенціалом, витворюванням художніх цінностей, що їх сьогодні з подивом відкриває для себе весь світ. Це я вважаю явищем феноменальним. Від Шевченка, Франка, Лесі Українки нам, радянським письменникам, залишені найвищі взірці самовідданого служіння своєму народу, справі вселюдського прогресу.

Вже якось говорив і знову дозволю собі повторити: інтелігенція — це нервові волокна нації, що проймають увесь організм і живуть лише в єдності з ним і його життя теж не уявити без них. Творчість митця, людини інтелектуальної праці, виростає з самого духовного єства народу, і сама поетика, річ здавалось би зовсім індивідуальна, суб'єктивна, визначається духовним кліматом народного життя. Це особливо добре бачимо зараз у розвої багатьох національних літератур Радянського Союзу.

Мене радує, що в нашій літературі дружно працюють і майстри старшої генерації і люди молодшого віку, яким мов би ще не близько до ювілеїв, але хай вони не дуже цим тішаться — чаша і їх ця не мине, цього, на жаль, конем не об'їдеш. Ми часто — і цілком справедливо — відзначаємо заслуги молодих. Одначе старші письменники, яким довелось працювати в надзвичайно складних історичних умовах, люди, які знали небеса творчих злетів, але перейшли й догматичне пекло, перейшли, зберігши гідність і честь і чистоту своїх ідейних переконань, — хіба ж вони менше заслуговують доброго слова?

З чуттям гордощів говорю сьогодні про своїх літературних побратимів різних поколінь, про всіх тих численних лицарів творчості, які і в музиці, і в малярстві, і в кіно, так само як і на ниві красного письменства, з пристрастю патріотів працюють над розбудовою української соціалістичної культури.

„Ну а як бути з іншими?" — запитують мене в ці дні. Як бути, скажімо, з маленькими отими Вельзевулами, навіть до літератури причетними, які, часом, ще й зараз ночами, при чадінні культівських каганців, пробують озлоблено клепати старі-старі ярлики для нових наших творів?

Трудії невдячного ремесла, вони, видно, сумують за минулим, за днями сваволі, коли можна було цькувати безкарно, — та все ж сподіваємось, що і їх обвіє струменем чистого повітря нових днів, а недогулі їхні вироби, як усе фальшиве й рецидивне, будуть потоптані копитами часу! (Даруйте за такий емоційний вислів.) [Бурхливі тривалі оплески]

Ярлики, — а, кажуть, є охочі начепити їх і на „Собор" — ніякі вульгаризації сьогодні вже не спроможні збити спантелику нашого мислячого вдумливого читача. А за „Собор" скажу: вважаю цей твір не менш патріотичним, ніж „Прапороносці". Як і „Тронка", як і всі попередні мої твори, „Собор" написаний з позицій ленінських, з позицій інтернаціональних. [Бурхливі тривалі оплески]

І російська, і українська, і вся наша багатонаціональна радянська література саме тому й користується широким і щодалі зростаючим визнанням мільйонів читачів, що вона чесна, мужня, правдива, що її активний радянський патріотизм невіддільний від її гуманістичних устремлінь, що для неї наші визначальні суспільні ідеали не порожній звук, а справді те заповітне, ради чого варто жити й нещадимо віддаватися творчості. [Бурхливі тривалі оплески]

Звичка до утертих штампів складалася не один день і її не так просто подолати. Не дивує, що існують примітивні

спрощені уявлення про літературу — для виникнення їх були свої причини, — гірше, коли такий примітивець свою обмеженість, підозрілість силкується нав'язати іншим, коли він виказує рішучу претензію впрягти червоних коней мистецтва в хомути своїх убогих уявлень. [Бурхливі тривалі оплески]

Більше доброзичливості, освіченості, культури, більше довір'я в ставленні до людини і до мистецтва — ось чого треба, щоб література розвивалася нормально. [Бурхливі тривалі оплески]

Праця наша вся в шуканнях, у неспокої, у прагненні сягнути вершин досконалості. Мабуть, впродовж цілого життя людина має продиратися, мов крізь хащі, до тих кінечних істин, що мусять їй відкритися, як відкривається раптом вічне диво сонця, святість землі, мова художнього шедевру і мудрість кожної травинки; до істин, що постають як пізнання людського в людях, як щастя творення, щастя жити у найповнішій згоді з своїми переконаннями, з власним сумлінням, в гармонійній відповідності слова і вчинку. [Бурхливі тривалі оплески]

Не зайвим може бути навести тут дорогі для мене слова Ромена Ролана: „Мені не хотілось би більше жити, якби я поступився своєю совістю, і не тільки ради себе самого, але в ім'я честі Франції я захищатиму те, що вважаю справедливим і людяним". [Бурхливі тривалі оплески]

Дорогі товариші і друзі мої! Трудимося з вами в ім'я Людини, щоб їй було краще сьогодні, в ім'я світової комуністичної будучини, що уявляється нам не царством казенного знедуховленого стандарту, а сім'єю вільних збратаних народів з квітуванням їх яскравих, незнівельованих культур, суспільством щасливих, духово багатих, красивих людей.

Є чим наснажитися нашій літературі. Будівнича невсипуща праця народу, його талановитість, краса України, її висока душа — є звідки черпати натхнення!

Вся складність нашої письменницької праці кінець-кінцем зводиться до простого: писати правду, глибоко відчуту, може навіть вистраждану правду в усіх її вимірах і розгалуженнях. Тільки таке слово, правдиве й натхненне, сприятиме розквітові людини, її духовній наповненості.

Суспільство дало нам багато і багато від нас жде. Писати з честю, жити з честю — це, я певен, бажання кожного, бажання також і моє. Ще раз дякую за увагу, за теплі слова, за щедрість ваших сердець. [Бурхливі тривалі оплески і овація. Всі встають.]

Oles Honchar

THE CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER VIII

The sign had been stolen from the cathedral!

In the spot where it had hung, there remained an unfaded rectangle and the holes made by the screws. Even Loboda, who considered himself a connoisseur of the working-class mind and all its riches, had probably not expected that such an inconsequential fact as the loss of the sign — a slab of cast-iron — would create such a rustle in Zachiplianka. Volodia's cousin Kostia, the tankman, was the first to discover that the sign was missing; or it was rather his coquettish wife Natalka, whom he was accompanying to the early morning bus, as he would do whenever they made peace after a quarrel. The couple often found itself in the midst of storms and tempests: a short while before this, a veritable typhoon had raged in their latitude... They had been invited to a birthday party for Natalka's girlfriend in the village of Koksokhimu. They went there arm-in-arm, in peace and harmony, but late that night Natalka had overtaken Kostia with his broken accordion by this very cathedral, grasped his hands and pleaded: "Forgive me! For the children's sake I beg — excuse me! I'll fall on my knees if you want me to. Beat me, trample on me, just forgive me, for the last time forgive me!"

It seemed as if no one had witnessed this nocturnal scene, but all of Zachiplianka already knew that Natalka had repented and crawled on her knees before Kostia in the square after the birthday party. Because once again, having tippled, she was raising hell, as she liked to put it. Impetuous and spree-loving, Natalka had met Kostia at a wedding where she had been invited to play. She herself sat down next to him.

"He was playing so nicely, and as for his being blind, well, right now I'm blind too!"

She had laughed then, and, snatching him up and repulsing everyone with jokes, had dragged him off shamelessly into the mounds, into that wilderness of passions where the heady scent of thyme can overcome you for an eternity!

And now, at her girlfriend's birthday party, having forgotten all about Kostia, she was dancing up a storm all evening like an unmarried woman with the old Don Juan of an engineer from the factory, warbling shameless refrains to him, and then suddenly the two of them left the others and went off. Kostia immediately sensed their absence. The old rake had probably led the giddy woman to that same patch of thyme. Kostia stopped playing: he smashed his accordion to the ground so that the bellows whined

with the remnants of music. Later, Natalka finally caught up with him at the cathedral: again there were excuses, explanations and entreaties in the name of the children. Though he was seething with the rage born of insult and jealousy, Kostia knew that in the end he would accept her repentance, tears and caresses — this wasn't the first time, after all — and eventually begin to coddle her, this unique, appallingly ardent and spree-loving woman. Sometimes love brings only joy, but at other times it is almost constant torture and pain. Like his. He had never seen Natalka's smile; he didn't know whether she was pretty nor what expression she had in her eyes. All he knew was her flesh, the flickering fire of her body, her hands' caress, and the salty taste of her tears, the tears of repentance.

He forgave her and they made up. Once again he accompanied her, the mother of his children, to the bus in the morning. Beside the cathedral Natalka anxiously grasped her husband by the hand: "Kostia, what's the meaning of this? The sign on the cathedral is gone! How odd!"

Drawing near the wall, Kostia silently felt the holes left from the screws, stood for a while and finally muttered through clenched teeth: "The dirty scum."

Returning home, he stopped Virunka Bahlaieva, who was just hurrying through the gate on her way to work:

"You're one of the heads," he said crossly, "Member of the Party committee. Or are you also conniving with the high-handed ones?"

"What's happened Kostia?" Virunka was amazed at his tone.

"Someone has gone and unscrewed the sign from the cathedral. Was a resolution passed for this? Were the people consulted?"

It seemed to make a great difference to him even though he was blind. Perhaps he, too, in his own way, treasured this cathedral which was all that was left for him from his pre-war childhood and youth when his undamaged eyes could still absorb the world of Zachiplianka.

Going to the bus, Virunka also turned to the scene of the event. Yes, it was gone. Deprived of its identity. Although earlier — what with the factory shop, the graphs and the host of domestic and everyday matters — the cathedral had never concerned her, as if it didn't even exist. But suddenly, this outrage roused even Virunka's indignation and the cathedral somehow came alive for her too. Not a word had been said in the Party committee about dismantling the cathedral! Without that sign, put up by someone long ago, the cathedral had immediately become somehow defenseless, unprotected, doomed to be pulled down and utterly demolished. A recollection darted through her head of a scene from

her childhood when a little wooden church in her village had been torn down. It wasn't known by whom or when it was erected, although it was obvious that it was built by true craftsmen: it was constructed without a single nail. With axes and crowbars they smashed the ancient but still solid wood that had not even been gnawed by termites.

"Without a single nail! All joined with mortise and tenon," they had all marvelled. Those who were angrily crushing and rending asunder that ancient edifice were executing their ruinous assignment with taciturn fury. At first, it seemed as if everything should have there and then crumbled away entirely. But the decrepit structure was putting up resistance; it startled everyone with its fastness. Only on the second day, after driving in tractors, did they manage to smash it. They broke it and dragged it apart. The most dreadful part for Virunka occurred when the loft was falling, and from the cloud of dust, great gray bats flew out every which way, circling silently and blindly above the people and the pastureland. They had been clouded and forgotten behind life's vexations. But just now those bats, the unsinging birds of her childhood, fluttered out again from the depths of her memory, as though disturbed by something. They were repulsive spectres of ruin, scaly as if covered with dust and blind for life. She recalled, too, a pile of dust-covered church fittings in which the schoolchildren were digging about, bringing up dried-up fragments of birchbark with peculiar characters from the litter and trash. Virunka had picked up a chunk of that bark as well. Their young teacher later attempted to decipher the God-knows-how ancient Slavonic ligatures, consisting of tittles and some sort of flourishes. So, what was written there by the ancient scribes or by those craftsmen who knew how to build without a single nail remained a mystery.

Now it was evident that somebody had decided to turn even this cathedral into ruins. Ivan would return from India and see an empty square! A wasteland! "Where is the cathedral? Virunka, where's our cathedral near which we used to wander in the young nights of our love? Where is it, that silent giant and old inhabitant of Zachiplianka, which used to accompany us to work summer and winter? Why is there emptiness in its place?"

A few more villagers came up to examine the traces of the missing sign. Semko Deineka suggested calling a militiaman to bring a bloodhound and send it on the trail.

"They've got such well-trained search dogs that they"ll pick up any scent."

"No dog could pick up this kind of trail," Virunka threw out crossly and hurried off to the bus that had just arrived.

Even though nothing had really happened, at work Virunka felt sluggish. As soon as the shift ended, she decided to drop in on Loboda: the cathedral was under his jurisdiction.

The "authorities" were in a cheerful working disposition. Because it was hot, he was clad in a blue smock right over an undershirt. If you didn't know the boss of the office by sight, you might think that he was a metallurgical engineer who had dashed over to the office from the factory, and, awaiting his chief, had casually sat down for a time at his desk. The view through the open window was of a sooty acacia, a sickly looking lawn and a little further, the blackish-gray factory gates covered with age-old dust. The people in the office were obviously not afraid of dust — it lay in layers on the rolled-up posters or diagrams that were scattered about on the massive safe. Dust was discernible even on the desk. Factory din flowed in through the window, but nobody in the office payed any attention to it; they were used to it. "You expected to meet a dried-up official behind this desk," everything was supposed to tell the visitor, "an acrimonious bureaucrat who fences himself off from the workers and doesn't see God's world from behind his papers. But this is what **I'm** like. They promoted me so I'm sitting here. I came from the factory-shop and if they tell me to, I'll go back there again. I'm not clinging to the table." There was nothing superfluous on the table: a calendar, a plastic writing set and this black statuette — an exact copy of the Titan who was standing in the park on a high pedestal that almost reached the sky, with his arm extended above the factories. And here on the desk among the piles of papers, this diminutive Titan was standing as a sign that the people in the office always remembered him.

"Tell me, Vira Pylypivna, have you something on your mind?" Loboda was sitting at the side of the table unconstrainedly as usual, with leg upon leg.

"Last night," she began and stopped short, because his eyes, always a little roguish, had immediately blinked evasively, and for an instant it seemed to her that Volodia already knew everything.

"I'm listening, I'm listening to you."

"The sign on the cathedral was removed during the night..."

"Ah, Virunka. I thought that you had come with some pressing production matter," he said with acute disappointment in his voice. "You've found a fine thing... Believe me, I have more than a cathedral on my shoulders... Allow me first to conclude matters with the comrade from the regional headquarters."

But the comrade who was sitting modestly near the wall, a lean man in a dark shirt and tie, remarked with restraint that

he would wait and that it would even be interesting for him to listen.

Volodia's bulbous, stereoscopic eyes blinked imperceptibly again, but he didn't even make a sign that he preferred to avoid a conversation on this topic. Instead he spoke amicably to Virunka.

"Well, tell me, what's the problem?"

She retold the story briefly, concluding nervously:

"It's some sort of arbitrary decision — as though there were no authorities."

Loboda cast a smile at the comrade from the regional headquarters, as if to make an excuse for Virunka's importunity; as if implying, what can she, a simple worker, say; she's exaggerating...

"Authority does exist, my dear Vira Pylypivna," he told her didactically. "And a very specific one at that. In fact, you and I have the honour of representing it."

"Don't you try to soft-soap me!" Bahlaieva felt like shouting. "I know better than you what authority is. And I haven't been elected by the villages to chatter away in the town council. Why are you prevaricating? Do you think I don't see through you, you pettifogger?"

"I didn't come here for you to lecture me," she said forcefully. "The essence of the matter is lawlessness, you can't call it anything else!"

"Shh, don't get excited Virunka. You and I are not strangers, we always reach an agreement. It's a sin to attack a friend this way... Better tell me whether you're preparing a good homecoming for your Ivan?"

This was spoken with a smile to the comrade near the wall with the object of disclosing before him his knowledgeability even in the family affairs of the factory workers. Noting the man's interest, Loboda explained to him that Vira Pylypivna's husband was, in fact, the well-known steel-maker Ivan Bahlai who was still working in Bkhilai. His contract would soon be up, and he'd be coming home any day. It didn't escape Virunka's attention that in explaining this to the comrade, Loboda was studying him closely at the same time. The "genius" was obviously itching to guess in advance how "the visitor" would deal with the question of the cathedral, in order to trim his sails accordingly. But the comrade was impenetrable while he listened to Loboda. As soon as Loboda finished gabbing, he said to him quietly:

"You really should look into this matter with the sign. It sounds like an odd business."

"It slipped right past our attention, I'm sorry to say it's true, Pavlo Antonovych," Loboda hurried to admit, and his voice expressed unfeigned sincerity for this blunder in his work.

Virunka's sharp eye, however, had already noticed one more thing in the office: in the dim corner behind the safe, a little edge was sticking up. It was something shoved far back and covered by some poster.... Something very similar to the cast-iron sign!

"What's this?" she asked, and not waiting for an answer, flew out of the office, slamming the door in fury.

A short while later, she was sitting in the waiting room of the secretary of the regional committee.

CHAPTER IX

Zachiplianka seemed to have been bitten by gadflies this day: there were many angry people about.

"I can't figure it out, but it's as if someone had spat in your face," said Fedir the roller. "I'm no architect, but I don't want the place to be vacant."

To top it all off, his car had broken down today, and he had quarreled with his wife over nothing. Others were also walking around short of temper, looking downcast. If Loboda had appeared today on Vesela Street with his unflagging optimism and inexhaustible supply of jokes, probably no one would stop to listen to "Radio Ierevan," and most certainly no one would play dominoes with him. "If you're in the mood, sit down and play by yourself!"

Then a roaming brigade of restorers arrived, who had erected that ridiculous scaffolding which profited no one but the storks. They had gadded about here for almost a month, turned the cathedral into a lodging house, drank vodka and caroused with girls. The brigade's work was so shoddy that no one in Zachiplianka called it anything but hackwork. It seemed now as though together with the sign, a mantle of protectiveness and inviolability had been removed from the cathedral. Henceforth, the cathedral's continued existence was threatened and this is probably what drove the hackworkers here in a hurry. (Everyone knows that sometimes you can rip off something good at a wrecking). There, this fraternity recalled some long finished job that was done here (although it wasn't worth a cent). They remembered some sort of contract that had probably already been eaten by mice. The brigade leader of the restorers, a puny old man in a beret, was exhorting the villagers in the square to sign some kind of document, explaining in a defensive tone why the job had been frozen at that time.

"You know how we do things here: first the estimate hasn't been approved, then we don't have the drying oil..."

"You haven't got a soul, that's what," Fedir the millroller made a wry, contemptuous face at these words.

"Brigade leader, never hit a man when he's down," tossed in Shurko, the driver of long distance buses.

Another one of the restorers was complaining that they were not paid for the height, as his fidgety eyes darted about and searched for sympathy among the workers.

"According to the regulations, steeplejacks are to be paid correspondingly to the height of the construction, and isn't that what you call height?" Appealing to all to be a witness, he indicated the central tent covered with rust and peeling paint.

The metallurgists were looking upwards gloomily. It really was a great height. The young, pregnant daughter-in-law of Tkachenko the furnace man also looked up, lost in contemplation. She made a wry face, as if to ask: "Won't my child ever see those domes and spires?"

The sky above the cathedral seemed to be a bit bluer today than usual, fraught with an almost unbearable softness. There was neither grit nor factory smoke in the air. Swallows were constantly fluttering high in the heavens: they must have liked something there. All summer they lingered above the jutting cathedral.

The conversation in the group reverted again and again to the sign, and the question of its origin came up. The older people tried to recall when and by whom it was moulded, and it turned out that the casting of this sign had been decreed practically by Lenin himself.

Khoma Romanovych, the thin, grey-haired little teacher who had taught the legendary Mariia Prapirna before the war, was standing without a murmur at a little distance behind the group. He did not take part in the conversation; but his eyes filled with tears as he gazed at the cathedral. He, more than anyone else, was taking this keenly. On account of this cathedral he had spent time at Magadan, although it was due more to his temperament, as he was in the habit of retelling his pupils the history of the temple too fervently. Many of the metallurgists, people of different generations, had also been taught by Khoma Romanovych. They too knew something of the history of the founding of the cathedral.

It had risen as though out of a legend. After the destruction of the Sich in Potemkin's time, the defeated Zaporizhians founded a monastery in these regions, in the marchy meadows that had earlier belonged to one of the distant Zaporizhian outposts. There, in the water-meadows, they had become monks, and instead of sabres they had taken Sacred Scriptures into their hands. Resembling the beleaguered, they dressed in the everyday grey attire of the peasants. The rich-red wide-legged pants of the knights of Zaporizhzhia were covered by black funereal cassocks. And then

it was decided at their cheerless council: we shall build a cathedral. Let us build it so that it will rise into the heavens above these marshy meadows where the fishes teem, above the steppes where our horses used to graze. Our indestructible spirit will live on in this sacred structure; our liberty will shine in the sky with the brilliance of the inaccessible cupolas. Our sabres have been forced out of our hands, but the spirit of liberty and the longing for beauty has not been extinguished in our hearts! Our resistance will manifest itself in this creation in the steppes forever, and the adornment of Velykyi Luh will reach the zenith. "But who will build it? Who can create this?" A local youth, a quick-witted lad with eyes big with inspiration, was summoned. "Give me your blessing!" he said and disappeared into the marshes. Three days he was gone, and when he returned to his fellows, in the palm of his hand he held a little cathedral fashioned out of reeds. Later, he related how he had lain down for a moment in the marshes, overcome by exhaustion. He had dozed off and the cathedral had appeared to him in a dream. After examining the model made out of reeds, the Cossack Council resolved: we shall build this.

And from that time, the spherical domes began to cast their azure glow above the marshes, above this white world of the Dnipro...

At one time, Khoma Romanovych, inclined to garrulity, had narrated something similar to his pupils, but now he didn't tell this story anymore. He was silent now. He was silent about those legendary marsh reeds, from which this cathedral had originated long ago. Now he taught the children arithmetic — pure arithmetic without any admixtures. Only to the younger Bahlai would he pour his heart out once in a while. Mykola was one of his most beloved pupils. The teacher believed in him and in his unwritten poems. And to those who had any doubts, he said in an almost simple tone:

"The youth is pure in thought and chaste in act. One day he will yet glorify our Zachiplianka, mark my word."

During the Civil War, when various powers held sway here, the anarchists from Huliai Pole would often swoop down upon the cathedral and would partake of Holy Communion from the golden chalices without a priest. The Huliai Pole anarchists took a fancy to the great bell and decided to take it away with them to their steppe capital of Makhnovhrad. On a special apparatus pulled by oxen, they transported the hundred pood piece of cossack copper across the Skarbny marshes. But while they were crossing a dam, the carts broke down beneath the extreme weight, the bell plopped into a deep marshy pool, and they say that it tolled for seven days before it reached the bottom! To this day old-timers

like to point out that place which is no longer frightful; each summer, children from the factory Pioneer camps swim there.

As if there was no work to be done, people continued to mill aimlessly at the cathedral square. Romtsia was honing his tongue with witticisms, joking that the idea of a shashlik restaurant was obviously better than the concept of the cathedral. "Let's tear it down quickly, this vestige of the past! Let's build a huge restaurant in its place. We'd have shashliks as big as rams, Tatar specialties, jazz with striptease."

"At least you be quiet," threw out Kashubenko the millroller, frowning and dark as a gypsy.

Ancient grannies in dark kerchiefs had trundled over all the way from around Hupalivshchyna. They hadn't caught the news of the sign and had interpreted the rumour in their own way. According to their version, somebody was to arrive today from the Ministry to reopen the cathedral... "Thank you very much, they finally took notice of their endless petitions!"

Before long, above the voices of the grannies from Hupalivshchyna, rose the voice of Shpachykha who, having completed her marketing in the city and returning to her dominion, cast a cry to set about immediately writing a secret denunciation and having it signed by all the villagers.

"I myself will run around to homes and I'll collect your signatures for this denunciation," she cried, addressing the people of Zachiplianka. Shpachykha had forgotten when she had last lit a candle for this cathedral. Burdened down with bundles, she would never even glance upwards at its summit, but now she suddenly became muddled. "It stood there under every regime!" clamoured the exemplary block-supervisor. "Why tear it down now? Is it sticking in somebody's craw?"

Catching sight of Oleksa the mechanic, who had just appeared in the square, she set about picking on him too:

"You still haven't rid yourself of your Bublyk? And this high-handedness hasn't burnt you yet? You're a People's assessor, we gave you our votes!"

"What can I say?" the mechanic tried to justify himself.

"Take the wreckers to court!"

"Try them! Put them on trial," the tank-man angrily supported Shpachykha. He was dressed in an embroidered sheepskin jacket, standing at attention as always, with a cane in his hand. The cane was immobile, his face uplifted, and the expression was such, that it seemed that the blind tank-man too was gazing at the cathedral and seeing it.

"And it stood during all the different powers!" Shpachykha entered again into her tirade, indignant at such high-handedness.

"And now it's to be ruined? 'This one builds, that one ruins...' Like Shevchenko wrote!"

Mykola Bahlai did not intervene in the conversation. He had not expected that the fate of the cathedral that had previously been in a sort of oblivion and seemingly no longer interested anybody, would thus provoke his Zachiplianka. Till the present day, maybe, the question whether it was to stand or not, whether one could live without it or not, had not cropped up in anybody's mind, just as a metallurgist doesn't wonder whether to go on his shift today or not, whether to turn to the open furnace or not. It appears that you were mistaken? Did you suppose that the beauty of this architectural masterpiece was accessible only to you and that others are blind to these things? Or were they really blind? Perhaps only now, at last, people are regaining their ability to perceive beauty? And you are not the only one who is angered by the ignorant hand that determined to infringe upon this artistic creation... And generally, whence this psychology of poaching? When they were compelled to ruin in the maelstrom of revolution, in the battle against the old order — then it was somehow still possible to comprehend — battles have their own laws. The elements, the outburst of age-old hatred... Could one stop to consider then when everything was flying head over heels? But even then they did not destroy it, somebody kept it safe. Could it be perhaps that the people's sound intuition and Lenin with his decrees managed to protect it?

But now, in stable, peaceful times, amid increasing material prosperity, when art is called upon to ennoble the human soul, awaken the yearning for the spiritual even in those who had managed to become indifferent — at this time there comes an arsonist, a poacher from Zachiplianka, a pygmy with a bulldozer or a demolition explosive.

"No, my poacher friend, it's not that simple now," thought Mykola. The need for a cathedral, the need for beauty, as well as an aversion to destruction, had obviously always smouldered in these people, builders by calling; but until now, it had smouldered imperceptibly, concealed in the depths of their souls. They were scarcely aware of it themselves, just as Zachiplianka was not particularly aware of her still summer nights, as long as no one disturbed them; and the glowing of the furnaces, as long as they burned on. You become accustomed and pay no attention to such things. As long as they last, you assume that they should go on forever, like the eternal flow of time or the perpetual beauty of the universe. When a shadow falls, when danger portends, you begin to understand that there are things without which the soul would become impoverished.

Today the people had noticed their cathedral for the first time. For them it was not subject to destruction because they had woven it into the precious fabric of life, just as they accepted from birth the blueness of the Dnipro, the crimson grandeur of the nocturnal sky above the factories, and the figure of the cast-iron revolutionary Titan, who, for the younger generations, seemed to have come from eternity.

Translated by **Marta Olynyk**
University of Toronto

Marco Carynnyk

VASYL STUS

Люди рота роззявили, й кавалер
Їх повів до підніжжя Кордільєр.
На плантацію вивів, сказав: — „Стоп!
Ельдорадо тут! Кожний з вас — холоп!
А хто тікатиме, — куля в лоб!"
І подумали люди: „Це тут? Ба ні, —
ми несли Ельдорадо на своїй спині".
Але пізно. В джунглях нема воріт.
Не вернутись додому, де виріс рід,
із руками, що рвали б не тільки дріт.

Олекса Влизько, „Баляда про короткозоре Ельдорадо"

Among the younger Ukrainian poets whose work has become known in recent years via underground channels — Hryhorii Chubai, Vasyl Holoborodko, Mykola Kholodny, and Ihor Kalynets come to mind — Vasyl Stus is notable for his powerful lyric voice. "Less sophisticated," as George Luckyj remarks,[1] and less interested in formal experiments than his contemporaries, Stus firmly grounds his work in the rich — sometimes cloyingly so — Ukrainian lyric tradition. As an intensely subjective and personal expression (Hegel's proscription for the lyric!), Stus's poems are reminiscent of Shevchenko's poems of exile and equal the best neoromantic writings of Oleksa Vlyzko, Dmytro Falkivsky, or Olena Teliha.

Born in 1938 in the Vinnytsia region, Stus — like most members of the present Ukrainian intelligentsia — came from a peasant family and was educated in a thoroughly Soviet spirit. He studied at the Donetsk Teachers' College and after his army service worked as a lecturer, coal miner, and newspaper editor. His first major publication was a selection of poems in the monthly **Dnipro** in 1963, and in the next few years he published reviews and more poetry.[2] Stus is married and has a son who was born in 1966. In 1965 he became a graduate student in the Institute of Literature at the Academy of Sciences in Kiev.

1. George S. N. Luckyj, "Ukrainian Literature," in **Discordant Voices: The Non-Russian Soviet Literatures** (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1975), p. 136.
2. See the following bibliography for fuller references to Stus' writings.

But Stus' career as a poet and scholar — like the careers of so many other intellectuals — was thwarted by the rising wave of re-Stalinization which culminated in 1965 with the arrest of the most promising writers. Although Stus himself was not arrested, he became involved in the resistance movement which the KGB harassment led to by taking part in a protest against the persecutions at the Ukraina cinema theatre in Kiev on 4 September 1965. When Ivan Dziuba, then a rising young literary critic, electrified the audience by striding to the stage and making a trenchant appeal to the Party leaders and the people of Kiev — the first such public appeal in Soviet times — to stop the purge and support its victims, Stus valiantly jumped up to support him.[3]

Officialdom made no public response to the plea, but Stus soon felt the unofficial effects: he was dismissed from the Institute, and when he managed to get a job at the State Historical Archives, he was sacked from there too. After working for two months on the Kiev metro construction, Stus was fired again, and from then until his arrest in 1972 he was unable to find any jobs.[4]

Stus, whose talent had recently been recognized by the perceptive scholar Orest Zilynsky, also came under attack for his poetry when the secretary of the Kiev party committee complained that Stus, Dziuba, and Lina Kostenko had "succumbed to nihilist moods, enthuse about formalist trends, and sometimes come out with ideologically harmful assertions (like the bourgeois slogan about some sort of class-transcending creative freedom)."[5] There was no question of getting published after that, of course. Dziuba has described the situation in which Stus now found himself:

> Яскраві таланти й новаторські шукання не стільки знеохочуються, скільки наштовхуються на непролазні шеренги офіціозних багнетів. Досить нагадати хоча б про ту свистопляску, яка не так давно піднялася навколо творчости молодих поетів, яких брехливо обвинувачено в формалізмі; про те, що цілий ряд поетів — від Ліни Костенко до В. Стуса, від Григорія Кириченка до Миколи Холодного, від Ігоря Калинця до Бориса Мамайсура — роками не можуть видати своїх збірок; що чехи в

3. See Michael Browne (ed.), **Ferment in the Ukraine** (London: Macmillan, 1971; New York: Crisis Press, 1973), p. 4.
4. **Ukrainska inteligentsia pid sudom KGB** (Munich: Suchasnist, 1970), p. 193.
5. V. Boichenko, **Komunist Ukrainy**, 1966, № 16, p. 17. Quoted in Browne, **op. cit.**, p. 170.

> своїй антології молодої української поезії друкують поетів, яких у нас роками не хочуть видавати...[6]

Given the highly politicized cultural situation in Ukraine and his own involvement in the resistance movement, Stus, not surprisingly, attracted wider attention in the West not with his poetry, but with his defense of persecuted Ukrainian dissidents. The most articulate defense was his "Open Letter to the Board of the Writers' Union of Ukraine." The letter was prompted by Oleksii Poltoratsky's scurrilous attack on Ukrainian democratic forces in the persons of Sviatoslav Karavansky and Viacheslav Chornovil. Stus exposed Poltoratsky's slander, refuted his charges that Karavansky and Chornovil were unknown mediocrities, and reminded his readers of Poltoratsky's equally vicious attacks on Ostap Vyshnia in the early 1930s, when he laid the groundwork for the Ukrainian humorist's arrest by labelling him a "fascist and counterrevolutionary," a "**kulak** ideologist," a "literary prostitute," a "gutterpress profiteer," and a "worthless pen-pusher."

Stus has shown considerable ability as a critic as well. His first published review, "Nai budem shchyri..." (the title is a paraphrase of Franko's "nai budut shchyri, shchyri, shchyri!"), displayed taste and insight. Stus proved that he was thoroughly familiar with the work of his contemporaries, and the aesthetic standards by which he judged it were derived from Flaubert, Pablo Neruda, and Tadeusz Różewicz, as well as Franko and the early Bazhan.

Stus' impeccable literary taste was also displayed in articles on Volodymyr Svidzinsky and the early Pavlo Tychyna, which he wrote in the two years before his arrest. Neither article has reached the West, but Leonid Pliushch, who had an opportunity to read the piece on Tychyna, reports that it is "brilliant." Stus himself summarized these articles in the following manner:

> Стаття „Феномен доби" мала 107 стор. Певне пропала без сліду, для мене вона дорога була. У ній я полюбив Тичину, спізнавши його трагічну долю — бути всенародним, тобто державним поетом, коли — цитую статтю — „довершилася його всенародня слава, але слава не генія, а пігмея. Слава генія, змушеного бути пігмеєм, блазнем при дворі кривавого короля, була заборонена. Слава ж пігмея, що став паразитувати на тілі генія, була забез-

6. Ivan Dziuba, **Internatsionalizm chy rusyfikatsiia?** (Munich: Suchasnist, 1968), p. 177; **Internationalism or Russification?**, second edition (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970; New York: Monad Press, 1974), p. 142.

печена величезним пропагандистським трестом". Писати, що Тичина „живіший од живих і мертвіший мертвих" було нелегко. Але його горе стало нашим горем, а над своїм горем ми можемо мислити, хай і жорстоко, бо ж „поетів геній обернувся проти нього прокляттям, став йому за найбільшого ворога, з яким треба було постійно боротися, щоб не виявити свій найбільший 'гріх' перед добою". Стаття „Зникоме розквітання" має 13 сторінок, композиційно невдала, але дорога мені, як і вся творчість Свідзінського. До вироку долучили її через одну фразу. Я писав, що тоді, в 30-их роках справжній інтелігент був абсолютно небажаною особою, отож не дивно, що інтелігенти були винищені майже до пня.[7]

In January 1972, when another wave of arrests swept Ukraine, Stus' years under KGB surveillance came to an end: he was arrested, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," and on 7 September 1972 found guilty of "systematically preparing, preserving, and distributing slanderous anti-Soviet documents which defamed the Soviet system." His sentence was seven years in labour camps and three years in exile.

Recent reports from the labour camps indicate that Stus' health has considerably deteriorated (he is known to have had an ulcer since 1960), but the camp administration has neither issued him the necessary medication that his family sends nor lightened his work load. In July 1975 Stus was severely wounded by a former Nazi collaborator and transferred for a time to the camp infirmary. Early in 1976 he was taken to a hospital in Leningrad for surgery.[8]

Stus has continued to speak his mind despite imprisonment and illness. In the autumn of 1975 he wrote a statement charging the KGB with "fabricating the Ukrainian trials of the 1960s and conducting them with Iezhov-Beria methods." "I accuse [the KGB] of deliberate falsification with the aim of concealing the real crimes and of public discreditation of people who were repressed for their convictions," Stus wrote. He also described how during a search at his flat the secret police confiscated almost all his manuscripts from the last fifteen years and books by Vira Vovk, Emma Andievska, Pasternak, Gorky, Solzhenitsyn, Berdiaev, Marx, Jung, and Ortega Y Gasset. "The KGB men proved that their enemies are works by writers and thinkers from around the world."

7. "Sprava Vasylia Stusa: vyrok i komentar," **Suchasnist**, 1975, № 12, p. 68.
8. **Svoboda**, 18 November 1975.

Stus concluded his indictment by accusing the KGB of being an "openly chauvinistic and anti-Ukrainian organization because it has made my people tongueless and voiceless. The trials of 1972-73 in Ukraine were trials of the human mind, of thought itself. They were trials of humanism and of sincere love for one's people. The young Ukrainian intelligentsia, which has become a generation of political prisoners, was reared on ideals of humanism, justice, and liberty. This is its entire crime, its malicious intention."

Stus' principled political and moral stand was also demonstrated in his open letter to Ivan Dziuba, which became available in the West in September 1976. Dziuba, who had been arrested in 1972 and held under interrogation for almost a year, was tried in March 1973 and sentenced to five years' imprisonment and five years' exile. But in November 1973 **Literaturna Ukraina** carried a somewhat ambiguously worded statement in which Dziuba appeared to be recanting the views he had developed in **Internatsionalizm chy rusyfikatsia?** The Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR then found it possible to grant him a pardon and to permit him to work on an "extended critical analysis" of his book.

Stus condemns Dziuba's breaking and writes that his fate is "another confirmation of how terrible it is to live in conditions where the ordinary human desire to live one's life within the bounds of elementary human decency demands inhuman bravery and heroism." Bemoaning Dziuba's betrayal of his former ideals — among them humane socialism, the equal coexistence of nationalities, and the democratization of civic life — Stus remarks that Dziuba has become a "homunculus from the land of Lilliputians." "You submitted to circumstances," Stus says to Dziuba, "and now everything bad and shameful in our literature, everything disgusting and barbaric in our social life has become the icon to which you must pray as you repent your 'sin'."

But Stus deserves our attention as a poet no less than as a critic or a political prisoner. Fortunately, we now have a sizeable selection of his writings. **Zymovi dereva,** a collection of poems that had been accepted for publication by "Radianskyi pysmennyk" and then "arrested," was published in the West in 1970. That same year Stus put together a collection which he titled **Veselyi tsvyntar** and which partly overlapped with **Zymovi dereva.** The manuscript was confiscated from Stus at the time of his arrest, but he has managed to restore some of the poems from memory, and they too have been published in the West. **Svicha v svichadi,** a collection of the poems Stus wrote since his arrest, is now being prepared for publication by Prolog. The following original poems and one translation (Sonnet XXIX in Rilke's **Sonneten**

an Orpheus[9]) from that collection are published here with permission. No changes have been made in Stus' spelling, which occasionally departs from current Soviet norms.

Vasyl Stus will probably not win his place in Ukrainian literary history by introducing new poetic devices or methods (although this is a risky generalization for a poet who — political circumstances permitting — may still have his major work ahead of him), but he has already created a body of poetry which treats the sum of his experiences sincerely and without any false intonations. For a poet who works within the Ukrainian lyric tradition, which has only partially surpassed its romantic heritage, and who has been exposed to the extremes of Stalinism redivivus in the 1960s and 1970s, that is no mean achievement.

9. The student of translation may find it instructive to compare Stus' translation with Mykola Bazhan's in Rainer Maria Rilke, **Poezii** (Kiev: Dnipro, 1974), p. 244.

ПОЕЗІЇ

* * *

Сосна із ночі випливла, як щогла.
Грудей торкнулась, як вода — весла,
як уст — слова. І спогади знесла,
мов сонну хвилю. І подушка змокла.

Сосна із ночі випливла, мов щогла.
І посвітилась болем долина.
І все вона. Довкруг — одна вона.
Та тільки терням поросла дорога.

Сосна росте із ночі. Горілиць
з-за оболоку свінула Софія.
Десь галактичний Київ бронзовіє
У мерехтінні найдорожчих лиць.

Сосна пливе із ночі і росте,
як тінь Вітчизни о порі смеркання.
А ти уже потойбіч, ти — за гранню,
де видиво гойдається святе.

Там Україна. За межею. Там,
лівіше серця! З горя молодого
сосна [стриміє] з ночі, ніби щогла,
а Бог шепоче спрагло: аз воздам!

* * *

Звелася длань Господня
і кетяг піднесла,
де зорі великодні
без ліку і числа.

Ця синь зазолотіла,
це золото сумне,
пірвавши думу з тіла
об'яснили мене.

Лютує снігавиця,
колючий хрипне дріт.
А світ — нехай святиться,
нехай святиться світ.

Колеса глухо стукотять,
мов хвиля об пором.
Стрічай, товаришу Хароне,
[і] з лихом і з добром.

Колеса б'ють, колеса б'ють,
кудись торують путь
Уже! Додому не вернуть,
додому не вернуть.

Москва, Гора Ведмежа, Кем
і Понівострів — шлях
за гратами, за вартами,
розбухлий на сльозах.

І знову: В'ятка, Котлас, Усть —
Вим, далі — до Чит'ю.
Рад-соц-конц-таборів Союз,
котрий господь забув.

Диявол теж забув, тепер
тут править інший бог —
марксист, расист і людожер,
один за трьох.

Москва — Чит'ю, Москва — Чит'ю,
Печорський концентрак
споруджує нову добу
на крові і кістках.

* * *

Геть спогади — сперед очей.
Із лиць жалі, із уст.
Колючі присмерки очей
у цей сорокопуст.

Як став — то вплав, як брід — то вслід,
як мур — то хоч нурця
пройдімо лабіринтом бід
до свого реченця,
де щонайвища з нагород
і найчесніша — м́ста
за наш прихід і наш ісход
під тягарем хреста.

* * *

Як добре те, що смерти не боюсь я
і не питаю, чи тяжкий мій хрест,
що вам, лукаві судді, не клонюся
в передчутті недовідомих верст.

Що жив — любив і не набрався скверни
зненависті, прокльону, каяття.
Народе мій! До тебе я поверну
і в смерті обернуся до життя.

Своїм стражденним і незлим обличчям
як син, тобі доземно поклонюсь
і чесно гляну в чесні твої вічі
і з рідною землею поріднюсь.

* * *

Наді мною синє віко неба,
сіро-чорна, як земля, труна
обшиває душу. Так і треба,
вже остання лопнула струна,
вкрай напнута сподіванням. Досить,
бо немає стерпу. Твій кінець
умовляє, научає, просить:
згинь, коли спромога. Хай їм грець,
тим літам, що будуть непрожиті,
тож бери тепер зі смертю шлюб,
бо не зійде на каменю жито
і сухий не розів'ється дуб.

З РІЛЬКЕ: СОНЕТ XXIX

Тихий друже далечей, ти чуєш —
дух твій множить сфери світові,
як з дзвініць суворих край звістуєш.
Те, що з тебе соки п'є живі,

за саму поживу дужче стане.
В вічнім перевтіленні творись.
Що страшний твій біль? Вино духмяне
з пива-трути встоїться колись.

Стань же смислом ночі, на хресті
власних дум, зібравшися на моці,
бо ж остання зустріч настає.

А забутий у земнім житті,
мóв притихлим долям: я в потоці,
і швидкій воді кажи: я є.

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In this recently translated underground publication from the Soviet Union, a novel approach is taken to a well-known theme. The two years spent by the author in a Mordovian prison camp left him with penetrating insights into a whole series of current problems and aspects of Soviet society today, including the abuse of the legal system, the psychology of prison camp authorities, the mistreatment of the minorities, the question of literature and art, and so forth. Yet these themes are explored within a much broader framework which Osadchy indicates in the beginning of this autobiographical work. His starting point and main concern is man, his objective — truth. Within this global view, episodes from prison and camp life as the author experienced them, as well as his own reflections are set forth. A brief look at Osadchy's background and the period in which he wrote this work may help to situate it better in its proper context.

A member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1962, Osadchy worked as a television studio editor in Lviv, an instructor in the ideological department of the regional Party committee and as a senior lecturer of journalism at Lviv University before his arrest in August, 1965. A prolific literary critic, he contributed numerous articles to the regional and national press in Ukraine, and is the author of a published book of poems, **Misiachne Pole** (Moonlit Field), of which the entire edition was destroyed when he fell into disfavour with the KGB. In April, 1966, he was sentenced in camera to two years in a labour camp for alleged anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. It was in the period after his release, from March to May of 1968, that Osadchy wrote the present book, in Lviv. Osadchy had also publicly risen to the defence of other dissidents such as Sviatoslav Karavansky and Valentyn Moroz before he was rearrested in the next major wave of arrests in Ukraine in January, 1972. A writer banned from the official Soviet press, he is currently serving a ten year sentence in a strict-regime Mordovian camp for these activities.

Osadchy initially fell victim to police repression at a time when the Soviet authorities adopted stricter measures to deal with dissidents, among them the Russian writers Andrei Siniavsky and Yuli Daniel. In Ukraine, the mid-sixties were characterized by a rebirth of national consciousness which found expression notably in the spheres of the literary and cultural life of the nation. A new generation of poets and writers popularly known as the **shesty-desiatnyky** — the "Sixtiers" — came to the fore, producing a new, genuine literature. Osadchy was considered by his contemporaries to be one of the better poets of this generation.

He first became known to Western readers when excerpts from his prison letters were published in the **Chornovil Papers** under the heading **Misfortune of Intellect.**[1] This latter work, just as Alexander Ginzburg's "White Book" in defence of Siniavsky and Daniel, testifies to the solidarity of fellow-travellers who were prepared to publicize cases of injustice censored by the official media. As Moroz has pointed out, this was a period when, for the first time in decades, a protest campaign had emerged in which public opinion made itself felt.

The structure of arrest, investigation, trial and imprisonment provides the author with a basis on which to develop a number of themes he explores with considerable sensitivity. For example, as a writer he reflects on the question of art. Fundamental to his notion of the artist is the concept of the necessity of freedom, emphasized in **Cataract** by the recurring image of the Scythian rock paintings and borne out by his style, particularly in his portrait of Chornovil. A staunch anti-dogmatist, his views on this subject remind one of Zamiatin, who believed that the writer must be a heretic. Osadchy similarly feels that an artist, being essential to society, must reject the existing model of the world and create a new, spiritual model (not a social one, as he stresses). He will not be understood by society, and will probably be rejected — as Osadchy illustrates by alluding to Herzen and other intellectuals such as the Leningrad group of Marxists,[2] all internal emigrés in their own society. But to present a challenge to society — that is the task of the writer in his view. We may well ask

1 Viacheslav Chornovil, **The Chornovil Papers**, McGraw Hill, London, 1968. A **samvydav** work, it is a compilation of documents on the 1965-66 arrests and trials in Ukraine of twenty prominent intellectuals.

2 Some of the leading figures in this group were Ronkin, Smolkin, Yoffe, and Gvenko. They disseminated an underground journal called **Kolokol** of which four issues came out before the group, said to consist of 250 members, was disbanded and its leaders sentenced to seven years imprisonment and three years exile.

ourselves whether Osadchy succeeds in creating such an alternative model.

Osadchy's book represents above all a **search** for a new model. On the one hand, this is exemplified by a ruthless exposure and criticism of those features of Soviet society that are an obstacle to human progress. For Osadchy, they are deformations of the social organism, a notion which is captured by the symbolic title of the book, **Cataract.** On the other hand, the author counterposes to these malformations a different set of values — often those embodied in the characters, actions and ideas of the political prisoners themselves. These are the universal values of democracy, justice, individual freedom and the right of all nations to self-determination. This search for a new morality for Soviet society is also suggested by the title of part two — "City of the Sun" — an allusion to an imaginary future society.

The main object of the author's criticism are various manifestations of Stalinist deformations in his society, or what he would consider as deviations from the socialist norm, among them the material privileges enjoyed by the elite of Party members. In a form of **mea culpa** Osadchy also admits to once having taken advantage of special shops closed to the general public. Another example of this deformation is the abuse of socialist legality, portrayed in a powerful satire entitled "The Comedians" in part one. The "comedians" — workers of the security organs — and the Kafkaesque trial ritual (in this case, that of Osadchy, Mykhailo Horyn and Myroslava Zvarychevska) are in a sense themselves put on trial. Osadchy scorns this mockery of justice and exposes the real enemies of socialist democracy — the accusers and not the accused.

As there are several nationalities represented among the prisoners, Osadchy not unnaturally focuses on the national question in the Soviet Union, taking up, amongst others, the Ukrainian and Estonian cases. Special attention is given to the national genocide of the Ingush people, deported en masse to Northern Kazakhstan by Stalin. The plight of this small nation, so similar to that of the Crimean Tartars and scores of others, is movingly portrayed in the discourse of an Ingush prisoner, Ali Khashagulgov. Osadchy's attitude contrasts sharply with the official attitude to the national question, evidenced by the prisoners even at the level of the camp authorities.

Although there is no political discussion of this question among the prisoners in Osadchy's account, their position is nevertheless clear: a spirit of general support for the non-Russian nations prevails among them. This attitude is manifested, moreover, by what limited activities they can manage. For example, secret

"literary evenings" are held at which the important national poets and writers of the nationalities present are celebrated. Literature too is translated into the various languages. Thus a genuine democracy, humanitarianism and respect for culture exist among the "zeks" at Iavas. This insight into the intellectual activity of leading activists also goes some way to developing a basis for the author's own model. By holding up such people for emulation, Osadchy seems to be suggesting an alternative set of values to replace the existing ones.

A satirical and imaginative style (Osadchy is a great admirer of Ostap Vyshnia) along with vivid imagery contribute to the literary success of the present work. The concept of time is purposefully distorted at times, so that events which occurred in different places become merged to produce a surrealistic effect. This effect often corresponds directly to the surrealistic nature of the trial scenes that are depicted. The use of the present tense throughout the work serves to heighten the sense of tension and immediacy. The repetition and symbolism of the imagery elucidate the principal themes. These are some of the techniques used by the author to help bring about originality of style and vision to a theme now in existence in Soviet literature, both official and underground, for nearly one and a half decades.

Despite the ever-growing frequency of the camp theme, Osadchy's book reveals a new dimension in the characters and ideas of such leading dissident figures as S. Karavansky, V. Chornovil, Iu. Daniel and others. Thus Osadchy concentrates on the intelligentsia — the stratum with which he is most familiar. It is also noteworthy that, unlike Solzhenitsyn, who ascribes contemporary Soviet ills to Lenin and even Marxism, Osadchy does not attempt categorically to attribute the negative features of Soviet society to any single source. What is clear from Osadchy's exposition, however, is that he is writing in the spirit of the twentieth and twenty-second Party Congresses at which Stalin and his crimes were officially condemned. On the whole, **Cataract** is a work of considerable artistic and documentary value, and is an important contribution which rounds out the spectrum of Ukrainian **samvydav** writings.

While both the English and French translations cited above are well-rendered and highly readable, the English language edition translated by M. Carynnyk has certain advantages. Its footnotes are more extensive, providing abundant background information on all the personalities mentioned by the author. It contains, in addition, a useful appendix of documents showing other dissidents' defence of Osadchy, and updates Osadchy's own activities up to the time of his second arrest and imprisonment. The Ukrain-

ian Smoloskyp edition is particularly valuable for its inclusion of the author's prison and camp poems, not to be found in either the English or French editions.

When comparing the various Ukrainian editions of Osadchy's text, one version is particular is striking — for its ommissions.[3] Not only does it omit four-letter words, thereby detracting from the author's portrayal of the camp **pobut** and jargon, but it also leaves out ideas used to illustrate an argumentative point. Such, for instance, as the ommission about Lenin donating the sugar and clothing he was sent towards the upkeep of kindergartens in times of hardship.[4] This example is used by the author to point out the Party's double standards in advocating frugality, as did Lenin, yet issuing special food parcels to privileged Party members. It seems odd, that when a work is already banned from publication in its own country, a second form of censorship should be exercised on it in the West.

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3 The Ukrainian edition (as well as its English translation) published by Ukrainian Publishers Limited, London.

4 **Ibid.**, p. 23.

A POET OF THE THEATRE

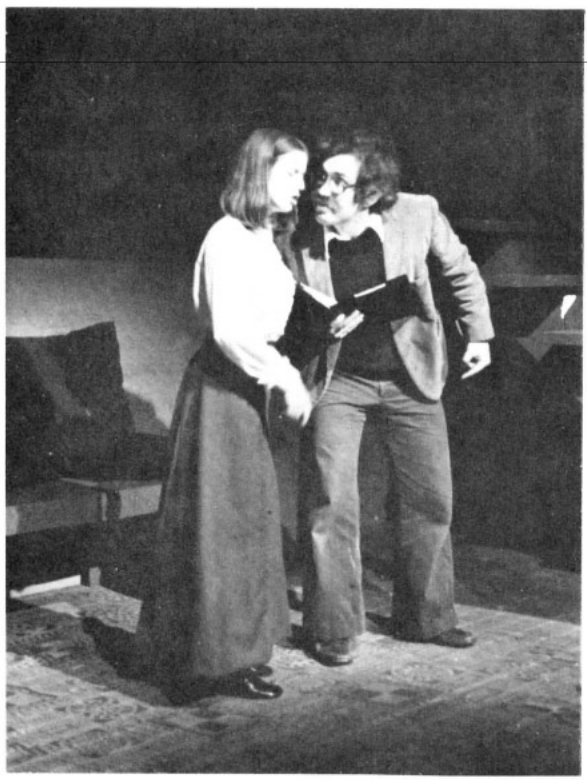
Mykola Kulish, **Sonata Pathetique.** Translated from Ukrainian by George S. N. and Moira Luckyj. Introduction by Ralph Lindheim. Littleton, Colorado: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1975. 110 pp.

Sonata Pathetique has not led a happy existence on stage, in print, or with critics. When Kulish submitted his play in 1929 to Les Kurbas, whose Berezil Theatre had inaugurated a new era in Ukrainian drama with its stagings of three of Kulish's previous plays, the Kharkiv Party censor refused to approve the play. Undaunted, Kulish then sent the play to Moscow where it was quickly translated into Russian by P. Zenkevich and submitted to Aleksandr Tairov's Kamernyi Teatr. The Moscow censor passed the play, and a production was mounted in December 1931. Seats were quickly sold out, and an article in **Pravda** in February 1932, signed by five leading critics, stated that the play was ideologically correct and, indeed, one of the best dramas of the season. A month later, however, **Pravda** published a severe censure of the **Sonata.** The pseudonymous author ("I. Ukrainets" — believed by some to be Lazar Kaganovich) attacked the play as fascist and nationalist, took to task the previous reviewers for their blindness, and concluded that "on the whole this play is not ours... It reflects a 'philosophy' of the Ukrainian national movement that is alien to the proletariat and to the Soviet state." Shortly after that the play was removed from performance.

But then Kulish himself did not have much luck either. Between his theatrical debut in 1924 and his exile to an Arctic labour camp in 1934 he wrote thirteen plays and one film script, half of which are now lost. And the plays that did reach the stage were each in turn banned by the censor. After his arrest Kulish's plays disappeared completely from stage and print, and his posthumous rehabilitation in the Khrushchev era was slow and incomplete. **Sonata Pathetique** was not performed in Ukraine until the late 1950s, and reviewers report that the productions were bowdlerized distortions.[1]

Yet the **Sonata** is one of the great dramatic texts of our time. Modelled on the rhythms and structure of Beethoven's Sonata in C Minor, Opus 13, the play has an almost musical ring in its

[1] V. Hakkebush (**Mystetstvo,** 1959, № 4, p. 31) noted that at a production in Odessa the theatre presented "its own stage version of **Sonata Pathetique**": scenes were omitted, new characters were added, and Hamar's final speech was rewritten.



Scenes from the production of Sonata Pathetique by the Center for the Study of Drama, University of Toronto, in April, 1974.

polyphonic interweaving of characters and themes. The action takes place in 1917 when three camps — the Bolsheviks, the White Russians, and the Ukrainian nationalists — are struggling for power throughout Ukraine. Bearing a more than coincidental resemblance to Greek drama, the play also owes much to the medieval Ukrainian **vertep,** or puppet theatre. But with the exception of a German translation by Friedrich Wolf, Zenkevich's Russian translation, and an excellent but little known essay by Iurii Sherekh, the **Sonata** has not had the attention it deserves.

Thus George and Moira Luckyj's Englishing of the play, in the "Ukrainian Classics in Translation" series, is triply welcome. It is the first translation of Kulish into English — indeed, one of the first translations of any Ukrainian drama — and it has already served as the text for an enthusiastic production by the Graduate Student Centre for the Study of Drama at the University of Toronto in April 1974. The new translation has also prompted an excellent essay by Ralph Lindheim which serves as the introduction to the volume. Although the piece bogs down at times in paraphrases of plot and psychological interpretations of characters, it neatly demolishes the demagogic nonsense that has been fulminated about the play from both Bolshevik and nationalist positions. The book has been nicely produced by the Ukrainian Academic Press, and the cover design by Myron Levytsky is not untypical of his work.

The translators of the **Sonata** had to face at the outset the textual difficulties that are so frequent in the work of repressed Soviet writers. Kulish apparently wrote several versions of his play, perhaps in an attempt to circumvent the censor. The play was badly cut, as Professor Luckyj explains in a translator's note, when it was first published under Nazi occupation in 1943 "to accomodate the German censorship." These cuts were not restored when the play was printed in an otherwise valuable collection of plays, letters, and memoirs published in New York in 1955.[2]

The Luckyjs, sensibly enough, have chosen to restore the earlier cuts from the recent Soviet publications, as well as to in-

[2] Mykola Kulish, **Tvory** (New York: UVAN, 1955). The **Sonata** was not included in the first selection of Kulish's writings to appear in the USSR after his rehabilitation: **P'iesy** (Kiev: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhnoi literatury, 1960), and the author of the introduction dismisses the play for "failing to show the wisdom of the Leninist nationalities policy, which the Bolshevik Party was struggling to establish." The **Sonata** had to wait for approval in the form of publication in Moscow: **Pateticheskaia sonata, Maklena grasa** (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1964). Only then did it appear in Ukrainian: **Tvory** (Kiev: Molod, 1968) and **P'iesy, lysty** (Kiev: Dnipro, 1969).

clude a scene omitted by that censorship, thus making their translation "the fullest available text." Yet they have made small but puzzling deletions in some of the stage directions and dialogues, and in some passages there are what I take to be slips of the pen. In I,6, for example, the hero Ilko is writing one of his many undelivered love letters to Maryna and announces to his friend Luka (in the New York, Moscow, and Kiev editions) that it is the "one hundred and thirty-first." The Luckyjs' text makes this "the one hundred and thirtieth" even though later in the same scene Luka mentions "the hundred and thirty earlier ones." In the next scene Andre Perotsky sends a telegram to announce that he is arriving from the front "pershoho nomerom shostym" — that is, on the first (of the month) on a number six (train). This becomes "on the first at six." Later in the same scene General Perotsky counts the rent he has received from Stupai-Stupanenko. Again, the New York, Moscow, and Kiev editions make the sum ten roubles and fifty kopecks, but in English this becomes "10 rubles and 15 kopeks."

In I,9 Maryna's remark, "zaporozhtsiv syla ta vse na velosypedakh," becomes "the Zaporozhians were all on motorbikes." In I,12 "Kometamy zdiimaiutsia rakety" is rendered as "Comet-like the stars shine." And a point is missed when "I tilky nyzko nad obriem vysyt blidyi poshcherblenyi serp misiatsia — rozpiatyi mifichnyi Khrystos" is translated as "Only low over the horizon there hangs under the crescent moon — the crucified Christ." There is too much modern psychiatry in the phrase "I am unbearably depressed" for it to render the old-fashioned woe of "Meni neimovirno vazhko." In III,3 a "skrynka" or "iashchyk" carried by Ovram, a demobilized soldier who has gone to work as a bootblack, becomes "a bag with brushes." IV,8 eliminates a stage direction about the lights going out, although in the next scene the Perotskys' maid holds a candle and General Perotsky asks on the telephone, "Why is there no electricity?"

In V,7 Kulish supplies a stage direction: "Za prostinkom bilia komutatora na taburetі Ovram." The Luckyjs eliminate the switchboard, although Ovram operates it throughout the scene, and change the stool to a sofa: "On the other side of the partition Ovram is sitting on a sofa." The stage business and dialogue in the rest of this scene are simplified, and "poklady torfu" become for some reason "deposits of coke" instead of "deposits of peat."

In the final scene, when Ilko has admitted that he betrayed the Bolsheviks and Luka tells him that he will be tried in the morning, Luka leaves Ilko in the Perotskys' flat and "closes the door" ("zamykaie dveri"). Ukrainian dialects often use "zamykaty" to mean "to close," of course, but Kulish no doubt had the

standard meaning of the word in mind: the door is **locked** to prevent Ilko from escaping.

The Luckyjs have been admirably spare with their footnotes. We are told quite concisely who Mazepa, Khmelnytsky, and Panteleimon Kulish were, and references to national flags and crests are explained. This is acceptable in a printed text, but it will not serve in a translation for the stage. What we need here, I think, are hidden footnotes, references written into the text which will present the necessary information as neatly as possible. When Maryna describes her dream (II,3) of two rusty locks hanging on a gate, one with a white eagle and one with a two-headed eagle, Kulish's audiences immediately grasped the reference to the crests of Poland and Imperial Russia. In English the explanation has to be worked into the text, for example: "The dream: two rusty locks hang on a gate, one with the white Polish eagle and the other with the two-headed eagle of Russia." After all, if Kulish's play is to assume anything except a scholarly significance, it has got to transcend the immediate and local references. Chekhov gets along quite nicely without footnotes: what needs to be explained is explained in context.

But these are quibbles — and sometimes arguable quibbles at that. A more substantial question is raised by the translators' handling of the tone of the play, its dramatic fibre. Like all great poetry — and Kulish was above all a poet of the theatre — **Sonata Pathetique** requires from its translator an effort "to make it new," to devise a new set of formal equivalents. In speaking about translations of Yiddish poetry into English, Irving Howe has discussed what he calls "the higher rhetorical charge" of Yiddish and the need for translators to mute, soften, and tone down its pathos.[3] His remarks are fully applicable to Ukrainian, I think, not because of linguistic affinities between Yiddish and Ukrainian (although these too can be found), but because of shared cultural assumptions. Like Yiddish, Ukrainian seems more rhetorically charged than English, particularly the English of the post-modernist era. Ukrainian writers — and Kulish is not an exception — like to cosset their nouns with beautiful, but sometimes rather empty epithets. The Luckyjs, to their credit, have pruned away these folkloric clinging vines. Their version is in many places simpler, less adorned, and — for the North-American reader — more effective than the original. This flattening of Kulish's Gogolian rhetoric permits them to follow more closely the swoops and dives of his thought.

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[3] "Translating from Yiddish." In **The World of Translation** (New York: P.E.N. American Center, 1971), p. 138.

At times, however, the translation is insipid or even awkwardly un-English. The diction is too often old-fashioned academese, slightly tightened up. We are given a surfeit of accuracy where a freer rendition is needed to capture the jokes, the puns, and the lyricism — the essential tone, in short. When Zinka, who makes ends meet by receiving gentlemen callers, puts up a sign announcing that "Z nahody Velykodnia vizyteriv ne pryimaiu," the Luckyjs translate almost word for word: "Because it is Easter I do not receive guests." Now I simply can't imagine a Canadian or American whore saying that (differences in the importance of Easter aside). She **could** say: "No visitors received on account of Easter," or perhaps: "I am not receiving guests on account of Easter."

Sex, slang, and obscenity, in fact, present particular problems to the translator, and I am not entirely happy with the Luckyjs' handling of Kulish's salty humour. The conventions of obscenity and frankness are different in Ukrainian and English. Badly — that is, literally — translated, obscenity falls flat on its face. It has to be translated by convention rather than by words. When Stupai-Stupanenko says (I,13): "Hekh, suchoi ty mamy sviataia Rus, harbuz tobi teper u tvii tovstyi derzhavnyi zad!" it will simply not do to render this as "Holy Russia, you daughter of a bitch, we'll kick your big fat backside now."

The whole line is flat and difficult for an actor to deliver effectively, whereas the original line is rhythmical, alliterative, and above all pungent. "Daughter of a bitch" is not English. "Son of a bitch" certainly is, but since the personification rules out a masculine form, the translator must find an equivalent convention, and I would argue that "goddamn bitch" or even "fucking bitch" is not too strong — at least on the contemporary North-American stage, but in the classroom too — to convey the blasphemy in Stupai-Stupanenko's oath. Nor is "backside" satisfactory. Convention prevented Kulish from using anything coarser than "zad," but its dictionary equivalent, "backside," is so neutral and defused that even kindergarten teachers use it. Here too the translator has got, I think, to switch to something cruder — "ass," for example. This still leaves the problem of the untranslated idiom "daty harbuza" — to rebuff a suitor by offering him a pumpkin — and of the sexual connotation. My own tentative suggestion for this line is, "Holy Mother Russia, you goddamn bitch, we'll send you packing with a pumpkin up your big fat ass!" Or even (to catch the political note in "derzhavnyi zad"): "with a pumpkin up your chauvinistic ass!" Crude and vulgar, but it might work on stage; it might bring Stupai-Stupanenko to life as the sad and funny character that Kulish intended him to be.

There is a similar difficulty in I,6 when Ilko, the romantic dreamer, talks to Luka, the practical Bolshevik, about Petrarch and eternal love. He hears music in the distance and envisions himself "racing on horseback through the steppes in search of the land of eternal love" while his beloved Maryna stands at a window. „Her left brow is raised a little, as if her blue eyes are smiling. Tell me, wind or stars, will the girl go out to meet him, will she open the doors, the beautiful gates to the land of eternal love? (Half-crying and half-laughing) Guess, Luka..." (The plural "doors" and "gates," by the way, have been mechanically carried over from the Ukrainian, which always uses these nouns in the plural. English will probably be satisfied with singulars here.) Luka's answer is direct and piquant: "Na te u divchat i voritsia, shchob ikh odchyniaty." Now I don't know how to translate that, but I am convinced that it is not enough to render this, as the Luckyjs do, with the mild and generalized phrase, "The gates are there to be opened." Even if the translator can't idiomatically convey the diminutive "voritsia" (little gate), he has to be aware of the sexual joke and to find an equivalent for it.

Lest I be accused of an obsession with sex and obscenity, let me point out that these low colloquial anti-climaxes are an essential element of Kulish's dramaturgy. This was noted by Nelli Kornienko in one of the few intelligent articles about Kulish to appear in the Soviet Union. Discussing **Otak Zahynuv Huska** ("How Huska Perished"), she shows how thoroughly theatrical Kulish's method is:

Куліш пише соковитими побутовими мазками. Створюється враження, що подекуди він ніби пародіює прийоми важкої побутової комедії... З одного боку, це допомагає відтворити картину інтимності створеного світу з його показною лагідністю та люб'язністю, світу, де „жодне слово не починається з великої літери", де все стандартне — думки, почуття, слова суфікси. З другого боку, таке нагромадження побутових деталей допомагає викриттю способом пародії банальної української мелодрами, що мала на той час (і, на жаль, незаслужено має подекуди й зараз) монополію на кону...

Манера Куліша — це спосіб його впливу на глядача, спосіб захопити його, розмовляти з його інстинктом, підсвідомістю, крім розмови з власне інтелектом. Тому на відміну від драматургів літературних, Куліш дуже театральний. Його п'єси як старовинні скриньки. З секретом. І цей секрет незрозумілий читачеві. Він може відкритися лише глядачеві, як складовий чинник творчої методи [sic] Миколи Куліша уже на сцені.

Kornienko applies her insight to a scene where Huska, a demagogic philistine, gives vent to his resentment of the Bolsheviks:

„Гуска, товариші, вас передихає, його величества колезький секретар і Російської імперії обиватель Гуска-с! Тому громадянином мені стало гірше і я увесь проти! Я мишка, сіренька мишка, але я... множачись, намножу насіння мого... Поточу ваш чортів соціалізм і, помщаючись, помщуся на вас — невкоснительно-с!.. Мерзавці! Ви в Росії трон конфіскували, а в мене плюшовее крісло, сімнадцять рублів заплатив тисяча дев'ятсот четвертого року в магазині Коппа. Навколіна! На шибениці! Усіх перевішаю!

Unable to resist his own surge of bathos, Huska begins to sing the tsarist anthem, "Bozhe, tsaria khrani." Instead of reaching for an even higher note, Kulish brings in an abrupt anti-climax by attacking the soft underbelly of his character. The stage direction is deceptively simple:

„Та захоплення збурило живіт. Схопився за його рукою. Скинув пояс. І поліз у кущі.

And Kornienko comments:

Це приклад того, що в системі Курбаса дістало назву образного перетворення, тобто такого художнього засобу, за допомогою якого можна максимально показати прихований смисл певної реальності. Перетворення — це сценічний знак, що розкриває суть явища.

Отже, Гуска зняв пояс і поліз у кущі. Ось гідний кінець філософської програми обивателя Гуски.

На метафорі, гіперболі, гротескові зосереджено увагу митця в пошуках засобів художньої виразності. Сатирична викривальна тенденція, безумовно, переважає над комічно-розважальною.[4]

Kulish's awareness of the extra-verbal (partly learned from Kurbas, I expect) places an additional stricture on the translator, who must have a flair for what is left unsaid — what is merely implied — so that he can adequately render what is said. Even translations that read admirably on paper often seem dull and ponderous in performance. Like Ostap Vyshnia's feuilletons, which derive much of their humour from a counterpoint of standard

[4] "Vohon i popil," **Vitchyzna**, 1968, № 8, pp. 159-165.

and substandard Ukrainian and which must be heard to be appreciated, so Kulish's play must be heard and seen on the stage.

No translator is ever completely satisfied with other translators' renditions, of course, but I hope there is no faint hum of axes being ground here. My objections to the Luckyjs' translation of the **Sonata** can be explained, I believe, by the present domination of academic theory. Until the nineteenth century, say, there was no invidious distinction between "original" work and translation. When Pope translated the **Iliad,** he had no thought that his translation was in any way less valuable than his own poetry, and in this he seems to have had the agreement of his contemporaries. The reasons for the current unfavourable contrast between original work and translation are the Romantic cult of the "original genius" and the emergence of professional scholarship with its own positivist and literalist theory of translation.

With the exceptions I have noted, George and Moira Luckyj's translation of **Sonata Pathetique** is, in a perfectly honourable sense, an accurate trot for the specialist. But it is not yet a play in English; it does not have an assimilable form. A certain gaiety, a dancing movement, is more important than unresponsive exactitude. The positivist translator is satisfied when he has expressed what he believes to be "the author's ideas" with a minimum of misinterpretation. But in poetry there is no such thing as an abstract meaning divorced from the form. The poetic principle is of such an intimate and private nature that to violate it is also to destroy the secret core of the work.

If the poles of contemporary translation practice are the crib and the radical Englishing, extreme slavery and extreme freedom — Nabokov's literalism and Lowell's imitations, to make these remarks concrete — then the goal here should be more Lowell and less Nabokov. George Steiner has remarked that the classic wanes to the status of the academic or falls silent unless it is reappropriated by translation, unless the living poet examines and affirms its relevance to the current idiom.[5] Kulish has been kept silent so long that we cannot risk making him academic.

Translations of Ukrainian literature can serve a vital purpose — and I am being so prickly about this because I want to believe that they can serve such a purpose — only if they are made and read **as literature** and not as documents of an obscure place and time or as cribs to a difficult language. Having done their best in transposing Kulish into English, the Luckyjs now need an op-

[5] George Steiner (ed.), **The Penguin Book of Modern Verse Translation** (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966).

portunity to submit their text to the rigorous criticisms of the poet and also of the actor, producer, musician, and even choreographer, for each of these can contribute of his craft to a more congenial realization of Kulish's talent. The problems, after all, are not greater than those that the translator of Greek drama faces. If Aristophanes can work on the English-speaking stage, so too can Kulish. Is it really impractical to dream that his greatest plays — **The People's Malachii, Sonata Pathetique, Maklena Grasa,** and even the "untranslatable" **Myna Mazailo** — will see the footlights again?

M. C.

PRESS RELEASE

THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Manoly R. Lupul

A. Introduction

Early in January 1974, with a combination of community effort and some financial assistance from the Government of Alberta, five Ukrainian kindergartens enrolling nearly one hundred children opened in Edmonton's public and separate schools. In September of the same year approximately 125 children entered the first English-Ukrainian bilingual Grade I classes in the same school systems. Now (April 1976) there are 154 pupils in kindergarten and 218 in Grades I and II. The only program of its kind in North America, its extension beyond Grade III is practically assured. The program's success, coupled with the fact that Ukrainian is being taught as a language of study in the school systems of four Canadian provinces, raised the entire question of the future of Ukrainian studies at all levels (the colleges and universities included) and how universities, and especially the University of Alberta in whose environs the above bilingual program has been developed, might best help to improve the conditions under which all Ukrainian studies are being conducted in Canada.

The concern is not a new one nor has it been confined to Alberta. But in recent years it is in the latter province that the most concerted drive has been made to establish an institution to coordinate Ukrainian studies there and elsewhere in Canada. In April 1971, for example, a request for a "Ukrainian Studies Centre at the University of Alberta" was submitted to the government of Premier Strom in a brief by Edmonton's Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club, in keeping with the recommendation in Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, **The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups,** that "Canadian universities expand their studies in the field of the humanities and the social sciences relating to particular areas other than those related to the English and French languages" (p. 229).

> Such programmes [the Commission explained] are complex and costly; they should probably be concentrated in relatively few universities, where high standards could be achieved with the resources available. There are many factors to be considered in determining which university should institute

> a particular programme. One important factor might well be a concentration of people, in the region where the university is located, whose ethnic origin corresponds to the area of study (p. 167).

With the demographic base existent (in 1971 the Ukrainians in Alberta and Edmonton were 8.32 and 13.34 per cent of the population respectively), early in March 1974 the national executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation, then in Edmonton, recognized the demonstrated community need and, anticipating the future, adopted as its main project the establishment of a Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta — one which would also meet the needs of Ukrainian studies in Canada as a whole. A meeting with the Cabinet committee on education of the Government of Alberta was held and it was agreed that if the academics in Ukrainian studies in Canada saw merit in the idea and were willing to cooperate to make the Institute a success, the Hon. James Foster, Minister of Advanced Education, would entertain a general proposal from the Federation.

A two-day "National Conference on Ukrainian Academic Studies" was organized by the national Ukrainian Canadian Committee on 6-7 April 1974 in Winnipeg, attended by approximately fifty academics engaged in Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian studies in Canada. The state of both areas was examined and future directions in education, language, literature, history, the social sciences, and the fine arts were canvassed. The Conference, the first of its kind, welcomed the opportunity to coordinate plans and activities in order to achieve the most effective use of all available resources among the various programs of Ukrainian studies in Canada. To this end, it endorsed unanimously the Federation's initiative to create an Institute which would coordinate and support such studies with public funds and also provide a focus for private donations through a foundation.

On 11 April 1974 the Federation submitted a proposal to Mr. Foster and on 4 November 1975 the Hon. Albert E. Hohol, the new Minister of Advanced Education, informed Mr. Peter Savaryn, member of the University of Alberta's Board of Governors and Senate and former member of the Federation's executive (in May 1975 the latter was transferred to Winnipeg for a two-year term), that the Government of Alberta had approved the establishment of the Institute and invited representatives of the Federation (the latter's standing committee on education, based in Edmonton) to work with President Gunning to prepare a detailed proposal for consideration by government. With the Univer-

sity aware of the government's approval of financial support in principle, Dr. Myer Horowitz, Vice-President (Academic) appointed an **ad hoc** committee consisting of Drs. Evans, Gulutsan, Monod, and Priestly and chaired by the writer of this paper to prepare a detailed proposal for consideration by appropriate University bodies. General Faculties Council approved the proposal on 26 April and the Institute will be operational by 1 July 1976.

B. Nature of the Institute

The nature of the Institute can best be understood under the following headings: (1) purposes or objectives, (2) program development, (3) research and publications, (4) other activities, (5) financial support, (6) structure, and (7) relationship to the Division of East European and Soviet Studies.

1. Purposes and objectives

The Institute will have the following purposes and objectives:

a) to encourage program development in Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian studies at the undergraduate and graduate levels;

b) to serve as a resource centre for English-Ukrainian bilingual education, improving existing programs (including the preparation of teachers) and encouraging their development elsewhere;

c) to encourage research on Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian subjects by graduate students, university academic staff, other scholars with a respectable record of publications, and research assistants on contract to the Institute;

d) to encourage publication of (1) research on Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian subjects, (2) paperback reprints of out-of-print and other books, and (3) notable master's and doctoral theses in paperback, particularly on Ukrainian Canadians, for use specifically as educational textbooks;

e) to serve as a national, inter-university clearing house for Ukrainian studies in Canada to facilitate coordination in program development (especially at the graduate level) and to avoid duplication in research and publications;

f) to assist in the establishment of creative contacts among professors, scholars, writers, scientists, and librarians by promoting and organizing meetings, seminars, lectures, conferences, and tours.

2. Program Development

Ukrainian studies are presently housed mainly in departments of Slavic languages and literatures. Very few universities offer courses in Ukrainian history, sovietology (post-revolutionary political and ideological developments in Ukraine), the historical development and present situation of Ukrainians in Canada, and the teaching of Ukrainian as a second language at the elementary and secondary school levels. The Institute will endeavor to increase enrolments in existing Ukrainian courses in Slavic departments, especially at the senior undergraduate and graduate levels. It will also encourage the development of undergraduate courses in faculties of arts in Ukrainian language, literature, history, sovietology, the history of Ukrainians in Canada, and of Ukrainian curriculum and instruction (methods) courses in faculties of education, wherever the demographic base and local interest and initiative warrants it.

At the University of Alberta, the undergraduate and graduate course offerings in the Department of Slavic Languages are extensive and the Institute's primary concern will be to increase enrolments. The Department of History offers four half-courses in Ukrainian history and one half-course on "The History of Ethnic Settlement in Canada," which, given sufficient enrolment, may be taught as the history of Ukrainians in Canada. During the winter semester (1976), the writer offered it as such to fifteen students, including two auditors. As the Institute attracts graduate students to the various departments, a graduate course in both areas may need to be introduced by the Department of History.

The most pressing needs at the moment in Ukrainian studies at the University of Alberta are in the Faculty of Education and the Department of Political Science. In the former, it is urgent that a specialist who knows Ukrainian well be appointed to help prepare future teachers of Ukrainian if the English-Ukrainian bilingual program currently being developed in Edmonton is not to suffer from a lack of qualified teachers. Teaching materials too are badly needed and the appointee will work closely with the Ukrainian curricular assistant in Alberta's Department of Education and with specialists in other provinces to ensure that the materials produced incorporate the most recent principles, findings, and techniques of second-language learning. The appointee will teach two full curriculum and instruction courses (one for secondary, the other for elementary school teachers), supervise student teachers, hold in-service sessions, help prepare teaching materials, and generally provide the necessary leadership for English-Ukrainian bilingual education in and outside Alberta. The

Institute will meet one-third of the appointee's salary. The Institute director's special assistant, based in the Department of Slavic Languages, will assist the Faculty of Education appointee as required.

In political science, the appointment of a specialist on Soviet Ukraine is also urgent to complement the offerings in the Department of History. In 1976-77, the Institute may have to meet the need through a visiting professorship, covering two-thirds of the visitor's salary. The goal for 1977-78 is a permanent appointment on terms mutually satisfactory to the Department of Political Science and the Institute. A full-fledged Institute will also need access to personnel knowledgeable in the changing social patterns among Ukrainians in Canada (Department of Sociology); Ukrainian church history, rite, and traditions (Department of Religious Studies); Ukrainian ethnography, arts, and customs (Departments of Anthropology, Music, Art, Drama); and economics of Soviet Ukraine (Department of Economics). The Institute, at least initially, will aid departments to meet such needs through visiting professorships. Staff members with joint appointments will be evaluated according to existing University procedures.

The Institute's own particular specialization at the University of Alberta will be the study of Ukrainian Canadians, with particular emphasis on the preparation of personnel knowledgeable in Ukrainian studies complemented by East European, Soviet and/or Canadian studies, and capable of meeting the growing needs of school systems, supplementary schools, faculties of education, university departments, departments of education, other government departments (e.g., culture, secretary of state), and the Ukrainian-Canadian community as a whole.

As already noted, the needs at the kindergarten and elementary school levels are particularly pressing. To this end, a major function of the Institute will be to coordinate efforts to prepare and publish suitable teaching materials for all grades, with special attention initially to the pre-school and elementary levels. The Institute itself, however, will only rarely underwrite the total costs of publishing teaching materials specifically for school use, though many of its publications will undoubtedly be useful acquisitions for school libraries, particularly for students in the senior grades.

The Institute will offer no courses or degree programs, apart from a non-credit interdisciplinary seminar in Ukrainian studies — eight to twelve sessions per year by invited (and local) specialists for interested staff and students. Otherwise, the main concern of the Institute in program development will be to strengthen and expand department-based programs at the University of

Alberta and, where the demographic base is sufficient, to encourage department-based Ukrainian studies at other universities — and to coordinate them so as to avoid unnecessary duplication especially at the graduate level and where research and publications are concerned. The Institute will thus have a major inter-university function at the graduate level, as well as a specific undergraduate and graduate orientation of its own, namely, the study of Ukrainians in their Canadian context. As part of its program-development function, the Institute will provide annually ten undergradute scholarships worth $1,500 each for an eight-month period of study at any Canadian university to deserving (i.e., able) students interested in an undergraduate degree with concentration in Ukrainian studies (at least five full courses in Ukrainian language and literature, Eastern European, Soviet, and/or Canadian studies in a three-year program and eight in a four-year Arts or Education program). The amount will cover tuition fees and subsidize the cost of room and board beginning in the first year where financial aid at present is minimal or non-existent. Scholarships of $500 to students residing at home will increase the number of scholarships available.

3. Research and Publications

The Institute will encourage research by providing research fellowships for master's students (M.A. and M.Ed.) and dissertation fellowships for doctoral students (Ph.D.). A student in any Canadian university may apply for either fellowship subject to four conditions:

a) that the applicant has been accepted into a graduate program;
b) that the thesis is on a Ukrainian-Canadian or Ukrainian topic;
c) that the topic is manageable and does not duplicate one already investigated;
d) that the student has a competent supervisor who indicates in writing a willingness to supervise the study.

The Institute will offer, on a competitive basis, research grants to academics and other qualified scholars in all fields of Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian studies. Procedures established by the Canada Council will be followed, and applicants will be encouraged to obtain a portion of their funding from the same Council or their respective institutions. While the Institute will not assume responsibility for the publication of resulting manuscripts, it will retain the option to do so. The quality of submissions will be of greatest importance, and at least two to

three years may be needed to evaluate the results of the research and publications program.

In addition to projects originating externally, the Institute will initiate research and publications in three particular priority areas:

a) An "Alberta Library in Ukrainian-Canadian Studies," a series of paperback works (monographs, theses, collections of documents, and memoirs) dealing with all aspects of Ukrainian life in Canada, past and present. High on the list of possible publications are W. Chumer's **Spomyny** (Memoirs) (1942), Senator Paul Yuzyk's theses on the Ukrainian Catholic (1948) and Orthodox (1958) churches, C. H. Young, **The Ukrainian Canadians** (1931), Vera Lysenko's novel, **Yellow Boots** (1954), and Frances Swyripa's master's thesis, "Ukrainian Canadian Historiography in the English Language: A Survey" (University of Alberta, 1976).

On still another level, is the "Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1971," edited by Dr. William Darcovich of Ottawa, with data on every aspect of Ukrainian life in Canada.

The most important long-range priority will be the first comprehensive and analytical history of the Ukrainians in Canada (perhaps in several volumes) based on numerous monographs utilizing hitherto largely untapped sources, many (such as the newspapers) in the Ukrainian language.

b) University-level textbooks and anthologies generally, especially important as the Canada Council is unable to fund the preparation and publication of such teaching materials.

c) Research in Ukrainian intellectual history with special reference to the evolution of modern Ukrainian social thought. This will entail the translation and editing of representative nineteenth and twentieth century Ukrainian philosophers, social and literary critics and publicists, and the preparation of analytical studies. At present, the achievements of Ukrainian social thinkers are unknown to Western students while in the Soviet Union the subject is also neglected outside the framework of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The first two works in this series — tentatively entitled the "Alberta Library of Ukrainian Studies" — will be a collection of interpretative essays on crucial problems in Ukrainian history and a general anthology of modern Ukrainian social and political thought.

The Institute's competitive research grants will be available only to citizens or landed immigrants in Canada. For its own research projects, the Institute will draw on all available talent, Canadian and non-Canadian.

To help meet the above priorities, it is conceivable that within a year of opening, the Institute may enter into contracts with two or more fulltime research assistants, with no administrative responsibilities. The latter would be individuals with at least a master's degree and a demonstrated capacity for research.

In its first year, the Institute will undertake a detailed survey of the instructors, students, and non-academics in Ukrainian studies, including the research underway, the research which has been completed (both published and unpublished), and the special interests and competencies of interested scholars in Canada. In this way, the major gaps and needs will be identified and more confident future directions established. The comprehensive survey will be catalogued and updated annually. It will constitute an integral part of the Institute's inter-university, clearing house function to prevent duplication and encourage research and publication in a systematic and disciplined manner so as to meet the most pressing needs.

To the same end, early in 1977 the Institute will hold an inter-university workshop specifically to assess the study of Ukrainians in Canada in terms of what has been done, what still needs to be done, and what should be the future priorities in research and publication. Unlike the topical conference on the same subject (to be discussed later), the focal point will be a critical analysis of the state of Ukrainian-Canadian studies by academics in various disciplines. Highly specialized, the workshop, unlike the conference, will have little general interest and will not be open to the public. Substantial financial support under the federal government's multicultural program could be expected for the workshop and conference. A comparable workshop on Ukrainian Studies **per se** will follow in 1977-78.

In the first year, the funds at the Institute's disposal for research and publication will be less than usual because of the need to support the well-developed research and publication project headed by Professor George Luckyj of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Toronto. The project includes two paperback volumes (300 pp. and 228 pp.) and a four-vollme paperback series (former hard-cover publications now out-of-print, 500 pp.), and an "Anthology of Ukrainian Dissent" (500 pp.), edited by Professor Bohdan Bociurkiw of Carleton University. As many volumes will be published as the annual subsidy furnished by the Institute for printing, publicity,

storage, distribution, and administration will permit. Agreements with publishers (including university presses) will be negotiated on a competitive basis to ensure that the Institute's "Publications Fund" will receive a portion of the net proceeds from sales.

A significant aspect of Professor Luckyj's publication plans is a semi-annual Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies, the first issue to appear in the fall of 1976. Between 80-100 pages in length, it will contain notable seminar papers and correspondence, dissertation abstracts, and parts of theses in English, Ukrainian, or French.

A major research and publication project, long-range in nature, which the Institute will help to subsidize, is already underway at Sarcelles (near Paris), France, directed jointly by Professor Volodymyr Kubijovyc, editor-in-chief, and Professor Luckyj, his Canadian associate responsible for the English translation. The goal is to publish the alphabetical encyclopedia on Ukraine, of which seven volumes have already appeared in Ukrainian and two more are on the drawing board, in a four-volume English version, each volume approximately 800 pages in length. In view of Professor Kubijovyc's age (he is already seventy-five), it is important to free him from the onerous task of fund-raising through an annual subsidy so that he might devote his entire time and energies to have the first English volume published by 1980 or sooner and subsequent volumes annually thereafter.

The actual funding of the publication of the four-volume work will be by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Foundation, incorporated by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation in May 1975 to aid the Institute. The Foundation has a four-man executive based in Toronto (Mr. W. Tarnopolsky is president) and a Board of Directors with regional, academic, and Federation representation. The four-volume alphabetical English encyclopedia would be a valuable updated supplement to the topical, two-volume **Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia,** published by the University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian National Association in the United States in 1963 and 1971, with Professor Kubijovyc as editor-in-chief. The funds allocated for the Toronto and Sarcelles projects are for 1976-77 only, and may be decreased or increased in subsequent years.

At the University of Ottawa a modest fund exists to pursue a distinctive program of Ukrainian studies growing out of its strategic location in the nation's capital with its Parliamentary Library, National Museum of Man, and the Ethnic Achives currently being developed by the National Library. The Institute will assist Ottawa's research and publication efforts out of its own research and publication funds.

4. Other Activities

Among the Institute's other activities will be the following:

a) A newsletter containing information about the Institute's main activities, major events in the development of Ukrainian studies in Canada with special emphasis on university programs available, the most recent publications and research underway in Canada (and in the United States by Canadians on Ukrainian topics or by Canadians and Americans on Ukrainian-Canadian subjects), including theses and dissertations.

b) Either a Ukrainian Studies Summer School course organized by the University of Alberta's Special Sessions or periodic in-service sessions organized by the Institute, both primarily for teachers of Ukrainian. Those who attend special sessions for credit towards a degree do not have the same problem of incentive as do degreed teachers invited to attend refresher courses or in-service classes. The latter will require per diems, which the Institute will furnish. Wherever possible, the Institute will endeavor to organize special sessions in other provinces and provide realistic financial incentives to maximize attendance.

c) A conference in March 1977 on Ukrainian Canadians using the topical approach with papers in politics, economics, education, history, sociology, etc. The conference will be open to the public and the Institute will publish the proceedings. As noted earlier, substantial financial support for such a conference could be expected from the federal government's multicultural program.

Subsequent conferences (one every three years perhaps) will be held intermittently with an annual distinguished visiting speakers' program (at least two per year, perhaps in November and March) on current or historical topics. The March speaker could double as the annual Shevchenko lecturer. As each would speak from a prepared text, each year's series will be published as the Institute's 'Occasional Papers.' The series, like the seminar, would acquaint specialists in Ukrainian studies with the work of the Institute. It would differ from the seminar in that it would be open to the public.

d) Library acquisitions through special purchases in the original or on microfilm of the most essential books, periodicals, newspapers, and outstanding collections. One of the most imperative, immediate needs is to make

Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers like the **Canadian Farmer, Ranok, Ukrainian Voice, Ukrainian News, New Pathway** and their annual almanacs available on microfilm. The Institute will raise the matter with the Canadian Library Association and provide a subsidy for microfilming, if necessary. The long-range intention would be to develop a library at the University of Alberta containing the most valuable materials published about Ukrainians in Canada and Ukraine. The Institute will also aim to develop a modest reading reference or resource room (which could double as a seminar room) to house the main periodicals and basic reference works.

e) Student travel bursaries for four to six weeks of graduate study in Ukraine or for research in such centres related to Ukrainian-Canadian or Ukrainian life as Vienna, Istanbul, Munich, Paris, Brussels, and Rome. With the recent Canada-USSR treaty, scientific and scholarly contacts come under the umbrella of the Canadian government and the Institute will explore the benefits to be derived for academic staff and students under the agreement. Although access to documents in the Communist bloc may be difficult, the Institute will endeavor to establish the status of primary source materials bearing on Ukrainians in the pre-revolutionary period, especially in the matter of emigration to Canada.

5. Financial Support

To ensure that the Institute has a permanent support base within the University of Alberta budget, the Government of Alberta has accepted the responsibility of committing annually to the Institute that percentage which the Institute's budget for the academic year 1976-77 will bear to the total University operating grant for the academic year 1976-77. Moreover, to ensure continuity the grant to the Institute will be without term and deposited in a separate trust account administered through the University comptroller's office. Monies unspent in any academic year will remain in the Institute's account. The Institute will not be penalized for good management either through its refusal to support mediocre projects or by keeping a careful eye on costs. But as funds cannot accumulate indefinitely, there will be a thorough review of the financial situation after three full years of operation. The latter would be in addition to the usual review of the director's tenure, according to the University's normal review procedures.

6. Structure

As an academic institution, the Institute will be an integral part of the University. Although it itself will offer no courses for credit, members of its staff will teach in University departments. Moreover, the Institute will provide expertise in the preparation of materials for use in university, college, and public school teaching. While it is true that its inter-departmental and inter-university functions do not fit easily into the University of Alberta's existing structure, it is also true that if they did, there would be no need for an Institute.

The Institute will be in charge of a director appointed by the Board of Governors, on the recommendation of the vice-president (academic) after consultation with the Institute's Advisory Council. The director will be responsible to the president through the associate vice-president (academic) and hold a one-third teaching appointment in a University department. Should a dean of interdisciplinary studies be appointed, the Institute would come under the latter's supervision.

The director will have a special assistant, also with a one-third teaching appointment in a department. The assistant will carry out administrative and individual research and publication responsibilities and, as indicated, assist the Faculty of Education appointee as required. There will be two non-salaried associate directors, one at the University of Alberta specifically responsible for research and the other at the University of Toronto specifically responsible for publications. The term of the associate directors will be determined by the director in consultation with the Advisory Council, with the vice-president (academic) kept duly informed. Each associate director will have a full-time assistant with an M.A. or Ph.D. degree but no academic rank. The term of the director will be reviewable and renewable after five years; that of the associate directors (also reviewable and renewable) will terminate with the director's term. The director's review will follow normal University review procedures; that of the associate directors will be by the director and the Institute's Advisory Council. The relationship between the director and associate director in Edmonton will be such that one of the two will always be specifically responsible for research **and** publication in Ukrainian-Canadian studies.

The Advisory Council of the Institute will consist of the director, the two associate directors, a library specialist in Slavic Studies, and representatives (one each) for renewable terms of three years' duration from the Division of East European and Soviet Studies, the Department of Slavic Languages, the Depart-

ment of Elementary (or Secondary) Education, the Department of History, the Department of Political Science, and such other departments as may offer courses in Ukrainian studies. The director's special assistant will function as the Council's secretary with the right to participate in deliberations but not to vote. While the associate director in Toronto will not be expected to attend all Council meetings, he will be kept fully informed through the minutes and by the director as necessary. Ex-officio members of Council will be the president of the Conference on Ukrainian Studies of the Canadian Association of Slavists and the president of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Foundation.

In view of the Institute's inter-university function, the Advisory Council will establish a national body, known as Associates of the Institute, who will consist of all full professors or the most senior personnel engaged in Ukrainian studies at a particular university. The Associates will meet annually at the Learned Societies in conjunction with the Conference on Ukrainian Studies of the Canadian Association of Slavists, or more frequently at the discretion of the director.

7. Relationship of the Institute to the Division of East European and Soviet Studies (University of Alberta)

The Institute and the Division will complement each other. Although it will be the main function of the Institute to encourage and develop Ukrainian-Canadian and Ukrainian studies, it should be obvious that occupationally it would not be wise to encourage most students to become Ukrainian specialists **per se** without supporting courses dealing with eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and/or Canada, depending on the nature of the thesis interest. Where a notation of specialization in East European and Soviet Studies is desired, consultation with the Division of East European and Soviet Studies will be required. When in the students' best interests, the Institute will direct them to seek the notation.

C. Some Policy Considerations

Finally, to dispel any illusions that everyone at the University of Alberta welcomed the Institute with open arms, it might be well to quote the section on policy considerations:

> The proposed Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, being unique in several respects, poses several policy considerations which need to be examined. The first is whether an institution which has not only an inter-disciplinary component, but inter-faculty and inter-university dimensions

should be established at the University of Alberta. In attempting to answer this question it is well to recognize that human activities — or at least most of the most worthwhile ones — do not fall neatly into little compartments but cross disciplines as easily as they do provincial boundaries. It is therefore no easier to confine Ukrainian studies to one or two disciplines than it is to confine French, British, or Native studies; nor is it wise to isolate them from comparable developments elsewhere.

Moreover, in their practical form as applied scholarship oriented towards the Ukrainian-Canadian community, Ukrainian studies at the University of Alberta would have to carry the added inter-faculty burden of subsidizing the publication of suitable texts for university use and strengthening not only the as yet tender elementary English-Ukrainian bilingual program in Edmonton's schools but the teaching of Ukrainian as a second language in the junior and senior high schools. Leadership in such matters as the methods and techniques of instruction, the preparation of suitable teaching materials, and information about the cultural context of both is clearly needed and the Institute would help to furnish it. With government funds for the establishment of the Institute available in principle, and with both a community need and a need for research, knowledge, and publications clearly demonstrated, there is every reason why the University of Alberta should welcome the proposed Institute.

But should Ukrainian studies really be encouraged to the extent envisaged? For a culturally pluralistic society in a multicultural era the answer would appear to be self-evident. Ukrainian studies have been promoted by a significant portion of the community in Alberta and elsewhere for decades. Ukrainian Canadians, who are without meaningful contacts with Ukraine and whose predicament as a minority facing the twin perils of Russification abroad and Anglo-Americanization at home is well known, should hardly be expected to settle for slogans and clichés on the crucial question of survival as an ethnocultural group. Moreover, the encouragement of Ukrainian studies through the Institute might well be multiculturalism's severest test, for if the survival-conscious Ukrainian Canadians fail to exploit well the numerous opportunities offered by the Institute, then multiculturalism might indeed be confined to the quaint and frequently exotic folkloric dimension — the so-called 'ethnic thing.' On the other hand, should the response be sufficiently enthusiastic to encourage even other ethnocultural groups to seek similar

institutes, then Canada's identity could certainly change considerably. We could find ourselves in the midst of a cultural and linguistic renaissance — and why should anyone oppose that?

The concern expressed at times that the establishment of an institution like the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies might set an undesirable precedent for other ethnocultural groups is, then, not justified. If other peoples have a comparable demonstrated community need; if they have as deep an interest in learning about their cultural heritage; and if they have a comparable nucleus of capable staff within Canadian universities, then there would appear to be no good reason to discourage the establishment of comparable institutions at the University of Alberta. To fear a splintering effect or fragmentation is to forget that forced unity or a unity achieved by ignoring or suppressing the legitimate academic and cultural aspirations of Canada's minorities is hardly a unity of which any university can be proud. The unity which already exists can only be enhanced and strengthened by receiving such aspirations favorably; witness the benefits which have flowed from the establishment of College Universitaire St-Jean and the more recent "Morningstar" project in the Faculty of Education for the education of teachers of Native peoples.

Nor is an institution such as the Ethnic Studies Centre at the University of Calgary an appropriate substitute for the Institute being proposed. To insist that it is, is to misconstrue the proper purpose of Calgary's Centre, which is to study the phenomenon of ethnicity in general: How, for example, is ethnicity affected by nativism, education, urbanization, generation conflict, intermarriage, etc.? What historically has been Canada's response to ethnicity, including the changing theories of Canadianization and the specific contents of Canadianism? What have been the politics of nation-building and of languages and cultures in conflict in Canada, and the equally difficult philosophic issue of how can majority rule be reconciled with the cultural rights and privileges of minorities? Lacking, moreover, adequate personnel to do a systematic study of any one group, all that might legitimately be expected of Calgary's Centre are scattered and isolated, periodic studies of a particular group, which is a far cry from what the proposed Institute intends to do.

Finally, while it is important that there be at least one university in the Western world which focuses on post-1914 developments in Soviet Ukraine (an area in which resources

are presently dispersed and uncoordinated), the principal aim of the Institute will be the study of the Ukrainian people in Canada. As one of the earliest and largest groups to settle western Canada, the history of the Ukrainian people is a significant part at least of the history of western Canada, their fortunes are to some extent a commentary on 'the great Canadian dream,' and their future survival a partial reflection on multiculturalism as an adequate description of what the Canadian experience may become.

THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES FELLOWSHIPS 1977 - 1978

Applications are invited for Master's and Doctoral Fellowships for theses in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies in the following disciplines:

EDUCATION
HISTORY
THE HUMANITIES
LAW
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Conditions

Candidates must be Canadian citizens or landed immigrants at the time of application.
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Application Procedure

Applications for fellowships should include:

1. a precis of approximately 250 words describing the thesis
2. a curriculum vitae
3. undergraduate and graduate transcripts
4. three letters of reference, including one from the thesis supervisor

Application Deadline

31 January 1977 with notice of award given early in March

Please submit applications to
The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
5—172 Education Building II
The University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2G5

THE JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN GRADUATE STUDIES

A TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION
(Modified Library of Congress)

а	a	н	n	
б	b	о	o	
в	v	п	p	
г	h	р	r	
ґ	g	с	s	
д	d	т	t	
е	e	у	u	
є	ie	ф	f	
ж	zh	х	kh	
з	z	ц	ts	
и	y	ч	ch	
і	i	ш	sh	
ї	i	щ	shch	
й	i	ю	iu	
к	k	я	ia	
л	l	ь	-	
м	m	-ий	y	in endings of personal names only

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"Myrna Kostash — Right or Wrong?"

G. Luckyj replies to M. C.

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