

# The Politics of Multiculturalism

## A Ukrainian-Canadian Memoir

**Manoly R. Lupul**

*The Politics of Multiculturalism* is the memoir of an academic whose expertise in the education of Canadian minorities led him to take on a major political role in the Canadian multicultural movement. Born in the Ukrainian bloc settlement of east-central Alberta and educated at the universities of Alberta, Minnesota, and Harvard, Manoly R. Lupul combined the outlook of a liberal secular humanist with a conviction that modern society could be enriched by the cultural potential of ethnicity. His concern for the expansion of minority linguistic and cultural rights in Canada was sharpened by a direct encounter with the policy of Russification in Ukraine during a sabbatical leave in the late 1960s.

Dr. Lupul's involvement in Canadian multiculturalism began with the drafting and passage of Alberta's first school legislation for bilingual programs (1971); similar laws were subsequently enacted in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. He went on to serve as an executive member of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism and a member of the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council. In 1976 Dr. Lupul became the founding director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, the first publicly funded institution of its kind outside Ukraine. He contributed significantly to the development of the multiculturalism section of the Canadian constitution (1982).

This memoir, based not only on personal writings and recollections but also on extensive documentation, brings together much information previously unavailable in print. In his frank account, Dr. Lupul offers unrivalled first-person insight into the aspirations that gave rise to Canada's policy of multiculturalism and the interplay of forces that shaped and blunted its development. The book will appeal to readers interested in Canadian culture and politics and, more generally, in the problem of promoting minority-group rights in democratic societies.

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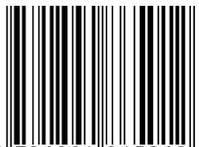
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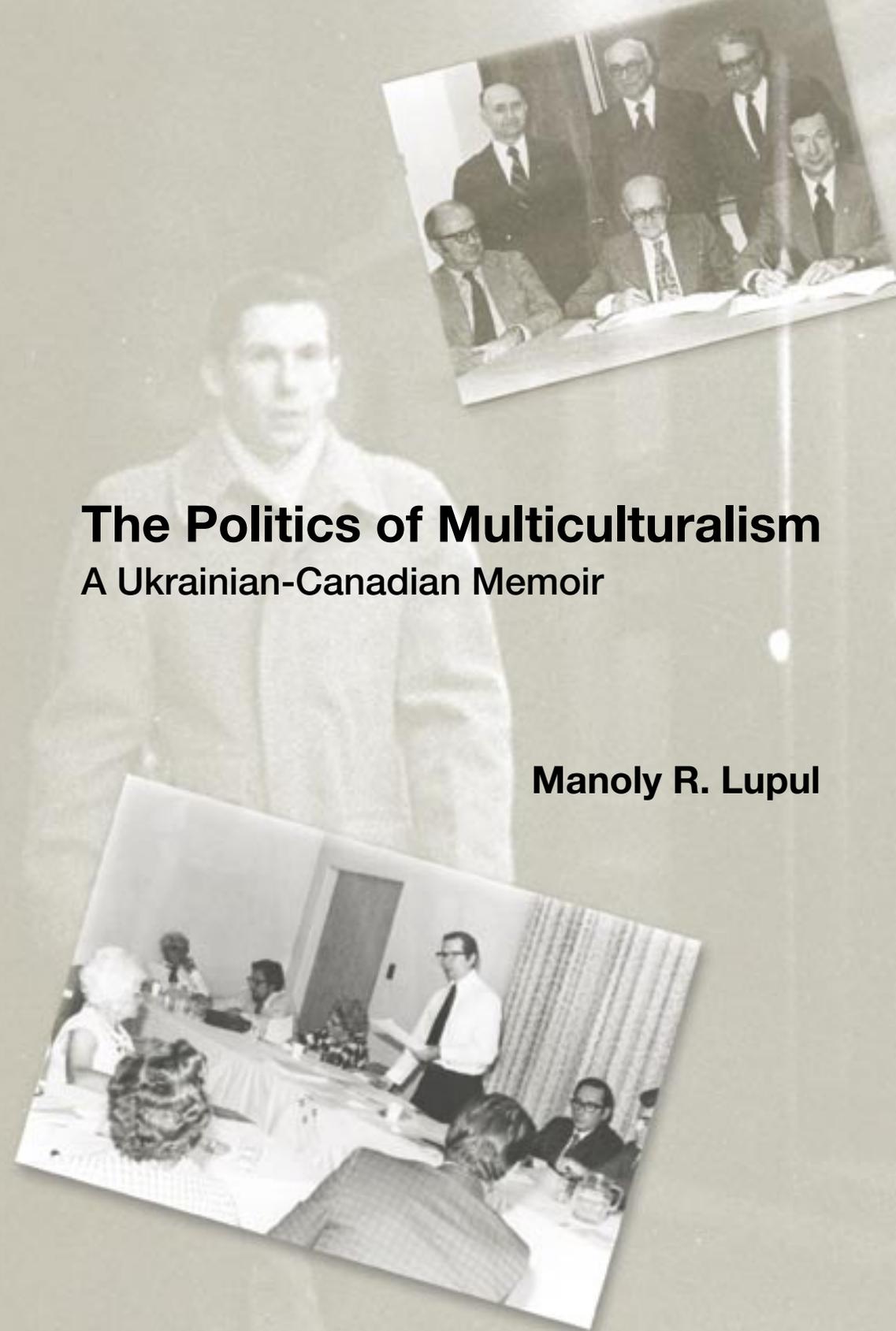
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# Prefatory Note

This memoir is a trip through an archive, currently located at my residence in Calgary. It is not the whole story of either the Ukrainians in Canada or the politics of multiculturalism during my generation. It is also not a history, but to quote Winston Churchill in the preface to his memoirs, “I claim with confidence that it is a contribution to history which will be of service to the future.”

Multiculturalism—the dignification of ethnicity—was to me much more than political sloganeering. It involved concrete achievements entailing projects of the kind that helped to institutionalize multiculturalism—especially in education, the area I knew best. For this, state aid was necessary, and this memoir is an account of my preparation for and subsequent efforts in the pursuit of such aid at several levels—federal, provincial, municipal and academic.

I am satisfied that both multiculturalism and Ukrainian ethnicity have won fairly respectable places within Canadian society since the 1960s, and that I did something to make that possible. I wish to thank my family for granting me the freedom and understanding that made such involvement feasible. I cherish all the more the moments we had together because of the hours we lost.

I wish to acknowledge, with pleasure, the fine assistance of the following from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in the publication of this book: Zenon Kohut (director), Roman Senkus (director of publications), Marko R. Stech (managing director, CIUS Press) and Myroslav Yurkevich (senior editor). I wish also to thank all who read the manuscript and supported its publication—and especially Roman Petryshyn for furnishing the Foreword. For assistance with the photographs I am indebted to Leslie Latta-Guthrie (Alberta provincial archives) and Myron Momryk (Canadian public archives). Without my daughter Elaine’s help with the computer, the manuscript would never have seen the light of day. Finally, I am extremely grateful to the Alberta Ukrainian Commemorative Society, the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies and the Cosbild Club Endowment Fund for assistance with the costs of publication.

M.R.L.  
Professor Emeritus  
University of Alberta



For Natalia,  
David and Myra, Elaine and Monty  
and Grandchildren Lesya, Stefan, Tanya and Sabrina

# Abbreviations

ACHC	Alberta Cultural Heritage Council
ADC	Academic Development Committee
APUE	Alberta Parents for Ukrainian Education
ATA	Alberta Teachers' Association
AUUC	Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
B & B	Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
CCCM	Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism
CCMIE	Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education
CIUS	Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
CRTC	Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission
ESL	English as a Second Language
FLQ	Front de libération du Québec
HURI	Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute
MPUE	Manitoba Parents for Ukrainian Education
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
P & B	Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Club/ Federation
PCO	Privy Council Office
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
SFM	Société française manitobaine
SUSK	Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union ( <i>Soiuz ukrains'kykh studentiv Kanady</i> )
UAP	University of Alberta Press
UCC	Ukrainian Canadian Committee
UCDC	Ukrainian Community Development Committee
UCPBF	Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation
UCHV	Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village

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## Foreword

This book is the political memoir of an ethnic leader who improved the treatment of Canada's ethnic minorities during the period from the 1970s to the mid-1990s. For more than twenty years Manoly Lupul, a specialist in the education of Canadian minorities in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta, worked to establish legislation and institutions that gave greater visibility to Canada's multicultural reality. He was what the American philosopher John Dewey would have called "the engaged scholar"—one who understands that the university has not only an intellectual function but also a civic and moral obligation to enhance public life. As a result, Lupul became one of Canada's foremost advocates of a more inclusive Canadian identity—one that, in accepting English and French as Canada's two official languages, allowed for the cultivation of other linguistic combinations to meet the cultural and psychological needs of individuals. The resulting bilingualism within a multicultural framework was designed to end the cultural exclusion of Canada's ethnic minorities. For Lupul, the key to ethnocultural justice was a school curriculum that both maximized linguistic choice and generously portrayed Canada's ethnocultural diversity. However, as the memoir shows, his efforts succeeded only in part, for governments gradually restricted ethnocultural policies and funding, placing tight constraints on liberal interpretations of multiculturalism—constraints that remain to the present day.

As a liberal secular humanist, Professor Lupul was unique in making ethnic groups the focus of his national vision. Most radical liberals tend to see ethnic groups as reactionary entities bound by narrow religious values and limited by inward-looking traditions. Yet Lupul, who had earlier held such a view, came to regard ethnicity as a creative cultural force and the cultivation of bilingual and bicultural individuals as a progressive goal. In so doing, he acted intuitively with the philosophical tools available at the time. Today, given the concepts of citizenship articulated in the 1990s by the political philosophers Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka (the latter most recently in his *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*, published in 2001), it is apparent that Lupul was a generation ahead of his time. Kymlicka is convinced that liberalism must stand above all for the right of minority groups to exist *sui generis*. Paradoxical as it may seem, an ethnic group's right to its language, culture and religion is a precondition for the right of individuals to choose their ethnic identity freely. Kymlicka (like Lupul) would press the state to recognize ethnic identity and furnish state-funded programs to meet ethnic-group needs, though the

recognition of ethnic collectivities does not mean that everyone must belong to an ethnic group. Indeed, ethnic-group rights can be defended within a liberal framework only insofar as they extend individual rights, enabling individuals to enter and exit collectivities at will. When collective and individual rights conflict, the latter must prevail. Professor Lupul understood this and worked for the recognition of every individual's right to enter and exit ethnic-group cultures through a bilingual/trilingual education. *The Politics of Multiculturalism* documents his educational approach, describing the interplay among decision-makers in government, the ethnocultural communities and the academy.

It is clear from Lupul's book that multiculturalism emerged in the crucible of the long-standing national debate between Canadians of Anglo-Celtic and French origins, which intensified in the 1960s. A key participant was the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, appointed by the federal government in 1963, whose report on *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups* (1970) was crucial in moving Manoly Lupul to agitate for a national policy of multiculturalism. Once the policy was announced in October 1971, he worked for its implementation as both an executive member of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism and a member of the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council. A third-generation Canadian of Ukrainian background, he became a major leader within his ethnocultural community and among generational peers, academic colleagues and government officials. In time he contributed to the development of the multiculturalism section of the Canadian constitution (section 27 of the Canada Act, 1982). Before long Canada became an international leader in the implementation of multiculturalism as others emulated its liberal-democratic ideas.

The memoir outlines Lupul's bicultural Anglo-Ukrainian upbringing in the Willingdon district of east-central Alberta, located (as he writes) "in the heart of the largest bloc settlement of Ukrainians in western Canada." It also touches on his subsequent education at the universities of Alberta and Minnesota and at Harvard University, and describes his shock at experiencing the Soviet policy of Russification during a sabbatical leave in 1967–68. For him, the terrible political and cultural predicament of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union resonated with the Canadian "national question," prompting a strong concern about Ukrainian language rights in a multicultural Canada. The result was a loose alliance of second- and third-generation Ukrainian Canadians of pre-1914 pioneer stock (many in Canada's professional and business class) with interwar and post-Second World War émigrés and their bilingual second-generation offspring (many of them students in Canada's universities). The book tells of successes and failures, detailing the receptivity to multiculturalism of government ministers and senior civil servants, the

official-language groups, other ethnocultural leaders and the largely negative mainstream media, which reflected North America's traditional hostility toward ethnocultural affirmation and second-language learning.

As the memoir makes clear, Lupul was not concerned to create a separate and comprehensive Ukrainian-Canadian cultural equivalent of the Anglo-Celtic, French and aboriginal societies in Canada. His concern was mainly threefold: (1) to encourage mainstream public institutions to respond favourably to ethnocultural aspirations in language acquisition and ethnic studies at all levels of the educational system; (2) to facilitate historical preservation through museums, archives and ethnic histories in official and non-official languages; and (3) to promote the naming of streets, buildings and recreational facilities after notable leaders of diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. His goal was the widest possible sharing of power and opportunity in all facets of Canadian life—the country's liberal-democratic Charter of Rights and Freedoms required it, as did official multiculturalism at its most meaningful level.

As a result, Lupul played a large role in the passage in 1971 of Alberta's first school legislation for bilingual programs (subsequently also enacted in Saskatchewan and Manitoba), which led eventually to instruction in Ukrainian, French, Mandarin, Polish, Cree, German, Arabic and Hebrew in some prairie school districts. He was also prominent in the establishment of the publicly funded Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta in 1976, proposed by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation when he was its president (1973-75), and he served as its first director until 1986. The institute, now the largest Ukrainian-studies centre outside Ukraine, has funded many research projects and numerous scholarly publications, including the English-language *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, issued in six volumes and recently established on the Internet. Moreover, thanks to Professor Lupul's critique of amateur community administration and programming, several key Ukrainian-Canadian community umbrella organizations now have Canadian-educated professionals directing their work.

As Lupul indicates, not all the projects that he championed were successful. His attempt to broker a political agreement in the early 1980s between the French and the Ukrainians in Alberta and Manitoba during the public debate on official languages at the provincial level did not yield the desired results. He had hoped to establish a working relationship between the policies of official bilingualism and multiculturalism, generously funded by the federal government and actively supported by both ethnic communities. His dream of educating young people to be functionally trilingual must thus await a more hospitable cultural environment.

Lupul's desire to avert public controversy between Jews and Ukrainians on the difficult war-criminals issue foundered on the deep feelings of

representatives of both groups who came to Canada as refugees after the Second World War. The resulting dispute generated much negative media coverage and eventually a federal government report by Judge Jules Deschênes, but not before old European animosities were unfortunately revived, to the considerable detriment of Canadian multiculturalism.

The attempt to liberalize the Ukrainian Canadian Congress through its own Ukrainian Community Development Committee also had very limited success because of contrasting generational goals, differing values and styles of management, and lack of significant and dependable financial support from both the federal and the provincial governments.

In the end the attempt to build a large constituency of bilingual and bicultural individuals as the surest base for a vital multiculturalism lost momentum once governments decided to play off "white ethnics" against "visible minorities," gradually splitting and weakening the foundations of the multicultural movement.

*The Politics of Multiculturalism* is a case study of how the federal and provincial authorities' interaction with the Ukrainian-Canadian community tested the limits of Canada's willingness to pursue integrationist (rather than assimilationist) cultural policies. Lupul's book shows how his attempts at innovation ran up against the rigid structure of ethnocultural relations in contemporary Canada. Unfortunately, Canadian ethnic relations today still amount to little more than a slightly modified extension of the vertical mosaic so ably analyzed by the sociologists John Porter, Wallace Clement and Raymond Breton.

Even so, from the memoir one can see

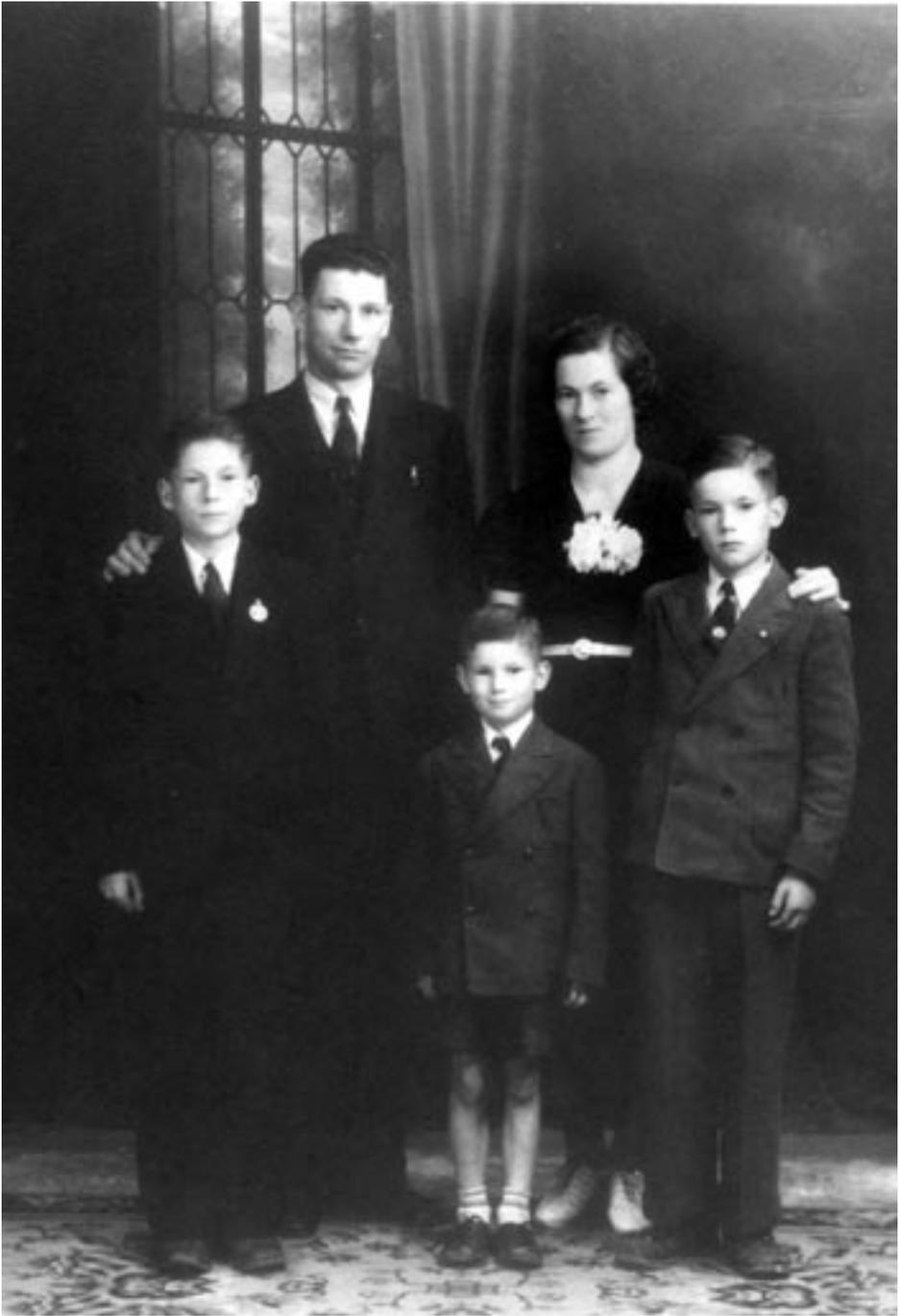
- a. how Canada's majority Anglo-Celtic and French ethnocultures conveniently claim ethnic neutrality when requested to share decision-making power and financial resources;
- b. how disparate is the funding for multiculturalism and bilingualism, indicating that the two official policies of the Canadian state are neither linked nor of equal importance in the eyes of the political authorities;
- c. how effective ethnic political action is more dependent on common ethnic interests than on group size and numbers;
- d. how very important (and difficult to achieve) is organizational cohesion within and between ethnocultural groups in the realization of political goals;
- e. how ethnic coalitions too weak to achieve multicultural goals at the national level may be more successful at the regional or provincial level;

- f. how success in winning public assistance for ethnic objectives is more likely under high-status Canadian-educated leaders than under immigrant leaders whose Canadian contacts, knowledge and experience are more limited;
- g. how the most successful ethnic leaders are invariably influential figures in private and public organizations (such as professional and business associations or political parties), their prominence in ethnocultural institutions and organizations being secondary;
- h. how vulnerable to repeal are ethnocultural achievements secured through state legislation;
- i. how little decision-making power government advisory bodies wield and how susceptible to co-option are their most outspoken ethnic leaders; and
- j. how success in the implementation of an ethnic group's cultural agenda may be increased by linking its needs to international issues stemming from its country of origin.

*The Politics of Multiculturalism* shows how difficult it is for ethnocultural minorities to benefit from Canadian public treasuries. The book offers valuable lessons to political leaders who wish to create a country that is fair and just to its ethnocultural communities. Senior civil servants who administer Canadian multicultural programs in federal and provincial jurisdictions will learn much about the origins of multicultural policies, especially about their relation to official bilingualism. Within the academy, professors of Canadian social development and cultural history may find the book politically enlightening. Bicultural leaders of ethnic communities with public projects in mind can learn much about what it takes to achieve success. And Ukrainian-Canadian leaders with aspirations to pursue their group's cultural agenda will better appreciate the scale of the challenge they face. Those who hope to do as well or better than Professor Lupul and his generation in achieving ethnocultural goals may come to appreciate what can and cannot be done to enhance the integration of established ethnic minorities in Canada's public institutions. Generally, those seeking to advance Canadians to a level of civic culture more respectful of minority interests will find Professor Lupul's account insightful and perhaps a guide for their own course of action.

W. Roman Petryshyn

*Peter and Doris Kule Chair of Ukrainian Community and  
International Development, Ukrainian Resource and Development Centre,  
Grant MacEwan College, Edmonton, Alberta*



The Lupul family in June 1939 on occasion of royal visit to Edmonton of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. On Kingsway Avenue, sections were reserved for school children from all parts of the province—a sure sign that war with Nazi Germany was imminent. The author, aged 11, is on the left, with brothers William (centre) and Walter.

# Chapter One

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION (1927–58)

## *Growing Up Bicultural*

I was born in 1927 and spent my first seventeen years in the Willingdon district of Alberta, approximately twenty-five miles north of Vegreville. Willingdon was in the heart of the largest bloc settlement of Ukrainians in western Canada, stretching east from Fort Saskatchewan on both sides of the North Saskatchewan River practically to the Saskatchewan border. With a population of less than five hundred, it was one of several villages to rise like mushrooms when the Canadian Pacific Railway came through the bloc in 1926-28. The Willingdon area was settled between 1898 and 1905, mainly by immigrants from the Ukrainian province of Bukovyna, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918.

My paternal grandparents—Tanasko and Evdokia Lupul, whose family name was also Lupul (no relation)—immigrated to Canada in July 1900 from the village of Oshykhliby in Bukovyna. They had two sons, Mykhailo (Michael), a thirteen-year-old who had accompanied them, and my father, Vasyl (William), who was born in Alberta in 1902. My mother was Evdokia (Dorothy) Tkachuk, born in Alberta in 1907 to Illia and Marafta Tkachuk (*née* Lakusta), whose families had settled in the Luzan (later Pruth) district of Alberta, named after Luzhany, their village in Bukovyna, near Oshykhliby. Because Grandfather (*dido*) Lupul died of a farm accident shortly after I was born, Dido Tkachuk was the only grandfather I ever knew. He came to Canada in 1903 as a twenty-one-year-old, together with his mother, four brothers and a sister. Before long he opened a small general store on the Tkachuk homestead, which my father later pulled on rollers to the new village of Willingdon, some seven miles north of Pruth.

Pruth was typical of the many rural crossroads communities in the Ukrainian bloc, one that Illia and his brother, Oleksa, did much to organize. With a school, church and community hall (*narodnyi dim*), Pruth became a social and cultural centre that held sporting events and dances and staged plays and concerts in Ukrainian—and Pruth was where my parents met and were later active in the drama club. During the 1930s Pruth was a frequent destination for our family, especially on high holidays, which invariably began with a Ukrainian Orthodox church service, followed immediately by a sit-down “dinner” in the nearby *narodnyi dim*, and sometimes an afternoon concert. “Sports days” featured baseball or softball games on a diamond (next to the hall)—the day, of course, punctuated for me by visits

to the confectionery store across from the hall and to Uncle (*vuiko*) Oleksa's Ukrainian-style, mud-plastered, whitewashed house nearby.

With his balding head, large moustache and genial manner, Dido Tkachuk was the picture of a Ukrainian *dido*. His and Grandmother (*baba*) Tkachuk's house was a second home to the grandchildren. Their three-room residence had a high RCA Victor phonograph whose storage compartments contained Ukrainian vinyl recordings bearing green-coloured Columbia labels. The music was mainly polkas and fast Ukrainian dances (*kolomyiky*) with humorous vocals by male and female singers. As hungry boys on late Sunday afternoons, we eagerly devoured the leftovers on Baba's stove—home-made chicken soup, chickens in cream (or pigeons, which Dido kept in the loft of his store), cold Bukovynian-style cornmeal (*nachynka*), cheese dumplings (*pyrohy*) or Bukovynian sour-leaf, rice-filled cabbage rolls (*holubtsi*). On weekdays, especially during the summer and occasionally after school (especially when Baba was at the store or in the garden), we ate bread, generously smeared with peanut butter and/or jam, and occasionally—all else failing—with white sugar on bread dampened with water. With its food, card games, magazines (particularly the *National Geographic*) and garden, "Baba and Dido's" was a wonderful place, though one had to be careful what was said in English, for Baba often reminded us that she understood more English than we supposed!

Baba Tkachuk was a much more significant factor in my life than Baba Lupul, especially once the latter remarried and moved to Hairy Hill, a neighbouring village. More formidable in appearance than Baba Tkachuk, Baba Lupul generally wore Ukrainian dress above the waist, with several strands of large coloured beads around her neck. I do not think I ever saw her without a head shawl (*babushka*). Unlike Baba Tkachuk, who had some elementary schooling in Bukovyna, Baba Lupul was illiterate and quite out of touch with the Canadian world.

Although my parents eventually came to own two quarters (320 acres) of land, my father was not a farmer in the conventional sense, with much of the work done by hired help and sharecroppers, while Dad broke land with a tractor, drilled water wells, and trucked grain, livestock and general freight. In 1929 he established the John Deere farm implement agency in Willingdon, which (with the farm) provided the main family income before 1945. Both parents were strong supporters of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, including its male and female affiliates and the group's newspaper, *Ukrain'skyi holos* (Ukrainian Voice). Because most early rural schools were only half-year schools, Dad had attended the Sheskowitz School (near the Lupul homestead) intermittently and had the equivalent of perhaps four years of schooling. He read and wrote Ukrainian, but where he learned to do so is not clear, for his father, though a trustee of the Sheskowitz school

district (organized in 1907), was also illiterate, according to his passport. Mom had attended school at Pruth, completing the eighth grade, and being less deliberative her decisions were generally quicker. In appearance, she was less fastidious than Dad, but both did their best to live up to the lower-middle-class values they generally espoused, though Dad's seasonal work did not always make that too easy. Both had a very high respect for education, which was perceived, not surprisingly, in occupational terms and meant steady employment in clean, comfortable surroundings.

I spent my first seven years on the farm, where only Ukrainian was spoken. It was none too sophisticated, however, with Ukrainian derivatives of English words (e.g., "gara" for "car," "paylo" for "pail") strewn throughout. With Ukrainian-speaking neighbours, neither Walter (my younger brother by thirteen months) nor I knew any English when we moved to attend school in Willingdon in 1934, schooling having been postponed for me until I was seven so as not to transport a single child. How my parents squared that with the authorities, I do not know!

For our new living quarters Dad converted the back portion of the unpainted farm-implement shop into one big living room and two small bedrooms, with a large wood-burning kitchen stove on the edge of the living area. In these cramped quarters we lived until 1938, when the shop's lean-to gave way to a proper kitchen. In 1941 the wartime shortage of skilled labour enabled Dad to work at Muttart's Lumber Company in Edmonton during the fall and winter, and with the additional income an attractive house was rented on Railroad Street, near the implement shop. Two years later we moved into a much larger house that Dad built, next to the new Ukrainian Orthodox church. With its indoor plumbing and central heating, it was hard to leave in the summer of 1944, when we moved to Edmonton.



Side view of the John Deere farm implement agency building and large storage shed in rear, Willingdon, Alberta, ca 1930. The gas pump was removed and the back part of the building became our family's first living quarters in the village in 1934.

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Living conditions in the bloc villages were very difficult for most. Although electricity was available from Calgary Power, drinking water had often to be carried from neighbours' wells. Few homes had indoor plumbing or central heating. For most families living space was at a premium and a room of one's own was a real luxury. Back of our implement shop was a fairly large shed where sacks of binder twine were stored, used machinery was reconditioned in summer, and our car—a 1928 or 1929 Graham-Paige sedan—was kept in winter. Another separate part housed two cows that provided milk for us and three or four other families in the village. Besides delivering milk, Walter and I fed the cows and cleaned up after them, occasionally pasturing them during the summer. Every spring we helped Dad haul the manure by trailer to the village's "nuisance grounds." However pastoral might be the textbook image of prairie villages, the actual living conditions warranted neither the felt sense of village superiority nor the occasional envy of farmers.

Knowing only Ukrainian posed no problems in school for Walter and me, thanks to a kind and intelligent bilingual grade one teacher, Victoria Olynyk. Our progress was excellent, and in March 1936 I was even accelerated from grade two to three, with negative consequences only in arithmetic, in which I was always somewhat weaker thereafter. Zenovia Kalancha, our teacher in grades four through six, encouraged my strengths—reading, spelling, composition, literature, geography, history—and did not belabour my weaknesses. Among the latter, apart from arithmetic, was a tendency to test the rules, for which I was occasionally strapped. Even so, I liked school a lot and both parents closely monitored progress. To increase the reading material for school reports, the *Edmonton Journal* suddenly became part of our daily mail. It came by train and was a day late, but its contents contributed to many school projects and to even more sports and movie scrapbooks. To keep up with "current events," a new RCA Victor radio was purchased at Fedorak's garage. Education was important and our education came first, with the additional costs simply absorbed as needed. I loved to read and literally devoured everything that was available. Unfortunately, that was not much, for there was no school library, and the one established by the local IODE branch was manned voluntarily and seldom open. When Zenovia Kalancha introduced some newly acquired books about Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn and Robin Hood in grade four, one had to be patient, for there were only single copies of each. Even so, I managed to read *The Adventures of Robin Hood* at least twenty times over the next three years!

Besides Victoria Olynyk and Zenovia Kalancha, another influential teacher was the left-of-centre Finnish-Canadian Leo Kunelius, principal from

1937 to 1941. During his term, free dental examinations and vaccinations were introduced, along with cod liver oil pills during the winter, hot lunches for farm children, student-union government and a co-op store for school supplies run by the senior students out of his small office. Also of high repute were teachers like Harry Kostash, the principal when I began school, and Fred Hannochko, who succeeded him—both of Ukrainian ancestry and Alberta-born, like Kunelius. All three became provincial superintendents of education and important models for the young. Also impressive was Orest Demco, my homeroom teacher in grade nine, who specialized in science and music. Young and from “the city,” he spoke excellent English and Ukrainian (though never, of course, in school!), wore well-tailored, fashionable suits and was a good hockey player.

Even though the school was in an overwhelmingly Ukrainian-speaking community, nothing of the latter’s Ukrainian culture found its way into the school curriculum. The teachers of Ukrainian background (always in the majority) spoke Ukrainian and were bicultural, but the gap between school and community was always large. Not even Ukrainian Easter-egg painting in the spring or Ukrainian carols or folk dances at the school concerts in the *narodnyi dim* at Christmas penetrated the school. Although it would have been easy to offer Ukrainian as a language of study (reading/writing) to the many children who already spoke it, only French and Latin were taught at the senior high school level, with Oral French in grade nine.

Only many years later did I learn the reason for this. At the time English-speaking Canada and its provincial departments of education subscribed to a theory of Canadianization known as Anglo-conformity, framed well before the First World War. Its central tenet was that Canada’s culture was fixed to British norms, and all newcomers and their children were to conform to the beliefs and values of Canadians of Anglo-Celtic (English/Scottish/Welsh/Irish) origin. Conversely, all newcomers had to jettison their ancestral beliefs and values and avoid any overt display that betrayed a distinct ethnic identity. The goal of Anglo-conformity was behavioural assimilation to enable the host society to adopt more favourable attitudes (and behaviour) toward conspicuous minorities like the Ukrainians. While the differences might still be there, they were not to show.

In this context there was no place for languages other than English, especially as English was also the central value to be assimilated. Accents that betrayed a Slavic origin were severely frowned upon. School inspections regularly informed officials on the progress of Canadianization, as did university studies on the rural school as a community centre among “New Canadians” (1925), on written-language errors among Ukrainian students (1934, 1946, 1955) and on the problems of education in the bloc settlements of western Canada (1941). And in 1931 there was the seminal sociological work

by Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation*. Good reports on the quality of English spoken were highly prized by teachers, especially on the correct pronunciation of words like “the” and “that,” which for many Ukrainian Canadians can still be a difficult hurdle and a dead giveaway as to origin.

In the circumstances the proverbial split between town and gown could be applied to Willingdon. Ukrainian was the language of ‘the town’—on the street, in the stores, the hotel “beer parlour,” the restaurants and cafes. English was the language of ‘the gown’ represented in the post office, the railroad station, the bank and the lumber company by non-Ukrainian-speaking managers like Downey, Edgerton, Pettigrew, Watson or Labelle. Even so, the actual social distance between “the English” and “the Ukrainians” in the village was not great. The living conditions of the salaried “English” and of most “Ukrainians” in business and the professions differed little, except perhaps in the case of the bank manager, whose family reputedly lived in a comfortable suite atop the bank.

Below the surface, however, there was considerable resentment that everything Ukrainian was relegated to second place, and over time a sense of discrimination was communicated to the children. The school was not closed on Ukrainian Christmas Day (7 January) nor was any note taken of anything Ukrainian. In the school texts East European history (if noticed at all) was presented as an appendage to British or West European history, and Ukraine was seldom mentioned. Although Ukrainians served on the school board, it was almost as if everyone simply understood that for the young to gain better jobs in the wider Canadian society, it was best to live in public as if the Ukrainian fact did not exist. Such a view might explain why Willingdon, compared to neighbouring centres, hired more teachers of non-Ukrainian background (e.g., Kunelius, Peterson, Gabert, Porter, Cole, Zuar), and why among the Ukrainian-speaking teachers Ukrainian was seldom used, except in jest.

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To help fill the Ukrainian cultural vacuum, the Orthodox parents took a step in 1938 that was unique in the large bloc settlement—they hired Mykhailo Humeniuk as the community’s cultural leader. The local Ukrainian “Reds,” who hoped to organize a string orchestra in Willingdon, were the immediate stimulus. During the Great Depression the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association intensified efforts to reach the poor and the disaffected among Canada’s Ukrainians through newspapers, films, political organizers and cultural activists (mainly leaders of drama groups and string orchestras). In the Alberta bloc the association was usually most successful in the hilly, more marginal lands around Myrnam and Lanuke (near Two

Hills) and in pockets north of the North Saskatchewan River. Although very few of its rank and file actually joined the Communist Party, Labour-Farmer members espoused pro-Soviet and anticlerical views and greatly admired Soviet Ukraine's economic and cultural achievements. In the spring of 1938 the association sent a music teacher to live with the Michael Zuchkan family in Willingdon. After a session in the Zuchkan home, I asked my parents for a guitar to join the proposed orchestra and was forbidden to attend further sessions. Early in August, at an Orthodox convention in Willingdon, the subject was discussed with representatives from Edmonton, through whose efforts Humeniuk was hired. As support, each family contributed at least one dollar monthly for each participating child.

Humeniuk's coming nipped the "Red" initiative and ushered in an amazing three years of Ukrainian cultural immersion. A recent immigrant from Western Ukraine in his midthirties, Humeniuk had tried to eke out a living as a music teacher (he played the violin) in Vancouver. In Willingdon he organized a children's string orchestra, held periodic concerts (at which I often sang solos or duets), put on plays, taught Ukrainian school during the summers and on Saturdays, and prepared the adult choir for the new Orthodox church. The orchestra's musical repertoire was almost entirely Ukrainian, with "Over the Waves" (a waltz) the most memorable of its non-Ukrainian pieces. The orchestra was never large—fifteen to twenty-five children, most between the ages of ten and fifteen, with only the odd senior high school student.

In May 1941 the orchestra played in its first public school music festival (in Myrnam), after overcoming considerable official opposition. Besides the orchestra's Ukrainian repertoire, the festival had no competitive "orchestra" category, and Humeniuk, of course, had no teacher's certificate. Parental pressure prevailed, however, and the lone orchestra came "first," the intrusion somewhat softened by an outstanding rendition of "Over the Waves"! When Humeniuk left in the fall of 1941 to establish a music store in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, the community, determined to hold on to its orchestra, persuaded its oldest member (seventeen-year-old John Sorochan) to direct it through the winter for a second successful appearance at the school festival next spring. When Sorochan joined the navy that summer, the orchestra folded.

Most children viewed Humeniuk's departure as a great blessing, for the rehearsals and the Ukrainian classes had cut deeply into other activities. I was certainly among the relieved, for in 1940 Humeniuk had become a boarder in our home, partially in exchange for violin lessons, which were added to the other cultural activities. I played first violin in the orchestra and really enjoyed it, especially the concerts, but the conflict with games and sports, especially hockey, was much resented by most boys. As a result,



Ukrainian string orchestra, Willingdon, Alberta, Mykhailo Humeniuk, conductor, summer 1940. The author is in the last row (extreme right); brother Walter is in the third row (third from the left).

though a budding violinist (I played a duet with Humeniuk at one of the concerts), I completely discarded the violin after he left—to great regret later. In retrospect, it was perhaps also the first sense of ambivalence toward things Ukrainian. I liked the music and the singing (especially the public performances), but it was easy to sense the distance between what the Ukrainian institutions emphasized and what the radio, the newspapers, the magazines and the school were transmitting.

The influence of the radio was particularly large. It brought the World Series every fall; Foster Hewitt and *Hockey Night in Canada* on Saturday evenings in winter; programs like *The Shadow*, *Amos 'n Andy*, *Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy*, *Jack Benny* and *Fred Allen* on Sundays; *Lux Theatre* on Mondays; *Fibber McGee and Molly* on Tuesdays, and many others that featured Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, Fanny Brice and in time such “big bands” as Benny Goodman, Glenn Miller, Harry James and Artie Shaw. Then there were the movies. Although their recency and quality varied greatly, and showings in the *narodnyi dim* (complete with the playing of “God Save the King” after each showing) were irregular, each film brought its share of competing values. Occasionally, I purchased the magazine *Hollywood* in Stanley Syska’s drugstore (for five cents) and then simply devoured it, saving the copies for months. Through such media the young in Willingdon were gradually inducted into the North American world, one that ran parallel to the largely Ukrainian-Canadian one of their parents. And the occasional trips to

Edmonton only reinforced the cultural bifurcation. The movies in “the city” were even more numerous and recent, and the smartly dressed people and great variety of goods and services only enhanced the city’s allure. Only in Edmonton could one buy the very thick “Big Little Books” about Tarzan and Buck Rogers, available at Woolworth’s and Kresge’s for fifteen cents each.

Then there were the older Lupul cousins, the five sons of my father’s brother (“Vuiko Mykhailo”), who had left the farm for Edmonton in the early 1930s. Their exploits in Renfrew Park in the city’s best baseball league on teams like the Arrows and the Dodgers were regularly written up in the *Edmonton Journal*. Their lifestyle as “young men about town”—their language, their taste in music (the “big bands,” of course), their fashionable clothes, even their smart-looking girlfriends or young wives—had a profound impact. Although their home in what was then the heart of ‘Ukrainian Edmonton’ (98 Street and 106 Avenue) was modest enough for a family of seven, Edmonton, with its paved streets and sidewalks, neon lights and indoor plumbing, was literally another world, and I well remember concluding early that one day I would certainly live in “The City.” Nor was Edmonton the only point of entry into the wider world. Between 1932 and 1940 we made three trips to Banff, a trailer laden with supplies in tow, including a tent for the campground. The return trip in 1940 was through Jasper and Miette Hot Springs. Such travel was not only broadening; it made Willingdon and everything in it appear small and backward—and old-country Ukrainian values and ways were particularly vulnerable.

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As already indicated, settlers in the Willingdon area were primarily from Orthodox Bukovyna. After 1918 most of the Orthodox became members of a unique institution born in Saskatoon—the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada (the “Greek” was later played down). Besides Bukovynians, it welcomed defectors from both the Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches, as well as many Ukrainians who had earlier flirted with the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Because the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, established in Ukraine in 1919 and persecuted by 1927, was locked in a life-and-death struggle with the state-regulated Russian Orthodox Church, the Orthodox in Willingdon saw themselves as an extension of the struggle in the New World. They were the ‘real’ Ukrainians in the bloc, superior to and (as a new church movement) beleaguered by ‘enemies’ on all sides: the Roman Catholics, the much more numerous Ukrainian Catholics, the Russian Orthodox, the Protestants and the Sovietophile pro-Communists (the “Reds”). As children, we were vaguely aware of these differences, but because the other groups

were not too numerous in the village, the differences were largely ignored and their children were not excluded from our games. My brother and I even occasionally attended the United Church Sunday School conducted by Mrs. Downey, the postmaster's wife. Our parents did not mind, because the Orthodox services were only every four or five weeks, and in any case few Protestants were of Ukrainian origin, unlike the Ukrainian Catholics and the Russian Orthodox, who were seen as both religious and national apostates.

As children, we came to understand that Shandro (where the Russian Orthodox were strongest) was a special place, though we did not know exactly why; that the Ukrainians in Lamont and St. Michael to the far west and in Mundare to the south were Catholics, whose beliefs and (especially) practices were either erroneous or foolish compared to our own; that the Protestants were still bent on conversion and therefore, like "the English" generally, were not to be trusted; that the Ukrainian "Reds" were the worst and their children might therefore be verbally abused; and that Willingdon, unlike Vegreville and Mundare, was fortunate to have no Jewish businesses. East of Willingdon (in the nearby Boian district) was the largest rural settlement of Romanians in Canada (originally also from Bukovyna and therefore Orthodox), with whom contact was generally minimal, though I learned later that our addressing both grandmothers as *mosha* was derived from Romanian influences in the old country. Some Romanians, like the small pockets of Poles elsewhere in the bloc, learned Ukrainian and through contact were occasionally absorbed into the Ukrainian group. The only group to be explicitly avoided ("because they stole little children") were the Roma (gypsies), whose cars and far more numerous horse-drawn wagons were occasionally encamped on the outskirts of the village; on one occasion in the late thirties they even rented the *narodnyi dim* for a wedding, the only one that was ever completely closed to the public. Of French Canadians, we heard little, except for New France, the explorers, the voyageurs and Louis Riel in the school textbooks. The French always took a back seat to John Cabot (never Giovanni Caboto), Henry Hudson, Laura Secord and the United Empire Loyalists, along with the struggle for responsible government (especially the role of Lord Elgin), Hiawatha and the North-West Mounted Police. French was generally taught with little regard to Quebec, and such cultural references as did appear were invariably to Paris or France.

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Willingdon was a wonderful place in which to grow up. One either did not see or simply ignored many things, like the dust raised by the traffic around our corner lot that so exasperated mother; the numerous unpainted shacks that passed for homes and places of business; the empty lots that left

gaps like missing teeth on most streets; the smelly outhouses; the kitchen slops simply thrown out in winter into the nearest empty space; the foul body odours and bad breath that no amount of cheap perfume or Sen-Sen could alleviate; the credence given to rumour and gossip; and the insularity that bred credulity, envy, suspicion, mistrust, superstition and ignorance. Even so, to the young, the village was paradise, because all of it was one's playground and all of its children were one's playmates, qualified only by gender and age.

During the long winters hockey dominated and took many forms—playing scrum on Kennedy Lake just below the village at first freeze-up, or on foot (without skates) with frozen horsebuns on the well-lit main street, or on small 'ponds' built up near homes by the repeated disposal of laundry and bath water, or in the school's house league and eventually (if good enough) with the seniors—the Willingdon Monarchs. I became a Monarch in 1942-43 when only fifteen, because all the real seniors had gone off to war. Other centres were hit even harder, and the Monarchs were soon invincible, regularly defeating such previously unbeatable rivals as Two Hills and Vegreville. In Willingdon, as elsewhere in English-speaking Canada, hockey was synonymous with the Toronto Maple Leafs and heroes like Charlie Conacher, Walter "Turk" Broda, Syl Apps and Wally Stanowski. One read of others, like Maurice Richard, Elmer Lach, Hector "Toe" Blake and Doug Harvey of the Montreal Canadiens, but only when they played Toronto on Saturday were they on radio's *Hockey Night in Canada*. Toronto was simply Canada's team, the equivalent in sports of the Ontario heritage that generally underpinned Canadian politics, business and commerce, religion, education and the Protestant work ethic. Most Saturdays, the young (boys mainly) were glued to their radio sets and could not understand how adults like their parents could be so utterly uninterested.

Of special events, the annual Sports Day on 7 July was at the top of the list, with baseball and softball tournaments on the school grounds, a confectionery booth that also sold Ukrainian food, an afternoon movie (shown two or three times, as in Vegreville on Saturday afternoons), late afternoon children's races and a "holiday" dance in the evening. Other notable events included birthdays, fire drills by the volunteer brigade, Cub Scout meetings, berry picking across the North Saskatchewan River and, of course, the Christmas and Easter celebrations. The Cub Scouts under scoutmaster Gordon Edgerton, a CPR supervisor, usually met in the United Church's Sunday School building, but Walter and I participated for only a short while, for Mom saw the scouts as an "English" stratagem to prepare the young for war and discouraged attendance. I was not disappointed, for I did not find the meetings too interesting.

Christmas in Willingdon was a bicultural affair, always preceded by our purchase at Dido Tkachuk's store of a full case of pop (twenty-four bottles in all!), which Walter and I then happily towed home by sleigh. However, the soft drinks were usually our one big treat. If there was a decorated tree, it was small and without lights, and the presents were always few. Elaborate decorations were not part of the Ukrainian Christmas tradition. The village had only a strand or two of coloured lights, and very few houses had much more. Only the Alberta Lumber Company always had a large, well-decorated tree to greet the children who came for their free bag of candy and nuts on the Saturday preceding "English" Christmas, two weeks before the Ukrainian one.

To me, the village at Christmas was a very happy place, as farmers in sleighs pulled up to the stores to pick up supplies for the holidays. Christmas Eve (*Sviat-Vechir*) was on 6 January, where the mandatory dish was whitefish from the North Saskatchewan River, brought frozen by farmers on the 4th or 5th. During the 1930s *Sviat-Vechir* was usually celebrated at the Tkachuks', where my mother's sisters and brothers tried to meet. What with the other children, the food, the gifts and Ukrainian carolling, it was a wonderful affair. Before the age of twelve my brother Walter, Nick Tkachuk (our uncle, though younger) and I carolled in the village. With some fifteen cents per house, we could each "collect" up to two dollars in the next day or two. At noon on 14 January, Ukrainian New Year's Day, I often sprinkled a handful of wheat in one or two households, accompanied by a short verse in Ukrainian conveying best wishes, and was rewarded with five or ten cents (occasionally a quarter).

Easter, which like Christmas usually came later for the Orthodox than for other Christians, seemed less festive, likely because there was no carolling. Unlike Christmas, when midnight Mass was only celebrated if the itinerant priest lived in the village, Easter was steeped in religious observances. On Good Friday or earlier we went to confession, which even then seemed pointless. Asked whether I renounced my sins, I replied in the affirmative (always). After the priest mumbled some words, I crossed myself three times, and the whole thing was over until Easter Sunday, when Holy Communion from a single chalice and spoon followed—to knowing glances from the young, awash in school hygiene! Next came the blessing of the *paska*—specially prepared Easter bread in beautifully decorated baskets containing sausage and/or ham, painted eggs, cottage cheese, horseradish, *baba* (sweetened bread) and much more. It was always a very colourful and gay spectacle, with the candle-lit baskets arranged in a circle or in neat rows on the church floor, as the priest and congregation repeatedly sang *Khrystos voskres!* (Christ Has Risen!), until all the baskets were sprinkled with holy water. For the rural priest with several parishes, the task of visiting each on

Easter morning was formidable, and I can recall once accompanying Dad after midnight as he drove the priest from one small church to another on muddy spring roads in our strong eight-cylinder car. The people in their buggies and wagons had come on very difficult dirt roads and deeply appreciated the effort.

Among other special events were the village and country weddings, where Radomsky's orchestra was the pick of those available and Zelisko's a close second. Both hailed from the Andrew district west of Willingdon. Radomsky's "Wedding March" (a fast Ukrainian polka), which announced the newlyweds' arrival for the reception, became a musical trademark. Most memorable also were the traditional Ukrainian wedding songs that accompanied the toasts to the newlyweds during the traditional gift-giving (*perepii*). The singers—usually a core of three or four known to have good voices—positioned themselves to one side of a long table, behind which stood the entire wedding party (usually eight to ten persons), greeting the parents (often in tears) and other family members, lined up roughly in rank order. As the newlyweds faced each couple, they offered wine on a silver tray and toasts followed, accompanied by hearty handshakes and (by the men mainly) kisses for the bride and bridesmaids. Almost always, the women carried the gifts, which the men usually supplemented with cash, placed on a special plate near the honorary father (*bat'ko*), next to the groom. Farm weddings were often held on Sundays, with the morning church ceremony followed by a large reception and dancing late into the night in a granary or a specially built open-air platform. Alcohol was always served, the bottles being passed from person to person at the tables, accompanied by a shot glass that was usually emptied in one fell swoop without interruption. Rye whiskey and kegged beer were the most common, ice was unknown and only "the ladies" used mix. Sweet wine out of gallon jugs (Bright's from Ontario) was also available, again "specially for the ladies," but table wine was practically unknown. Children accompanied parents to family weddings, but it was not unusual to see children at other events as well.

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As it did everywhere, the Second World War had a great impact on life in Willingdon, eventually encouraging the out-migration that changed people's lives forever. As I had just turned twelve, the war was remote, except at night, when the radio reports of bombings occasionally brought on terrifying nightmares. Mom worried most, but "going off to war" seemed absurd to me—a feeling I cannot fully explain, but nothing about the military ever impressed me. I had no desire to emulate the numerous individuals in uniform, not even my Edmonton cousins (four of whom enlisted) or my

Willingdon uncles (three of whom enlisted). In 1943 and 1944 Walter and I, as cadets, marched and drilled on the school grounds in woolen khaki uniforms that Mom dismissed on sight. I found all the saluting, shouting of commands and strutting rather theatrical, and considered the emphasis on neat formations mostly busywork. Michael Humeniuk, of course, closely monitored the radio broadcasts, especially after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union appeared to bring a free and independent Ukraine closer. One heard little of anything else at the dinner table until he left that fall, though Dad, who strongly opposed the "Reds" in Canada, appeared less interested in the "Ukrainian Question."

The attack on Pearl Harbor plunged the whole village into gloom. Even so, in April 1942 the federal constituency of Vegreville, which included Willingdon, was the only one outside Quebec to vote against conscription. The result disgusted William Tomyne, the local MLA who also taught school in Willingdon, for the Ukrainians were now tainted as opponents of the war effort. Mom would certainly have opposed conscription and would likely have carried Dad, for they usually discussed such matters to avoid vote-splitting. Neither parent was much interested in the hoopla surrounding the annual victory-loan campaigns that began in 1941, complete with downtown thermometers. However, as a member of the (Orthodox) Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Mom served on the executive of the local Red Cross committee (which she later chaired) that sent food parcels and medical supplies to soldiers overseas.

The war's greatest impact on teenagers was the sudden loss of adolescence. To permit students to assist with the harvest, the province delayed school openings by six weeks in 1942 and 1943. My brother and I were each entrusted with a team of horses and a hayrack, which we loaded with grain sheaves and then pitched into a threshing machine owned by the Fedoraks, Skoreykos and Zukiwskys, immediately northeast of Willingdon. Although the horses were largely tended by others, the work was hard and the hours long (from eight to eight). At about four dollars per day for thirty to forty days (allowing for rain), each of us took home approximately \$125, a very respectable sum at the time.

While the above responsibility was heavy, it was not my first work experience. In 1940 Zenovia Kalancha and her husband occasionally placed me in charge of their confectionery store, which included a modest lunch counter. I was paid ten cents an hour and during the odd weekend during the summer (and again in 1941), when they took off by car, I sold cigarettes, soft drinks, sundaes and floats, and made ham sandwiches and hamburgers for the adult card players in the booth next to the lunch counter. In June 1942 I accompanied Dad to work at Muttart's Lumber in Edmonton, where with numerous other teenagers I stacked lumber and loaded and unloaded

carloads of building materials at the minimum wage of forty cents per hour. We lived and ate at the Mykhailo Hrushevsky Institute, a Ukrainian student residence, until Dad returned to the implement business for the harvest. I then left for the Lupuls', eating at the cheap restaurants on 97 Street. Repeating the experience next summer, I began at Muttart's and ended up at Hayward's Lumber, after difficulties with a foreman who disliked the slow pace at which a friend and I were unloading a carload of heavy cement. The work in the lumberyards was rough, dirty and hard, but, like threshing, it was temporary and therefore bearable. Although dropping out of school was never an option, after the lumberyards no additional incentive to stay was needed.

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The move to Edmonton in August 1944 was a very big decision for my parents. It meant exchanging a semi-rural way of life for an urban one of great uncertainty, for no one then knew how prosperous the postwar world would be. Once Rainbow Painters and Decorators, a small business, was purchased in 1946, parental concerns eased somewhat. The move was practically preordained for years. "The boys," Mom had often declared, "had to go to university," and there was no way that that could be financed from Willingdon. In the next decade many families followed, and soon my parents were part of a large colony of expatriates from the 'old bloc.'

Our area in Edmonton was two city blocks from the Lupul cousins. Walter and I attended Victoria High School, which they had also attended. The large school, though very heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity, religion and social class, was not intimidating. Among memorable teachers was the socialist Mary Crawford (later an unsuccessful CCF candidate) who taught grade twelve social studies. Studying recent world history for the first time, I was struck by the irresponsibility of the British and Germans before 1914, jousting over colonies and naval supremacy, and by the shortsightedness after the Great War of both the vengeful French on German reparations and of the isolationist Americans in refusing continued European involvement. As a result, it was easy to see that the Second World War was but a continuation of the first, with the Allies bungling the peace at a terrible cost of even more young lives. War, I concluded, was totally irrational, and it was a great relief to know in 1944-45 that the long-promised victory was close at hand.

Part-time work in the city was essential and fortunately plentiful. After several Saturdays and school breaks as a sales clerk, I approached Modern Tailors, a men's haberdashery on Jasper Avenue and 97 Street, for summer work. Peter Swist (Petro Svystovych), the owner, put me on temporarily in

the spring of 1945, and I remained because I kept myself busy when not helping customers. Swist, a tailor from Polish-occupied Galicia who came to Canada in the late 1920s (part of the second Ukrainian immigration), conducted a thriving business during the war. The men's shop offered steady part-time employment throughout my university years, covering tuition, books, clothes and all other expenses, apart from room and board.

In Edmonton my ambivalent attitude toward things Ukrainian continued. I liked singing in the Orthodox mixed chorus that Peter Paush directed, and in it I was closest to Leo Faryna, a young optometrist who was the lead tenor in our section. Canadian-born, bilingual and bicultural (into Canadian sports as much as Ukrainian music), he gave fine speeches in both English and Ukrainian. He was among the few who came to see the Willingdon Monarchs play in Edmonton when, with a forward line from Two Hills, we won the provincial Intermediate B hockey championship in 1949. Although its image as a "Ukrainian team" was never explicit, I felt comfortable with the idea that the team's players and management were largely of Ukrainian origin. I know Faryna was disappointed that I did not take more interest in Orthodox affairs, but notwithstanding Dad's reprimands, I was not then much interested in Ukrainian life in Canada, not even from a historical perspective. I remember seeing Wasyl Czumer's *Spomyny* (Memoirs, 1942) about the house, but apart from thumbing through the book's pictures, I largely ignored it and most other materials about Ukrainians in both languages. They belonged to the world of my parents and their friends. Only "the old" bought and listened to Ukrainian records or read Ukrainian newspapers and books; the young listened to modern music—to the big bands, to vocalists like Frank Sinatra and Nat King Cole and to boogie-woogie and Dixieland jazz. And my brother and I did more—we were avid record collectors, a hobby begun in Willingdon.

At times, however, knowing Ukrainian could be very useful, especially at Modern Tailors. As a prominent member of St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral parish, Peter Swist had many customers comfortable only in Ukrainian. Even so, Ukrainian had to be used discreetly, for Swist's business image was important, and he disliked hearing Ukrainian spoken within earshot of non-Ukrainians. The same business image was also responsible for my first name being changed to "Bob." At the men's-wear golf tournaments each spring our 'firm' of non-golfers ensconced itself for the afternoon at a table "on the 19th hole" and drank beer. On one such occasion (probably in 1946), I was 'rechristened' "Bob" to accommodate customers who found "Manoly" hard to pronounce and difficult to remember, business cards then being seldom used. "Manoly" also revealed a non-Anglo-Celtic origin, which sometimes led to discussions about background that Swist wished to avoid. We canvassed names, and I chose "Bob" because it was short and filled the bill.

The decision was not a difficult one, for I greatly disliked Mac, the usual short form for Manoly in the Ukrainian bloc, which Zenovia Kalancha had begun to encourage as early as grade five. With some people naturally substituting Robert for Bob, I adopted Robert as a middle name, always conscious of its unusual combination with Manoly. However, I never considered making an official name change, and the matter was not an issue. My parents did not object to the change, though Mom used "Bob" only with others. Name changes were common, their own names (Evdokia and Vasyl) having become Dorothy and Bill to meet Canadian circumstances. Within their own families short forms or Anglo equivalents were also common: Silver for Sylvester, Marshall for Myroslav, Walter (Walt) for Volodymyr and Fred for Onufrii. Such changes were part of the social baggage of bicultural individuals, though few simply added a second name as I did.

The name change notwithstanding, knowing Ukrainian became even more important once the Ukrainian Displaced Persons began to arrive in 1947. With jobs plentiful, the new immigrants became eager shoppers, and a few carefully chosen words in Ukrainian at the right time were frequently sufficient to close a sale. Otherwise, I had little contact with the new immigrants, derisively dubbed "DPs" by my father's generation and even by Swist himself. I felt sorry for them and was generally curious about their wartime experiences, especially the conditions of life in postwar Nazi Germany, from where many had come. Otherwise, like most North Americans, I was little impressed by immigrants and dismissed their critical comments about Canada's lack of "culture," discipline and educational standards. I seldom inquired about their origins in Ukraine and largely ignored their profound anti-communism, for unlike the fate of Berlin during the 1948 Soviet blockade or of Yugoslavia when resisting Stalin, the fate of Ukraine interested me little. I knew about its long struggle to win independence from Moscow and had learned to be suspicious of Russians long before the advent of the Cold War, but Ukrainian politics, like Ukrainian culture generally (apart from music), were far removed from my greatest concerns at the time. Among these, the most important by far was a good record at the university I was about to enter.

### *At the University*

In our extended families no one knew exactly what "going to university" meant, except that it was costly and that those who held the nicest jobs usually had university degrees. The immediate problem, of course, was the choice of career, for apart from avoiding anything that involved mathematics, I had no clear preference. In the spring of 1946, interested in studying music, I accompanied my grade-ten homeroom teacher, the German-born Ralph

Zuar, to dinner at a Professor Shaner's home to discuss possibilities. Shaner, a biologist, did not think the university offered much in music, but he advised postponing a decision until after a year in the Faculty of Arts.

Accordingly, late in September 1946 I registered in four basic arts courses—the history of English prose and poetry, Roman and medieval history, the principles of economics, a second language (French)—and a science option (chemistry, to avoid mathematics). In the second year the choice of career became more pressing. I liked history and my marks were above average, but the main problem was one that dogged all arts students: "What can one do with history (or a degree in arts)?" To keep my options open, I enrolled in second-year courses that met pre-law requirements, but I was really drawn to history and subconsciously leaned toward teaching, believing it would be easier to address children in classrooms than the law in courtrooms. In my university classes I also met students in honours history who discussed their programs, after I indicated a desire to maximize the history courses. From the same students I also heard much for the first time about graduate studies.



The author as a first-year university student, Edmonton, fall 1946.

In the spring of 1948 I transferred into honours history, thus committing myself to two more years in arts. In the short run, the decision was questionable, for teachers of social studies needed social-science courses as well as history. In the long run, however, the decision was a very good one, for it brought me close to Canadian historian Lewis G. Thomas, then completing graduate studies at Harvard University, whose strong recommendation was an important factor in my later admission to that university. For my area of concentration I chose European history, drawn to it by my interest in the history of Christianity, especially the Protestant Reformation. The most important immediate benefit was a marked improvement in grades, as honours students were noticed more, which encouraged better work. I also joined the History Club, which met monthly at professors' homes, where each student was expected to present a paper before graduating. I did mine on "The British Labor Party" in February 1950, the first paper I ever read.

At the time I was much interested in working-class history and trade unions. I sympathized with the street workers seen daily during the long streetcar rides to and from the university, and occasionally I hankered to be a trade-union leader or, in more romantic moments, even a labour lawyer concerned to improve the working conditions of the poorer classes. I was generally drawn to the left-of-centre, liberal democratic approach to social problems, which encouraged the study of ideologies and intellectual movements—the history of political, economic and social theory and of philosophy and religion. Occasionally, I discussed my impressions with Thomas, who also spent considerable time improving the syntax of my essays. At times curious about my ethnic and blue-collar origins, he wondered about my choice of honours history, which he thought unusual for individuals of my background.

Besides an inclination toward democratic socialism, I was also gradually moving toward a philosophy of life that was both skeptical of the claims of organized religion and drawn to the origins of human life in natural evolution, the latter assisted by a zoology class in the spring of 1948. The course instructor was William Rowan, a short, feisty, self-confessed atheist and redoubtable champion of natural evolution as the underlying principle of life, who looked to science and gave no quarter to theists in or out of class. But what impressed me even more was the discussion of “The Fact of Evolution” in our American text, *The Human Organism and the World of Life*, by C. W. Young and others. Their diagram of the human embryo that man shared with fish, salamanders, turtles, chickens, calves and rabbits pointed to a common origin; the evidence strongly suggested that natural evolution was the key to understanding the origins of man. Some men, I knew, needed other explanations, but there was no necessary connection between what some men needed and what was true. Additional evidence to discourage religious belief came from Christianity’s own sad history, in which I immersed myself. I was amazed how often church and biblical authority had been used and abused by powerful churchmen (and others) to meet personal or institutional goals, not the common good, in whose name the abuse was nonetheless too often justified.

Among other memorable undergraduate experiences were the second-year classes in eighteenth-century English literature from Henry Kreisel, whose integration of history and literature made John Dryden, Samuel Johnson, Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift live. Swift’s bitter use of irony and sarcasm in denouncing the avarice, cruelty and stupidity of his time especially impressed me. Kreisel, an Austrian Jew who had fled to England at seventeen to escape Hitler’s invasion in 1938 and was incarcerated as an “enemy alien” in England and New Brunswick (1940), was the first instructor to show any interest in the Ukrainian experience in Canada during our occasional conversations.

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Graduation on 16 May 1950 was a very proud day for my parents, especially as brother Walter, at the university since 1947, also received his Bachelor of Commerce degree on the same day. One month later he married Dorothy Fricker in the United Church chapel in St. Stephen's College on campus, judged by the newlyweds to be religiously neutral ground. Dorothy, who had lost her father in an accident when only thirteen, was "English," and in the bloc it was generally understood that "the English" looked down upon Ukrainian ways. My parents—especially Dad—had certain images of weddings, christenings and future relations with in-laws derived from the bloc, which were now being threatened. Fellow church members, for example, could hardly be invited to a wedding reception in the Ukrainian Orthodox *narodnyi dim* if one's son took his marriage vows elsewhere. As a result, in drawing up wedding plans, discussions between my parents and my brother (and occasionally me in support of him) were often difficult, especially when Dad felt that Ukrainian ways were being belittled. Dorothy's mother wanted neither an elaborate nor an expensive wedding. My parents, with large families and many friends, were suddenly faced with a full-blown cultural crisis. In the end the wedding came off smoothly, with fewer guests and speeches, but with the usual toasts and drinks at a sit-down dinner reception in our home. A nice dance (without the traditional *perepii*—gift-giving) followed in a small out-of-the-way nightclub that Walter and Dorothy had rented (it being Sunday) with Dad's help.

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Within a week of the wedding I left to attend a non-credit, two-month summer seminar course offered by the Institute of World Affairs in Salisbury, Connecticut. No fees were needed and accommodation was provided; all one had to do was get there. Having sent a student the year before, Lewis Thomas alerted me to the free passage provided by the CNR for cattlemen accompanying their shipments to Montreal. With permission from Weiller and Williams (the shipper), I rode and slept in the caboose for approximately a week, with stopovers in Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Ottawa, where the animals were rested and fed by others. From Montreal I took the bus to New York and then a train to Canaan, a short distance from Salisbury.

The Institute of World Affairs was the brainchild of a rich widow (Mrs. Alexander M. Hadden) on whose spacious country estate students lived and studied each summer. The morning seminars (the afternoons were free for reading and projects) were led by college and university professors mainly from the eastern United States, especially New England, who happily

exchanged their wisdom for the nice cottage that was provided on beautiful Twin Lakes. Of the fifty students (most in their early twenties), the majority were Americans, though four from eastern Canada also attended. A few were already into graduate studies in American universities. The institute's purpose was to present the American understanding of world affairs, but what I personally took away was primarily a love of New England that never left me. As business manager for the institute's modest yearbook, I had the use of a car to solicit advertisements from merchants within a fifty-mile radius, and in the booming economy the yearbook soon had more money than it needed. Of the people I met, the most interesting by far was a young American Marxist from New York City, from whom I learned several drinking songs that I later sang at parties. The one below was always a great hit:

The liquor was spilled on the barroom floor,  
 And the bar was closed for the night;  
 The little mouse ran from his hole in the wall  
 To dance in the pale moonlight.  
 He licked up the liquor on the barroom floor,  
 And back on his haunches he sat,  
 And all night long you could hear him roar:  
 "Bring out the goddamn cat!"

Late in September 1950 I entered the Faculty of Education, almost as if I were destined for teaching. Because only seven courses were needed, I completed the B.Ed. degree during summer school in August 1951 and immediately began my teaching career at the junior high school in Leduc, some fifteen miles south of Edmonton. The annual salary (\$2,425) was far from magnificent after five years of university. At the insistence of the superintendent I lived in Leduc, except for weekends. I taught social studies, literature, language, health and personal development, and boys' physical education classes.

Also on the staff was Albert (Bert) Hohol, who taught social studies and literature in the senior high school. Although he was from the same Ukrainian bloc (Duverney, northeast of Two Hills), we merely acknowledged the fact, and I was more than a bit surprised when, as minister of advanced education, he would later play a pivotal role in the establishment of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta. Hohol, then a left-of-centre liberal, loved politics, especially the politics of teacher-school board relations, which we often discussed. He was much involved in the creation of the strongest possible collective (and democratic) bargaining units for the Alberta Teachers' Association throughout the province. Strathcona County, always among the richest in Alberta and even more

so with the recent discovery of oil, had a school board with a provincial reputation for being arrogant, arbitrary and cheap; there was thus much to talk about. In the classroom I did my best to stay one step ahead of the students, with the very newness of the work turning the entire effort into something of a daily adventure. Discipline was not a problem, though I did strap one bright male student who seldom completed assignments (he went on to become a professor of educational psychology at the University of Alberta!). From 1952 to 1954 I taught the same subjects at McDougall Elementary and Junior High School in Edmonton.

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In my first year at McDougall I married Natalie (Natalia) Victoria Goresky, whom I had met under somewhat unusual circumstances. In mid-November 1950, while thumbing through the most recent yearbook of the St. John's Institute (the new Ukrainian Orthodox student residence in South Edmonton), I came across the picture of an attractive brunette with beautiful dark brown eyes. The Goresky name was familiar, for her uncle, Victor Goresky, was the doctor in Willingdon who had delivered my youngest brother (William) in 1934. Natalia's father had also been Willingdon's MLA (1930-35), and his name was occasionally part of mealtime conversations. To meet Natalia, I phoned St. John's and learned that she was teaching school in Newbrook, Alberta. When she replied to my letter, we met at her aunt's place in Edmonton on 6 December, complete with her aunt, her parents, little brother, younger sister and maternal grandmother—a formidable group indeed! We were engaged in October 1952 and set the wedding for 7 April to facilitate graduate studies that fall.

Because we both wanted a Canadian wedding, where the bride came down the aisle on her father's arm rather than having the priest meet the bridal couple at the church entrance, music for the aisle walk became a major concern. Renting an organ, I was told, totally violated Orthodox tradition, and having the march sung by my grade eight students under their music teacher's direction was at best a ticklish proposition. In the end Natalia and I approached the St. John's choir and agreed to join it in exchange for its services. As a result, we attended weekly practices and sang in church on Sundays for the next year and a half.

For the ceremony we omitted the bridal couple's traditional triple walk around the altar with crowns on their heads. No one objected or even seemed to notice. We hired a modern "swing" orchestra; the violins and accordions usually prominent at Ukrainian weddings were out! Except for the toast to the bride, the speeches were short, my own reply included, and (following the etiquette books) the parents did not speak at the reception in the old

Hrushevsky Institute's *narodnyi dim*. With graduate studies on the horizon and funds needed, we held the traditional *perepii* and received \$600. As we banked the amount next morning, we agreed that some Ukrainian customs could be very useful!

After a trip to Spokane, we settled down in a spacious old brick farmhouse near the Namao School, where Natalia had been teaching the elementary grades since 1952. Natalia's father was the superintendent of schools in the Thorhild County. Born in Barbivtsi, Bukovyna, in 1902, he and his younger brother, Victor, had accompanied their mother to Canada in 1906, a year after his father had settled in Stony Mountain, Manitoba. In 1918 he began teaching in Rosa, Manitoba, where he met and married Anne Paley, born to Ukrainian parents in the district. Natalia herself was born in Smoky Lake, Alberta, where her father had been the school principal after 1926. Because of numerous common interests, he understood my desire to undertake graduate studies, having himself once considered the study of British constitutional history at Oxford University before the Great Depression intervened.

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Uncertain about the choice of university and postgraduate specialization, I consulted Herbert Coutts, one of my better instructors in the Faculty of Education. He recommended the University of Minnesota (where he had completed his doctorate) for the study of educational psychology, the area I favoured as the most useful for future work in the classroom. With a year's leave from the Edmonton school system and adequate finances—our savings, the wedding donation and Natalia's immigration visa, which permitted employment—we took off for Minnesota in August 1954, driving with the Goreskys as far as Manitoba.

In Minneapolis, where Natalia found work in the university's Office of Admissions, the large size of the campus, with an enrollment of some 25,000, really amazed us. However, within the first week I realized that I was in the wrong graduate program. Besides the unfamiliar terminology of educational psychology, the statistics courses involved mathematics, always intimidating. I was also enrolled in "Critical Issues in Education," a sociology course in the foundations of education, a new area that analyzed education from historical, philosophical, sociological and comparative perspectives. In the philosophy of education summer course at the University of Alberta in 1951, the foundations of education had not been mentioned, nor did the faculty offer other courses in the area. The discovery that Minnesota had two full-time instructors in educational foundations (Robert Beck, a sociologist, and Fred Ellis in the history and philosophy of education) really set me thinking.

Beck and Ellis agreed that my background was better suited to foundations, and with Ellis's help I switched to history and philosophy of education with political science as a minor. As I still intended to return to the classroom, Ellis also agreed that the non-thesis route—three major research papers (colloquia)—was preferable. Despite the pressures of the quarter system, I did well, and it was soon clear that I could compete without difficulty. The most serious gaps were in philosophy. Hitherto I had studied philosophers largely through survey courses about their ideas; now I had to read their works. The first test came in the graduate seminar on John Dewey, where the main text was Dewey's *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, as much a critique of earlier philosophers and philosophic schools as a presentation of his own views. To have suddenly to cope with a gamut of thinkers—blamed by Dewey for much that was wrong with earlier approaches to education—was to read and reread sentences, paragraphs and whole sections for their elusive meaning.

Early in February I applied for a scholarship to Harvard University “on spec,” not really believing I would be admitted. Fred Ellis and Lewis Thomas, both with doctorates from Harvard, supplied supporting letters, and late in April, though denied the advertised scholarship, I was awarded a graduate fellowship that waived tuition fees and offered an unspecified stipend for the supervision of student teachers. The ‘good news’ was temporarily a mixed blessing, for Natalia had just become pregnant and I had been awarded a university fellowship as Ellis's teaching assistant. Ellis, however, saw no reason to hesitate; he could easily arrange an oral exam for the master's, confident that I would complete the last of the three colloquia that summer.

Harvard turned out to be the experience of a lifetime. Informed by Thomas that some families offered accommodation in exchange for student help, we consulted Harvard's housing bureau and found the Cochranes at 74 Clyde Street in Brookline, a wealthy suburb of Boston. Natalia's pregnancy was an important factor in choosing the Cochranes. Even though ours were the former servants' quarters—a second-storey bedroom (that had to double as a study) and a bathroom—an adjoining room could easily accommodate a baby, and the rest of the house was enormous, with spacious grounds. In exchange for lodgings, our responsibilities were not onerous. Natalia mainly babysat the children, ironed and mended their clothes and polished the silver. I polished the floors and vacuumed the rugs, shovelled the walk and the driveway and chauffeured the children, usually on weekends. As a result, living with the Cochranes (with whom we socialized only on high holidays like Thanksgiving and Christmas) was pleasant, except for the constant chill in the house during the damp Boston winters.

At the university I enrolled in the Ph.D. in Education program, a special degree in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. The choice was deliberate, for the Ed.D. was generally less well regarded in the academy, and I wished to avoid anything that might stand in the way of future employment. While the Ph.D. did require two languages (I offered a reading knowledge of French and Russian, Ukrainian not being acceptable), it was otherwise more flexible, allowing me to continue supplementing history and philosophy of education with political studies.

As America's first colonial college, where classes had been held since 1636, Harvard was a startling contrast to the University of Alberta, then not yet fifty years old. Many of the ivy-covered student residences were more than two hundred years old, and the sheer idea of a walled undergraduate college in the midst of a bustling suburb (Cambridge) was quite incredible. Then there were the lecturers—among them such 'stars' as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (American history), Morton White (philosophy of history), Oscar Handlin (American ethnic history) and Louis Hartz (political science). Academically, the competition was stiff. From the licence plates near campus, it was clear that students were drawn from every American state; and from the diversity of foreign students, it was easy to believe (as I was told) that Harvard divided the world into areas or regions to secure the widest possible representation. Unlike Minnesota, there were more exams, but the written work was similar, though my grades were generally slightly lower.

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As a liberal arts college that had historically helped to define the educated man as one whose general studies preceded training in a profession, Harvard was a very good place to study the problem of providing a liberal education for all in a political democracy. Harvard was also where I gradually pieced together what I thought was a fairly coherent philosophy of education (and life) based on the study of history and philosophy. At the heart of that philosophy were ideas gleaned from John Dewey and several other American philosophers, most notably William James, as well as England's Bertrand Russell and all who strove to base morality in natural reason and science rather than religion and the supernatural. What attracted me most to the naturalistic philosophers was their secular humanism, their social democratic liberalism, their grounding of human values in this world, their critique of transcendentalism (and its historical association with absolutism and authoritarianism), their support of science and the scientific method (and the way Dewey, in particular, related both to intelligent behaviour), and the key role that Dewey assigned to education, knowledge and intelligence in coping with the *Problems of Men* (1946), the title of one of his more readable books.

I was particularly drawn to Dewey because he tirelessly stressed the close relationship between *Democracy and Education* (1916), which spoke to the central issue of how to provide a liberating education for all, so essential to the functioning of modern political democracies. Dewey disliked transcendental philosophers, because the vast majority favoured the Greek and Christian approaches to reality and how man comes to know it. In his view transcendental philosophers had failed to equip ordinary human beings to govern themselves. Very critical of tradition, external authority, dogmatism and authoritarianism, Dewey argued for openness and flexibility in all things, especially the schools.

Dewey also made the theory of Darwinian evolution the centrepiece of his philosophy. The theory cut the ground from under the notion of special creation and rendered obsolete the assumption that man is an alien in a hostile world. On the contrary, nature and society could support the ideals of human beings in democratic societies, allowing them to think in terms of what is “better” and “best” for improving man’s natural and social state. The process that unites the actual in nature with human ideals—the vision of the ideal made real—can be seen as the realization of “God,” a concept defined in Dewey’s *A Common Faith* (1934) in purely naturalistic terms. Thus, all striving that adds to the sum total of knowledge or improves the lot of mankind is a religious act. To me, the anthropomorphic God of most Christians made no sense, and if that made me an atheist, so be it.

Needless to say the above was a very cerebral approach to religion, one that offered little comfort in the face of tragedy or death, and it is at such times that the consoling role of conventional Christianity comes into play. For me, however, the problem with conventional Christianity was its theological baggage—concepts like the Immaculate Conception, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Trinity, and phenomena like heaven, hell, miracles, saints, Holy Scripture, etc. To accept the truth (the reality) of such ‘things’ was difficult enough, but to accept them as Truth capitalized—bolstered by Holy Writ—strained all credulity. In allegory and myth they could be interesting, but few religious leaders would see them as such. Public schools and universities in liberal democracies had, I thought, to prepare future citizens to assign their own meanings to life.

Such meanings were especially important because, to me, there was no necessary connection between religion and morality—between belief in such moral attributes as loving one’s neighbour, honouring one’s parents, being honest, shunning adultery, etc. and belief in the supernatural. It was as easy to find naturalists (who rejected the supernatural) who were humanitarians as it was to find supernaturalists who were not humanitarians. I was especially impressed by Dewey’s insistence that the worth of any idea was its practical consequences. Thought could not be divorced from action,

and one's behaviour was therefore as important as one's precepts. To hand children pat answers (Christian formulas) about the origins and purpose of the universe—including the purpose of life—entailed indoctrination that only turned North Americans into a non-philosophical people, little interested in pursuing the meaning of life for themselves. Liberal political democracies required people who could constitute their own independent intellectual authority. They did not need book-worshippers, least of all worshippers of ancient writings seen as Absolute Truth.

Because of such intellectual influences, I emerged from my studies strongly opposed to all absolutes except for the absolutely central place of the self-corrective scientific method as one's intellectual authority and the equally self-corrective democratic creed as the core of one's liberal faith. The scientific method is well known and needs little attention. Among its most attractive features are the twin beliefs that the ultimate authority for any conclusion has to be rooted in natural phenomena, as revealed by observation and experimentation (testing, doing, etc.). All operations have to be performed openly and be publicly verifiable (i.e., others should be able to repeat the same procedures). This differs fundamentally from such other intellectual approaches to truth (and knowledge) as intuition, rationalization, appeal to authority and deductive reasoning from first principles, all historically common among both philosophers and theologians.

The democratic creed at the core of liberalism is also well known and refers to basic civil rights: respect for the dignity of every individual; the freedom to speak, read, write, teach and worship according to one's conscience, limited (if at all) by the need to protect the freedom of others; government based on the informed and freely given consent of the governed; respect for differences among individuals, groups and peoples; and equality of opportunity for individuals to develop themselves and to contribute to the development of others. The true intellectual had constantly to be on guard against science being trammelled by earlier truth (and Truth) and against liberalism being compromised by the ideological and political fanaticism of either the Left or the Right.

I also learned to distinguish between big-L and small-l liberalism and to appreciate the latter as an advance on the former. The Liberalism of Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill favoured *laissez-faire* economics and a very limited role for the state. The Great Depression had exposed the shortcomings of unbridled free enterprise. As one liberal succinctly put it, liberalism stands for "freedom plus groceries" for all, and the positive social role of the state is to encourage a mixed economy (a mixture of private and public enterprise) to ward off authoritarian political systems. Business interests that opposed taxation for public purposes affected public schooling at all levels and had especially to be resisted. Equally annoying was their

monitoring (like the churches of old) of curricula for content critical of business and their pressuring of schools to distribute “positive” literature.

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While the above provided a basic orientation to one’s academic work, outside the classroom one had to be pragmatic and adjust to the demands of family and friends, occasionally participating in activities important to them. A case in point was the christening in Edmonton in September 1956 of our son David, born in February that year. Our parents expected a christening, and I did not really mind, especially as it also provided an excuse for a fine family gathering. The brief bilingual service in my parents’ home revealed baby David to have been born in sin (!), which even left his mother wondering about the underpinnings of some Christian beliefs, as I later explained the theological doctrine of original sin. The christening was important for another reason. For the first time we listened to some very fine Ukrainian music on two long-playing records provided by Natalia’s uncle—*Songs and Dances of the Ukraine* (volume one) and *Folk Dances and Songs from the Ukraine*—both recently taped in the Soviet Union and reproduced in New York on the Monitor and Colosseum labels. The quality was excellent and on our return to Boston we immediately purchased both. North Americans now had their first contact with first-class classical, folk and contemporary music from Ukraine, and it did much to raise one’s pride in Ukrainian culture.

The recordings, however, were not our only contact with Ukrainian culture in Boston. In February 1957 William Pidruchny, the district agriculturalist in Willingdon in the 1930s, visited his daughter, Lillian, who had earlier called with her husband, Victor Chanasyk, enrolled in the Harvard graduate program in landscape architecture. Invited to accompany them to a Ukrainian Orthodox church service in Boston, Natalia excused herself on account of David, and I went alone. The parish was small, consisting primarily of blue-collar families, with very few business people and only one professional, a young engineer. In subsequent months our contacts with the Ukrainian community were few but memorable. Invited to special events, we attended because of the community’s small size and its gratitude for even the smallest favours. In the spring of 1958, for example, Natalia taught several interested women to paint Ukrainian Easter eggs, as the technique was rapidly disappearing, and in May, just before we left Boston, we even donated twenty-five dollars toward the new church that the community was building. We were almost broke, but the needs of the parish were even greater than ours, especially as the raffles, dinners and carolling yielded little, and the workers’ donations were seldom large.

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I passed my written and oral exams in May 1957 and began the search for a suitable dissertation topic. As support, I taught a course at Boston University on "School and Society" and supervised student teachers for Harvard, the part-time work garnering a combined income of \$1,800 in the fall and winter of 1957-58. I had definitely decided to do a study in the history of education encompassing religion, government and education, a power relationship that fascinated me. After Lewis Thomas indicated that my first topic, "Church-State Relations in Alberta (1905-1955)" had been pre-empted, I sounded him out on another—citizenship and education in Alberta "with reference to its impact on minority settlements...or should the topic prove too unwieldy, on some one minority group such as the Ukrainians or the French." With the new direction generally encouraged, I began to examine the source materials on ethnicity in North America.

As usual, the United States was far ahead of Canada, and I especially profited from the sociological writings on ethnicity, assimilation, social class, and generational conflict by Robert Parks and his "school" at the University of Chicago. When I discovered Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted* (1951), I also had Natalia read it, as it captured well much of what our families had experienced. I also digested Paul Yuzyk's *Ukrainians in Manitoba* (1953), especially valuable for its clear account of the different organizations within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. In time I reviewed the articles available on Slavs, Ukrainians and other continental immigrants in Canadian periodicals before 1914 and was amazed by the amount of attention paid to people like my grandparents.

Early in April 1958 I was awarded one of the first Canada Council doctoral fellowships, worth \$2,500, and the council's press release in the *Edmonton Journal* spurred Herbert Coutts, now dean of the Faculty of Education (with whom I had been in occasional contact), to offer me a position to teach social studies methodology at the secondary school level and to help develop a new introductory course in educational foundations. Once Coutts assured me that the period from mid-May to mid-September would be free each year to complete the dissertation, my advisors at Harvard encouraged me to accept, which I did on 20 May.

On our way back we stopped in Winnipeg, where I visited the archives of the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok). Having read Yuzyk's book, I phoned him (we had still to meet), and he and Jaroslav Rudnycky, both on the academic staff of the University of Manitoba, strongly encouraged my interest in researching the Ukrainian Canadians, while showing me the centre in whose development both had been prominent. At the Ukrainian Book Store I also added to our Slavic record

collection, purchasing *Russian Folk Songs*, largely because of a beautiful piece by Ivan Kozlovsky, the Ukrainian tenor in the operetta *Natalka Poltavka*, a record album Natalia had given me for Christmas in 1953. Unlike many Ukrainians, I then had no strong feelings about the Russians, and in any case music, I thought, was above politics. On 6 June, as we pulled up in front of my parents' home, we were down to our last five dollars. Even so, we were not in debt, though our parents had to meet our basic needs until mid-August, when I received \$650 for a summer school course in the philosophy of education. Without funds and with little David clearly better off in a house than in an apartment, by the end of August I had persuaded Natalia (who was not keen about either the house or the Holyrood area) to purchase my parents' house. Borrowing the down payment from Natalia's parents, we assumed the mortgage, my father agreeing to block off part of the unfinished basement for a study.

# Chapter Two

## TEACHING AND LIVING IN TWO CULTURAL WORLDS (1958–67)

### *The University World*

**A**lthough I came to the University of Alberta to help prepare teachers of secondary school social studies and to offer courses in the history and philosophy of education, there was another world—the Ukrainian-Canadian one that constantly impinged and could not be ignored for two reasons. First, I had grown up in that world and was proud of my Ukrainian origins; second, my doctoral dissertation on how the early English-French cultural dualism affected education in western Canada provided insights into Canada’s crisis of culture in the 1960s—insights that informed my understanding of the predicament in which Ukrainians suddenly found themselves. As a result, I was often athwart two worlds, balancing their interests and needs as best I could, not always, I fear, too successfully.

To the university itself, I came with the conscience of an educational and social reformer. As a province, Alberta still had a long way to go, as I indicated in an address to Edmonton’s secondary school social studies teachers in February 1961:

...one has but to walk through any one of Alberta’s junior high or elementary schools to see that nowhere is there to be found a library with a full-time librarian, nor is there a full-time, trained guidance counsellor, nor are there supervisors for each subject taught, nor is there an audio-visual aids room, etc.

.....  
One could go on and note the virtually slum-like existence of many of our people in prairie towns of less than 1000 population...the broken-down, weather-beaten wooden houses, the weeds everywhere, and the general lack of landscaping or public parks, the unsightly outhouses, the lack of drainage, the unpaved streets, and the mud and dust in summer.

Alberta, with its oil and other natural resources, had the base from which to be much better. In fact, never in human history had ordinary people had a better opportunity to claim what rightfully belonged to them—living standards and public institutions to which, after uncommon sacrifices through a terrible economic depression and two world wars, they were richly entitled.

With Alberta's Faculty of Education the first in Canada to provide teacher education within a university, the latter's reputation as an educational innovator preceded me. I took comfort in knowing that my appointment showed a serious interest in educational foundations, which culminated in a separate department in May 1961. It was very exciting to be on the ground floor, even though it did entail the seemingly endless preparation of new courses: the history- and sociology-based introduction to education (1958), the history of education in Canada at the undergraduate level (1965), issues in contemporary Canadian education (1966), the history of education in western Canada at the graduate level (1967), the education (historically) of selected minorities in western Canada (1971) and eventually even the history of Ukrainians in Canada for the Department of History (1976).

The interest in reform did not entail political partisanship. I was a card-carrying member of the New Democratic Party only in 1962-63, the result of a visit from its very persuasive provincial secretary, Grant Notley, concerned to see a professors' group on campus. Curious, I attended a meeting in November to hear Neil Reimer, the national president, speak. Although left-of-centre, I avoided political involvement because time did not permit the kind of politicking that effective input required. During elections I generally voted for the best Liberal or NDP candidate—never for the conservative. However, I was always close to the Better Education Association, organized in 1960 to elect public school board trustees who placed education above the more usual political and business interests. By 1963 I was chairman of the association's policy committee and subsequently of its program committee for public forums. By the midsixties the association had elected five of Edmonton's seven public school trustees.

In classroom lectures certain basic themes were stressed. With "progressive education"—commonly understood to be inspired by John Dewey's philosophy—then under strong attack by conservatives in the academy and elsewhere, I was very concerned to show its historical, and especially its philosophical, roots in how human beings come to know reality—the main dividing line between conservatives and liberals in education. Another central theme was the crucial importance of a liberal education at the senior high school level, because most students would never attend college or university. To me, grades nine through twelve were so important that I dubbed them "the people's university." Where else but in the senior grades would the vast majority of future citizens formally explore the political, economic, social, religious and sexual realities of our culture? Related was the emphasis on how social class influences schooling—badly needed, I thought, in a part of the world whose main newspaper could actually condemn a local politician for "trying to create classes in a nation where none exist" (*Edmonton Journal*, 13 November 1959).

In my philosophy of education classes I urged students to define their own philosophies of life. I was particularly taken by the hold that the Christian consensus had had on western civilization, reaching its apogee in the Middle Ages before its subsequent bifurcation into Catholic and Protestant ‘circles’ with Martin Luther’s rebellion against the Universal Church in 1517. Luther’s revolt, I thought, was the crowning moment for intellectual freedom, for the breakaway process, once begun, was unstoppable, as Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin quickly showed in Geneva. The upshot was a great proliferation of faith-based circles, some large—Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist—others small—Seventh-Day Adventist, Unitarian and a host of evangelical sects and cults. Religious pluralism encouraged philosophical and ideological speculation, resulting in a bewildering array of additional circles, some primarily secular—rational humanist, monarchist, socialist, anarchist, atheist—others with philosophical origins abroad—Hare Krishna, Zen Buddhist—each clamouring for man’s attention and support. *Which circle should one embrace, especially as it was generally expected that most mature human beings lived by some set of consistent values and beliefs?* Students were urged to think about the circle—any non-totalitarian circle—that would eventually constitute their philosophy of life. Or did they wish to live with one handed down to them by others? Most, I found, had not given the matter much thought.

Because of the Cuban crisis in October 1962, the Cold War also had a major impact on my teaching. “Education for Human Survival” became a separate unit in my philosophy of education course and eventually constituted the core issue of its offshoot, “Issues in Contemporary Canadian Education.” And since the Western world’s chief antagonist in the Cold War was the communist Soviet Union (which, of course, enveloped Ukraine), it is important to convey something of my approach to the communist world in the 1960s. The ultimate purpose of the “Issues” course was, I told an *Edmonton Journal* reporter in December 1966, to “encourage teachers to give children more than just an attitude of anti-communism. If people better understood Communism and the conditions which encouraged it, it would be easier for politicians to cope with the Cold War in more than ‘black and white’ terms.”

The week between Monday, 22 October 1962, when President Kennedy first reported the Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, and Sunday, the 28<sup>th</sup>, when the Soviets agreed to remove them in exchange for the withdrawal of U.S. missiles in Turkey and American guarantees not to invade Cuba, was the most harrowing of the entire Cold War. With tensions mounting and the students anxious, I drew on my political studies and met the philosophy classes with articles from my clipping files on Cuba and Latin America—articles from such easily accessible newsstand sources as *Life*, *Time*, *Maclean’s* and the

*Edmonton Journal*, through which I hoped to demonstrate the underlying causes of the Cold War. After the Soviets had been roundly condemned, I read preselected passages from the articles, prefacing each with either “Did you know...?” or “Are you aware...?” to show the fundamental nature of superpower politics in a nuclear age and the naïveté of most North Americans about political revolution.

The piece below from the *Journal* (23 November 1961) by George Sherman, an American reporter in Bogotá for the Worldwide Press Service, was typical of the factual approach:

About half the 200,000,000 people in Latin America are illiterate. The figures range from a low of 13 per cent in Argentina to 55 per cent in Brazil to 89 per cent in Haiti.

Latin America has about 165,000 miles of improved highways—less than in Texas.

There are 1,900,000 automobiles—fewer than in Florida—and slightly more than 3,500,000 telephones, fewer than in Pennsylvania.

Fewer than five per cent of the landowners possess 70 per cent of the arable land.

In the same issue William L. Ryan, an American reporter newly returned from a month’s tour of South America, quoted the typical advice that Latin Americans had offered North Americans: “Get behind our revolution. Get behind land reform, social reform, monetary reform, psychological reform. Let the rich man scream. In the long run these are the only things that will save him.” The Cuban crisis was rooted, I said, in the great disparity of wealth that brought on armed revolutions to create a new social order—an order that the Soviet Union generally favoured and North Americans generally opposed. In such circumstances mankind might well have to face more Cubas, even if it survived the present crisis.

On Friday (the 26<sup>th</sup>), with the crisis still unresolved, I brought into class an article, “Changing Values,” written in 1961 by Brock Chisholm, a Canadian physician who had been director of the World Health Organization and a prominent figure in the peace movement in North America. Chisholm’s hard-hitting piece, prepared for the Canadian Conference on Education held in Montreal early in March 1962, captured well mankind’s terrible predicament, which the Cuban crisis finally exposed. Because of nuclear warfare, he declared:

...the whole system of competition to the death between groups has broken down and cannot be re-established. Relative strength has

become meaningless with the universal ability to kill universally. The survival unit [from the immediate family to the extended family, clan, tribe, nation and empire] suddenly has become the human race itself.... Concern for [its] survival...which includes a not too disparate standard of living for all people, must become a high-level, over-riding moral value for vast numbers of people if we are to have any real hope of peace and continuing social evolution.... This necessity implies many changes in attitudes, many of which will require changes in the education of children.

Along with Chisholm's paper, certain other articles eventually became staples. A piece by Ian Sclanders, *Maclean's* reporter in Washington, showed "How propagandists (on both sides) distort innocence" (7 October 1961):

...Americans have a mental image of an evil Russian leadership that wants and drives toward war, and...Russians have an identical mental image of American leadership.... In short, the principal impact of Russian propaganda has been on the Russians themselves, not on the Americans, and the principal impact of American propaganda has been on Americans, not Russians.

At the time equating North American accounts of communism with propaganda bordered on subversion, and not surprisingly I occasionally noticed new faces near the back of the class, which some students thought were RCMP agents.

In time other reports offered facts and figures that covered the gamut of Cold-War politics: the large expenditures on armaments (with Canada as an arms peddler); the chronic Western shortfalls in foreign-aid budgets; the emotional impact of nationalism on the masses; the Holy Grail of national sovereignty, along with the very limited powers of the United Nations and the even more impotent International Court of Justice at the Hague; the effect of overpopulation on the disparities between rich and poor nations; the forces (mainly religious) that opposed artificial birth control; and finally the ideological debate in "political heaven" (North America) between the Left and the Right on how best to cope with Latin America's most volatile ingredients—poverty, overpopulation, impatient youth—just waiting to explode. The more radical political right wing came in for special attention—groups like the Ontario-based Canadian League of Rights (publisher of the *Canadian Intelligence Service*) and the American Moral Re-Armament movement, which stood for the Republic (the Crown, in Canada), the family, responsibility and God, and claimed a monopoly on the world's morality as well. Fortunately, none in Canada produced articles like "Towards a

Theology of Survival" by Frederick D. Wihelmsen in William F. Buckley, Jr.'s very conservative *National Review*, which declared that Saint Augustine and the Christian tradition "tell us that ultimate survival of this beloved civilization is hidden in the Wisdom and the Will of God." Most students concluded that to put mankind's survival in a nuclear age into the hands of some godhead was ultimately to put it into the hands of no one.

With much of the world in a state of social revolution to achieve a better way of life, I was not inviting the students to take up arms—only to participate in an intellectual revolution to help ensure continued rational social evolution. Those brought up to oppose artificial birth control, for example, had to realize that such birth control, at least in the Third World, was absolutely essential to control overpopulation. Those brought up to equate land reform, racial equality and state ownership of utilities, transportation and even factories with communism had to realize that in some parts of the world such measures were the surest alternatives to communism. Those brought up to see imperialism largely as an earlier European phenomenon had to realize that the economic imperialism of contemporary North American capitalism (often aided by Christian missionaries) could be just as exploitative. Those brought up to see North American genius as alone responsible for our high standards of living had to realize that such standards were often related to the low living standards of the vast majority of North America's southern neighbours. Those brought up to believe in voluntary social service on a charitable basis (the American Peace Corps or the Canadian University Services Overseas, for example) had to realize that such service was not necessarily disinterested in the eyes of recipients who might prefer aid to train native-born professionals. In short, the students and *their* secondary school students had to appreciate that the way North Americans traditionally dealt with social problems at home was not necessarily the best way to meet social problems in South America (or Africa or Asia). The realities of the changing total situation, as Chisholm had pointed out, simply forbade such indiscriminate export of our way of life.

As for the other superpower—the communist Soviet Union—"the enemy" was presented as revolutionaries in the tradition of earlier American and French revolutionaries, with the added burden of an even more backward earlier empire ruled by aristocratic despots who had denied their subjects the benefits not only of the above revolutions, but of the earlier Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment as well. In 1917 the Soviets had taken over the most underdeveloped and least progressive part of Europe, along with millions of people beyond the Urals, in none of whom the West had earlier shown much interest. To have all children finally in school—the obvious indoctrination notwithstanding (I saw the West's indoctrination as only a difference in kind)—and to give all individuals access (for the first time) to

medical and dental care, hospitals, pensions, low-cost housing, sports and cultural events, as well as work that ensured a steady income was important in a society previously dominated by the insecurity of a rigid social structure that the poor could only escape through flight. Even the resulting political totalitarianism could, to some extent, be attributed to the West's unrelenting hostility toward the Russian Revolution. Once the West accepted the latter, its leaders, I thought, would be in a better position to relax internal controls and gradually liberalize the communist way of life.

Accounts by Western reporters of improvements in the living standards of Soviet and East European citizens were introduced, especially such as displayed Western values and showed ordinary Soviet people hankering for the same things as ordinary people in the West already enjoyed. Without minimizing the Soviet bloc's many inadequacies—especially its all-pervasive authoritarianism—it was also true that, as *Newsweek* periodically reported, "From a backward, semi-Oriental despotism Russia has surged ahead in the last half century to superpower status" (23 October 1967).

...millions of East Europeans, virtually overnight, have been uprooted from their villages and propelled into the towns. These people are being forced—in a single generation—to leap from the late Middle Ages into the twentieth century. The process can be cruel, the cost in human suffering incalculable. Yet industrialization is inexorable—and in Eastern Europe it is benefiting more people than it hurts (*ibid.*, 28 October 1963).

The change, moreover, was being accomplished in spite of the terrible losses and waste of the Second World War. Nowhere in the history of mankind was a society being rebuilt on such a large scale by the sons and daughters of ordinary people—individuals like Nikita Khrushchev, a miner's son who, though naïve and gauche (even crude and rude when tested abroad), had the good sense and courage to admit Stalin's terrible legacy and to begin the important process of liberalization. By Western standards, the latter was still much too slow (I personally had no illusions about surviving more than ten days as a free-thinking, outspoken academic in Khrushchev's world—and said so), but for the great mass of ordinary Soviet citizens, life was better than it had been under the tsars. To us, the Soviet system might be a form of enslavement, but to young people enslaved by poverty in the Third World, what did it really matter?

In the end I encouraged the study of other ways of life for their similarities rather than their differences. First and foremost, the common aspirations of mankind were stressed. Among ordinary people there was a universal desire for privacy, a balanced diet and freedom from want and

from fear. Most wished to see their children better off than themselves; to live in peace and avoid war; and to win and hold the good opinion (respect) of others. Since human beings generally preferred routine and stability to change, where such aspirations were reasonably met people did not normally join revolutionary movements, the efforts of agitators on the left or the right notwithstanding.

The common mechanisms of social control were also stressed. All societies created anxieties in their people—the communists had their secret police and the capitalists their unemployment. All societies deified individuals who embodied their moral principles and values—the Soviets had their Lenin and the West its Jesus Christ. All societies had their eschatologies or accounts of last things—the Soviets believed ultimately in the withering away of the state and the West in a Christian heaven. And because all big powers craved spheres of influence—their rhetoric about the bounties of democracy, Christianity, capitalism or communism notwithstanding—their way of life in the end depended upon controlling or at least strongly influencing the culture of others, their propaganda always portraying them as better than their rivals. To mitigate the worst of Cold-War confrontations, one had to appreciate that political independence without economic self-determination was hollow, and that there really was no necessary connection between capitalism (or even private property) and political democracy or between morality and belief in some supernatural being, not even the Christian one.

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During the 1960s our closest friends were mainly faculty colleagues, most being newcomers to the university like ourselves. We saw a lot of Bryan and Ann Dockrell from Ireland (via graduate studies in the United States), John and Shirley Macdonald from Scotland, fellow Canadians Cliff and Ethel Christensen and Russ and Helen McArthur—all in educational psychology, and Evelyn Moore from Australia in elementary school social studies. We also socialized often with Metro Gulutsan, another educational psychologist who joined the faculty in 1962, and his wife Lena. The Gulutsans were by far the closest of our Ukrainian friends. Also near were Leo and Betty Krysa, to whose first-born child Natalia and I were godparents. As a very successful businessman, Leo provided interesting insights into a totally different commercial world.

A Ukrainian couple whom we saw less often was Taras and Tetiana (Tania) Lytviak. Taras was a former Soviet army officer (first lieutenant) captured by the Germans, who, having refused repatriation, married Tania (a German of mixed Polish-Ukrainian background) and immigrated to Canada as a trained electrician. In Alberta the construction companies, he

said, had exploited him, and by the time he entered the Faculty of Education in 1958 he was a very bitter man in his late thirties. I first noticed him in one of my introductory classes and was drawn to him because he was not only an immigrant who needed help but also an interesting product of the Soviet system. Although strongly opposed to communist thought control and Moscow's Russification policies in Ukraine, his opinion of the Western way of life was no less jaundiced. Well-read, with a strong social conscience, he was honest and almost brutally frank, disdainful of the trifles, gimmickry and gadgetry prevalent in bourgeois societies, and contemptuous of most middle-class values and conventions. Fiercely opposed to all forms of exploitation, he had North American civilization on almost daily trial, and it is never hard to find much in liberal capitalist democracies that is ludicrous, tawdry, cheap, immoral, contradictory or hypocritical. It was very painful at times to observe Lytviak's struggle to mediate the values of the Soviet and North American worlds.

His blistering indictment of the Canadian school system won him few friends among his colleagues. To him, its greatest weakness was the absence of any real commitment to learning—the result of an indulgent society lacking great ends or purposes. The Soviet Union, despite its totalitarianism, possessed goals that, he believed, inspired the young, who both studied hard and went on to value culture and foster the public welfare. In 1961, after his paper on the worker in Soviet society, I had him address my classes as a Marxist disenchanted with the educational systems of the capitalist and communist worlds. Although Lytviak was flattered, the experience did not translate into a more appreciative view of North American society, despite my repeated assurances that life for his six Canadian-born children would certainly be better. As the sixties wore on, we met some of the Lytviaks' friends, of whom the most interesting was undoubtedly Yuriy Stefanyk, a contact with important consequences in the early 1970s, as we shall see.

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Besides effective teaching, modern universities also required a doctoral dissertation, on which intensive work could not begin until May 1959. By September it was clear that the most critical period for church-state relations in education in Alberta was before 1905. In May 1960, with the discovery of some twenty thick typed volumes of territorial Bishop Vital Grandin's papers (in French) in the archives of the missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Edmonton, the scope was further narrowed to the Roman Catholic Church. In Mundare, Alberta, I found the Ukrainian Catholic church archives of little value, especially once I was denied access to the daily chronicle (1902-5) of Father Platonid Filas, the first Basilian provincial.

The research had its other untoward moments. Informed by Father Paul Breton, the Oblate archivist, that the papers of Bishop Emile Legal, Grandin's successor in 1902, were in the archbishop's "palace," I approached Archbishop J. H. Macdonald, who insisted that the archivist was "wrong"—the papers were not in the archbishop's possession and their whereabouts were unknown. When I protested, the reply was curt: "Who should know better, the archbishop or Father Breton?" This, of course, ended the matter, for I certainly did not know—and said so, to raised episcopal eyebrows. Within two hours I was on the road to St. Boniface, Manitoba, which an embarrassed Breton assured me had most of the materials I still needed. Although I came unannounced, with only Breton's good name as reference, I was received with kindness, and the materials were exceedingly rich. In time the archival vault was thrown wide open, I was given a key to the residence and during a long seven weeks the clergy even occasionally translated particularly faint passages in the old episcopal copybooks.

Upon my return I learned that the archbishop's chancellor had phoned shortly after I left. Accordingly, I accessed the Legal papers in the episcopal residence and was made very welcome, with the embarrassed archbishop even inviting me to dinner. I admitted to being of Ukrainian Orthodox background (which appeared to please him), and we skipped about from subject to subject without incident. After I sent him a copy of the dissertation, his Christmas greeting in 1963 indicated that he had read the first three parts and found them "exceedingly interesting, well written, abundantly documented and quite objective as far as I have gone." Through the grapevine, however, I learned later that he was not too happy with my treatment of Catholic educational philosophy in the classroom.

With the sources in the National Public Archives equally extensive and hitherto untapped, in 1961 I first began to think seriously that I might have a publishable study. During the fourth 'free' summer in 1962 I went underground to finish the work by mid-August. In mid-May 1963, in the course of negotiating a second deadline extension, I was informed that the graduate committee was pleased with the study and would waive the oral. I could convocate in June if I submitted two typed copies by 25 May to allow time for binding.

Despite the unbelievably good news, it was a Herculean task to type and proofread more than 900 double-spaced typewritten pages in ten days, and but for the assistance of Gulutsan, Dockrell and Moore, and the committee's extension of the deadline to the 28th, it would not have been completed. In April 1964 the University of Toronto Press accepted the study for publication, but because it had to be enlarged to include the two territorial districts in today's Saskatchewan and reduced by one-half, the editorial process was extremely slow. As a result, the work, *The Roman Catholic Church and*

*the North-West School Question: A Study of Church-State Relations in Western Canada 1875-1905*, did not appear until the spring of 1974. By then, I was deep into the multicultural movement and much less interested in religious subject matter. The monograph was generally well received, with frequent references to its being a thorough, well-documented and objective study. From the University of Ottawa a French-Canadian Oblate priest paid it the ultimate compliment in the *Catholic Historical Review*: "The author writes in a serene, dispassionate, and unpolemical tone and shows himself really impartial in his judgments, not fearing to correct some pronouncements of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities." The goal—to show that controversial issues rooted in religion could be handled fairly, unlike the earlier 'scholarship' of Catholic and Protestant clergy and some lay scholars—had been achieved. (The work was, of course, an important factor in my being promoted to a full professorship in February 1970.)



Ph.D. graduate, Harvard University, June 1963.

The choice of topic proved very important, for it helped to provide a western-Canadian perspective on Quebec's Quiet Revolution, then in full swing but barely incipient when the research had begun. The first federal legislation for the old North-West Territories in 1875-77 had laid the foundations for Catholic and Protestant denominational schools and for a bilingual and bicultural society at a time when the future provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were practically empty. Designed to encourage French-Canadian settlement from Quebec, the legislation grated on the territorial Anglo Protestant majority once it became clear that the Québécois would continue to prefer New England to western Canada, even if that meant forfeiting it to the "English" of Ontario, the settlers from the United States and a great variety of mostly European immigrants. The American and European newcomers greatly complicated cultural relations between the large Anglo Protestant majority and the Anglo Catholic minority and its even smaller French Catholic component (barely four per cent in the North-West). As a result, the west's cultural identity and future institutions did not fit the dualistic conceptions emanating from central Canada (especially Quebec), and my study provided a good base from which to address the political situation once the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, established by the federal government in 1963 to temper the Quiet Revolution, began to release its reports.

In its basic orientation my study, unlike the work of most Canadian historians, did not bemoan the demise of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Canadian west. While the Anglo majority had certainly been intolerant, the French minority was not blameless, for it had failed to establish a strong bicultural presence and was thus in a poor position to demand the full measure of the constitution. In a world without absolutes the minority rights created by the federal legislation of 1875-77 had to take the actual circumstances into account. In constitutional matters I was not a strict constructionist, because change, including social change, was real and changed circumstances could not be ignored—and the massive, diverse immigration into western Canada before the First World War had certainly changed the social circumstances. Although very little of this could be included in the book, the pragmatic attitude did show, and it did not sit too well with those Canadian historians whose approach to Canadian history was strongly dualistic.

### *The Ukrainian World*

During my first four years at the university, contacts with the Ukrainian community were minimal and confined largely to Orthodox youth, especially at the St. John's Institute, the off-campus student residence near the university. In January 1961 I avoided contentious Ukrainian political

and religious issues by addressing the (Orthodox) Ilarion Club on campus on “The Dilemma of Education in a Free Society,” emphasizing the effect on schooling of the contradictions and the tacit double standards of North American life.

In the fall of 1960 I prepared a select bibliography (mainly in English) for several lectures at St. John’s on the sociology of ethnic groups and the history of Ukrainians in Canada, neither then available on campus. I especially encouraged studies in the humanities, history and the social sciences, subjects that most students generally avoided or subordinated to careers in medicine, law and other professions. The piece below for the student yearbook indicates something of the emphasis at the time:

A REMINDER.....

Now that you are about to embark upon a professional or business career have you—the progeny of the first bewildered settlers from the [*sic*] Ukraine—ever considered how very different are your circumstances from those first settlers. You have much schooling, they had little; you are conversant with the ways of an urbanized, industrialized society, they were not; you are the nation’s hope, they were a source of embarrassment to the nation; you need hide neither tongue, religion, or custom, they faced ridicule on each count; you have deep roots in Canada, they were part of North America’s multitudinous uprooted.

How fortunate you are to be a citizen in this country! How warm and well fed you are; how stylish; how much at home. How little your hands blister.... Of humble birth and without ‘breeding,’ you are better off than the feudal lords from whom your ancestors fled....

Enjoy life, then; reap its material and spiritual benefits. That is your legacy. But remember those who made the initial investments so you might live more abundantly. They ask not for statues or memorials or long commemorative speeches; they ask only that you live so that others may truly say of you what few were willing to say of them, “Ve ye lyudy” [*sic*] (You are people).

At a special lecture at St. John’s in December 1961, arranged by one of my students, I first addressed the problem of Ukrainians in an urban setting. Unlike the Hutterites, the Ukrainian Canadians, I said, had always been open to outside influences, even in the rural bloc settlements. In the cities the equivalent of the bloc was the ghetto in the poorest part of town, which also had to be vacated as soon as possible. In the circumstances North America, while encouraging religious freedom, had always been

hard on the languages brought by immigrants, quickly reducing them to the patois found in western Canada and Quebec. Thus the French and the Ukrainians shared a common problem: group survival through the retention of language and religion, for without the language the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic churches would certainly be much poorer, as would Ukrainian culture generally. The problem of survival (I said) was made considerably worse by Ukraine's difficult situation overseas, where Ukrainians, like the Latvians, Lithuanians, Hungarians and others, were without a free country. Thus, for Ukrainians in Canada to lose their identity was to acquiesce in the status quo behind the Iron Curtain.

For me, the approach was a notable departure, for at the time I seldom referred to Ukraine or to the churches. My proposed remedies, however, were banal and showed how little attention I was then paying to the problems of Ukrainian assimilation. The future outside the cities, I mistakenly declared, was reasonably secure because Ukrainian was still widely prevalent in rural areas, its use reinforced by whole communities. In the cities, grandparents who either lived with or visited their second- or third-generation children were the key, along with such Ukrainian elements in the home as Easter eggs, cross-stitch embroidery, music (records) and food. The limp ending pretty well reflected the situation in our own home, where grandparents helped to transmit some Ukrainian culture during their visits and my wife painted beautiful Easter eggs, displayed fine cross-stitch and cooked great Ukrainian food, while I regularly filled the house with Ukrainian music. My parents occasionally took our two children to church, but because I had concluded that language in an urban setting could not be effectively retained past the third generation, neither of the children spoke Ukrainian.

Although Natalia's father certainly saw matters differently (and occasionally we even differed strongly), there was little that he or anyone else could do. What Edmonton needed were pre-school and elementary classes where Ukrainian was a language of instruction, but such classes were totally out of reach in the 1960s, considering the official resistance that "language labs" at the high school level and Ukrainian at the university still experienced. Natalia and I seldom spoke Ukrainian at home, and though our parents used it, they seldom did so with the grandchildren. Our second child, Elaine (Olenka), born in May 1960, was christened in a ceremony in our home, again largely out of deference to our parents, but both children eventually attended a secular kindergarten in the Mennonite church two blocks from our home.

Invited by the St. John's Institute to provide a "Reply from the University" at its graduation banquet in February 1962, I again wove Ukrainian-Canadian history and liberal studies together and closed on a high note with a poem by Mykhailo Gowda (the immigrant father of

a prominent dentist in Edmonton), written in 1903, which I found in the *Edmonton Bulletin* (18 October 1905) in the course of my research. The “poem to Canada” had a fine patriotic ring that appealed to the mainly second- and third-generation audience.

O free and fresh-homed Canada, can we,  
     Born far o’erseas, call thee our country dear?  
 I know not whence nor how that right might be  
     attained through sharing blessings year by year.

We were not reared within thy broad domains,  
     Our fathers’ graves and corpses lie afar,  
 They did not fall for freedom on thy plains,  
     Nor we pour our blood beneath thy star.

Yet we have Liberty from sea to sea,  
     Frankly and true you gave us manhood’s share,  
 We who like wandering birds, flew hopefully  
     To gather grain upon thy acres fair.

From ancient world by wrong opprest we swarmed  
     Many as ants, to scatter on thy land,  
 Each to the place you gave, aided unharmed,  
     And here we fear no Kings nor nobles grand.

And are you not, O Canada, our own?  
     Nay, we are still but holders of thy soil,  
 We have not bought by sacrifice and groan,  
     The right to boast the country where we toil.

But Canada, in liberty we work till Death,  
     Our children shall be free to call thee theirs,  
 Their own dear land, where gladly drawing breath  
     Their parents found graves, and left strong heirs.

To homes and native freedom, and the heart  
     To love and strive, and die if need there be,  
 In standing manfully by Honor’s part  
     To save the country that has made us free.

They shall as brothers be to all the rest,  
 Unashamed to own the blood from which they sprang,  
 True to their Fathers' Church, and His behest,  
 For whom the bells of yester Christmas rang.

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The same interest in the Ukrainian-Canadian past ensured that Ukrainians would be part of my dissertation (even without Filas's chronicle) under the impact of immigration on the North-West school question. To me, Ukrainians and other East European immigrants were not just western sodbusters but an integral part of Canadian history, and it pained me that most Canadian writers of Anglo-Celtic and French backgrounds ignored that fact. On a personal level the same sense of roots drew Natalia and me to visit the graves of grandparents in Borivtsi (Borwich, near Willingdon). We regularly touched base also with such landmarks as the original Lupul and Tkachuk homesteads; the whitewashed log cabin built by my great-grandfather Lakusta at Pruth; the old crossroads community at Pruth; the little Ukrainian chapel at another crossroads very near my mother's old Pruth school (since converted into a community centre); St. Mary's Romanian Orthodox Church and cemetery in Boian, with gravestones in Romanian, Ukrainian and English; and the Historical Village Pioneer Museum at Shandro, some five miles north of Willingdon. It gave me a good feeling to walk on the land of the first homesteaders and to reminisce about life where they had once lived. There was a deep sense of pride in how the pioneers and their descendants had developed the area.

During the same years we also visited the Great North West Pioneer Village, some fifty miles west of Edmonton on Highway 16, owned by one Earl Danard, a rather cantankerous man in his early fifties who (in his own words) "used liquor as a sedative." In the late 1950s, with the government showing little interest in Alberta's cultural heritage, Danard and a friend, Peter Chaba of the Radway district, brought several old buildings together and furnished them with valuable period pieces. Although Danard and Chaba had little sense of history, and their displays were amateurish, the eclectic collection included an old Ukrainian house from Smoky Lake with numerous Romanian, Polish and Ukrainian artifacts. Accordingly, in 1964 Natalia and I asked Danard to move the little Ukrainian crossroads chapel at Pruth to the village. Exposed to the elements, the unique chapel seemed very vulnerable, with its foundation immersed in water each spring. However, when Danard went to fetch it, the foundation proved so solid that the chapel's wooden frame was crushed in the lifting. In the end only the metal dome with its small cross was salvaged to crown a replica in the village.

Overwhelmed by rising taxes and management problems, Danard abruptly closed the village in mid-August 1966, threatening, after several unsuccessful attempts to sell it to the provincial government, to dispose of the artifacts at public auction. In a letter to the *Edmonton Journal* I suggested that the government purchase the village as a Canadian centennial project, which quickly brought Danard into my office. Settling upon a price of \$75,000, I took the proposal to Ambrose Holowach, the provincial secretary, whom I knew only by reputation, despite his Ukrainian background. Because the government was only interested in some of the artifacts, I turned to the city, stressing the artifacts' potential value for Fort Edmonton Park, then under consideration as the city's centennial project. As a result, Alderman Ivor Dent became interested and together we convinced City Council to purchase the village for \$50,000. In this way, numerous buildings associated with Edmonton's early years were moved to the reconstructed Fort Edmonton, with some of the artifacts subsequently furnishing the fort's buildings. However, despite inquiries and two visits to the city's "historical warehouse" as a member of the Edmonton Historical Board in the 1970s, I was unable to locate the dome and cross of the Ukrainian chapel. The loss was unfortunate, for a reconstructed chapel would have made a fine addition to the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village that later emerged east of Edmonton. The manner in which the city's Department of Parks and Recreation had cherry-picked the Pioneer Village to exclude all so-called ethnic content showed well the indifference of officialdom toward Alberta's multicultural heritage in the 1960s.

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The politics of language and culture first seriously invaded my Ukrainian world in the fall of 1962, spurred by the Quiet Revolution that was then transforming the face of Quebec under Premier Jean Lesage's leadership. I do not remember who invited me to the first meeting of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) in Edmonton, but like most meetings (and there were several in the next eighteen months) it was held in the law offices of either Peter Miskew or Peter Lazarowich, the UCC president. The three individuals who usually stood out were Bohdan Bociurkiw, a political scientist at the university, Peter Savaryn, a lawyer whom (like Bociurkiw) I now met for the first time, and John Decore, another lawyer and former MP for Vegreville, who would soon (1965) become chief judge of the District Court of Northern Alberta. Of the three, Bociurkiw usually had the most to say. A very able scholar who had immigrated to Canada as a displaced person at the age of twenty-two, Bociurkiw held degrees in political science from the universities of Manitoba and Chicago and was by far the most

prominent Ukrainian Catholic professor on campus, specializing in Soviet and East European studies. He approached the issues raised by Quebec from a multicultural perspective, emphasizing trilingualism for Ukrainian Canadians.

I had earlier heard Paul Yuzyk discuss multiculturalism on radio, but (unlike bilingualism) I had not given it much thought. What I did know was that the vast majority of English-speaking Canadians were either very uncomfortable with second languages or politically hostile toward them, and in such an environment I was far from sanguine about the prospects for bilingualism in any form, especially in western Canada. I found the idea of trilingualism most unrealistic and said so at the meetings, which appeared to impress Savaryn. While he personally had no great problem with trilingualism (his bilingual English-Ukrainian children would eventually attend the French-language stream in the separate school system), he disliked the idea of Ukrainian as a third language, and my view that the acquisition of Ukrainian would be difficult in an English-French environment in the west made sense to him.

On 23 November 1963, with the dissertation finally out of the way, I addressed the St. John's Young Adults Club on the subject, and against the background of the earlier meetings the words practically flowed. It was easy to see that the differences between Bociurkiw, Decore and me were largely rooted in our being three different kinds of "Ukrainians." The Ukrainian-born Bociurkiw was the *Ukrainian* pure and simple, to whom the Ukrainian world was uppermost. The Canadian-born, second-generation Decore was the *Ukrainian Canadian* who still lived largely in two worlds, one English-speaking, the other Ukrainian. As part of the third generation, I was the *Canadian of Ukrainian ancestry* who knew something of both worlds and lived primarily in the English-speaking one. A discussion of the impact of bilingualism on each of the three groups followed, concentrating on the second and third generations, which I knew best. Because my views changed little during the 1960s and were never published, and because some were quite different from those expressed later, they are presented below in some detail.

First, I dismissed the trilingualism of the first group: "...it would require close co-operation with the French-Canadian minority in the West, trusting that the latter's connections in the East would be brought to the aid of all minorities." As for the second group, it now faced a real dilemma. Although it had historically shared many French-Canadian aspirations, it managed to retain Ukrainian culture by its own efforts in the largely multilingual bloc settlements. Even so, an alliance with the French was now very tempting, especially if it helped to regain the English-Ukrainian bilingual schools

abolished by the prairie governments during the First World War. Regarding the third group (or generation),

They find it difficult to side with the recent immigrants and with the views of their fathers, because they have little in common with both; the third generation idolizes the peasant immigrant, not the peasant's children or the recent newcomers. Yet if they do not at least defend the views of the newcomers and the older generation, they feel they are betraying their ancestors at a time when they are no longer really ashamed of their humble origins.

Then, taking as my text "We see Canada as a union of equals," I applied my liberal-democratic creed (learned, I said, "in the public schools of this country") to the bilingual and bicultural issues at hand. We realize, I said, that the Canadian union preceded the arrival of our grandparents, but to us the test of status is individual-oriented, not group-oriented. "Offices and positions in our society, we were given to understand, are allocated in terms of individual ability and not in any arithmetical proportion to the number who happen to retain their mother tongue as recorded by the census-taker." We were also taught that "social arrangements or concepts which limit (or even threaten to limit)" one's opportunities to marry, to work or to worship as one pleases are "anti-democratic."

We have been told that Canada had two founding races and that almost one hundred years ago they entered into constitutional arrangements to establish a union with provision for the bicultural and bilingual principle.... We know that in the West one of the founding races is a distinct minority and the bilingual and bicultural principle has not taken root. We have heard fellow-Canadians of French ancestry say that the rooting of that principle has been impeded by the ill-will of those Canadians who are of Anglo-Saxon origin. But we have also heard that these same complainants prefer to ignore the fact that the Canadians in Quebec, on the advice of their leaders, sealed the fate of Canada's national destiny almost a hundred years ago, when they preferred to colonize New England rather than Western Canada, thus virtually forcing the government of Canada at that time to populate the vast regions of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta with peasants from Europe. Thus, it is also a fact that the founding races in the West cannot be confined to the two groups who dominated the social scene in Eastern Canada a century ago. And a further conclusion is irresistible. A Canadian constitution

which does not take cognizance of the fact that the founding races in Western Canada are many in number, needs to be revised so as to bring into full partnership on an equal footing the heirs of all those Continental immigrants who came to Canada to escape the kind of artificial linguistic barriers to social and economic opportunity now being suggested for the federal civil service and public offices, in general.

This is not to deny, I added, that the French may well have legitimate economic grievances, but are the French alone in that respect? "One has but to examine the promotions to executive positions on the financial page of our own *Edmonton Journal* to realize that names which would indicate a Slavic ancestry are extremely rare." Thus, to the extent that the French refer only to themselves and not to the needs of Canadians as a whole, they "believe" their interest in a more democratic Canada. "Why should anyone favor a party that hoists the flag of bilingualism and biculturalism to secure a preferred status for itself only, when others suffer from many of the same injustices?"

The address appeared in the Young Adults' mimeographed newsletter, whose circulation was very limited. It also left much unsaid—in particular, how other languages were to be accommodated—but in its very brief reference to the last Ukrainian immigration, it signalled that the Canadian-born (and especially the third generation) had to frame the Ukrainian response. The address, however, did touch on themes that would re-emerge in the 1970s—pride in one's ancestral and pioneer origins; the basic cultural equality of all ethnic groups and individuals; and the need for cultural, linguistic and economic policies that were inclusive and did not confer special status on anyone.

In April 1964 the UCC arranged a meeting at St. John's Institute with the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta to test the Decore-Bociurkiw thesis of collaboration with the French. As most French leaders supported the Liberals federally, the Liberal Decore probably hoped that the connection might help to grease a deal. In the French group were (among others) Louis A. Desrochers, president of the association, Lucien Maynard, a former attorney general in Alberta's Social Credit government, and Roger Motut, a professor of French studies at the university. All went well until Maynard began to refer to French-Canadian rights in education. When I asked that he spell these out, he referred vaguely to earlier legislation, whose existence I then denied.

From my dissertation I knew that the federal legislation of 1875 had only established the separate-school principle and that a special amendment two years later was needed to establish the bilingual principle, the basis for a bicultural west. However, in carrying section 133 (the bilingual clause in the

British North America Act that determined the language of government) into the Territories, *the amendment said nothing about the use of French in the schools*. Moreover, the 1905 Alberta Act, which established the province, was equally silent. On what basis, then, could the French argue for rights in education? The French delegation disliked my intervention, and despite Decore's best efforts, within a half-hour the meeting adjourned for coffee. Although I was now somewhat of a pariah to some, no one (not even Decore) was overtly hostile or critical. Savaryn, searching (as usual) for some middle ground, volunteered that the subject of rights was important and needed airing, and then quietly moved on to rub shoulders with others. Despite a general coolness, no one actually expressed regret that my remarks had, in effect, torpedoed the meeting—and before the month was out, I knew why.

Late in April I was invited by Lazarowich to yet another UCC meeting, where I was asked to join Savaryn, Bociurkiw and Michael Luchkovich, the first MP of Ukrainian background (1926-35), on a committee to prepare a brief to the B & B Commission. Although the point was not raised, it was clear that I would represent the younger Canadian-born generation, as the American-born, second-generation Luchkovich was already seventy-one years old. I took the invitation seriously, for I did not think that the older generation—among whom I included members of the last immigration—were too well qualified to address the issues, and membership on the committee just might make it easier to learn the views of my own generation.

Accordingly, I asked William (Bill) Pidruchney, my lawyer (Lillian's brother whom I had known from our childhood days in Willingdon), to call a meeting in his home, attended by approximately fifteen Canadian-born young adults. Apart from their unanimous opposition to everything French, no other position clearly emerged. On 2 June a committee chaired by Pidruchney merely recommended against extending the English-French bilingualism of section 133 to the federal civil service. "A single language of communication" was needed to establish the "complete Canadian Nationality" required for economic growth, political maturity and effective "exchanges among the multi-cultural peoples which now constitute Canada."

Meanwhile, at the first meeting of the UCC committee, chairman Savaryn distributed Bociurkiw's outline for the brief, which appeared extremely ambitious. I questioned almost everything, and the first, largely ideological discussions accomplished very little. My views, essentially those conveyed the previous November to the Young Adults, impressed (or troubled) Savaryn, who, as president of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club, invited me to address its Annual Ladies' Night on 29 May. At the head table were John Decore and his wife, both very friendly. Savaryn later had copies of the address distributed to the club membership, but again the feedback was negligible.

To the November address I now added a section on the so-called English produced at the behest of Evelyn Moore. In it I lauded 'the English' for teaching us the democratic creed: "They taught us that Canada must never become a land where mere accidents of birth such as color, religion, social class or language determine one's opportunity to attain happiness." Although the same 'English' could be as indifferent to Ukrainian aspirations as the French, it was also true that, with Ukrainians having "proven" themselves in the marketplace, the academy and on the battlefield, opportunities for the study of Ukrainian in schools and universities had steadily improved during the last ten years.

"All around us," I said, "we see the barriers of privilege falling—the second half of our century is almost unrecognizable when placed alongside the first half, where the status of Ukrainians in Canada is concerned." And because the future would be "even more liberal," competent men and women, unrestricted by "artificial linguistic qualifications," will be needed.

Whatever, then, may be said about Quebec and the federal government at Ottawa, and whatever the situation in some other parts of Eastern Canada, in Western Canada there can only be one language of communication. Other languages should be encouraged to give strength to the multicultural nature of our developing Canadianism. But to encourage other languages is not to sanction any bilingual principle now or in the future. The bilingual principle is fraught with danger, however interpreted. If it is interpreted as English-French bilingualism, the danger is obvious. If it is interpreted by Ukrainians as English-Ukrainian, English-German, English-French bilingualism, who else will recognize it as such? There is nothing in law to support this view, and there is ample historical evidence in Canada to show that such a view is objectionable to both English and French. After recognizing the bilingual principle, we would be left holding the bilingual bag—only the bag would be filled with English and French grammar, syntax and vocabulary!

As for trilingualism, it is an ideal "rarely realized even in Europe, where the proximity of peoples nourishes it." In North America the difficulties would be even greater, "and one must remember that facility in languages is not the only skill which the young will have to acquire to make tomorrow's world a better place in which to live."

The first part of the above reflected the general optimism of the 1960s, fueled as it was by the economic buoyancy and the rapid expansion of the universities, creating openings that frequently went unfilled. With John

Porter's *Vertical Mosaic* still a year away, I presented the Anglo-Celts as far more interested in sharing power and opportunity than they then were or ever would be. The strictures against bilingualism were also stronger than the unknown possibilities of Quebec's Quiet Revolution warranted. They were, however—and *this is the crucial point*—firmly rooted in the all-too-familiar historical image of French-speaking clergy shepherding both the French language and the Catholic faith in tandem, creating in the process a poorly educated, backward, ethnocentric people, largely out of touch with the contemporary world, as even some French-Canadian intellectuals (e.g., Pierre Elliott Trudeau) were then pointing out. What one could not foresee was Quebec's later legislation that replaced the church with the state in the provincial school system, changing the image of the priest-ridden populace in the process.

Within a week Canada's crisis of culture was again front and centre at my first meeting of the Learned Societies in Charlottetown. With the B & B Commission almost a year old and the controversy over a new Canadian flag at its height, most academic associations devoted at least one session to the crisis, and the Canadian Association of Professors of Education was no exception. However, its panel on "Education and Biculturalism" raised no hackles and settled nothing. When I introduced the multicultural dimension, there was no reaction either pro or con. The mood was patronizing, even dilettantish, with the "beautiful" French language and culture frequently lauded and the importance of keeping "*la belle province*" within Canada repeatedly stressed. But no specific educational changes were proposed to accommodate the French or any other ethnic group. Canada's educational establishment appeared to lack clear direction, which probably meant that the French would have to work hard to realize their educational aspirations. At the time this was somewhat reassuring, for I was utterly convinced that the French were approaching most issues much too narrowly.

At a subsequent session of the Canadian Political Science Association, I heard Pierre Trudeau read a paper on the constitutional crisis in federal-provincial relations. That evening at a publisher's reception in the basement of the Queen Hotel, I was introduced to him by Neville Linton, a political scientist at the University of Alberta, and we were quickly in animated discussion about the impact of bilingualism and biculturalism on the multicultural west. Trudeau set out the usual French case for official bilingualism; I countered that Ukrainians were part of the multicultural reality "in my part of the country." Among them, I said, were many like myself, who being already bilingual (English-Ukrainian) would have their language and culture seriously disadvantaged should French become official in all parts of Canada. French as a necessary qualification for office would pose an "artificial barrier" for most Canadians and compromise the

liberal principle of equality of opportunity for all, especially as the French outside Quebec and northern New Brunswick were so few. Trudeau, of course, denied that there was anything artificial about French and pointed to historical factors like the Manitoba school question that had discouraged westward French-Canadian migration. I replied with instances of Quebec bishops, politicians and journalists deliberately discouraging such migration, resulting in a settlement policy that brought in people like the Ukrainians, many of whom still retained a linguistic base that was just waiting to be tapped. "And how long will they last?" Trudeau snapped. "Longer than you think," I replied, which pretty well ended the half-hour give and take.

I was amazed how strongly I had identified myself with the west's Ukrainian fact and how casually Trudeau had dismissed it. His approach, I soon discovered, was typical of most Canadian intellectuals: the French, though ethnics, were not really ethnics, and though they were a small minority most everywhere outside northern New Brunswick, they were really no minority because of their majority in Quebec. Even if one granted as much, it was also true that the French in western Canada were even worse off than the much more numerous Ukrainians and, according to Trudeau's logic, were destined to disappear unless political means were used to keep them alive. But if Canada was going to begin saving minorities, why should only some be saved and not others? Better, I thought, outright assimilation to some Anglo-Canadian norm than preferred status for only one minority in a west where people like my grandparents had been among the founder-settlers. This fact could not be dismissed as lightly as the Trudeaus were wont to do; social justice required something more.

On my way back I stopped in Ottawa to complete research for my projected monograph for the University of Toronto Press and visited Paul Yuzyk, recognized by all as the new "Ukrainian" senator, who three months earlier had delivered his maiden address on "Canada: A Multicultural Nation." When he heard of my role on Savaryn's committee, he showered me with materials. To my surprise, he also revealed the language position that the national UCC in Winnipeg and Jaroslav B. Rudnycky, a member of the B & B Commission, would probably take. Bociurkiw, close to both Yuzyk and Rudnycky, had in fact been articulating it in Edmonton for some time. On 23 April 1964 he had presented it in a paper to the "Community Seminar on Bilingualism and Biculturalism," organized by the university's Department of Extension, and it was among the first documents distributed by Savaryn to our committee. The position was essentially that of Rudnycky's "Separate Statement" in the first *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism: Official Languages*, published in 1967. It accepted official English-French bilingualism at the federal government level and proposed "the status of a regional language" for such bilingual

combinations as English-Ukrainian and English-German where warranted by local demographics (as revealed in the census).

As a result, when I returned to Edmonton late in June, I toned down my objections on Savaryn's committee, since its ideological direction was so clearly set. From Savaryn's earlier outline it was evident that Bociurkiw would furnish the brief's fundamental rationale—the gist of the paper he had presented to the above seminar. While resignation from the committee was now certainly an option, I remained for three reasons. First, with the Canadian-born lacking a clear position, a strong stand by me might have created a following at a time when unity was more important than ever. Also, with English-speaking opinion toward French aspirations still largely divided between enthusiastic support and a wait-and-see attitude (with few implacably opposed), it did not seem wise to encourage a Ukrainian charge against the French. Finally, with the French and Ukrainian cultural agendas so similar, the B & B Commission just might help the Ukrainians to realize some of their own aspirations. Since it was the first such commission in Canadian history, it would not hurt to try to broaden its thrust, especially as all ethnic groups were being strongly encouraged to participate in the process.

Thereafter the meetings at Savaryn's home were much less contentious. Savaryn was a good chairman, whose ideas about ethnic discrimination were well thought out. He was also less of a francophile than Bociurkiw. Luchkovich was occasionally a problem, especially when he took off on themes well honed during his many years in politics. I pressed him to differentiate integration (a favourite term) from assimilation and to indicate how Canada was actually a mosaic (another favourite term), but he was unable to rise above familiar clichés. Even so, we all liked him, even his rhetorical flourishes, full of references to politicians like Laurier and Lord Tweedsmuir, generously garnished with quotations that he just happened to have with him! Savaryn, who greatly admired politicians, was quite smitten by Luchkovich, having earlier persuaded him to write his autobiography.

On the committee I eventually provided the historical section on Ukrainian contributions to Canada's cultural development, largely a laudatory exercise, noting 'firsts' and singling out 'stars' in the Ukrainian-Canadian firmament. Savaryn addressed the difficulties in safeguarding the contributions, concentrating on the pressures of assimilation, the misuse of majority power, public indifference to language study and the nature of discrimination against non-British and non-French groups. When Luchkovich failed to provide a section justifying the continued survival of the Ukrainian language and culture in Canada, I put together "Assimilation and Integration" from the written materials submitted by him. Early in August, with holidays looming, I produced a first draft by editing, splicing and redrafting the materials received from Savaryn. Although it was accepted

with few changes, the editorial work should not obscure the fact that the basic rationale was Bociurkiw's, who also provided the sections on language and culture and the mass media, as well as the tables in the appendix.

Despite its length (forty double-spaced folio pages), the brief contained only eight recommendations. It called for

- a reaffirmation of the principle of full equality of all Canadians regarding cultural and civil rights;
- Ukrainian as a language of study from the earliest school years;
- full matriculation standing for Ukrainian at universities as well as programs to train teachers, with "at least one of the leading Canadian universities" to develop "a comprehensive program of Ukrainian studies";
- "reliable information" about Ukrainians and other ethnic groups in school curricula and textbooks;
- portrayal of the cultural achievements and activities of Ukrainian Canadians on public and private radio and television stations and by the National Film Board;
- public funds for Ukrainian museums, libraries and the folk arts from organizations like the Canada Council;
- "symbolic recognition" of Ukrainian Canadians in official Canadian publications, on commemorative postage stamps, and through geographical designations and street names; and
- a non-governmental body of ethnic groups to advise the federal government on "bilingualism, biculturalism, and the cultural problems of the non-British and non-French ethnic groups."

The brief relied heavily on ethnic-origin statistics in the Canadian census, ignoring the commission's explicit preference for the much less flattering mother-tongue statistics; it also concentrated on statistics from the three Prairie provinces, where Ukrainians in 1961 were 9.1 per cent of the population, while only 2.59 per cent nationally. Ethnic cultures were treated as if they were whole cultures, despite considerable evidence of cultural loss through assimilation. The very term "Ukrainian Canadian" suggested that the Ukrainian co-ordinate was a subculture, but this received no more attention than did generational differences. All Canadians of Ukrainian origin were assumed to be "Ukrainians" for whom the UCC spoke without regard to membership, age or generation.

On 7 December 1965 Savaryn, Bociurkiw and I presented the brief to the B & B Commission. My opening statement apologized for advancing only the Ukrainian-Canadian case, but such (alluding to the self-preoccupation of the French) was the fashion of the time. No one noticed, and Rudnyckyj,

generally regarded as the commission's "Ukrainian member," was pleased to hear the expected. The only person to complain was Neil Morrison, the commission's "English" co-secretary, who was dismayed that the brief accepted French only at the federal level. Briefs were also presented by the main Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox organizations, which the UCC ostensibly co-ordinated, but that anomaly also went unnoticed. At the time I did not realize how much such fragmentation would plague me later.

The brief from the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta was most disappointing. While it recognized the (unspecified) "precious wealth" of the other ethnocultural groups and urged the federal government to encourage such groups "to maintain and develop those [again unspecified] qualities proper to their culture," the brief's caveat—"they may not avail themselves of the same historical and legal rights as those of the descendants of the discoverers and founders of this country for the official use of their tongue"—was quite unnecessary, for no one was even thinking along such lines. Not only would the other groups, the brief continued, add "vivid colours to the Canadian cultural mosaic," they could be especially valuable in external affairs on account of their facility "for learning languages and their knowledge of the mentality and psychology of their country of origin." Included as the next-to-last paragraph out of fifty-eight, the gesture unfortunately came across as an afterthought.

Although I found the earlier discussions and the writing of the Ukrainian brief very interesting, the experience was also quite disturbing. All who participated referred to Canada as a multicultural society, but the term "multiculturalism" was never defined. To the Ukrainians *per se*—the most recent immigrants (culturally secure in their 'Ukrainian' homes, with Ukrainian the mother tongue and an almost religious observance of most Ukrainian customs and rituals)—multiculturalism appeared to entail the transmission of entire cultures, and such means as the state could provide to retard assimilation would, of course, be most welcome. To the second generation—the generation of my Canadian-born parents, passably bilingual and bicultural and largely alienated from mainstream society by real or supposed discrimination—multiculturalism was the current term for the transmission of the traditional Ukrainian-Canadian agenda: the preservation and development of Ukrainian culture through as much language retention as possible. The goal was "integration," a well-worn cliché seldom reconciled with the all-too-obvious loss of Ukrainian language and culture all around them. To the third generation—the young, ambitious, upwardly mobile, very busy and perhaps the most confused of all—multiculturalism was simply the best antidote to the recent biculturalism emanating from an aroused Quebec. Uncertain about what appeared to be a very complex situation, I thought it best (for the moment) to monitor the

different orientations until the B & B Commission itself either addressed the concept of multiculturalism or at least indicated the place of ethnicity in a culturally pluralistic society. As we shall see, I did not actually have to attempt a definition until some ten years later.

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### *The Collège Saint-Jean Controversy*

As much as I tried to keep the university and Ukrainian worlds in separate compartments, our living in Edmonton and my dissertation made that impossible. The same dissertation, together with the internationalist classroom orientation spurred by the Cold War, also practically ensured my opposition to a combined government-university initiative that brought on the Collège Saint-Jean controversy in November 1964. In March 1958 government legislation introduced a new institution—the public junior college—to Alberta. Secular junior colleges subsequently opened in Lethbridge, Medicine Hat and Red Deer, offering first- and (in time) second-year university courses in the arts and sciences and in education, with the University of Alberta approving the instructors and conferring the degrees. In 1959 the Camrose Lutheran College, a private religious institution founded in 1913, began offering first-year university courses. Although aware of the development, I took little notice because of course preparation and the dissertation and because the college offered no education courses.

However, in March 1963 I learned that the Collège Saint-Jean, established in Edmonton by the French Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1911, was about to enter into an agreement with the university to offer the first two years of a three-year program to prepare bilingual teachers of French by staff and courses acceptable to the Faculty of Education. Like Camrose, the government would grant Saint-Jean \$635 per student and guarantee two-thirds of any building loans. Having read numerous Oblate documents, I knew the religious order's intellectual orientation and found it incredible that teachers for Alberta's public schools might actually be prepared in the order's narrow, ethnocentric, French Catholic environment. Camrose, of course, had set the precedent, but an additional lever for Saint-Jean was the bilingual and bicultural outreach of Quebec's Quiet Revolution.

Besides Father Arthur Lacerte, Saint-Jean's rector, another strong supporter of college affiliation was Louis Desrochers, president of the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta and a member of the university's Board of Governors. Hoping to prevent what I believed to be a disastrous educational outcome, I appealed to Dean Coutts, who expressed

personal reservations about the college but believed that the situation was too far advanced to effect a reversal, as both the president (Walter Johns) and the Board of Governors were behind the proposal. Very disturbed, I placed the issue before a coterie that included Dockrell, Macdonald, Moore and Gulutsan, who agreed to oppose the proposal. The Irish-born Dockrell, a practising Catholic, suggested a bilingual and bicultural French college on campus (similar to the English Catholic St. Joseph's) that would not include teacher preparation. Having the French fact on campus, he thought, would benefit the entire student body and prevent the segregated isolation resulting from Saint-Jean's remote location in southeast Edmonton. Placed before the Faculty of Education Council on 2 April, Dockrell's proposition carried 19-18 with many abstentions, but later that spring the university's General Faculties Council approved the affiliation.

The first opportunity to air the issue publicly came on 9-10 November 1964 at a convention of the Alberta Teachers' Association in Edmonton. My paper, "Church and State in Alberta's Educational System: Some Old Wine in New Bottles" (an abbreviated version was published in the ATA Magazine in March 1965), indicted both the university and the government for extending the influence of religious institutions in post-secondary education with minimal publicity, even though public funds were involved. I described Saint-Jean's French Catholic origins, environment and purpose—"to give more substance to the bilingual Canada in which we are supposed to be living"—even though the jury was still out on whether Canada was a unilingual, bilingual or multilingual country.

Of little consequence also was the fact that public school teachers would be prepared in "an outpost of French-Catholic nationalism." The inconsistency of the provincial government was also underlined. On the one hand, Premier Manning "tries to give the popular impression that he is opposed to the bicultural and bilingual view of Canada dear to most French Catholics"; on the other, his government encourages the university to establish a bilingual institution, which Louis Desrochers has termed a sign of "'the ever growing acceptance of biculturalism'" in Alberta. Even though it was the university, not the government, that was approving the arrangement, the government's earlier financial aid to the Lutheran College was undoubtedly an incentive to the Oblates, whose ambitious expansion plans were reported in the *Edmonton Journal* in April 1964.

I objected to the contemplated decentralization because the educational purpose of the religious colleges was very different from the stated aim for all public education expressed in the majority report of Alberta's recent Royal (Cameron) Commission on Education: "to stimulate initiative, critical thinking and ability to be intellectually self-directing." Such colleges, in their concern to protect young intellects, deprived the young of a "real" education:

Real education, the kind of education required in our time of ideological warfare, only begins when students (especially at the university level) are challenged in one class by a devout Christian, in another by an atheist, in a third by a slave to antiquity, in a fourth by a utilitarian, in a fifth by a Marxist (even a communist), in a sixth by a strong conservative (even a follower of Goldwater), etc. This is difficult to ensure, and our own provincial university still falls far short of the mark.

Such colleges were also too ethnocentric:

They cannot very well be otherwise. Their very survival depends upon cultivating a belief in the superiority of their own point of view and in developing a feeling of suspicion, even contempt, for the ideas and values of other groups. As a result, they fail to provide the variety of intellectual fare that raises real, not simulated, confusion, doubt and frustration upon which a deeply personal and enduring philosophy of life can be built.

The above was, of course, rooted in John Dewey's view that human thinking begins with conflict, doubt and uncertainty—in genuinely problematic situations. From there, it was but a short step to Brock Chisholm and the kind of people (and education) needed for human survival in a nuclear age:

...people who are intercultural, interracial, and international in outlook.... People who are prepared to challenge not only the political imperialism of the Soviets, but our own economic imperialism and the religious imperialism that helps to sustain it.... people who do not refer to Samoans or to the African pygmies as barbarians or pagans.... This is a difficult lesson to learn; by their very nature religious colleges are incapable of teaching this outlook, yet any other outlook in today's world may be freely branded as the hallmark of the uneducated mind.

I attributed the government's interest in furthering the political and/or religious ambitions of Lutherans, Oblates and others to two factors: the personal religious philosophy of the evangelical Premier Ernest C. Manning, who "could hardly go through life as chief of the provincial executive without eventually giving to the clergy and their devout followers proof of his good intentions"; and to the government's own social philosophy, which was "first, last, and always" opposed to the welfare state, better known as

“creeping socialism.” Because the semi-private religious junior colleges built and paid for their own buildings, they constituted a happy marriage between God, moral righteousness and private enterprise—the three, according to newspaper reports (which I cited), being of utmost importance to the premier, a preacher for many years on his weekly *Back to the Bible Hour*.

On request, I gave an *Edmonton Journal* reporter a copy of the address, and next morning it hit the front page: “Aid For Religious Colleges Rapped By U of A Professor,” with generous quotations from the section on “real education.” In their brief reactions all officials—the premier, the university president and the minister of education—defended the religious colleges. Father Fernand Champagne, the principal of Saint-Jean, admitted that religious teaching was compulsory at the college, but students could denounce the Catholic Church on final exams. However, not many did, “because they become better Catholics as their education progresses.” The reactions were predictable and none surprised me. The address touched off a controversy that lasted well into January, and in defence I drew on my dissertation, on studies in the history and philosophy of education, and occasionally on personal experience.

Invited by John Andrews, a colleague in educational administration and a trustee from the Better Education Association, to expand on the college issue at a Unitarian church service open to the public, I did so on 11 January 1965 in the presence of Natalia and my parents, whose concerns were eased considerably by the standing ovation that followed. In a section on common schooling I spoke very frankly:

I believe that there must be at least one institution in our society that is free of the ethnic and religious animosities and prejudices that we have inherited from the past. Through direct instruction and by having children of various ethnic and religious backgrounds rub elbows together, the common school has done something to break down ethnic and religious barriers, especially in western Canada.... As a result, intermarriage between a Pole and a Scot is no longer the horrible prospect it once was—and there is much evidence that the offspring of such unions do not give the special qualms of ethnic and religious groups a second thought. At the same time, such offspring even mellow the prejudices of their grandparents, for few grandparents can resist their grandchildren—no matter how ‘impure’ their ethnic or religious backgrounds may be.... If, in the past, other parts of Canada had had more common schooling modelled on that provided in western Canada,...Canada today would not be faced with a national crisis in human relations.

People who meet, study and live together “come to appreciate the profound truth that racial, national, and religious distinctions are all artificial, there being no necessary connection between them and human behaviour.”

The above was not easy to square with my very recent involvement on behalf of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and I made no attempt to do so. From my earliest teens I had had an ambiguous relationship with Ukrainian culture, blending certain aspects into a liberal and internationalist outlook that was not always consistent. The inevitable result—occasional feelings of guilt in both worlds—was rationalized as the price one paid for an enriched bicultural existence. From a strictly political standpoint, both addresses, like the UCC brief itself, were designed to help check French ambitions or at least to broaden the recent tendency to heighten ethnic differences. I did not really think that the dominant English-speaking cultural establishment, mainly Anglo-Celtic in background, would yield much to groups like the Ukrainians, and by multiplying the cultural contenders the French, too, might come away with less. One had, after all, to be true to the liberal position presented to the St. John’s Young Adults a year earlier. Meanwhile, if working with the Ukrainians either checked the French or (failing that) resulted in greater equity among cultural minorities (especially in the west), that, too, a good liberal could support. Still, on external appearances alone one could be accused of hypocrisy.

Far more difficult than the Unitarian invitation was another from the Edmonton Jewish Community Council to participate on a panel in mid-February with Rabbi Max Ticktin, director of the Hillel Foundation at the University of Chicago. With the guidelines loose, my presentation on “The Problem of Retaining Ethnic or Community Identity in a Public School Situation” leaned heavily on sociologist Milton Gordon, whose recent book, *Assimilation in American Life* (1964), I had just acquired. In preparation I had earlier visited the Talmud Torah, the Jewish community’s private elementary school, and learned from the principal that the younger, better-educated parents were increasingly reluctant to enrol their children, questioning both the school’s benefits and the merits of a strong Jewish parochial school system. They were drawn, I thought, to what Gordon termed “symbolic Judaism,” a position with which I could easily identify, as it represented the approach toward things Ukrainian I had gradually assumed after returning to Alberta in 1958. Symbolic Judaism, according to Gordon, was

the trend among native-born Jews in middle-class and suburban areas [to move] away from Orthodox cultural patterns...accompanied, simultaneously, by a strong desire for the preservation of ethnic identity as Jews.... [The result is] a kind of minimal adherence to specifically Jewish cultural values or

patterns, in which emphasis is placed on a selection of nostalgic items of “Yiddish” background (for instance, Yiddish culinary delicacies or Yiddish phrases), the possession in the home of tangible objects denoting Jewishness (for example, books, records, or pictures with Jewish themes), or concern with “Jewish” problems, and a selection of festive religious traditions which help socialize the children into an awareness of and affection for their Jewish identity.

Similarly, I declared, Ukrainian identity in Canada would have to be preserved “symbolically,” ultimately through the English language. Books, which are already being written in English about Ukraine and Ukrainian Canadians, would have to increase, as would translations of Ukrainian literature and English lyrics in folk songs, church music and operettas. “Easter eggs, handicrafts, folk dances, and special foods, etc. will serve to remind children that they are Canadians of Ukrainian origin.”

Even though the Jewish situation was even more complex than the Ukrainian one, I still discouraged segregated schooling, though well aware of Jewish reservations about the public schools at Christmas and Easter. To me, the Jews faced two major threats: traditional social discrimination (anti-Semitism), which segregated parochial education only accentuated, and intermarriage, which education in common tended to encourage. Of the two, anti-Semitism, I thought, was not only worse but much more likely than intermarriage. It was easier to prevent intermarriage than anti-Semitism, and intermarriage in any case was not necessarily disastrous: “Is it not conceivable that for every Jewish loss to the Gentiles through intermarriage, there will be a Jewish gain from the Gentiles through intermarriage?” In any case, the matter, according to Gordon, ultimately boiled down to a tug-of-war between personal choice and the maintenance of communal identity and group values, always the most difficult problem for all ethnocultural groups in liberal democracies.

Of course, I added, the public schools could help Jewish parents make more intelligent choices by paying more attention to groups “that are not white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant in the treatment of Canada’s growth as a nation.... Reminded annually of Christmas and Easter, they [the Jewish children] become disgusted with the apparent colorlessness of their own religion; studying only about British and French exploits, they become ashamed of what appear to be their own humble and inconsequential origins.”

...if the public school at the elementary level paid more attention to religious festivals *per se* and not just to “The Spirit of Christmas”

(Grade I), the "Story of Christmas" (Grade II) and to "Christmas Around the World" (Grade III), and if at the secondary level the public school presented the contributions of all peoples to the social and political development of Canada (including some attention to the culture of the lands from which the Canadian people have come), these children of minority groups would be less eager to deny their ancestral origins and hide those cultural aspects that distinguish them from others.

The above would, of course, become very familiar territory to me later, though in 1965 it was religion, not ethnicity, that was bringing it forward. Everyone (including the rabbi) was very polite and some were even complimentary, but I personally knew that I had barely scratched the surface of the most intractable of ethnoreligious problems. And I very much doubt whether anyone in the audience was as intellectually stretched by the experience as I was.

In July 1965 the government, faced with a proliferation of proposals for junior colleges, appointed Andrew Stewart, a former president of the University of Alberta, to study the issue. His report reluctantly accepted the church-based colleges, without any rationale, recommending only that they be integrated into the system of district or regional colleges proposed earlier by the Cameron Commission. The "unique" Collège Saint-Jean was also endorsed, making it patently clear that for the bicultural thrust to be tempered, something stronger than what I had been saying was needed.

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I do not know what impact, if any, the junior-college controversy may have had upon Edmonton's Ukrainian community. At a large Christmas party at the Bociurkiws' late in November, my address was barely noticed, even though the publicity was then at its height. Bociurkiw was in the throes of organizing the first national conference on Canadian Slavs, slated for Banff in June 1965, and I remember his pressing me pretty hard to present a paper on some aspect of education and Ukrainians in Canada. At the time the idea was the least of my concerns, though today I deeply regret that I missed the historically significant event that laid the basis for the establishment of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association in 1971. Nor did the controversy prevent Orest Starchuk, head of the Department of Slavic Languages, and Metro Gulutsan from including me in the group of "Ukrainian professors" who helped the university welcome the first Soviet Ukrainian cultural delegation to Canada early in December. The formal exchange of gifts before lunch at Lister Hall between the president (Johns) and the head of

the delegation, Kateryna Kolosova, chair of the presidium of the Society for Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, was followed by visits to various faculties and departments.

Later that evening Natalia and I attended the buffet dinner reception for the delegation at the home of Demitro Melnyk, a physician. Starchuk had prevailed upon the Melnyks, who lived on Valleyview Drive in one of Edmonton's wealthiest areas, to open their large home to some fifty individuals, about twenty of them members of the delegation. Unforeseen difficulties, however, quickly developed. The carefully shepherded delegation suddenly found itself amidst numerous nooks and crannies in the spacious premises, which encouraged one-on-one and very small group discussions with Ukrainian scholars and artists known to their Canadian counterparts by reputation. With alcohol releasing inhibitions, several of the tête-à-têtes became quite animated, as the Canadians questioned the scholarly and cultural compromise with Soviet totalitarianism, especially Russification. Disturbed by what Kolosova considered provocative behaviour, the entire delegation was abruptly ordered to leave by bus for their hotel. The shocked hosts pointed to the largely untouched, heavily laden tables and promised to behave, but Kolosova was determined, invoking the next day's busy schedule. Bociurkiw, of course, was among the guests, and after a little jostling about my newly found notoriety as a threat to the moral and social order of Alberta, we turned to what had transpired that evening. No one else among the stunned hosts raised the Collège Saint-Jean issue.

Very different was the reception at a large Christmas party a few days later at the home of Pat and Vickie Shewchuk, to whose first-born son Natalia and I were godparents. Vickie was the sister of Judge Decore's wife, and the entire Decore clan was present, including Laurence, whom I now met for the first time. I remember his coming down the stairs into the rumpus room, loudly demanding to meet the "phenom of the hour," then making headlines that challenged the provincial political establishment. He was then as interested in politics as ever and we got along very well.

Early in the New Year (1965) I learned that being a "Ukrainian professor" on campus also had other obligations. Under Bociurkiw's coaching, the Ukrainian Students' Club held a *Sviat-Vechir* in the basement of St. Joseph's College to mark *Iordan*, the feast of the Epiphany, with a traditional Christmas Eve menu, followed by carolling. Informed that, among others, members of Bociurkiw's department would be present, I could not choose to stay away. The evening was designed to display an aspect of Ukrainian culture to members of the wider society at a time when the essence of Canadian culture was being seriously debated. *Sviat-Vechir* was certainly part of Canadian culture and would remain so as long as there were people prepared to celebrate it. It was part of the Canadian environment, and I saw

its recognition in the non-Ukrainian college as a real honour, despite its obvious religious dimension.

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On a very personal note, unrelated (according to the doctor) to anything above, on 12 January 1967 I suffered an aneurysm at the base of my neck, which was very frightening until the pain abated within some four hours in the emergency ward of the University of Alberta Hospital. Angiograms revealed that blood vessels malformed at birth had "let loose" and then simply clotted. I was assured by the attending neurosurgeon that a recurrence was most unlikely. After a month's rest, I returned refreshed, needing little more than the occasional Valium tablet, prescribed by the doctor to help relieve stress and tension. Needless to say I looked forward to the respite that my first sabbatical leave would bring.

## Chapter Three

ON SABBATICAL LEAVE IN EASTERN EUROPE (1967–68)

### *Pre-Ukraine*

I had had my heart set on a sabbatical in Europe for a good long time. First, I wanted to see the historical places studied earlier; second, and even more important, I wished to experience communist Eastern Europe, including my grandparents' former villages, by now in Soviet Ukraine. The communist way of life was central to the Cold War, which dominated my "Issues" course, and it was therefore important to see it for oneself. I wished also to observe human relations in multiethnic Yugoslavia, a model to some of multiculturalism in Europe. Through the Dockrells we found accommodation on the English Channel in Walmer (near Deal), Kent, and to tour Europe we purchased a new Ford Cortina for delivery in London, duty-free import then being permitted after a year's ownership abroad. With a trunkful of books, we sailed on the Canadian Pacific's *Empress of England*, departing Montreal on 25 August 1967.

In England, David attended the Grammar School for Boys in Dover, six miles away, and Elaine the Lower Walmer (Anglican) Primary School. Although church-run, the latter was not fundamentalist, and thus acceptable. My first contact with Eastern Europe was at a comparative education conference (18-23 September) on the seventeenth-century Moravian educator Johann Amos Comenius (Komensky) at the Palacký University in Olomouc, Czechoslovakia, about one hundred miles east of Prague. The train from Paris entered Czechoslovakia at Cheb, where the officious police superficially checked the baggage. It was very exciting to be in a communist country, and despite the steady drizzle I could not tear myself away from the window. Trucks were numerous and cars relatively scarce, with very few lights in the small urban centres. Very interesting also were the platform stationmasters, who stood at attention, flag in hand, as the train whizzed by, a practice (I learned later) as old as the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

At Prague I transferred to a local train for Olomouc and for the first time felt somewhat apprehensive. I was among total strangers, headed in pitch-black darkness for a place I had never heard of in supposedly "enemy" territory. Unlike the plush seats of the international train, the seats were now hard, slat-like pieces of wood screwed to curved metal frames, similar to those found in city parks. I smiled at two young men diagonally across from me and told them in Ukrainian who I was and where I was going. Although not a smoker, I was smoking and offered each a cigarette. Pleased,

they moved to a seat across from me, where I learned they were both skilled workers and married. From my bag I dug out two packages of Benson and Hedges, purchased duty-free on the boat from England. Although I was not hungry, they insisted we leave for another car where food was available. Not wishing to offend, I agreed—they in the lead with my baggage and I negotiating the heavy doors through at least a dozen railway cars. When we finally reached the caboose, I was treated to a bottle of beer and a large, unappetizing-looking sandwich—a dry piece of hamburger-like meat between two thick slices of rye bread—consumed with some difficulty standing up. Once we had finished, to my consternation all the cars had to be renegotiated, and I wondered why we had left in the first place!

During registration at a student dormitory in Olomouc, a Ukrainian from Bukovyna, overhearing my Canadian Ukrainian, helped with the registration and accompanied me to my room, where we talked for the next two hours. Josef Antochi taught at the pedagogical institute in Pitești, Romania, some thirty miles west of Bucharest, where he lived. He was a strong anti-communist, but when I questioned Moscow's presence in Eastern Europe, he pointed to the room's air vents and whispered, "With your good passport you can easily leave, but I must remain to face the music." Next morning, on our way to the first conference session, I inquired about the availability of hotel accommodation. Fortunately, one of Antochi's highly placed political colleagues from Romania found the hotel rate (\$6.00 per day) too expensive, and a swap was arranged. The old hotel was the best in the small city, its heel-clicking, black-tie restaurant waiters in shiny, well-worn and stained black suits feigning an elegance in service that neither the smoky atmosphere nor the seedy-looking clientele could match.

The international conference, being my first and behind the Iron Curtain, was politically the experience of a lifetime. The Soviet delegation (fourteen strong) was the largest after the local Czechs and Slovaks (sixty-six), and despite snide remarks in private about Moscow, the Soviets were generally regarded as "big brothers" (*starshi braty*). Prominent on the elevated platform, they were the only ones to bring fraternal greetings. However, they took no part in the often heated academic discussions, leaving them to the Germans—twelve from the West and eight from the East—whose dislike of one another was palpable and coloured several sessions. Of the total participants (129), only 25 were from the West—22 from Western Europe and three from North America. I was the only Canadian. Simultaneous translation was in Russian, French, German and English. The conference afforded a good opportunity to meet scholars who could be visited during our projected trip to Eastern Europe next spring. Antochi was, of course, among them, very eager to exchange local currency for dollars.

Olomouc, in Moravia, placed me in the very heart of Europe, the landlocked city being almost equidistant from the North, Baltic, Adriatic and Black seas. For one of Slavic descent, there was no better place to begin sampling Europe. The Czechs understood Ukrainian, though when I used it on the street or in shops most mistook it for Russian and were decidedly cool until I mentioned Canada. The stores and shops were generally well stocked with the basics, though the grocery shelves were quite cluttered and dusty, and little attention was paid to attractive display. Crates of newly arrived bananas were stacked high on some sidewalks opposite store entrances for lack of space; some were clearly spoiling. Lottery tickets were on sale everywhere, a real surprise considering the communist interest in avoiding the worst aspects of capitalistic societies. Although my Western-style dress aroused occasional attention, no one approached me and I initiated all contacts. A very serious handicap was my inability to read either Czech or Slovak, and though I saw the official party newspaper (*Rudé právo*) everywhere, my Ukrainian did not help with its contents. Under the Stalinist Novotný, the press was, of course, closely controlled, and all serious political discussion took place in homes, public parks or on long walks.

From Olomouc, I caught a ride with a Professor Schiller from the Ruhr University in Bochum, West Germany, to Bratislava to visit Irena and Sveto Lichardus, an engineer at the Institute of Construction and Architecture whom Natalia and I had met through the Gulutsans during Sveto's sabbatical at the University of Alberta the year before. In Bratislava I saw for the first time how individuals lived. The Licharduses and their six-year-old daughter had three nice but very cramped rooms with an adjoining kitchenette and bath on the ninth floor in one of the many high-rise apartments in the city's outskirts. From Olomouc, I was already familiar with the electric lights that automatically cut out in hallways and on stairs after short set periods to conserve electricity, but the nine-storey climb when the elevator gave out was a formidable experience, especially when carrying either groceries or the wash from the common laundry room in the basement. Sveto introduced me to the hard-currency store (*Tuzek*), a fixture in communist countries, where one could purchase coupons (*tuzeks*) and exchange them for goods from the West—dry cereals, motor oil, chocolates, cookies, liquor, cigarettes, canned goods—or the best local products, usually slated for export.

The impact of Western currency on Eastern Europe was remarkable. I exchanged American dollars for Czechoslovak crowns at a premium (twenty-three rather than seven to the dollar) and felt very guilty until Sveto explained that the exchange made holidays in the West possible, as the state allowed each adult only \$20 US for trips abroad. Needless to say it was a strange feeling to become suddenly rich in an economy geared to local salaries. As a result, I treated the Licharduses and their best friends, Vera and

Slavo Talas (a landscape architect), to dinner. If the middle-class Licharduses and Talases were members of the Communist Party, they were very poor communists, for they saw through the regime and criticized it freely, with Sveto's father, a former educational official, having suffered indignities at its hands. Sveto watched his dinner drinks closely, for driving with the slightest touch of alcohol on the breath meant the loss of one's driver's licence. The restaurant's beautiful decor and warm atmosphere contrasted sharply with the dimly lit, depressing streets outside. It was not just that people appeared to live in two different worlds (the same could be said of many in the West), but with the restaurant's nice ambience and quick, considerate service, one felt both free and important, very different from the sense of control and restriction experienced outside. Even though the state strongly discouraged tipping, the waiters appreciated even token amounts, and the gypsy orchestra that made the rounds did very well by most.

What I saw really set me thinking. I was privileged only because I came from the West. The local system was bad enough, but my hosts kept repeating, "Wait until you see Ukraine!" The problem was a basic conundrum for the liberal: was political insecurity the inevitable price of economic security? The ordinary citizens with numerous social benefits had little or no political power. As a result, despite full employment, low rents, free medical care and easy access to kindergartens, schools and universities (things that for many existed only precariously in the West), the corrupt and dreadful West was still admired and preferred, not because of its superior ways but because it offered choices and allowed individuals to sin in their own way.

During a four-hour layover at the Prague airport on the return trip to England, I tried to access the downtown by taxi, but the police quickly ruled that out. Instead, I took in the free movie that ran continually in the airport theatre. It was the most blatant piece of political propaganda imaginable—a simplistic morality play in which the faith of young, idealistic individuals in the inevitable triumph of communism overcomes all who would subvert the noble goals of the state. The transparency of the film was unbelievable and perhaps not surprisingly I was the only viewer.

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Within a few days I was back on the continent by car with the whole family, a trial run for the much longer trip next spring. I was especially concerned to test the adequacy of *Europe on Five Dollars a Day* (then the tourist rage) for accommodation. The fast-paced two-week trip took in northwestern Europe, especially Germany and its politically divided Berlin. The ninety-minute drive to West Berlin was as sobering as it was depressing. The military, thoroughly searching every vehicle (emptying trunks, lifting

hoods, examining undercarriages), cast a very large shadow over everything. The road through East Germany was a four-lane highway (two lanes each way), hived off by high barbed wire, with lampposts and numerous towers on both sides manned by armed *Vopos*, the “people’s police.” As stopping was forbidden, Natalia discreetly snapped pictures through the car windows.

On the way to the Berlin Wall we walked on a very wide and largely empty street that almost surrealistically led nowhere, cut off at the wall. From the platform overlooking the wall, the wide death strip separating the two Berlins was clearly visible, as were the police towers in the eastern sector and something of East Berlin itself. When we crossed the famous but modest-looking Checkpoint Charlie into East Berlin, the examination of vehicles was even more thorough, with seats removed (if removable) and the undercarriage checked with mirrors. East Berlin’s drabness contrasted sharply with the neon-lit western part, and shells of bombed-out buildings (churches mainly) could still be seen. On a hunch we asked one of the street policemen to point out the approximate location of Hitler’s bunker, and to our surprise he waved his hand in a direction just north of the clearly visible Brandenburg Gate. By then the spot was little more than a grassy knoll, emphatically out of bounds to tourists. At Checkpoint Charlie, on our way back, we spent a good hour at the nearby Museum of the Wall in the American zone, taking in the poignant stories and mementos of the many individuals who had fled East Berlin (not always successfully).

On the autobahn to Munich we breakfasted at a large truck stop in East Germany, truck stops then being the most common auto service centres in Eastern Europe, where touring was still largely a novelty. Although the food was good, the place reeked of cigarette smoke. Outside Munich we visited the Nazi concentration camp at nearby Dachau. Established in the 1930s, Dachau had imprisoned Soviet prisoners of war, as well as intellectuals, homosexuals, Jews, gypsies and other “undesirables.” It was nice to see Ukrainians distinguished from Russians among the nationalities that had suffered there. With its barbed wire, numerous light standards and high towers, we concluded that totalitarian terror was all of a piece, ideological differences notwithstanding. In Freiburg, where Natalia’s father had suggested we visit a distant relative from Ukraine, all went well until we learned that, as a political émigré, he strongly supported the neo-Nazis on account of their opposition to the communist Soviet Union. Like Hitler, he would fight left-wing totalitarianism with right-wing totalitarianism, the carnage be damned!

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Back in England, I read and worked on publishing commitments, interspersed with brief trips to London, where we visited with Victor Romaniuk, a teacher whose family hailed from Smoky Lake, Natalia's birthplace. For *Sviat-Vechir*, Natalia obtained wheat for *kutia* by writing to a puffed-wheat company in Manchester, which found the request so unusual that it reciprocated without charge! Although living in England had its pleasant moments, the drafty house was very cold, bringing on the chilblains that Natalia had first experienced in Boston. In Victor Romaniuk's three-storey flat, the closed-off upper parts were, he declared, "as cold as Korchinsky's lockers in Smoky Lake!" On one of our visits he indicated that his landlady had a villa in Malta named "Smoky Lake" that we might wish to rent to escape the cold. As a result, on 14 February we left England for "warm and sunny" Italy, the first leg of a six-month journey that took us south as far as Sparta and east to Kyiv and Istanbul. In all, we spent about half the time in communist Eastern Europe, including almost a month in Yugoslavia, with additional stays in Czechoslovakia, Ukraine (the last two weeks in April), Romania and Spain—all of which made the actual car travel bearable, especially for the children.

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After almost six weeks in Italy and Malta, we entered the Slavic world in Zagreb, Croatia (then part of Yugoslavia), where knowing Ukrainian became a definite asset. I phoned Mihajlo Ogrizović, a professor of comparative education, who welcomed us with an enormous bottle of *sljivovica* but was unfortunately less friendly now than in Olomouc, and we were obliged to explore Zagreb on our own. We would have benefited from seeing his residence or office and meeting his family or university colleagues, but he was now very apologetic about the conditions of life under communism. In Budapest, in private accommodation rented through the state tourist agency, we met the widowed owner, her late husband a medical doctor. Upper-middle-class in demeanour, she intensely disliked the communist regime, and over pre-dinner drinks (at our invitation) she introduced us to the sites of communist Budapest. First, she pointed out the bullet holes on her building from the 1956 uprising. Then, on a city map, she practically steered us toward Heroes' Square, an enormous parade ground where the boarded-up statue of Stalin could still be seen. Finally, she strongly recommended Gellért Hill, where the Soviets had erected a very large "liberation" monument to commemorate their victory over Nazism. Similar monuments—always

heavy and grand and always in prominent places—were left throughout Eastern Europe.

Backtracking to Vienna before heading for Bratislava—a very short distance from Austria in kilometres but worlds apart in other respects—we tended to the laundry, for laundromats were seldom available in Eastern Europe. We hit Bratislava at the height of euphoria over Alexander Dubček's unexpected "Prague Spring," which brought an openness and hopefulness that contrasted sharply with the Czechoslovakia I had experienced in September. People closely monitored developments on television, which they now trusted, and enthusiastically participated in real political debate and commentary. Unfortunately, the same television also brought news of Martin Luther King's assassination, which, with President Johnson's recent decision to leave, raised numerous, nervous questions about America's stability should the Soviets invade.

On 13 April we left Bratislava for our prearranged entrance into Ukraine next day (Easter Sunday). Toward evening we saw individuals on the roadside (women and children mainly, some in brightly embroidered holiday dress) carrying Easter baskets (the *paska*) to be blessed in church. In Kosice, Slovakia, we ordered dinner in Ukrainian from a hotel waiter, who asked a young English-speaking man to confirm our order. After dinner, our interpreter, a touring Polish jazz pianist, invited us to a local nightclub. The latter was large and (it being Saturday night) very crowded, with numerous young workers from the adjoining major industrial area. On the stage was a very loud band (mostly electric guitars and saxophones) fronted by several young female performers singing rock-and-roll music in a lilting, largely wordless (la-da-da) style that we would later meet in other parts of Eastern Europe. The communist authorities, we learned, were not too happy with the highly Westernized format but tolerated it. At midnight, when the large club closed, the pianist ushered us into another, much smaller room, quite exclusive and by local standards very expensive, where a quartet played quiet, dreamy music until two or three in the morning.

### *In Ukraine*

Next day, when we reached the Soviet border, a few kilometres from Uzhhorod, it was noon (two o'clock Moscow time). Slowly crossing the three-foot-deep, car-length depression in the road—presumably to discourage quick motorized exits!—Natalia and I looked at each other and said little. While still several miles distant, we had vowed to avoid Texas-style North American reactions that saw everything through Western eyes. We would give the Soviets the benefit of the doubt and try not to behave like

typical tourists. It was not long, however, before we had to eat our words. The border guard, a Belarussian in charge of the post, informed us that our children lacked visas. As East European officials elsewhere had admitted the children on Natalia's visa, I asked the Soviet guard to simply "write them in" (*zapyshit'*). When he refused and was indefinite about the time needed to obtain Moscow's approval, I was dumbfounded. Our itinerary with Intourist, the state tourist agency, required that we be in Lviv by evening, still a long drive at the best of times. The guard merely shrugged his shoulders and left; we would simply have to wait—and wait we did for some four hours, alternately cursing the Soviets and discussing hockey and our lives with two Ukrainian-speaking border guards.



Border crossing (near Uzhhorod) into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as seen from the Czechoslovak side, April 1968. A three-foot deep, car length depression was near the marker above the road.

When we were finally cleared, more harsh words were exchanged about our baggage not having been checked during the delay. As a result, the examination was hurried and much less thorough than it would be two weeks later, when we left. This was perhaps fortunate, for I was carrying some clippings in English about Borys Dotsenko, a Ukrainian physicist and former head of the nuclear laboratory at Kyiv State University, who had defected while on an exchange visit at the University of Alberta. We had met him at the home of university colleagues Michael and Marlene Kalinowski just before leaving, and I was concerned to show the professors I would meet in Kyiv that the university was not to blame for the defection. During the inspection one of the Ukrainian-speaking guards noticed that the Soviet section in David's stamp album was empty. That, I offhandedly remarked, was an important reason for our visiting Ukraine, and the matter was dropped (or so at least we thought). As we were leaving, the same guard quietly requested a ballpoint pen (which we gave him), and at his request we also agreed to meet him at the Intourist hotel in Uzhhorod at eight that evening.

At our hotel restaurant in the suburbs of Uzhhorod, we were surprised to find two long lines, one in the hotel lobby and another outside, at the opposite end of the restaurant. Although shorter, our line moved very slowly, and after a half-hour I explained our situation to a waiter, who hurriedly seated us at a table whose occupants were about to leave. The general confusion raised the ire of some, and we joined in berating those in charge, bewildered by the chaos around them. Exasperated by the impossibly slow service, we left our unfinished dinners to meet the Ukrainian border guard. He arrived promptly at eight, opened a medium-sized paper bag upon entering and dumped a mound of Soviet stamps on a nearby bureau. The unexpected gesture was accompanied only by a very brief “The boy needs them” (in Ukrainian). He was embarrassed, he said, by the way we had been treated at the border, and he wished to welcome us to Ukraine. Concerned to return the favour, we made suggestions, but he only requested another ballpoint pen. This time we gave him one of the six best we had brought for our families and watched him disappear within an hour, his drink of excellent Czechoslovak rye whiskey and Coca-Cola mostly untouched. He would not give us his name or reveal anything about himself.



“Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,” typical roadside sign in Ukraine glorifying the party and the goals of the current Five-Year Plan, April 1968.

In the end the delay at the border turned out to be a blessing, for the road through the low Carpathians was so bad that we would never have reached Lviv before six, when one had to be off the route designated by Intourist in its booklet for motorists. After Mukachiv, the country through Stryi became more interesting, as we crossed ‘mountains’ that seemed more like good-sized hills. With the overcast sky and chilly wind, passers-by were heavily bundled up in colourless wraps and even the occasional sheepskin coat. Ducks and geese near streams and the odd woman doing the wash brought to mind the romantic scenes on the backdrops of stages in some Ukrainian

“national homes” (*narodnyi domy*) in western Canada. The beautiful designs at some bus stops really surprised us, as did “Stop” in Cyrillic, an interesting commentary on Quebec’s insistence upon “Arrêt” at the time! Very tedious eventually were the numerous highway billboards depicting young, eager, uplifted faces extolling the blessings of communism, the Communist Party, socialism, progress, education, space exploration, ever-rising production quotas, etc., reminiscent of the West’s equally tacky and monotonous roadside billboards. We met mainly trucks, motorcycles, bicycles and long, low wagons drawn by horses and occasionally oxen. In the villages, houses with thatched roofs and whitewashed exteriors were common, very similar to those built by the first Ukrainians in western Canada.

We reached Lviv before six, grateful that the tires and both axles had withstood the terrible potholes and breaks in the highway. Fortunately, the remaining roads were very much better, for I had begun to despair of the car’s surviving the trip. Unlike the hotel clerk in Uzhhorod, the one in Lviv quickly abandoned Russian once I spoke in Ukrainian, and on the street Ukrainian could be heard everywhere. The car was again secured, for Western cars were quickly stripped of hubcaps, window wipers and even tires, coveted as either replacements or souvenirs. At dinner we requested Ukrainian wine, but as in Uzhhorod our apologetic waiter thought we might have better luck in Kyiv.

Entitled to the services of an Intourist guide, we arranged to meet ours next morning at ten. When the car was brought round, it immediately attracted a crowd, some pleased to learn that we were from Canada and spoke Ukrainian. Our guide, a pleasant, attractive young woman in her late twenties who spoke excellent English, was barely in the car when she noticed some books in the open compartment under the dash. She reached for Crane Brinton’s *Anatomy of Revolution* and asked my opinion of the book. I told her I had still to read it, and she wondered whether it discussed the Russian Revolution. When I checked the index and showed her the entry, she asked to borrow it overnight. I agreed immediately; it was my job as a professor, I said, to promote learning and understanding. There the matter temporarily ended, and we began our allotted hour-and-a-half tour.

Our guide’s comments faithfully followed the Communist Party line, betraying neither humour nor doubt nor any hint of controversy. The Soviet Union was presented as lacking little, either because of earlier accomplishments or five-year plans in the works. Natalia and I listened and said little, but the frustration was building. Matters came to a head about noon, when we reached St. George’s Cathedral, which unfortunately was closed (because of the hour, according to the guide). Although we found this strange—most cathedrals in Western Europe were open to tourists even during services—we said nothing until the guide noted that the building

across from the cathedral was the former residence of the late Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky (d.1944). When I observed that the archbishop was noteworthy even in Ukrainian-Canadian history, the guide disparaged Sheptytsky, labelling him a fascist who had welcomed the German invasion of Ukraine in 1941. Even I, who had only the most superficial knowledge of Ukrainian history, knew that that was not true. In Canada, I calmly remarked, we saw the same events differently. Even if the archbishop had sided with the Germans (which I doubted), it was not out of any love for either the Germans or fascism but a desire to free Ukraine from communist Moscow's continued domination.

Moreover, I continued, if things in the Soviet Union were really as good as she had depicted them, she should have little difficulty in obtaining Brinton's book from the local public library or from Kyiv (and certainly from Moscow), and there was no need for me to keep my earlier promise. The reversal, I said, was my first as a professor, but her constant hewing to the official line gave me no choice. The books were for my own use, and I did not wish to hazard being accused of disseminating subversive literature. I then wrote out the book's title and other particulars on the back of my professional card and gave it to her. Invited to join us for lunch, she accepted on our way to Ivan Franko's grave. Approached by a beggar in the cemetery, I placed a few kopeks into his outstretched hand over the guide's objections, for beggars, like prostitutes, alcoholics and criminals, were not supposed to exist in the Soviet Union. Only my wife knew that the generosity was an extraordinary act on my part, since in Canada I, too, tried not to encourage begging.

Over lunch at the hotel and for some two hours thereafter, Natalia and I conducted what was practically a miniature seminar in comparative political systems with the naïve guide at our table. When we admitted that our system was far from perfect, she too gave some ground, but on two points—the Western world's imperialism and the sanctity of the Communist Party—she would not yield. We alone were the imperialists, the Soviets only pursued the politics of national liberation; and unlike our political parties, which only fronted for the vested interests of wicked capitalists, the Communist Party represented the will of the people, which, being unitary, ruled out other parties. When she agreed that changing leaders in the Soviet system was a serious problem, I suggested that the Soviets copy our Liberals and Conservatives and alongside "Communist Party No. 1" they introduce a "Communist Party No. 2" to form "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition" and thereby facilitate a peaceful transfer of power—a simple idea that left her speechless! Next morning, just before we left for Kyiv, she, like any good missionary, gave us a copy of *USSR: Questions and Answers*, a paperback from Moscow containing the official position on thirty-one neatly delineated subjects, approved by seven ministries, four state committees, two unions and four institutes!

In Kyiv we stayed at the Hotel Ukraina, an older but very pleasant establishment on Taras Shevchenko Boulevard, which ironically boasted an enormous statue of Lenin at one end! Although the hotel's restaurant was good, Ukrainian wine was again not available. Citing earlier disappointments, we were advised to try the Dnipro Hotel, which was certain to have it. We did so and never complained again: the wine came from Moldavia and was about as appetizing as Ontario's at the time! From Intourist we learned how thin were the week's cultural attractions in Kyiv. There was nothing at the Mykola Lysenko Theatre, and we saw only one Ukrainian cultural performance during the four-day stay—a large and very good mixed choral group in traditional Ukrainian dress at the Philharmonic. The paucity of Ukrainian culture in the capital so disturbed us that we deliberately passed up a chance to visit Shevchenko's grave and museum at Kaniv on the Dnipro River. It seemed preposterous to use Kaniv as a tourist "attraction" in a state that placed so little value upon things Ukrainian. No matter where we went, the first words were almost always in Russian—and this in the capital of the country! It did not help to be told that Kyiv had always been a Russified city. What mattered was that it was nothing like the other European capitals we had visited—London, Paris, Rome, Budapest—where it was inconceivable that the native language should be invisible. Being in Kyiv was like being in some other country, not Ukraine, and that required a lot of psychological adjustment. When Intourist got us two tickets to a highly recommended contemporary play in Ukrainian, we found its pro-Soviet propaganda (the panegyrics to Lenin, the party, the fortunate workers) so silly that we left after the second act. The lengths to which a totalitarian system would go to subvert art in the interests of party ideology were beyond belief.

After dinner at the Dnipro Hotel, it was dusk when I switched on the car's lights. Immediately hailed by a traffic policeman, we were told in Russian to dim them to a "park" position. When I replied in Ukrainian, pretending not to understand, he indicated that he spoke only Russian, though admitting to Ukrainian ancestry. That night, after Natalia and the children had retired, I decided to visit the *hastronom* (a kind of delicatessen) on Khreshchatyk Street, next to the huge statue of Lenin. Near a long, attractive row of meats and cheeses, a man in his early forties (teetering slightly at another counter) asked in Ukrainian which soft drink I would like. I assumed he was addressing those next to him and replied in Ukrainian, "I'm not with you, I'm from Canada," quickly pulling out my wallet to show him the corner of a Canadian ten-dollar bill. He now insisted that I have a glass of grape juice and quickly brought back two full glasses, handing me one and toasting with the other: "Khai zhyne Moskva! Khai zhyve Ukraïna!" (May Moscow perish! Long live Ukraine!). Raising my glass, I replied: "Do toho ia zavzhdy p'iu!" (To that I always drink!). Quickly draining its contents and without

looking round, I suggested that we leave immediately. He agreed, but once up Shevchenko Boulevard he kept insisting we were being followed. Although I could see no one, we stopped at a beer kiosk for a better look. It was now well past midnight and very dark. While we nursed our beers, I told him about my family in the hotel up the street. He suggested we head for Shevchenko Park, near the university up from the hotel, where we spent the next two hours.

The stranger was a music teacher, strongly anti-communist and very Ukrainian. But given his strong anti-Semitism, it was at times hard to tell whom he disliked more, the communists and the Russians or the Jews. He blamed the latter for Kyiv's fall to the Germans and for practically everything else, citing numerous instances of alleged Jewish perfidy. Although I tried to change the subject, he persisted until I finally told him I had had enough. He then turned to the earlier anti-government demonstrations at the nearby Shevchenko monument that the *militsiia* had always dispersed, occasionally with water hoses. I invited him to lunch next day, after which he promised to show us Babyn Yar, where the Nazis had mass-murdered 150,000 Kyivans, most of them Jews (Ukrainians, according to him). However, events set in motion earlier intervened, and with only his first name I could not inform him of our change in plans. Although I kept an eye out in the vicinity of the hotel, he made no effort to contact us, and we did not hear from him again.

The intervention was a phone call from Zoia Trostianska, whom I had asked Intourist to locate. A teacher of English at Shevchenko University, Trostianska had been an exchange professor in the Department of English at the University of Alberta in 1965-66, whom we had met at the Gulutsans' and at the home of Orest and Anna Starchuk (Starchuk then being responsible for exchanges). A heavy-set, pleasant woman in her early forties, Trostianska invited us to lunch at the new Natalka Poltavka restaurant on the outskirts of Kyiv, an expensive establishment by Soviet standards, frequented by tourists and middle-class Kyivans. Based on a highly stylized peasant design, complete with thatched roof, crane (*zhuravel'*) and very attractive decorative paintings (*rozpys*) on the inner and outer walls, the restaurant served authentic Ukrainian food. As we were among the first to arrive, the service was much better than usual. I tried to explain to Trostianska that the university authorities in Edmonton had had nothing to do with Dotsenko's defection, but she paid little attention, since that was not the official line. When I showed her a clipping from the *Edmonton Journal*, she merely asked that I bring it and others to her place at one o'clock next day, when we would also meet her family. We set out for the address she gave us, only to find no such residence. We never heard from her again, and not even Intourist could reach her. I tried to phone later, but without Russian I drew only blanks on the city's erratic telephone system.

Frustrated by Trostianska, we made our way to the Shevchenko Museum, which unfortunately was closed for renovations (*Na remont*, an expression heard so often that even our children knew it!). Back at the car, we complained to a young couple studying our licence plates. They apologized for the museum and suggested we accompany them to a nearby exhibit of contemporary Ukrainian art. That is how we met Vadym and Halyna Smohytel. As the artistic display was small, we were soon engaged in friendly discussion, berating the Soviets for denationalizing the Ukrainian people. A strong Ukrainian patriot, Vadym was visibly moved, and when he learned that we had not only missed Orthodox Easter but had still to taste good Ukrainian *kovbasa* (sausage), he invited us to have *paska* at their home next day.



Vadym and Halyna Smohytel welcome our family with flowers, Kyiv, April 1968. (David on the left, Elaine in the centre).

The Smohytels lived in a compact but very well-equipped apartment in what was known as “New Kyiv” on the east side of the Dnipro River. He played the accordion and composed music and Halyna taught elementary school; they had no children. Born in western Ukraine, where his family still lived, Vadym resented Russification as much as we did, though Halyna was generally friendlier toward the communist system. Over lunch, we told them about our friends the Lytviaks in Edmonton and about our love of Ukrainian music, which moved Vadym to give each of our families an autographed long-playing record from his collection. Later, when Lytviak thanked him, he set off a correspondence that lasted many years.

Familiar with the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Kyiv, Vadym suggested that we take in the political demonstration scheduled for that very evening before the statue of Lenin on our boulevard, a counter to next day’s official celebration of Lenin’s 98th birthday. Accordingly, accompanied by

Halyna, we set off at about five; Vadym, in turn, left for the Nataalka Poltavka restaurant, where coincidentally he was a member of its traditional Ukrainian orchestra. At the statue we watched countless individuals bringing flowers until well past eight, but inexplicably no demonstration materialized. Returning to the Poltavka restaurant, we heard its unique orchestra—the traditional *bubon* (drum), *sopilka* (flute) and *tsymbaly* (dulcimer), with Vadym on the accordion. We did not linger because of the children.

On our last day in Kyiv—Lenin’s birthday—we took in the official morning ceremonies at the Lenin statue, attended by a whole row of very solemn-looking dignitaries, among them Petro Shelest, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party. All the speeches were in Russian and well over our heads. Besides young people in Pioneer and Komsomol uniforms, many others wore traditional Ukrainian costumes. The separate conductors for the military brass band and the choral group (in Ukrainian dress) occasionally created lighter moments as they tried to synchronize the tempo. In the afternoon we toured the city with Vadym, spending considerable time at the St. Volodymyr Cathedral, observing the service and milling about on the edge of a very talkative crowd. There were no chairs or benches for the mostly elderly worshippers. Despite relentless harassment by the state, the church, Vadym explained, managed somehow to survive. I concluded that to be a Christian in communist Ukraine tested one’s mettle and meant something.

The most beautiful of Kyiv’s historical sites was by far the very large Kyivan Cave Monastery (*Pechers’ka Lavra*) complex, with its gorgeous gates. Unfortunately, far too many of the buildings (even the museums) were closed, and simply wandering about soon tired the children. As a result, we spent considerable time in one of the smaller churches, converted into a scientific museum to illustrate man’s expanding knowledge of the universe after Copernicus. The displays were accurate and well presented, though most Christians would undoubtedly have found their location inappropriate. The venerable St. Sophia Cathedral, on the other hand, seemed to lack the grandeur of Canterbury, Reims or Paris’s Notre Dame, though the religious mosaics and frescos were definitely impressive. Another site, the Historical Museum of Ukraine, showed well how the retreating Nazis had deliberately gutted Kyiv, illustrating again the utter stupidity of war.

Just as stupid was the Communist Party’s tight control of what the people could read. During several hours in the library of the so-called Palace of Culture (a youth centre), I jotted down the Anglo-American writers available in Russian (there were none in Ukrainian). Of the two to three thousand volumes—more than expected, and certainly more Soviet writers than one would find in English translation in a similar institution in North America or Britain—many were by writers known for their depiction of the less flattering aspects of Anglo-American life: Harriet Beecher Stowe, W. E. B. DuBois,

Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair, Joseph Conrad, Jack London, Sean O'Casey, A. J. Cronin, Sinclair Lewis (in nine volumes), Charles Dickens (thirty volumes), Mark Twain (twelve volumes) and Sir Walter Scott (twenty volumes).

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We left Kyiv on 23 April for what was, to us, the most important part of the visit to Ukraine—a week's stay in Bukovyna, the small province from where my grandparents had come and which Natalia's father had left with his mother at the age of four. As no one seemed to know the travelling time to Chernivtsi, Bukovyna's main centre, we were on the road by six to avoid travelling at night. With hotel sandwiches for lunch, we had plenty of time and made good use of the additional daylight. Our route took us through Zhytomyr and Vinnytsia, where we stopped for gas—"Super," according to the Intourist booklet, being available. However, the attendant in his tiny office categorically denied (in Ukrainian) that he had "Super," the Intourist booklet notwithstanding. My voice rising, I cursed the system's never-ending runarounds, but he refused to budge. I insisted that he call the authorities: "Zadzvonit!" I finally shouted, and when he reluctantly did so, "Super" was suddenly available. He unlocked the special tank, I served myself, paid in rubles and (having wasted a good half-hour) left, amazed at how utterly unprepared for the modern world was the vaunted "new Soviet man."

At about four in the afternoon we crossed the Dnister River, which I mistakenly thought marked the entrance to Bukovyna. Along the road we saw individuals in colourful Ukrainian shirts and short sheepskin jackets (*kyptari*)—holiday dress, we thought, a carry-over from Orthodox Easter. We also came through an amazingly well-kept village, the houses on both sides of the road displaying neat thatched roofs with very clean whitewashed exteriors. Inquiring of a passer-by in her early thirties about the unusual presence of so many beautiful traditional houses, we were surprised by her objections to our picture-taking; we should (she said) be photographing the "modern," not the "old" aspects of Ukraine. We had already done that (I said); we had come to Ukraine to see what no longer existed in Canada. This, I fear, was not the most diplomatic response. We were smitten with the old houses, for they were not only synonymous with the old country but so obviously a special project, but to the young woman they undoubtedly represented a peasant past that she preferred to forget.

In Chernivtsi our main concern, of course, was to access the villages. Because most villages were quite poor and the families fairly frank in condemning the communist system, rural visits were generally discouraged. In our case the Cortina also increased accessibility, and despite our special visitors' visas there was some hesitation about granting our request. As a

tourist attraction, Chernivtsi was certainly no Kyiv, but we dutifully took in what was available (the university, the Prut River, etc.) as we waited, marvelling at how the city's seemingly unpredictable system seemed somehow to work. There were buses, streetcars, streetlights and other utilities, and food supplies arrived with no apparent hitches. Everything appeared to be perfectly normal, even though nothing really was.

At about 10:30 a.m. on the 25<sup>th</sup> we were suddenly told that we could leave immediately for an eight-hour trip to Oshykhliby (the Lupul village), followed next day by an overnight stay with Natalia's relatives in Stanivtsi. Earlier we had begun discussions with the hotel's restaurant management about a family luncheon on Sunday, the 28<sup>th</sup>. While still in Kyiv, we had noticed that the Intourist meal coupons were piling up. They were for three meals a day for the four of us, meals that we often missed, especially in the morning, when the children preferred the Western dry cereals we had purchased at the Tuzek shop in Bratislava. Informed that we could apply the non-refundable coupons toward a farewell luncheon, we decided to invite family members during our visits.

As Oshykhliby lay north of the Prut River, crossing it was a fairly emotional experience. Pruth in Alberta was named after it; my mother was born in the Pruth district; and her school was also named Pruth. As a young boy I had always found the Pruth crossroads (the heart of Tkachuk country) a great place to visit. On the way to Oshykhliby we passed the road to Luzhany, where I hoped to detour briefly to meet the Tkachuks (whoever they were!). However, Yevhen, the obligatory Intourist escort, strongly opposed any deviation from the officially sanctioned route, which meant that somehow a visit to Luzhany would have to materialize next day.

The Lupuls were expecting us. They had learned of our coming from Vasyl Lupul, my father's second cousin. Vasyl was a displaced person who had refused repatriation to the Soviet Union upon finding himself in Germany after the Nazi invasion of Ukraine in 1941. As part of the third Ukrainian immigration, he had made his way to Edmonton in the early 1950s and had informed his elder brother, Ivan, of our impending visit. When we drove into the Lupul yard at about 11:45 a.m., we saw a substantial establishment with two houses, one recently built for Ivan's only son, Yaroslav (Slavko), who was still single. Both houses reflected the Ukrainian style common on the Canadian prairies, with even a *pich* (clay oven) in the new one, but neither had a thatched roof or was whitewashed, though such houses were still common in the village. Next to the new house was a good-sized orchard, and back of the old house was a barn for one or two cows, a chicken shed and an enclosure for pigs. In the yard was an attractive old-style well with a hand pulley instead of the long pole and bucket of the traditional crane (*zhuravel'*).

When we arrived, Ivan, a blacksmith, was still at the collective farm (Maiak), and we were welcomed by Yaroslav, a fireman in Chernivtsi, and by his mother in the kerchief worn by older married women. Upon Ivan's arrival he quietly (and I think mistakenly) indicated that we were being watched. His next remarks (still in the yard) surprised me even more: he wished to exchange rubles for American dollars to purchase a new car. With dollars, he said, it would be available in weeks; with rubles, it took years. Dismayed, I indicated that "the whole world" was aware of our visit, as he himself had just intimated, and any large withdrawal of rubles by him was bound to draw official attention, which appeared to satisfy him. When I noted the size of his property, he pointed to a rear fence, beyond which, he said, was additional "Lupul land taken away by the Bolsheviks."

Unfortunately, we saw very little of Oshykhliby during our allotted few hours because of a very large lunch and the obligatory visit to the collective farm, its director having joined us for lunch. Our conversation was thus filtered through two state functionaries, and the director's precise relationship to the governing powers could only be imagined. At the farm the cows were still tethered indoors in midafternoon, even though the day was sunny and warm (between 20 and 25 degrees Celsius); no one, the embarrassed director admitted, had yet been told to turn them loose! After visits to the old cemetery and to some other Lupul homes (there were several Lupul families in the village), we left before eight. By the time we reached Chernivtsi it was dark, and at dusk it was easy to see why Intourist discouraged night travel. Very few of the vehicles had tail-lights (or at least such as worked), nor were they or the many pedestrians always clearly visible. Driving at night was thus very dangerous, and as in most Third World countries life appeared precarious.



Ivan Lupul's family with Natalia (second from the left), Oshykhliby, Ukraine, April 1968.

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Our trip next day was one of the most eventful of our lives. Our destination was Horishni (Upper) Stanivtsi, which Natalia's father had visited in 1962 and where we would spend the night. We left at about eleven and were soon near Luzhany, where I was now determined to contact the Tkachuks. Even if we were being monitored (which I doubted), it was simply inconceivable that I should just drive by the village that Dido Tkachuk had left sixty-five years ago. There was, moreover, the Sunday luncheon, and when Mykola, our new Intourist escort, reluctantly agreed to a brief detour—no more than a half-hour—we drove into the village. Not knowing whether any of Dido Tkachuk's family even existed, I used his first name, Illia, when making inquiries. As it turned out, that was also the first name of his nephew—the son of Mykhailo, my grandfather's brother, who for some reason had remained in Ukraine. As we worked our way through the village, we could still see such familiar old-country features as the *zhuravel'* and braided willow fences (*plit*), similar to those on some early Ukrainian farms in Alberta. We drove right into Tkachuk's yard; I knocked on the door and was immediately face to face with my grandfather's nephew. I explained that we were en route to my wife's family, that my mother was a Tkachuk (Illia's daughter) and that we simply had to see where Dido Tkachuk was born. He invited us in, but with our "guest" from Intourist in the car's front seat, it was easy to see why we could not tarry. We invited him and his family (neither his wife nor his only son, Denys, was at home; he himself was retired) to Chernivtsi on Sunday and, after taking pictures of his house and surroundings, quickly ended the whirlwind visit. Although the house was not thatched, its exterior was partially whitewashed and resembled many of those on the prairies.

From Luzhany we headed for Berehomet and crossed the Prut River near Hlynnytsia. Halfway across the bridge it occurred to me that we still did not have a close-up of the river. With the day sunny and the fruit trees in bloom on both banks, I backed up the car, parked it on the right shoulder of the road, walked around the back of the car and photographed the scene. Returning, I stopped momentarily, brought the camera to eye level, sized up the countryside we had just traversed and, seeing a large pile of dirt on the road, decided against another picture. As I reached the car's front door, I thought I heard a distant ringing sound, but paid no heed. However, two-thirds across the bridge, its significance was suddenly apparent, for barring our way was a soldier with a rifle in his hands. Notwithstanding our explanations—mine in Ukrainian and Mykola's in Russian—I was accused of taking pictures of the bridge and ordered to return and follow a soldier who had suddenly appeared on a motorcycle. It was against the law, we

were told, to photograph anything two kilometres on either side of a bridge. They were considered military installations, and we had in fact usually seen them guarded at both ends. At this one, however, the soldiers had been inexplicably (and only temporarily) absent, a fact that in the excitement of the moment no one had noticed. At this point we were only some forty-five kilometres from the Soviet border with Romania, and as with most boundaries, this one, we learned from the families later, was crawling with military personnel.

The motorcycle led us to a small military hut, well hidden off the highway, which I was told to enter, as another soldier positioned himself in front of the car, rifle pointed at the engine, ominously threatening (in Russian) to shoot if we tried to move the vehicle. The time, as I checked my watch, was 12:50. On the way from the bridge I had explained to Natalia and the children in English (which Mykola could not understand) that they should not say anything to anyone, even if asked; it was best for the moment to have only one spokesman. In the hut were two or three uniformed men whose leader spoke in Ukrainian after I refused (in Ukrainian) to listen to Russian. In the Slavic parts of Eastern Europe we had occasionally tried to catch the gist in Russian, but the situation was now much too serious for that. When asked, I explained our circumstances and why we had stopped at the bridge. I also indicated that my wife's family was expecting us for lunch and requested that we be allowed to proceed. The man only reiterated that it was forbidden to take pictures of bridges and, turning to his assistant, abruptly motioned, "Pyshy akt."

While I knew it was an order to write something, *akt* (document) was not a familiar term, and among the meanings that raced through my mind was certainly "indictment." Nonetheless, I repeated my account as the assistant wrote, but when asked to sign the statement, I refused. Not only was the term *akt* unfamiliar, but I could not read the hand-written account in Russian. Assured that it was only a routine statement with no legal implications, I reluctantly signed it, hoping thereby to end the matter. Next, I was asked matter-of-factly to hand over the camera in the car, which I absolutely refused to do. It contained some exceedingly valuable pictures of the previous day's visit to Oshykhliby (I did not mention Luzhany); moreover, I would certainly need it that afternoon. But nothing I said had any effect. I was told to get the camera, which in one sense was a relief, for it gave me a chance to explain the situation to Natalia and the children. Refusing to part with the camera, I was simply told that we would have to wait—and w-a-i-t we did through two more interrogations by military and/or police authorities (always higher up the chain), accompanied by the slow composition of two more *akty*, both of which I again reluctantly signed.

Outside the hut, the soldier in front of the car had given up his ‘post,’ and Natalia and the children moved in and out of the car to ease the tension. I came out periodically to reassure them and found the calmness of the children quite amazing. Elaine had found a stick with which she created a game in the dirt and David joined her from time to time. Natalia found some food in the trunk, which cut the tension even more. No one cried or complained and all showed great courage, with Natalia even angrily lecturing the nearest soldiers, who were somewhat sympathetic. It made sense, they nodded, to have taken the picture in view of my family’s associations with the Prut River.

At about four o’clock a large black car pulled up with three or four men in dark blue civilian dress, whom I judged to be the KGB, the state police. When the men entered the small room, it suddenly became quite crowded, for most of the earlier officials had remained and now stood behind me in a semicircle. To the police, we were probably perfect decoys for espionage. What, after all, could be more innocent than a professor who spoke some Ukrainian, with a wife and two children on tour to search out their ancestral roots? I took the usual seat before the small table, behind which now sat two of the “boys in blue.” By this time I was tired, very annoyed and utterly determined to see the face through to the bitter end. I knew that we had one major advantage: we alone knew what was on the film; it was now up to me to ensure that a picture with a bridge did not somehow materialize. When the new interrogator began in Russian, I immediately interrupted, pleading ignorance of the language (most questioning earlier had eventually been in Ukrainian). When he admitted to not knowing Ukrainian and wondered how to proceed, I declared half-defiantly, “Treba perekladacha” (A translator is needed), somewhat amazed that such a ‘big word’ was even part of my limited vocabulary. One of the men in the semicircle to my right became the translator, and the slow, repetitive game, full of pauses and replies that began with “A shcho vin kazav?” (What did he say?) and “Skazhit’ iomu” (Tell him), was on.

I repeated my story, reluctantly signed still another *akt* and stubbornly refused to part with the camera. Perhaps to impress me with the seriousness of the situation, two of the “boys in blue” and the translator took me out to the bridge. After I explained my movements, they pointed to a sign attached to the left side of the bridge, well above eye level, that declared the area a “prohibited zone” (*zaboronena zona*), and wondered why I had not heeded it. The sign was small (about twelve by four inches), well weathered and dusty, with the printing in black on a dark yellow background, quite unintelligible at any speed. By turns amused and indignant, I asked whether they really expected anyone to see the small, muddied board (*zabolocheda doshka*), and there was no reply.

When we returned to the hut, the pressure to obtain the camera intensified. Asked why I was so suspicious, I indicated that one of my wife's uncles in Canada was a photographer who once told me that he could put hair on heads where there was no hair and moustaches where there were no moustaches, and I did not want a bridge to appear where I knew there was no bridge. Giving up on the camera, the agent asked for the film (*plěnka* in Russian, *plivka* in Ukrainian, another unfamiliar term). I agreed only if I could accompany him to the laboratory in Chernivtsi, where he said the film would be developed. "You have taken our day," I said sarcastically, "you might as well take our night, too." The agent, of course, would have none of that, but his next proposition was more serious: The film, once developed, would be brought to the hotel in Chernivtsi and I myself would cut off the offending bridge, if it were there. Yielding slowly, I protested that the coloured Kodak film would be ruined, as he himself had admitted that the laboratory lacked the technology to process such films. Pretending not to hear, he simply extended his right hand, and in the end I took out the cartridge and handed it to him on the clear understanding that I would, indeed, cut off the objectionable frame if the bridge were on it. This, I thought, was sufficient to guard against being framed.

Thus shortly before six o'clock the ordeal was over. Mykola from Intourist, a mere cipher during the negotiations, offered only meaningless apologies and, likely worried about his own future, manufactured excuses for everyone. We arrived in Barbivtsi (now Brusnytsia) in the early dusk and hurriedly had the children stand on the alleged birthplace of their Dido Goresky for a picture. We were at Octavian and Aurelia Boychuk's, the latter Natalia's distant cousin. The Boychuks, who had been holding lunch for hours, were naturally amazed (but not entirely surprised) to hear of our escapade with the police. We, in turn, were furious at the delay and elated at our having stood off the "Russian communists." After a delicious dinner (we were famished) with generous helpings of vodka, Natalia and I (helped by Mykola until he passed out) gave splendid renditions of such patriotic songs as the sad *Oi, u luzi chervona kalyna* and the stirring *Shche ne vmerla Ukraïna* (the suppressed national anthem of Ukraine), in which even our apprehensive hosts occasionally joined in.

That evening at about ten we arrived at Horishni Stanivtsi, where we spent the night. Both relatives, in their late sixties, had already retired but welcomed us warmly, amidst obvious explanations. Apparently we were to have had dinner at their place, to which some educational and other village officials had been invited. This was, they said, one way to ensure that their fairly large garden would soon be ploughed (workers in fact arrived next morning!). They now insisted on reinviting the dignitaries to a much-delayed meal. Even though we had just eaten, we ate again and discussed local and

world affairs over after-dinner drinks until well past three in the morning (the bridge incident, at the relatives' request, being barely mentioned). From their questions I could not believe how ignorant of our way of life were the six or seven guests. They wondered, for example, how many North Americans had cars like our Cortina. After underlining its small size, I counted the number of vehicles in our immediate family and, just for good measure, noted that some senior high schools had student parking lots. For much of the night we sounded like the Texans we had vowed not to be, but it was impossible to say anything without risking exaggeration. Fortunately, I had retained the stub from a recent salary cheque, with its usual deductions. I went through it, pointing to what disappeared at source and what was consumed by house payments and other living expenses, usually leaving very little at the end. As the evening wore on, guarded complaints about the local system could be heard, but neither politics nor government was much mentioned.

That night we went to bed at about four, which was just as well, for the bedbugs made sleep practically impossible and, after six, the noise of the loudspeaker on a nearby lamppost kept me awake. Accordingly, I got up and took in the scene. The loudspeaker blared a steady stream of political propaganda mixed with music, many of the slogans familiar from the earlier highway billboards. Workers were loaded onto trucks at prearranged stops and carted away like cattle, their bobbing heads alone visible. Local living conditions, as Natalia's father had earlier observed, were largely those of Ukrainian-Canadian prairie villages in the 1930s. Given the lack of both running water and indoor plumbing, outhouses dotted the landscape. Electricity was available, but the wattage was low, and the houses continued to be heated by wood and coal stoves. Unpainted buildings were scattered about the village, and next to dusty dirt roads were wooden sidewalks and high, unsightly grass.

Life in the village was generally hard, and the Ukrainian peasant still lived largely through his children. Although he was no longer a serf, servitude was still his lot—only now the lords were even more numerous than before and were all members of one political party (the only one allowed), which cut the young off from the rest of the world and gave all children a skewed education that tragically left them unprepared to meet cultures not their own. Schools in Canada could also be powerful engines of indoctrination, but education at least was not confined to the school. In the village the massive authoritarianism that pervaded everything either reduced individuals to ciphers or obliged the more thoughtful to adopt a double standard of public and private discourse and behaviour.

Before returning to Chernivtsi, we stopped in Nyzhni (Lower) Stanivtsi to visit other Goresky relatives, including a junior high school teacher and his wife who ran the *apteka* (pharmacy) attached to their house—the sole

professionals among the relatives. Once back in Chernivtsi, I began shredding all the materials on the Dotsenko case, as it was easy to suppose that a very thorough inspection now awaited us at the border. We were also carrying six hundred American dollars in cash to be exchanged with Antochi in Romania and acquaintances elsewhere—monies I had not declared at the border in Uzhhorod to prevent their conversion into rubles and reconversion at a lower rate later. Such, in any case, was the advice of a CBC reporter from Montreal, experienced on trips into the Soviet Union, whom I had met on the train to Prague the previous September. The reporter, we discovered, was wrong, but the dollars were now subject to confiscation.

Thus at dinner that evening I had a lot on my mind. Next to our table I noted the arrival of two men about our age who occasionally glanced at us, smiling when our eyes met. Eventually they introduced themselves in Ukrainian as professors at the local university (one in mathematics; the other, I believe, in engineering), and we compared university systems, feeling each other out. When we lambasted the bridge incident of the previous day, they asked to continue the discussion in our room. Even if they were KGB agents (as they likely were) and even if our room was wired (as it likely was, there having been time enough to do so the night before), we had nothing to hide and readily agreed.

They came with flowers and we settled down to an exchange of ideas that lasted well past midnight. While they carefully nursed their vodka, we elaborated on the bridge incident and roasted the Soviet Union, with Natalia particularly scornful of the way we had been treated. The people, we said, feared one another and were hopelessly naïve about the rest of the world—all because of a one-party system that was no better informed than the people themselves. It was truly incredible that anyone would actually wish to export such a way of life to other countries! Our own system was far from perfect, but its difficulties were as nothing compared to those in the Soviet Union, most of whose people were worse off than “your people” in other parts of Eastern Europe. Why, if a system could not take care of its own, was it so important to underwrite revolutionary regimes abroad? When the West engaged in economic imperialism, it did not usually suppress the people’s civil liberties, nor did it usually eliminate all political opposition. The mathematician admitted to being a member of the Communist Party, but politics, he insisted, could no more interfere with his work than it could change the orbit of the planets. If the purpose of the visit was to sound us out, the KGB learned nothing new and in the process was offered a short course in Western liberalism.

At ten the next day we learned that the police would be at the hotel at noon. In the meantime our families had begun to arrive, being regularly turned away by the officious ‘gatekeepers’ at the hotel entrance until we

intervened and escorted them into a separate dining room. At twelve o'clock I was called into a large room in the hotel, where the same police officer handed me the exposed film. As expected, it had been ruined, but my complaints were ignored. As I got up to leave, I was handed a pair of scissors and told to cut off the last negative. Even though it contained no bridge, the scene, the officer said, encompassed territory that could not be photographed. After protesting briefly, I did as requested. When he tried to be affable, I reminded him of our family commitment downstairs; when he offered his hand, I hesitated, clasped it limply and quickly left the room.

By one o'clock all family members—some thirty in number—had arrived for the luncheon. We had arranged a modest head table, with the eldest family members flanking us on both sides. Since we had referred to iced mixed drinks in the villages, we toasted with vodka, tomato juice and ice to illustrate the point, but no one took the mixture seriously. Vodka (*horilka*) was taken straight and mixed drinks only wasted good alcohol! In my brief, simple remarks the political references were subtle, for our mutual dislike of the system had already been privately established. With news of the bridge incident general, I only touched on its outcome without comment. After lunch, while still seated, we underlined the great importance of Ukrainian music in our lives by singing the very beautiful duet *V haiu zelenim* (In the Green Grove), which Natalia's father had taught us on our trips to Manitoba. This set the stage for several other folk songs, in which the families joined. Before long, without warning and in amazing unison, they quietly rendered *Cheremshyna* (The Chokecherry Bush), a recent favourite, then new to us, which was so impressive that (at our request) they sang it again, and next day we purchased the record. With the singing and picture-taking, the day turned out to be most memorable. The tables were nicely set, the food was excellent and even the service was better than usual, the staff's warm demeanour clearly reflecting the significance of the occasion. We surrendered our remaining coupons and about ten additional American dollars—approximately \$150 in all—a real bargain, considering that vodka, beer and Soviet champagne had been served.

Next day we took in the State Regional Museum and experienced Chernivtsi's Russification at first hand. When greeted warmly at the entrance in Russian by a Jewish guide as Canadians who spoke "our language," we pointed out that we spoke Ukrainian, the language of Ukraine, but the guide continued in Russian until we politely moved away. We left Chernivtsi on 30 April, but even our departure was not without incident. During farewells with Illia Tkachuk, who had come to see us off, the woman who monitored our hotel floor suddenly rushed out and demanded payment for a missing glass ashtray in our room. Such women provided continuous surveillance on each floor, usually seated behind a small desk and telephone. Natalia jokingly

lumped them with the ubiquitous police as exemplars of the state's vaunted policy of full employment; to me, they were just so many useless "dragon ladies." Dismissing our denials, the woman insisted that we were absconding with her cheap ashtray, and when I turned the car ignition to leave, she began wailing that she would have to pay for the ashtray herself. That troubled me little; I knew we did not have the item, and the accusation had become a matter of principle. In the end, despite our strong objections, Illia gave her the forty kopeks (roughly forty cents) she had demanded and we were finally off, once more cursing the system that could produce such desperate people.

Our border crossing into Romania was at Seret, reached at about 10:30 a.m. As before, ours was the only car and as expected the officials went through our baggage with a fine-tooth comb, totally indifferent to our careful packing. Everything was handed through a narrow wicket to an official whom we could barely see, making it very difficult to keep track of our things. Only when Natalia's large handbag was returned in disarray, with the prescription for David's glasses momentarily missing, were our complaints heeded. The climax, however, came with the rolled-up oilcloth painting purchased by the family for Natalia's father in an arts and crafts shop in Chernivtsi. A romantic peasant scene in nineteenth-century Ukraine, the painting carried just enough history to suggest valuable art, whose export without a special permit was, of course, illegal. Our explanations notwithstanding, the man behind the wicket, magnifying glass in hand, insisted that the painting could not leave the country. Disgusted, I angrily told him that we were only fulfilling the family's request, but if the piece was all that valuable the state could keep it. Within moments the official rolled up the painting and, without a word, handed it to me. Leaving, I let out another angry burst in English in Natalia's direction to show our displeasure.

It was in our interest to create the strongest possible sense of harassment because, as already indicated, we had six hundred undeclared American dollars that I was carrying in the sock of my right foot. After searching our belongings and the car, they would surely search us next. I drove the car up a ramp and watched pressurized lifts raise it to inspect the undercarriage. Afterwards I was asked to remove the panels on the inside of the front doors, but the idea was quickly dropped, as no one had the necessary tools. Catching sight of a woman in nurse's uniform, I concluded that individual checks would soon follow. Accordingly, I again complained about the long delay (almost two hours), emphasizing our need to reach Bucharest by six. When a guard suggested we purchase a special kind of peppery Ukrainian vodka—*horilka z pertsem*, a great favourite of North American tourists—I angrily refused: "We looked for it across Ukraine; now we don't want it. We'll soon be drinking Romanian rum, which we understand is very good." When the guard smilingly persisted, I simply snapped, "Trymaite" (Keep it)

and entered the car. This may have helped, for suddenly we were handed our passports and told we could leave. I hurried everyone into the car and gunned it toward the Romanian border, ignoring Natalia's call for the usual "bathroom brigade."

### *Post-Ukraine*

In Romania, to the great delight of the border guards, we cursed the Soviets for the long delay and much more. The guards joked and laughed and gave us only a perfunctory inspection—a single valise chosen at random—admitting that after the one we had just endured another was hardly necessary. The mutual frankness quite surprised us. From the camaraderie one would have thought we were entering the purest of liberal democracies instead of just another totalitarian state. Nonetheless, it did appear that the guards disliked the Soviet Union about as much as we did.

Arriving in Suceava much later than expected, I stopped at Carpathia, the state tourist office, to reserve accommodation in Bucharest. On the way out a distinguished-looking, middle-aged male employee handed me a brochure on several decorated churches, which he said in very good English were extraordinary tourist attractions. Thinking he was the usual booster of local tourism, I begged off, as we had still to have lunch. He persisted, and once he learned I was a historian, he furnished such interesting details that I decided to stay on condition that he arrange suitable accommodation, join us for lunch and accompany us to the nearest church, some twelve kilometres away. Having eaten, he agreed to guide us if we left after three. Accompanying us to the Casa Bucovineana (Bukovyna) restaurant, he shared a glass of wine and left. The restaurant was Suceava's version of Kyiv's Natalka Poltavka, featuring the cuisine of the region served by waitresses in Bukovynian costume. We ordered their specialty—*kovbasa* and *mamalyga* (sausage and corn meal, the latter *kulesha* in Ukrainian)—with a side order of creamed cottage cheese and crushed raw garlic to be smeared on the corn meal, a dish my mother occasionally made.

We drove west from Suceava through southern Bukovyna toward Voronets. When we caught up to a low-cut, horse-drawn wagon on which reclined an older man dressed like some of the first Bukovynian settlers in Canada, we could not believe our eyes! I offered its occupants American cigarettes in exchange for a picture of the man in his long white shirt over white pantaloons with a fairly long, fur-trimmed, sleeveless sheepskin vest (*kyptar*), worn mainly by Hutsuls (Carpathian highlanders). That, however, was just the beginning! The wooden church in Voronets positively overwhelmed us with its colourful external religious frescos on all four sides. Painted in the mid-sixteenth century, the frescos were excellent examples of

how religious imagery (including an especially vivid depiction of the Last Judgment) was used to ‘educate’ illiterate peasants.



Man in traditional Bukovynian peasant dress, wagon typical of those in Eastern Europe, between Suceava and Voronets, Romania, April 1968.

Several similar churches dotted the area, but the heavy lunch had made us thirsty and we headed for some cold beer at a nearby kiosk at the crossroads of a very small village. While admiring the beautiful rolling countryside, I suddenly noticed heads bobbing above a high wooden fence across the road. Peering through a knothole, I was amazed to see two middle-aged men in white pantaloons (with sweaters instead of sheepskin vests) busily casting seed by hand over a good-sized corner lot. I immediately photographed them through a crack in the fence, again with the guide’s permission. We spent a good hour taking in the beautiful highlands (*verkhovyna*) to the west and the church and the serene crossroads before us—the stillness only occasionally broken by a motorcycle, bicycle or team of horses. This, we told our guide, was what we had hoped to experience in *Ukraine’s* Bukovyna had the restrictions on travel been less severe.

At dusk we sought out our inexpensive accommodation in a private home and purchased the much-heralded Romanian rum, which, though only passable, was a welcome change from the vodka. Over dinner with the guide in the small city’s main hotel, we discussed the culture of the communists, the politics of the Cold War and our lives until the dining room closed at midnight. During the war our guest (Petru Christureanu) had served in the Romanian army alongside the Germans against the Soviets, whom he detested, referring to the Russians as “Mongolians.” He convinced us to remain in Suceava for next day’s May Day parade—another great experience. We saw masses of working people from collectives or other communist organizations, many in colourful peasant dress, carrying streaming red banners and periodically shouting “Hurrah!” “Hurrah!” in unison with raised clenched fists, as they passed the official reviewing stand

about a hundred feet to the left of us. As the marchers passed us, those who tried to drop out were pushed back into line by officials on the sidelines. The few who succeeded smiled as they hurried away, their relieved expressions telling us much. After the parade, we drove around the festive city and came across a park where men in the same Bukovynian costumes were drinking beer and wine and barbecuing meatballs, picnic-style.



May Day parade, participants in regional costumes, Suceava, Romania, 1 May 1968.

In Edmonton, Metro Gulutsan had spoken of Ukrainian villages in the vicinity of Suceava, whose existence was flatly denied by our nationalistic guide. As a result, we set out to find some on our own. Spotting a man we believed to be Ukrainian, we spoke in Ukrainian and when he responded, we learned that he lived in a Ukrainian village only a few kilometres away. A bus-ticket collector whose next shift was not for two hours, he agreed to show us his village and home. We met his wife, daughter and son-in-law, an engineer who, like so many others, was very interested in coming to Canada. Informed about the visit next morning, an embarrassed Christureanu showed us a church, which, he said, had been built in the seventeenth century by Vasile (Basil) Lupul, a Moldavian prince and an ally of Ukraine's Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky during the latter's early wars against the Poles. The small church, very plain inside, contained no evidence that Lupul (no relation) had built it. Suceava was a very attractive city, with many new apartments, few more than three or four storeys high, some in pastel colours, very different from the drab blockbusters (some twenty to thirty

storeys high) found in the larger communist cities. Unlike the apartments in Chernivtsi, Suceava's showed no signs of the "instant aging" described by Hedrick Smith in *The Russians* (1976).

As planned, Josef Antochi met us in Bucharest, and at dinner that evening in a nice outdoor restaurant—the weather being exceedingly warm, as it had been in Ukraine—everything but fresh fruit and vegetables was available, the attentive service contrasting sharply with that in Ukraine. Since Antochi had once taught in Chernivtsi, none of our critical observations about Ukraine's plight surprised him. A highlight of the visit was a drive to Sinaia in the southern Carpathians to compensate for our having missed the mountains in Ukraine. After a very large picnic lunch, complete with a bag of juicy oranges for the children that must have cost Antochi a pretty penny on the black market, we grappled our way up by car to a height of seven to eight thousand feet. Not only were the views magnificent, but the untrammelled touring would have been utterly unimaginable in Ukraine.

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For a week's rest on the Black Sea, we chose Mamaia, "the Miami of Romania." To obtain a cake for Elaine's eighth birthday, we went to Constanța, a few miles south of Mamaia. In the bakery we were helped by a young man who spoke good English and informed us that (it being tourist season) his apartment in the city had just been commandeered by the state for rental, forcing his family (a wife and child) to seek accommodation in the local train station. The relaxed stay in Mamaia provided ample time to reflect upon the hard fate of ordinary people in communist Eastern Europe, with those in Ukraine unquestionably the worst off. Although no longer enslaved or indentured, the Ukrainians were still at the mercy of arbitrary authority in a well-defined pecking order manipulated from above by a single political party. As a result, practically everyone lived in fear of everyone else. This was, of course, no great discovery, for I had often discussed totalitarianism in my classes and strongly condemned fascism of both the political Left and Right. But how was one to account for Ukraine's terrible left-wing fascism? Was it old, class-ridden Europe that was ultimately to blame? To us, a marked fatalism seemed to characterize the European masses (the coal miners and their children around Walmer in England came readily to mind), who lived what appeared to them to be predestined lives, advancement seemingly accessible only to others. The Old World's rigid class structures and its great disparities of wealth had always oppressed the masses. The same was even truer of Eastern Europe, where the same masses, faced with even smaller economic pies, were even more disadvantaged. After all, how much of the earlier liberalization—the Renaissance, the Reformation, the

seventeenth-century advances in science, the eighteenth-century political Enlightenment—did Russia and Ukraine (and, for that matter, even countries like Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria) really experience? Were not the people in such countries always part of Europe's backwater, with even the upper classes deemed in need of periodic Westernization, as the Russian tsar Peter eventually realized? Did not Eastern Europe's backward elites always look westward, well aware that the fashion in all things lay elsewhere—in Paris, London, Berlin, Rome?

Or was the potential of ordinary Europeans, even those in Eastern Europe, equal to that of others, as their experience in North America was gradually showing? Given the opportunity—especially the educational opportunity—did they not become the equals of others in time? And might it not have been so also in Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Habsburg, Romanov and Ottoman empires, but for the equally despotic Bolshevism of Lenin and Stalin and the subsequent expansion of communism? Or was there something about the history, geography and psychology of the easternmost Slavs that made them less competent than their western and northern and even southwestern European neighbours, some of whom were even fellow Yugoslavs, whose communism was clearly less despotic, offering more choice and better goods and services?

Then there was also the clear dichotomy between our own romantic fascination with peasant culture and the realities of peasant life in its original setting. It was nice to find thatched and whitewashed houses and men dressed in white pantaloons, but clearly we ourselves would never live in such houses or wear such clothes. Nor were the people themselves always proud of them—the old well embarrassed Ivan Lupul's wife, and our Romanian guide dismissed the pantaloons—for such things were rooted in poverty and in limited technology. It was nice to drop in on them, but it was equally good to know they were not one's own. Thus the pursuit of ancestral roots could also have its ups and downs. The food of the peasant, his songs and crafts might be wonderful, but there was nothing beautiful about peasant life itself. As refined folklore it might be attractive, but in its native setting it was backward, an object of eventual pity. This attitude toward the roots of Ukrainian culture would have an important bearing on my approach to the multicultural movement in the 1970s.

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After some two weeks in Turkey and Greece, we re-entered the communist world on 30 May to visit Bulgaria, where our contact in Sofia was Najden Tschakarow, a specialist in comparative education whom I had also met at Olomouc. Unlike our first border crossings into communist Europe,

Bulgaria's was no longer intimidating; in fact, when the guards insisted on our purchasing extra car insurance, I flatly refused, as none had been required earlier in transit from Romania to Turkey. The guards examined our passports and backed off. The Tschakarows were very hospitable, even though neither Najden nor Yotka, his wife, spoke English, and we communicated largely in Russian/Ukrainian and occasionally in French, which Yotka spoke quite well. At the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral, we first learned of the high regard in which Bulgarians held Russians: the Bulgars, Yotka proudly informed us, had come from Russia. When we compared the relative freedom of the East European countries with its complete absence in Ukraine, the Tschakarows, aware of the difference, did their best as good communists to soften our judgments. Next day Yotka took us out to the mountainous setting of the Rila Monastery, some sixty miles south of Sofia, a centre of strong nationalist resistance in the old Ottoman Empire. With rain threatening, it was imperative that our windshield wipers—one of which had been stolen during the night and the other damaged—be repaired. Because such vandalism was common, Yotka apologetically steered us to an auto centre that purchased used and stolen goods. It did not take long to find two old wipers that fit, and the incident formed the basis for much political discussion during the day.

At bottom, we agreed that both systems had their strengths and weaknesses, and that in the final analysis it all came down to how much either system could "extract" from people such as the poor cyclists we were constantly passing. What did *they* really want out of life? It was, we also agreed, usually less than ideologues advanced, for the expectations of most individuals seldom went much beyond steady work and life's basic necessities, and possibly the hope that their children might live better lives. That implied choice, for which the prerequisite was some measure of political freedom. However, unlike intellectuals, ordinary people were not much drawn to utopias. Misjudging the basic simplicity of human motivation, most intellectuals since the Enlightenment, in their furious preoccupation with man's rationality, had strained to mobilize the masses behind one grand system or another. Thus party ideologues of all persuasions needed to pay much more attention to the raw material they wished to mould in their prescriptions for remaking the world. They might then better understand why the reality would always fall short of *their* dreams, and why the easy-to-satisfy ordinary individuals would continue to shun dreamers wherever freedom of choice in the real world was at least implied. Yotka's views, like those of most communist leaders, were generally more optimistic than mine. To her, human nature was less ambiguous and much more positive, and at times I was reminded of the upbeat American Norman Vincent Peale. The future, if problematic at all, was mainly clouded by the possibility of war

with the West, and despite my repeated assurances, this part of communist propaganda would yield little to reason. It was almost as if Yotka knew that the West would never rest until the communist empire collapsed, and that was, of course, as inconceivable to her as it was then to me.

We would have been glad to exchange money at any rate suggested by the Tschakarows, but they did not raise the subject, and the initiative in such matters usually rested with one's hosts. At their request, however, we did courier forty American dollars to Belgrade, our next stop, which their friends would then forward to a mutual friend in Cologne, whom the Tschakarows hoped to visit that fall. Accordingly, in Belgrade we phoned Ljubica and Nened Prodanivić and reported that the "books" (the code established earlier) had arrived. The Prodanivićes turned out to be good contacts, for despite two competing state tourist agencies, we were unable to find suitable accommodation in Belgrade, and for the first time our children were on a floor immediately below us. As a result, the Prodanivićes used their influence, and we ended up in a college dormitory, a definite improvement even without hot water.

While in Belgrade, the university students staged a major demonstration and seized control of the large arts building on campus. When I ventured into the area, it was swarming with *milicija*, all very careful to keep their distance from the captured building. Surrounding it were student guards, whom I approached in English and Ukrainian to discuss the issues. Although not hostile, they refused to take me to anyone who could speak English. As a result, though free to take pictures, I never did learn what troubled the students—not even from the Prodanivićes, who were very defensive. To them, the students were well off and had no cause to demonstrate. The disturbances were "cheap imitations" of the recent ones in Paris and were ultimately the fault of America, where student demonstrations had become the vogue. Familiar with the thesis of the Yugoslav Milovan Djilas about communism's "new class" of privileged state functionaries in Eastern Europe, I was often amused to hear our well-placed hosts condemn the discontent among those destined to succeed them. I managed to slip into a well-attended student meeting in a large auditorium in our dormitory, but the orderly proceedings consisted mainly of speeches without placards, cheering or sporadic applause. With the language barrier admittedly great at this level, I had to accept the prevalent view that the issues were internal and of no great political import. The fact that the *milicija* barely left their vehicles for hours tended to support that view.

We reached Sarajevo on 6 June after a long, hot drive on winding secondary roads and quickly found a campground with several motel-style units and a restaurant—a very nice complex rare even in highly tourist-conscious Yugoslavia. Assured that there was plenty of hot

water—important in view of the heat and our fourth day without a hot bath or shower—we found the water in both units cold. In chastising the male receptionist, I termed the communist way of life the “maybe society”: “Maybe things exist and maybe they work, but don’t count on it.” This, I added, was our experience throughout the communist bloc, and we were fed up with its broken promises, inefficiencies and delays. Taken aback, the young man blurted angrily: “At least we don’t kill our leaders,” alluding to the assassination of Robert Kennedy two days earlier. “Yes,” I replied, “you only jail them for life,” referring to the recent imprisonment of Djilas. The hot water duly arrived, a bucket at a time, and we prepared for dinner. From our waiter we learned that the new complex was the idea of the young people who managed it, many of them students or recent graduates. On leaving the restaurant, I apologized for my earlier overreaction, and next evening we invited the students for after-dinner drinks—an assortment of alcoholic remnants from Romania, Turkey and Bulgaria, and even the *sljivovica* from Zagreb, still with us after some two months. A few students brought beer, and the party lasted until well past three in the morning.

Our guests, approximately eight males of mixed backgrounds, were aware of Yugoslavia’s traditional ethnic and religious rivalries and were utterly convinced that time was on their side; that the animosities of the past were well behind them. Such differences, they said, mattered little to the young. They were all Yugoslavs now, who worked well together and would continue to do so. This was the view of most Yugoslavs we met, and there was not, of course, any reason to disbelieve them. To our guests, the student difficulties in Belgrade involved local issues and had nothing to do with ethnic or religious differences. Discussion moved easily from topic to topic, with nothing off limits—not the communist way of life or, of course, the Soviet Union. The last individual to leave, having over-indulged, bravely and remorsefully recovered under Natalia’s sympathetic care. Next day, aware that David and I planned to wash the car, several students did it for us. Needless to say our stay in Sarajevo was very pleasant, even though the tragedy of Robert Kennedy’s assassination hung heavily over our visit to the bridge (and nearby museum) where the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand was assassinated in June 1914. It was very difficult to explain to the children why such dreadful things happened.

From Yugoslavia we drove to Austria and then to Zurich, Switzerland, to meet the Licharduses. To Elaine’s disappointment, they arrived without their daughter, for even under Dubček family travel was discouraged to limit defections. We welcomed them with Canadian Club and Canada Dry ginger ale and related our impressions of Ukraine, while catching up on the political changes (and growing fears) in reformist Czechoslovakia. Whether Moscow would invade as it had in Hungary in 1956 remained the dominant

concern. The Licharduses, our first contacts with Eastern Europe, were perhaps fittingly also our last. Thereafter the most intellectually stimulating event was our visit to Lourdes in southern France. A Catholic healing spa, it was a good example of religious commercialism run amuck. Its countless stalls stocked every imaginable piece of religious bric-à-brac—the tasteless hucksterism reminiscent of appeals by Protestant evangelists on North American television. The large number of wheelchair invalids on the enormous parade grounds before the main stage (altar?) testified to the faith of the desperate from all over the world. Although we saw no one healed, the long lines of pilgrims in the evening, walking or riding in chairs (six to ten abreast) carrying lit candles and repeatedly singing “Ave, Ave, Ave Maria,” were a moving sight. Mostly, however, Lourdes reminded one of a big state fair, complete with midway barkers, kewpie dolls, pageantry and magic.

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Back in England, we met the Gulutsans in Oxford on their way to a sabbatical in Eastern Europe and shared our highlights while catching up on developments at home. There was much to talk about, especially as we were also about to rent their house. We left Southampton on 18 August on the Holland America S.S. *Maasdam*, sharing the dinner table with a female immigrant from Czechoslovakia about to join her Dutch-born husband, a medical doctor in Saskatchewan. When the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia on the 20<sup>th</sup>, the news was thus even more poignant than we had anticipated. We were, of course, very concerned about the fate of the Licharduses, who had returned to Bratislava with the idea of holidaying in Yugoslavia in August. They were in fact there when the Soviets invaded, and after some hesitation decided to return, assured by Sveto’s brother (a medical doctor) that the situation was no worse than before Dubček, and thus tolerable. The Gulutsans switched their base from Czechoslovakia to southern France, from where they made only periodic forays into Eastern Europe.

In Montreal we saw our friends John and Shirley Macdonald and engaged in several hours of very animated political discussion. The Democratic Party was then holding its convention in Chicago to nominate Hubert Humphrey for president, and the event was on television when we arrived. The media had earlier billed it as both a test of strength between the pro- and anti-Vietnam War voices in America and a confrontation of the right- and left-wing forces in the country. But of this we knew nothing. Nor had we seen the outrageous antics of the long-haired, drug-imbibing youth led by hippies Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin; or the maneuverings of the helmeted police with dogs (and others on horseback), all primed to maintain the law and order that Chicago’s Mayor Daley had promised

to uphold; or the tight security provisions inside the convention hall that created the atmosphere of a police state. As a result, when we sided with the United States in criticizing the Soviet Union, we immediately ran into strong ideological opposition.

In responding to the Macdonalds' black-and-white view of the two societies, we insisted that both were at best grey, and that it was time for left-leaning Canadians who admired the Soviet Union to also give America its due. Neither society was as bad or as good as liberals commonly supposed, but on balance, after what we had seen, we much preferred North America's capitalist-based welfare state and mixed economy to the Soviet Union's communist/socialist system. We condemned the right-wing fascism of Mayor Daley as much as we did the left-wing fascism of Moscow, but because we had formerly lived in America and had now sampled Eastern Europe, we knew for certain that, given a choice, very few in Eastern Europe would choose Moscow over Washington. The weaknesses of North America were as nothing compared to those behind the Iron Curtain. The Macdonalds, hard-core Fabian socialists from Scotland and strongly anti-American, were aghast at the way we lined up on the relative merits of the two superpowers. When we left (well past midnight), we did so on friendly terms, but we also saw no need to pussyfoot around the political illiberality and economic pretentiousness of the Soviet Union just because competitive, pluralistic societies in the Western world could not rid themselves of sham and hypocrisy.

# Chapter Four

ON THE ROAD TO MULTICULTURALISM (1968–71)

## *Resisting Cultural Dualism*

The two years after returning from sabbatical were a period of considerable emotional stress, during which Valium was occasionally a very welcome companion. It was not just the psychological impact of seeing communism's effect on Eastern Europe. There was also the matter of my own scholarly identity, for during the previous decade I had come to wear several hats on campus. To the students and to some close colleagues I was an outspoken secular humanist pursuing social justice. In my department I was an educational historian. To others in the faculty I was a Canadian studies specialist or at least an expert in the social studies; to still others I specialized in church-state relations, with particular reference to the schooling of religious minorities in Canada. To Ukrainian Canadians I was a student of ethnicity or at least someone who knew something about the history of Ukrainians in Canada; and to still others I was undoubtedly a bigot opposed to French Canadians, Roman Catholics or all religious groups without distinction. As a result, invitations for lectures, addresses and publication projects came from many quarters, and I was pulled in numerous directions, envious of scholars able to concentrate within clearly defined limits. With an activist image, it was very difficult to turn down former students, close colleagues or even the Ukrainian-Canadian community. To be interesting I dug down deep, looking for what mattered most in the case of non-Ukrainians or what did not offend Ukrainians too much. With the latter, tact and diplomacy were important, for despite the overseas experience I still did not see myself as part of the Ukrainian community, and there was in fact much about that community's approach to ethnicity that troubled me.

The stress was increased when staff shortages in the department in 1968-69 required that I teach two sections of a senior course in the history of educational thought. The assignment was reasonable enough—I was, after all, an educational historian—but it came as a surprise and meant preparing still another course, while the one on "Issues" languished. The Cold War had not, of course, disappeared, and the need for an education that stressed human survival was as important as ever. When I included the topic in the history course under educational aims, it certainly spiced up the lectures, but my approach was now less enthusiastic, especially when dealing with the 'other side.' War with the Soviets was clearly out of the question, yet what could one say about a totalitarian state afraid of internal liberalization

while ideologically determined to export its awful system to desperate revolutionaries abroad? As a result, after the summer of 1969 I taught the "Issues" course only once, with most of the emphasis on the secondary school curriculum, high school dropouts, student power, bilingualism and biculturalism (a growing concern), and religion and education (a diminishing one).

The steady drift toward a dualistic definition of Canada's cultural identity also contributed to the emotional stress. Being away, I had not realized the impetus that the Trudeaumania of 1968 had given to cultural dualism in the country. Daily media reports of French as an official language—even of legislated bilingual districts—without regard to other ethnic groups were very upsetting, and on 20 February 1969 I finally spoke out on the issue. On the strength of my earlier work in the social studies, I was invited (on Evelyn Moore's recommendation) to participate in the first national educational conference on Canadian studies, organized by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. Spurred by shortcomings in the teaching of Canadian history that Quebec's Quiet Revolution was revealing and by the institute's publication *What Culture? What Heritage?* (1968) that called for radically new Canadian studies courses to promote national understanding between the English- and French-speaking peoples in "pluralistic, multi-ethnic" Canada, there was, by 1969, much interest among educators to revise Canadian content in history, the social sciences and the humanities.

My role at the conference was to discuss a paper prepared by Father André Renaud, a Montreal-born Oblate priest at the University of Saskatchewan who specialized in the education of natives. According to his conference résumé, Renaud was concerned to develop "a bicultural approach to teacher training, cultural development and education in general which could be applied on a national scale to meet the needs of a multicultural society." His paper, "Canadian Studies: A Study of Canadians," contained some fine flourishes about bringing the "multicultural dimension" into the social studies curriculum, but apart from recognizing the existence of ethnic groups, it said nothing about how such groups might fit into the dual melting pots then being stoked by most Canadian intellectuals. While I personally had no difficulty with biculturalism for native peoples, I always saw their special situation as more of an intractable racial dilemma than an ethnocultural predicament. Moreover, it was a racial dilemma that, because of its great difficulty, I generally avoided in the belief that what I knew about the easily assimilable white ethnics was not readily applicable to the natives. I had a fairly good understanding, I thought, of the biculturalism of white ethnics as *individuals*. It was the group consciousness of the same ethnics that bothered me, especially as the French and a growing number of English-

speaking leaders in western Canada tended to lob only thoughtless paeans in the direction of multiculturalism.

Accordingly, in the five minutes allotted to me I zeroed in on Renaud's "group-oriented approach to the study of Canadians" and his strong advocacy of ethnic subcultures. I wondered what would be the ethnic subculture of a fourth-generation child where intermarriage had been a factor in each previous generation:

If one accepts Renaud's view that school children growing up in Canada should know who they are, who [then] are the children of such mixed marriages? These questions are important because it is these children, rather than French Canadians, Ukrainian Canadians, Italian Canadians, and other "pure" strains, who constitute the wave of the future; they are in fact already in the majority in most parts of Canada. This is probably inevitable in a "multicultural dimension." Father Renaud appears to favor this dimension, but to its mixed offspring he has little to offer. What is to be the cultural identity of this group?... Where the young are concerned, ...ethnocultural differences are seldom important, and to the offspring of mixed marriages they are largely irrelevant.

It was, I continued, very well for governors general like Lord Tweedsmuir—from whose address to the Ukrainian Canadians in Fraserwood, Manitoba, in September 1936 I quoted generously—to speak kindly of ancient ways and ancestral homelands, but it was

something else again to dwell on those ancient ways—UNLESS one really means to advance the concept of Canada as a multicultural nation [which] is not the same [thing] as a bicultural nation and the enthusiasm today seems to be for biculturalism not multiculturalism. The concept of Canada as a cultural mosaic seems to find favor with few—perhaps because no one really knows what either term (multiculturalism or cultural mosaic) really means [and] Fr. Renaud doesn't help.

In the large audience were some twenty French Canadians (about twelve from Quebec) and several others who could be considered members of Canada's intellectual and educational establishments, but as seminars immediately followed our panel, there was no plenary discussion. In the seminar to which I was assigned, Renaud's session also drew no comments. Such, I learned from Evelyn Moore (a seminar leader), was not the case everywhere, though the word had gone out that the seminar leaders were not

to encourage views such as mine. Most participants thereafter were generally cool toward me, but I was used to being a Lucifer among saints and did not mind. From some, however, I learned that there was considerable support in private for my views, but because the issues raised were very sensitive, it was best not to air them openly.

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In the fall of 1969 cultural dualism returned to the university campus in a familiar, largely forgotten form. With the expiry of the five-year agreement between the Collège Saint-Jean and the university in September 1968, it was extended for two years, pending discussions to convert the affiliated college into an integral part of the university. In the new agreement the university would assume responsibility for the academic dimension, including the college's budget, and the college would look after the bilingual environment on premises rented to the university. The resulting Collège Universitaire Saint-Jean would become "the bilingual and bicultural (French-English) section of the University of Alberta" for students who chose "to pursue their studies in French and to live in a predominantly French environment." With the college off campus, the arrangement expressed the separation inherent in French-Canadian thinking, paradoxically sanctioning at the educational level the very separatism strongly opposed at the political level by all parties, except the recently formed separatist Parti Québécois. Very influential in negotiating the new five-year agreement was Louis Desrochers, who would soon (May 1970) become the university's chancellor.

I first opposed the new agreement at a meeting of the Faculty of Education Executive Committee on 26 September 1969. Although the dean (Coutts), who normally chaired the committee, could not be present, his annotated copy indicated that "the politics of education as related to this proposal made its acceptance inevitable," and with both A. G. McCalla, chairman of the Academic Development Committee (ADC), and the president's office strongly supporting it, that certainly appeared to be the case. Still, all faculty councils had to vet the new agreement, and a favourable outcome was far from assured. In committee, with a copy of Saint-Jean's calendar before me, I questioned the wisdom of placing teacher education in the hands of a staff, one-half of whose members were French Catholic clergy. McCalla played down the religious dimension, maintaining that the college was gradually phasing it out. The university had been approached on the basis of language, not religion, and the committee thought that in a bilingual country a bilingual college made sense. I accepted Canada's bilingualism but objected to the bilingual program being off campus. The arts and science faculties might favour such an arrangement, but that was no reason for the

Faculty of Education to follow suit. Moreover, other peoples in western Canada faced similar problems of cultural maintainence, yet the Soviet and East European Studies Committee (of which I was then a member) had been told repeatedly that funds (about \$30,000) were not available to transform the committee into an institute to help such groups. Annoyed, McCalla opined that such institutes would not attract new students or have a major impact; I countered that "given the same kind of support" as the college, they might do both.

With the college agreement on the agenda of the Faculty of Education Council on 7 October, I was determined to make one last effort to deny teacher education to the college. Accordingly, I invoked the Anglo-American liberal values that permeated the faculties of education on both sides of the border. I had gladly embraced the establishment's Anglo-American world and was quite prepared to keep my subcultural Ukrainian world private, confined largely to the home except for its historical dimension. From the inception of the Collège Saint-Jean issue, I had felt almost betrayed by the educational establishment's failure to live up to its ideals of an education free of the parochial definitions of group life so popular with the French. The liberal Anglo-American world had taught me to accept people as people, de-emphasizing the importance of race, religion and ethnicity. I therefore found it hard to watch the Anglo-Celtic leadership in Canada sup, like Faust, with the Devil of French-Canadian ethnocentricity. I was certain that human relations would not be improved by raising the profile of such factors in Canadian society.

As a result, I spoke strongly in council against the motion to accept the new agreement, stressing the hard-won historical achievement of centralizing all teacher education under one roof within the university. The goal, I said, was to provide all teachers with an educational experience that was much broader than the college's unicultural milieu. Nowhere did the recent Official Languages Act state that Canada was a bicultural country. The legislation only made French an official language within the government of Canada and its agencies; it did not obligate the faculty to take the proposed action.

Mindful of the earlier public controversy, I admitted to "a reputation of being anti-French and anti-Catholic. Those who know me well know that I am neither. I am also not a Ukrainian or Ukrainian Canadian. I am a Canadian of Ukrainian ancestry or origin. My grandparents were Ukrainians; my parents were Ukrainian Canadians. As a Canadian of Ukrainian descent, if someone should ask me how I see the future of this country and the kind of education and teacher education we need, I would tell them this"—after which followed several paragraphs from the address to the Ukrainian Young Adults in November 1963 on what "the public schools of this country" had taught Canadians like me. The impact was electric, especially as my reading

from a prepared text was not readily evident. In closing, I urged that the college's courses be confined to the arts and sciences and that French offerings be increased on the main campus. Sensing considerable support, I then moved (supported by Gulutsan) that the college offer only arts and science courses. As the subsequent discussion was long and involved, the final decision was postponed until the next council meeting in November.

At the next meeting I led off with another prepared statement:

...mine truthfully is not an enviable position in this whole debate. I happen to find myself in the middle between the two main groups to whom it has now become the fashion to refer to as the founding peoples. In the light of the ridicule and contempt which both groups heaped upon the immigrants from continental Europe two generations ago, it is not easy for me to admire either group, but as an historian I must be prepared to let time heal the wounds of the past. Nor is this all that difficult to do: this country has been good to all of us. All we apparently seem to lack is the brains to make it even a better place to live for *all* of us regardless of ethnic background.

To me, the Collège Saint-Jean, while not a rural ghetto, drew "most of its students from the less sophisticated rural areas of Alberta, where the segregationist ideas of French-Canadian leaders (the clergy unfortunately in the lead) have their best breeding grounds."

I lived in such a ghetto for the first seventeen years of my life and I cannot say I would recommend the kind of narrow-minded, ethnocentric, religiously bigoted, ultra-nationalistic outlook found there. It took years of living, first in the city, then at three different universities, followed by considerable reading and much soul-searching to rise above the localism, the parochialism and the provincialism.

Accordingly, I strongly opposed creating "battery-charging stations for cultural ghettos—be they French, Scottish, Irish, Ukrainian, German, or what have you. We should be interested in battery-charging stations for whatever is the best in world civilization." While the view of Canada as a bilingual and bicultural country is "*a* legitimate position," students encouraged to commit to such a view should live in an environment where other views are also considered. "Imposition of the view that Canada is a bilingual and bicultural country is not education—and it is education we ought to be interested in

first and foremost—a phenomenon best provided in Edmonton on the main university campus.” The ensuing discussion was again long, arduous and occasionally bitter, with considerable confusion from the several motions that accompanied it. The voting demonstrated much divisiveness, and in the end I was pleased that the faculty did not approve the new agreement even in principle.

In the Faculty of Arts the divisiveness was just as marked. The special committee to consider the agreement was chaired by Leslie Green, the British-born authority on international law in the Department of Political Science, who, like me, favoured a bilingual college on campus. As a result, the debate on Green’s report before the Arts General Council (on which I represented “Education”) was just as unpleasant, though the council eventually did accept the agreement, as did the General Faculties Council on 25 May 1970. By then, however, I was already deep into Book IV of the B & B Commission, busy wrestling with its many very interesting recommendations. What I did take away from the latest controversy, however, was the general academic sentiment that the French, even in western Canada, were special, “not just another ethnic or cultural group,” as one member on the Education Council put it. But the implications of such a view for the country’s other ethnic groups were apparently too insignificant to be considered. Such smugness really hurt, and with Book IV before me the need to learn more about the possibilities for such groups grew ever stronger.

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During this period I had to cope with the issue of cultural dualism in still another form. Since 1967 I had been part of a team to produce a textbook in Canadian educational history for Prentice-Hall of Canada, co-edited by three colleagues in faculties of education in Vancouver, Calgary and Montreal. The trio vetted my chapter on “Educational Crises in the New Dominion to 1917,” with Louis-Philippe Audet (Université de Montréal) the most critical. I accepted many of his suggestions, but on one point I would not yield: the Anglo Protestant minority’s apprehensiveness on the eve of Confederation regarding their dissentient schools in Canada East (Quebec). The usual position of French-Canadian historians was that only the French Catholic minority outside Quebec was vulnerable and needed legal protection. Although the school situation of the Anglo Protestants in Canada East was always better *in practice* than that of French Catholic minorities elsewhere, *in law* the Anglo Protestants felt very insecure. To them, the dissentient schools of Canada East represented the triumph of French Catholic principle—complete separation in public education—rather

than any special regard for either non-Catholics or the so-called English as a minority. Thus, I concluded, what determined French-English educational relations at Confederation was not any special generosity toward the Anglo Protestant minority of Canada East, but French Catholic indifference, rooted in a penchant for isolation and segregation, especially marked among the Catholic clergy of Canada East—which view Audet disliked and unsuccessfully contested.

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In resisting cultural dualism during these months, I did not invoke the Ukrainian-Canadian predicament. In fact, until the spring of 1970, my contacts with the Ukrainian community were minimal and largely informal. Because our slides of Soviet Ukraine were unique (I believe we were the first from Edmonton to tour Ukraine by car), a friend of Natalia's parents arranged a special, private showing in mid-September 1968 for interested members of St. John's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral parish. Late in October the Ukrainian Writers' Association "Slovo" organized a public showing in the Ukrainian National Federation hall, which Taras Lytviak subsequently summarized for Edmonton's *Ukrains'ki visti* (Ukrainian News). Otherwise, Ukrainian contacts were largely confined to the monthly public lectures on campus organized by the East European Studies Committee (on which I temporarily replaced Gulutsan), to the Lytviaks and their Ukrainian friends and to our new neighbours, the Oleh Zujewskyjs and Orest Starchuks, both in the university's Slavic department. In the fall of 1968 we enjoyed a small "victory" celebration with both neighbours (and the Kalinowskis) after Starchuk phoned that the Faculty of Arts (after almost a decade's resistance) had finally accepted Ukrainian as a matriculation subject. And early in March 1969, as a member of the East European Committee, I attended John Kolasky's Shevchenko Lecture on his recent book, *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification*, and next day joined him and Bohdan Bociurkiw for lunch at the Faculty Club. Shortly thereafter I became a member of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's (P & B) Club in Edmonton, which had sponsored the lectures since 1965. Because of the East European Committee, I was also on the mailing list of several organizations promoting Ukrainian scholarly studies.

In the fall of 1969, with Bociurkiw having left for Carleton University in Ottawa, I was invited by the Edmonton UCC to address the most recent junior and senior high school award winners of Ukrainian background in the university's Students' Union Building. Our son David was among the recipients and in the audience were also three of his grandparents, my mother's cancer being already too far advanced for her to attend. In my brief remarks

(including a few phrases in Ukrainian) I emphasized themes that bypassed Ukraine and Ukrainian organizations and concentrated on the students as native-born Canadians. Although they were gifted, their lot as Canadians of Ukrainian origin was not “an enviable one,” because, I said, it was not easy to be socially mobile and still preserve one’s Ukrainian culture:

The two are not easy bedfellows because to try to amount to something is to leave the urban ghetto or rural parish—it is to go out into the world where it is very difficult to hold on to one’s own culture. The latter becomes at most a subculture with varying degrees of viability. Therefore, the preservation of a subculture will be done in varying degrees—some will do more, others less; but all can do one thing: all can remember and never be ashamed of the Ukrainian ancestry from which one springs.

As award winners, they were “living proof” that no Canadian ethnic group had a monopoly on talent and that no one of Ukrainian background had to take a back seat to anyone in the country.

In the audience was Yuriy Stefanyk, who within days invited me to address a UCC banquet early in April to honour James G. MacGregor, whom Stefanyk had helped to write *Vilni Zemli (Free Lands): The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta*, just published by McClelland and Stewart. I knew of the book (it had been favourably reviewed in the *Edmonton Journal*), but it aroused little enthusiasm, because MacGregor was an engineer who wrote popular history as a hobby. To Stefanyk, however, MacGregor had taken the “Ukrainian story” to the wider Canadian society, and though it was not the whole story, it did honour the pioneer generation and warranted public recognition. Fortunately, the book had its strong points, most notably an emphasis on the life of the ‘common people’ rather than on dates, institutions and organizations. I was also able to urge the UCC to fund other historical monographs on Ukrainian Canadians and to lobby Edmonton City Council to accommodate a “Ukrainian house” or perhaps “Iwan Pylypow’s old buildings” in Fort Edmonton Park, then under development. It was not enough that individuals like MacGregor should be interested in Ukrainian-Canadian history; Ukrainians, too, had to be involved.

### *The Impact of Book IV*

When the fourth report of the B & B Commission, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*, became available in mid-April 1970, I immediately obtained a copy. The sweep of its sixteen recommendations really surprised me—nine addressed to the federal government, six to the

provinces and one to all three levels of government. The recommendations called for

- an end to discrimination because of “race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin”;
- the teaching of languages other than English and French and “the cultural subjects related to them”;
- instruction in the “appropriate” official language to immigrant children;
- university studies in the humanities and the social sciences related to languages other than English and French;
- broadcasting in other languages on private and public radio and television stations and the portrayal thereon of “other cultural groups”;
- the production of films by the National Film Board in other languages to portray “the contribution and problems of both individuals and groups of ethnic origin other than British and French”;
- financial assistance at all government levels to cultural and research organizations that fostered “the arts and letters” of cultural groups other than British and French; and
- federal funds to cover both the administrative costs of the Canadian Folk Arts Council and the space and project needs of the National Museum of Man in representing the history, social organizations and folk arts of the “other” cultural groups.

As I studied the document, I noted both the commission’s rejection of the “third force” argument and its embrace of the “fundamental duality of Canada,” requiring members of all cultural groups to “choose between the Francophone and the Anglophone societies” during the “process of integration.” I did not yet know what to make of the “third force,” and it did seem that the suggested integration was already taking place. The crucial issue, I thought, was not integration but whether the suggested cultural dualism was to extend from coast to coast and, if so, how the viable cultural aspects of other groups were to be accommodated within the new dualistic Canada. The comprehensive recommendations appeared to open up a new era for ethnicity, even though references to the Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and French ethnicities were conspicuously absent. In any event, with all the emphasis in Book IV on the education of minorities, anyone in a faculty of education with such an interest had certainly to pay attention. With all its possibilities, Book IV might well become Canada’s ethnic Magna Carta.

Not surprisingly, the book’s appearance set in motion considerable personal soul-searching, similar to what had accompanied the study of

philosophy earlier. How much of my scholarly life was I really prepared to give to the second (Ukrainian) world of my bicultural existence? As we have seen, upon returning to Edmonton I had occasionally dipped into that world (not always willingly), but how “Ukrainian” was I really prepared to be? In the 1960s my Ukrainian cultural world was an appendage, confined largely to the arts and historical studies. As a result, when the French moved (through biculturalism) to elevate their own cultural appendage to the equivalent of a second melting pot in Canada, I regularly dissented after 1963. To me, all peoples were basically ethnic groups in Canada—some were large, some small, some individuals were very ethnically conscious, some less so or not at all—but all ethnic groups in the end were inescapably touched by North America’s powerful Anglo-American culture, which gradually (and inevitably) reduced all cultures, even Quebec’s, to the level of ethnic subcultures.

Now, for the first time, the B & B Commission appeared to be inviting individuals to participate in a revival of ethnic subcultures—to become something of ‘born-again ethnics.’ In any case there was at least the suggestion of some moderation in the traditional processes of assimilation for those who cared enough to participate. Moreover, the state too was being urged to become involved—a new dimension, hitherto unheard of not only in Canada but in most of the world. Canada could become a model for all other immigrant societies. The idea of a multicultural Canada, a concept touted earlier by Senator Paul Yuzyk and others in Ukrainian-Canadian circles, offered a real social challenge. One could get quite excited about the possibilities!

Still, there was much about the ethnic Ukrainian world that I did not like. I had alluded to it when opposing the development of the Collège Saint-Jean. All ethnic worlds tended to be narrow and parochial, concerned largely with their own survival. They were invariably populated by clergy, who carried enormous influence because so much of ethnoculture in the New World was expressed through religious activities, with the churches and related institutions usually the centres of ethnic community life. In Canada the Ukrainian *Church* had been the locus of Ukrainian language, culture and education from the earliest years. The fact that what it fostered was not education (as I understood it) was irrelevant. And anyone who entered *its* domain would either have to work with it or at least not challenge its basic values, which, of course, included belief in the God of priests, a belief I had given up long ago. (Of course, if the external pressures to assimilate were eased or modified, the clerical parochialism, too, might moderate, but that would require the very involvement I was then weighing.)

The Ukrainian world was also full of immigrants, and I had never identified myself with their ways. The latter in North America were generally synonymous with gaucheness; even in Willingdon—among the Canadian-

born—anyone not “with it” was dubbed an “immigrant,” and expressions like “What? Are you an immigrant?” or “Don’t be an immigrant!” were frequently used to influence behaviour. One learned early that to be a leader of immigrants or to be interested primarily in what interested immigrants carried little prestige in Canada. Moreover, most Ukrainian immigrants were much interested in Ukraine. At times it even seemed as if for some postwar immigrants Canada was only a kind of temporary, convenient Piedmont for Ukraine’s liberation. Yet Ukraine really interested me very little. Because of the Russians and Soviet totalitarianism, it was not even a very nice place to visit! While one certainly wished to see a free, independent and prosperous Ukraine, that was not uppermost in the minds of individuals of my generation.

In the academy, moreover, ethnic studies (even immigrant studies) were not much encouraged. In the United States the adjustment problems of ethnic minorities could become the special concern of individual scholars (e.g., Harvard’s Oscar Handlin) and even of special research centres (e.g., Philadelphia’s Emily Balch Institute), but in Canada the subject attracted little attention and scholars who were not themselves immigrants rarely took it up. Although I had earlier read in the area of ethnic studies, I had not pursued it. To me, the minorities that appeared to prosper most were religious groups like the Mormons and their fundamentalist cousins, to whom ethnic roots were rarely significant, and their strong views on public education offered much scope for further research and study. In fact I had barely begun to mine the large area of church-state relations in Canadian education, and other church-state possibilities were practically limitless. The volatile mixture of religion and politics had always fascinated me, and the area practically cried out for further study. It was, moreover, a very respectable academic area, and one could do much worse than rank as an expert in Canadian church-state relations. With the growing interest in Canadian studies, the problem of personal specialization might also be alleviated to permit greater concentration, even at the undergraduate level.

Then, too, there was the matter of my liberal faith, at whose core was the importance of the individual, not the group. Although individuals certainly lived in groups, it was the individual, not the group, that took precedence in matters of intellect and faith. And since the latter were so much a product of education, any ‘education’ that subordinated the intellect to group beliefs, values and attitudes was anathema to the liberal mind. Worse still, in Canada it produced the kind of group-minded thinking that had characterized French Canadians for decades. Was one now prepared to embrace reasoning that saw everything through ethnic eyes? Had I spent all those years at university to exchange my liberal eyes for those of my father’s generation? And, if so, why all the earlier fuss about the Collège Saint-Jean?

I was thus badly torn about the role I might play in any future discussions of Canada's crisis of culture and identity. The Collège Saint-Jean experience did make it appear that the powers that be in Alberta—at both the government and university levels—were prepared to reverse the many decades of discrimination where the French-Canadian minority was concerned. But just how generous—how inclusive—were the same powers really prepared to be? Before the recommendations of Book IV, there was even nothing with which to approach them. Now their generosity might be tested, provided one was personally prepared to become involved. In the 1960s I had strongly campaigned on behalf of liberal and humanistic values in public education and against the growing commercialism and vocationalism in the schools. Might one not devote some of the same energy to help liberalize the ethnocentric exclusiveness of the French and the cultural hegemony of the so-called English?

In the midst of the soul-searching, I discussed the possibilities of Book IV with Natalia's retired father, who about mid-May invited me to the executive meetings of the Ukrainian Language Association, an affiliate of the ATA's Modern and Classical Language Council. From the meetings it was soon clear that most problems in Ukrainian education boiled down to numbers—the need to ensure, maintain and/or increase student participation at all levels. In considering remedies, the implications of Book IV were discussed, as was "Ukrainian pride," the possible role of the local P & B Club, broadening the public use of Ukrainian through street names and signs, and improving the image of Ukrainians generally. The most outspoken and vigorous member of the executive was Bill Kobluk, a young junior high school teacher at the St. Catherine Separate School in Edmonton's working-class Norwood district. Articulate and politically motivated, he had a keenly developed left-of-centre social conscience (he was later an unsuccessful provincial NDP candidate) and an acerbic tongue with which he regularly spiced up his commentary on life in and outside the Ukrainian community. In mid-June he presented the teachers with a very ambitious outline for a brief to the provincial Commission on Educational Planning, chaired by Walter H. Worth, a colleague well known to me in the Department of Educational Administration. Established by the Alberta government in June 1969, the commission was "to illuminate Alberta's educational policy for the last third of the century." The idea of a brief aroused much enthusiasm, especially as it appeared that the local UCC did not intend to present one. A committee chaired by Kobluk was formed, responsibilities were assigned and meetings were laid on, but (as usual among the middle class) not much happened during the summer.

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On 8 June 1970, in the midst of the teachers' meetings, my mother died from the cancer first diagnosed in 1966. When she entered the Cross Hospital in March, I visited her two or three times a week, usually late in the afternoon on the way home from the office. We dwelt much on life in Willingdon and the marvellous efforts during the Depression to provide the young with the best possible opportunities. The Humeniuk era came in for special attention, since by then I saw it as somewhat of a renaissance of Ukrainian culture in the bloc, one that participating parents had sacrificed much to provide. I gave her blow-by-blow accounts of the evening honouring MacGregor and of the teachers' meetings, as well as the possibilities that Book IV appeared to open up. I was trying, I think, to tell her that I would continue to value some of the things that had been important to her—all of which contributed to my growing interest in multiculturalism.

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About the same time I also met Hania (Anna) Galan, a field worker from the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK, *Soiuz ukrains'kykh studentiv Kanady*). I had never heard of the latter and do not know who steered Galan to me, but she was part of a student project financed mainly by the federal government. Over dinner in our home, she indicated that the students had begun community development work in Toronto in the summer of 1969, their first field worker being Bohdan Krawchenko of Montreal. In Vancouver, at a well-attended student congress that September, he had strongly promoted the field-work concept as the students' incoming president. As a result, eight field workers were hired in the spring of 1970, and after a one-week training session five were assigned to Toronto and one each to Montreal, Thunder Bay and Edmonton. The goal was to activate ethnic groups, particularly the Ukrainians, to hold conferences in light of Book IV to pressure the federal government to adopt a policy of multiculturalism. Galan wanted me to participate in the conference in Edmonton. I told her that I knew nothing about the ethnic scene in Edmonton and very little about the views of Ukrainians—even of the young—and she promised to organize a meeting with the Ukrainian Students' Club on campus.

At the meeting at the St. John's Institute on 7 July, I underlined the crucial nature of Book IV, admitted my ignorance of the community and administered the questionnaire I had prepared. Of the twenty-one students, most were children of the last immigration, very active in other Ukrainian organizations. They were far from typical, but I did not know that at the time. Their literacy level in Ukrainian was high, and some had a reading

knowledge of French. Inter-marriage was generally frowned upon, and their pro-multicultural feelings were very strong. Too few were present, however, for me to draw any significant conclusions, especially as I still did not know what I wanted to accomplish or whether I even wished to be involved.

About the same time I also attended a luncheon of Edmonton's Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the male auxiliary of the Orthodox Church. Scheduled for the downtown Royal George Hotel, I assumed it would draw well. However, apart from executive members like Lazarowich, Faryna, Kost Telychko (the most active of the Orthodox émigrés from Ukraine) and Russell Dzenick, a politically ambitious Canadian-born lawyer whom I now met for the first time, few attended. Most were aware of Book IV but none had read it, and all strongly agreed that the federal government must not be allowed to shelve it. When asked to weigh multicultural and Ukrainian goals, the latter (I said) came first, but a policy of multiculturalism was absolutely essential for their attainment.

With Galan hard at work on a conference for the end of August, I spent the month of July agonizing about the future, sharing my feelings with no one, not even Natalia. What troubled me most was that the French in Quebec (on account of their impact on the rest of the country) were literally forcing me into their way of thinking. Moreover, this was largely because the Anglo-Celtic leadership was unwilling to articulate cultural and linguistic policies that served the interests of more than just the French. In a democratic federation such concentration on a single ethnic group was bound to encourage invidious distinctions and arouse the envy (and/or anger) of other groups. Simple justice required that the special place that Quebec's large territory gave the French be reconciled with the place of other groups—especially by those who accepted the French thesis (even in Book IV) that Canada consisted of only two peoples, the French and the so-called English, just because the rest of the population communicated mainly in English. And the irony was that for me to argue the case for the other groups/peoples/regions/parts *required that I think like the French*.

In the end my two children were the deciding factor. What, as a supposed educational expert (and in view of my own ancestral background), would I one day tell them when they asked—as they surely would—“And where were you when the commission's fourth report came down?” The debate was just beginning and it was not the kind to go away quickly. Accordingly, in mid-August I opted for a short-term solution. I told Natalia (and only her) that I would take twelve months—and *only twelve months*—out of my professional life and do whatever was needed to help obtain a national cultural policy appropriate to the needs of those ethnic groups that cared enough to articulate them. I would work with practically anyone and go almost anywhere to discover what was really possible. “Was there,” as I

later would ask, “anyone really out there?” What was the true state of ethnic group life in Canada? I knew something of Ukrainian aspirations, but what did anyone else want? One could assume immigrant interest, but where did their children and the other generations stand? After all, groups like the Germans and the Scandinavians—more numerous in the Prairies than the Ukrainians—had arrived even earlier. How enthusiastic were they about the recommendations of Book IV?

Among the Ukrainians themselves, how did the very influential professional and business sectors really feel about the case being articulated largely by the émigré-dominated UCC? Where did the Canadian-born stand? Moreover, were they prepared to lead? Governments traditionally had merely patronized ethnic organizations. What would happen, I wondered, if younger, more articulate and more politically sophisticated Canadian-born leaders presented a different agenda, one that encompassed the entire country? How did the French and the Anglo-Celts really feel about Book IV, and was a new era in cultural and human relations that included all ethnic groups really possible? All Canadians, after all, were once immigrants, and all carried ancestral backgrounds (however mixed), but how ethnically conscious were Canadians really, and in what way? I was not sure how I would square matters with my liberal faith, but if the interested young were numerous enough and liberally inclined, all might be well.

### *1970-1971: A Year of Fact-Finding and Advocacy*

Once the decision to participate in the conference was made, the next major problem was a suitable paper. The more I thought about it, the more I was drawn to the language question within a multicultural context. Although I still knew little about multiculturalism, I had researched the language issue historically and had heard much about the retention of Ukrainian from my earliest years. I knew from discussions with Natalia’s father how important the issue continued to be, and the recent teachers’ meetings had revealed the numerous difficulties that continued to plague Ukrainian-language education. Moreover, the idea of a Canada in which the young were encouraged to learn at least one other language (French, but not necessarily French) really appealed to me. It could make Canada unique among immigration countries and certainly differentiate it more clearly from the United States, perhaps even muting the ‘national-identity industry’ among Canada’s intellectuals. I had no real difficulty with French and English as Canada’s official languages and always resisted any suggestion that other languages be given official status. To me, Ukrainian was a language of culture, not public communication. But before fully embracing the bilingualism of the Official Languages Act (with its obvious implications

for the schools), it was important to know whether the country's politicians and educational authorities were really prepared to meet the needs of individuals who wished to access the linguistic base of either their ancestral culture or some other.

Several themes of the eventual paper, "Minority Languages in the Alberta School System," later became staples and thus are presented in some detail. First, I strongly condemned the "lack of positive encouragement" of language learning by the government of Alberta, the provincial Department of Education and the University of Alberta—"in short, the whole WASP establishment, whose power in Canada even today is so well portrayed by Professor John Porter in his *Vertical Mosaic*." With the Official Languages Act in mind, I urged greatly increased educational funds to ensure that all who wished their children to acquire *fluency* in French could do so. "If it is French-English bilingualism that some people want, then let us stop playing games with the concept and give it reality." Still,

Bilingualism understood merely as French-English bilingualism is completely unacceptable to thousands of other Canadians who have nothing against the French language and are not interested in unilingualism. Bilingualism confined merely to French-English bilingualism is unacceptable because it means the eventual extinction of other languages and the subcultures they support. What is needed is a language policy that recognizes Canada's multicultural reality.

Then followed the main proposal: a "tripartite linguistic policy" based on "federal-provincial support for a 'crash' program on behalf of linguistic education similar to that on behalf of vocational education in the 1960s." Such a policy would not only recognize the country's large size (its regionalism) in meeting linguistic needs, but also ensure the future social mobility of children enrolled in other languages in such areas as the Prairies. It would allow for the three possibilities quoted below, depending on parental wishes and/or expectations:

- 1) Unilingualism, either French or English, for all those parents who have reason to believe that their children will live in a predominantly unilingual environment such as rural Quebec, British Columbia, or many other parts of Canada.
- 2) Bilingualism, English-French for those English-speaking parents who are reasonably sure that their children will live in a predominantly French environment (as in Montreal), or English-Italian, or English-Ukrainian for Italian-speaking or Ukrainian-

speaking parents who are reasonably certain that their children will live in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon [i.e., English-speaking] environment (as in Toronto or on the Prairies).

- 3) Trilingualism, French-English-Italian, or English-French-Ukrainian, or English-French-German, etc., for individuals who wish to be mobile Canadians, able to occupy positions in national organizations, whether public or private, yet at the same time are interested in retaining the psychological and cultural benefits of their ancestral origins which are neither British nor French. Thus for the Italian in Montreal this would definitely mean trilingualism, unless he could be sure of making a living in the Italian ghetto. English-Italian, pure and simple, would be an insult to the French Canadians who constitute 80 per cent of the population in Montreal. For the child of Italian or Ukrainian ancestry in Edmonton this would mean English-Italian or English-Ukrainian bilingualism. Trilingualism would only be a factor if one aspired to a national as distinct from a regional or provincial life.

Six weeks later, in a slightly revised version of the paper, I added a post-secondary, *non-academic* institute or school of languages either on or off each university campus to facilitate the tripartite proposal. In addition to French, such institutes or schools would ensure that fluency in the major languages of the region could also be attained:

Thus a Canadian child of Italian or Ukrainian descent in Alberta who chose English-Italian or English-Ukrainian bilingualism in the schools and later desired to learn French to facilitate mobility should be able to do so without difficulty, without time limit, and without additional cost; similarly should either child opt for English-French bilingualism in the schools and later wish to acquire fluency in Italian or Ukrainian the same should be possible without difficulty, without time limit, and without additional cost.

Although the above tripartite proposal was closely tied to ancestral background, my aim was to address not just the French-Canadian agenda but *the issue of language education in general*. What was needed was a commitment by leaders in government and education to reverse the traditional North American hostility toward second-language learning. For this, government funds were certainly important, but because so much of the problem was “psychological,” even more important was the political need to “change

public attitudes towards language study in the same way as public attitudes towards the French fact and Quebec's Quiet Revolution have gradually been changed in the past decade through a combined campaign of concentrated political persuasion and action."

If language was really at the heart of the problem, then let it be addressed through "a just language policy in a 'Just Society'" (the latter a term popularized by Trudeau to symbolize his coming to power), for the "stunted concept of bilingualism and biculturalism has only substituted two melting pots for one where other minority groups are concerned." Moreover, if a Canadian identity different from the unilingual United States is the goal, under my proposal "many more Canadians, like the Swiss, would become trilingual," and this would do even more than "simple bilingualism" to ensure a unique identity for Canada. And should the end product be a multilingual society, so be it:

*Multilingualism (and by implication multiculturalism) can be the way even in a bilingual Canada. The two are not mutually exclusive. Everything depends on how mechanically bilingualism is applied to the various parts of Canada and to the different life and career interests of the people of Canada (emphasis in original).*

(The reference to multilingualism, I soon learned, was a grave mistake, for the French-'English' conflict over language in Canada was primarily a political quarrel over linguistic *status*, only remotely related to language learning. As multilingualism was seen to dilute the status of French, it was totally unacceptable.)

Besides the "all-important" change in political attitude, another overdue change was provincial school legislation to permit languages like Ukrainian "to be languages of instruction for 50 per cent of the school day from Grade I through Grade XII," comparable to what Alberta had just conceded to the French in 1968. Another suggestion (interesting in view of subsequent developments) was "fullest" government support for the "Research Centre of Ethnic Groups" at the University of Calgary. Although improperly identified, I had learned of the poorly funded Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies—then barely two years old—from Howard Palmer, a graduate student with whom I was then periodically discussing his master's thesis on nativism in Alberta.

Finally, I stressed Canada's unique role as an immigration country next to the American cultural giant:

...because of our proximity to the United States we will in many respects be miniature Americans in the clothes we wear, the popular songs we sing or hear, the cars we drive, and the cereals we eat. But if we are smart we will not allow this to trouble us unduly. Canada as a federation is still very young. Few of the peoples who populate it have been here for one hundred years. There are very few fifth generation people in western Canada, for example. To try to create "instant Canadian culture" in this situation is not the same thing as making instant coffee. But if we take seriously the rich linguistic and varied cultural resources of the diverse peoples who make up Canada, and if we encourage them to thrive, then the souls, if not the cars, of Canadians will differ from the Americans and this in time will manifest itself in a way of life which will be different where it really counts.... If Canadians can show the world how a people of various backgrounds can live together in unity and peace, without first destroying a sense of pride in one's ancestral background, this will be a unique achievement and a model to the rest of the world. On the other hand, if someone could show me how Canada would be better off once the last remnant of Ukrainian, Greek, Italian, German, Japanese, or any other subculture disappeared from its soil, I would never again write or speak another word on the subject.

Through such internationalist flourishes, I was even able to incorporate something of my liberal faith into the address. In its essentials the paper accepted the trilingualism inherent in Canada's regionalism that Bociurkiw, Yuzyk and Rudnycky had been advancing since the early 1960s, but I thought I was giving their linguistic approach a larger Canadian political and (especially) educational context.

The two-day conference—"Multiculturalism for Canada"—opened on 28 August with about seventy-five participants, two-thirds of Ukrainian origin, reflecting Galan's contacts within the well-represented Ukrainian Students' Club. Working through the local Secretary of State office under Jean-Maurice Olivier (who disliked my remarks and would soon pay me a friendly visit), Galan had managed to secure representation from only seven other ethnic organizations. The turnout was disappointing, and the timing—the last long summer weekend on what was practically a deserted university campus—was also bad. No one from either the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta or any Anglo-Celtic organization attended. Quite noticeable, however, was the sprinkling of individuals from the folk arts, the visible minorities and international organizations like the United Nations

Association of Canada. The reaction to my paper, though mostly favourable, was not marked, with only a few individuals really enthusiastic. Especially impressed was SUSK's president, Bohdan Krawchenko, who immediately offered to pay my airfare to the student congress at the University of Manitoba the following weekend.

In Winnipeg the students' field-work project was front and centre, and I soon met its originator, Roman Petryshyn, a student from Thunder Bay who had first proposed the project in the spring of 1968. As a result, two conferences had preceded the one in Edmonton—one at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay in November 1969 and another at the University of Toronto, three weeks before the one in Edmonton. Krawchenko spoke at the last two, and his highly critical comments on the dualistic approach of Book IV were also issued as a press release in Winnipeg. In Edmonton, over dinner at our home with Galan, Krawchenko and Chrystia Chomiak, a strong student activist from Edmonton and a former editor of *Student* (the students' newspaper), I had been briefed on earlier developments. The three were very articulate and politically astute, though Galan had failed to convince Ambrose Holowach, the Alberta provincial secretary, to contribute a thousand dollars toward the Edmonton conference. (In Toronto, John Yaremko, the minister of social and family services—also of Ukrainian origin—had not only contributed but spoke at the conference.) The audacity of the student leaders and especially their ability to obtain media coverage at the congress was impressive. Krawchenko, who affected a low-key, hippie-like manner (complete with sandals!), handled the media like a pro, providing quick responses that hit the multicultural agenda every time.

Besides Petryshyn, I also met Marusia Kucharyshyn, the incoming students' president from Edmonton (and Petryshyn's future wife), as well as Yury Boshyk, the outgoing editor of *Student*, and Andrij Bandera, both from Toronto—students with whom I would later work closely. Although my role at the conference was largely that of an observer, I did present my tripartite linguistic proposal to a morning "Teach-in on Multiculturalism or Cultural Imperialism." It aroused little comment. The afternoon featured a "bear-pit" session with the national UCC, represented by the Reverend Wasyl (Basil) Kushnir, the president, and three executive members, Peter Kondra, Isydore Hlynka and William (Bill) Swystun, the latter a young lawyer who had prepared the UCC's brief critical of the federal government's Official Languages Bill in December 1968. The students really grilled the three older members, for to them the UCC was a very ineffective community organization, poorly equipped to make strong political representations. Kushnir, in Canada since 1934, was the vicar-general of the Ukrainian Catholic archdiocese and the UCC president since 1944. The Canadian-born Kondra, with a doctorate in agriculture, and the Canadian-educated Hlynka,

with one in chemistry, were both UCC stalwarts, and all three were much too defensive to please the students.

Kushnir, obsequious and long-winded, tested the students' patience the most. No one dared to remove him from office, because in the fractious Ukrainian-Canadian community, with its three immigrations and several generations, a successor would have been difficult to find. The students pressed for a democratically elected executive (offices were filled according to a representative formula established in 1940, when the UCC was formed), but the older trio kept invoking the constitution (*statut*) and giving "working-on-it" answers to most other questions. I participated briefly, emphasizing the importance of community pressure to bring a favourable government response to the recommendations of Book IV—something more than the usual political tributes to Canada's nice cultural mosaic, similar to the Soviet references to *myr i druzhba* (peace and friendship), which all present readily understood.

After the session I met the UCC representatives and Simon Jaroslav Kalba, its executive director. From the students I had heard much about Kalba's polished awkwardness, but I took to him immediately, for he appeared quite good at his impossible job, considering his meagre budgets. A non-practising lawyer from Galicia with Viennese manners, he diplomatically wended his way through the organizational labyrinth of religious and ideological rivalry at the base of the UCC. I stressed the urgency of the situation and the need for *immediate* leadership—perhaps from the Ukrainian professional and business clubs, in view of the UCC's poor reputation. Hlynka, a long-time member of the Winnipeg club, insisted that the clubs could not be relied upon to "carry the ball," but Kalba liked my enthusiasm and quickly arranged a meeting with the president of the local P & B Club after the banquet that evening.

That was how I met George Berko, in the hardware business in Winnipeg. Over the blare of *zabava* music and in the presence of Kushnir, Kalba, Serge Radchuk (a lawyer and president in 1966-67 of the defunct Federation of Professional and Business Men's Clubs of Canada) and Walter Hlady, a civil servant in the local Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State department (and a P & B member), I urged Berko to help give the P & B clubs a higher profile in Canadian affairs. Despite the obviously activist youth around him and my willingness to reach out to the club in Edmonton (and possibly Toronto), he was not interested, even though Hlady strongly urged input, as the federal government was about to release a white paper on multiculturalism in October. The onus was thus squarely on the three largest clubs in Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto, as Radchuk was not certain whether the federation's moribund executive could be activated in time.

At the business session next day the SUSK national executive pushed through numerous ambitious resolutions, among them a booklet on opportunities in Ukrainian studies. That evening I met Krawchenko and Petryshyn in the small mobile trailer that the SUSK had rented, and amidst cans of pop and the odd empty liquor bottle I inquired about the future. To my surprise, they said little, almost nonchalantly indicating, "It's up to you." Both weekends had been organized by others; now I was suddenly on my own without compass or rudder.

Accordingly, I approached the Edmonton P & B Club at its first fall dinner meeting on 9 September. Although I had not attended in months, I would seldom miss another in the next sixteen years! Through Leo Faryna, I met the Ukrainian-born president, the very sympathetic Harry Barabash, who owned a photo studio. He invited me to the next executive meeting on the 15<sup>th</sup>, where a committee—Barabash, Faryna, Dzenick and Laurence Decore—was immediately struck to prepare a position paper on Book IV in advance of the federal government's white paper. The executive also agreed to call an informal meeting of up to thirty "third-generation 'bucks' (ages 25-40-45)," as I put it in a letter to Dzenick, to vet the position paper. Both initiatives, however, were much too ambitious for the time available. Nor did the federal government produce the rumoured white paper, proving that government bureaucrats were not necessarily the most reliable informants. About the same time Kalba invited me to participate in the Manitoba Mosaic Congress in Winnipeg (13-17 October).

Before leaving for Winnipeg, I had a long meeting in my office with Jean-Maurice Olivier of the Secretary of State office. He was disturbed by my recent paper, and I promised to send him a copy of the teachers' brief to the Worth Commission, where the Ukrainian position on language and education would be spelled out in considerable detail. On 9 October I also met with thirteen Canadian-born P & B members, invited to a special seminar for their reaction to the tripartite idea I was then advancing. A short questionnaire revealed that the five third-generation members had fourteen children, only three of whom spoke Ukrainian; the eight second-generation members (father not born in Canada) had twenty-six children, again with only three able to speak Ukrainian. Only six of the forty children had attended Ukrainian classes in the public or separate schools. Although all liked my tripartite proposal, I was really surprised that most ranked Ukrainian as a language of study (at least an hour each day) consistently higher than Ukrainian as a language of instruction (i.e., bilingual education) in the public schools.

The Manitoba Mosaic Congress was a political extravaganza, the result of Edward Schreyer's becoming premier in 1969. With seventeen of twenty-eight MLAs of 'ethnic' background and Schreyer himself a German Catholic (his family immigrated to Canada from Galicia in western Ukraine before the First World War), the new government created a Secretariat on Dominion-Provincial-Cultural Relations to recommend "practical measures" to "assist in retaining and developing the many cultures of our people." After Book IV appeared, the secretariat, the university's Extension Division and a steering committee of ethnic group representatives organized the conference. With more than four hundred participants, "the first congress of its kind ever held in North America, or for that matter, anywhere else" (according to the steering committee's chairman), was the longest (four and a half days) and most ambitious ever undertaken in Canada. It featured three banquets, seventeen seminars, four special-interest seminars, three workshops, eighteen background papers by scholars (seven on education, four on languages and seven on multiculturalism) and ten others by individuals and groups—all culminating in a plenary session that considered fifteen resolutions distilled from countless motions. The congress was so well funded by the Manitoba and federal governments (the Official Languages Program) that it cost only six dollars to attend all three banquets! Of the three featured speakers—Watson Kirkconnell, Stephen Juba (Winnipeg's mayor) and Schreyer—I found Kirkconnell at seventy-five the most interesting, not only because of his historical references (he had helped form the Canadian Citizenship Branch in 1945) but because of his several memorable political one-liners: e.g., on the B & B Commission, "...it seems to regard these [ethnic] groups as a fleet of cultural icebergs slowly melting in the awkward-moving Gulf Stream of Anglophone and Francophone society"; on government interest in diversity, "It is not enough to produce a brief cultural euphoria in each ethnic group on its pathway to extinction."

As a resource person I was slotted into a half-hour afternoon seminar on 15 October. My paper was substantially the same as that in Edmonton, there being no time to prepare another. Retitled "A Just Language Policy for a 'Just Society,'" to reflect both the national significance of the congress and Trudeau's own emphasis at the time, it made my reputation even among those who disliked it. Etienne J. Gaboury, president of the Société franco-manitobaine and a member of the conference steering committee, termed it both "perfunctory" and "vindictive." Among the numerous Ukrainian Canadians present, Hlynka and Kondra (and their wives) led the standing ovation when I finished. The address, according to Kucharyshyn, Petryshyn and Bandera, was much discussed in the corridors of the Hotel Fort Garry. As a result, when Borislav Bilash, a teacher and chairman of a language seminar, showed me a resolution for next day's plenary session calling upon Manitoba to "study the possibility

of declaring English and French as official languages of the Province," I asked that he call an immediate meeting of the UCC leaders. Next morning, at the latter's headquarters on Main Street, I pointedly asked: "What will you do when such a resolution is read out this afternoon?" The resolution's audacity surprised the group—Kushnir, Kalba, Rudnyckyj, Yuzyk, Hlynka, Kondra and at least a dozen others—and within less than a half-hour a new version (the one the plenary eventually adopted) emerged:

*Whereas* English and French are the official languages of Canada [within the public agencies of the Federal Government] (my addition);

BE IT RESOLVED that the Manitoba Mosaic Congress recommends that the Government of Manitoba study ways and means of preserving the multi-lingual and multi-cultural reality of the Manitoba Mosaic.

The plenary in the hotel ballroom was packed to the rafters, with many standing against the walls. The chairman, Charles Rhodes Smith, the chief justice of Manitoba, quickly picked up the anti-French feeling in the room and, in the spirit of "British fair play," allowed even the closest hand votes to stand. The French, with official bilingualism in the province on the line, were well represented (about 10 per cent of those registered), but the Ukrainians were almost four times as numerous and quite strong at the microphones. On the official-language resolution—the first one—the debate was hot and heavy. I sat with Dzenick, who had arrived on folk-arts business the day before. Although neither of us was a native Manitoban, we both participated and I even moved the above Ukrainian amendment. When the latter passed, about twenty-five individuals, led by Gaboury, left the room to scattered cries of "Stay! Stay!" It was the first sign that French-Canadian linguistic aspirations in the west would either have to be trimmed or take the aspirations of other ethnocultural groups into account.

Although the vote on the UCC resolution was a victory of sorts for most non-Francophones, there was little celebration that evening, as practically everyone was glued to the television reports of the murder of Pierre Laporte and Trudeau's use of the War Measures Act. It was a very sobering note on which to end a very successful conference—one where Gérard Pelletier, the secretary of state, was among the speakers and Keith Spicer, the commissioner of official languages, and Solange Chaput-Rolland, author of the then very popular *Dear Enemies*, were among the observers. The brief visit by the Alberta provincial secretary, Ambrose Holowach, was likely responsible for a similar conference in Alberta next July.

From the forty-seven blanks opposite “ethnic origin” in the published report of the congress, it is clear that for some participants with Anglo-Celtic surnames—or names like Weinshenker, Tergesen, Solski and Dobriansky—ethnic identification was a problem. Among identifiable origins, the most numerous were Ukrainians (143), followed by the French (41), Anglo-Celts (28; 24 spaces were left blank), Germans (17), Jews (16), Poles (14), Italians (9) and Scandinavians (9). Of visible minorities, only twelve registered: one Chinese, one “Negro,” three East Indians and seven “Indians” with South Asian names, indicating the extent to which initial interest in multiculturalism was primarily a Caucasian affair. The local press largely ignored the conference, and in occasional headlines even ridiculed its proceedings: “Ethnic ‘Quilt’ Urged” summed up Kirkconnell’s favourable references to Canada as a “cultural tapestry”!

Personally, I was quite disappointed that the gist of my paper—the tripartite proposal with post-secondary schools or institutes to make official bilingualism more palatable—was largely ignored. While curious about what the non-Ukrainian ethnic groups expected from multiculturalism, I had supposed that the Ukrainians would quickly embrace the proposal. To my surprise, Jaroslav Rudnycky saw little difference between it and his own “Separate Statement” in Book I of the B & B Commission, calling for any language used by at least 10 per cent of the population of an administrative district to have the status of a regional language. My proposal, I thought, was more individual-based and concentrated on language learning, avoiding census statistics and references to administrative districts and status, for such were the terms in which the French argued their case.

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Back in Edmonton and determined to get a better understanding of the extent of ethnic consciousness among non-Ukrainians, I invited the Italian consul to the Faculty Club for lunch. To my surprise, he came with Sab Roncucci, remembered for his presentation at the recent conference in Edmonton. The Canadian-born consul absolutely refused to say anything about ethnicity or multiculturalism, referring all questions to Roncucci, who as a postwar immigrant had unfortunately very little contact with Canadian-born Italians one or two generations removed. From such meetings and others with some of Metro Gulutsan’s Central and East European friends, it was soon fairly clear that at least some immigrants and their descendants could be quite indifferent toward multiculturalism, and few in any generation could say much about what multiculturalism as government policy might mean for them.

Late in October I began to take the "Just Language Policy" to the professional educators. On the 28<sup>th</sup>, through Gulutsan's influence, I addressed a dinner meeting of Edmonton's Phi Delta Kappa chapter, a professional fraternity for professors of education, Department of Education officials, teachers and school administrators. Also on the program was my friend Bert Hohol, now an associate superintendent of education in the Edmonton public school system and the newly nominated Progressive Conservative candidate in Edmonton-Belmont. In the audience was Dean Coutts, who referred to English as the universal language (witness its use in air travel) and sarcastically observed (to guffaws all round) that if I were not careful I might even revive the long-dead Gaelic in the Maritimes! On 13 November I presented the same paper to David MacKay's graduate seminar in the Department of Educational Administration, maintaining under heavy questioning and dissent that Ukrainians as a people were threatened with "linguicide" and ultimately even possible "cultural genocide."

At another influential forum early in November, organized by Harold Baker, my first departmental chairman and the newly appointed dean of education at the University of Calgary, the ten participants in the all-day session were asked to "tease out" the educational implications of a research report on "Alberta's Future: Social Life, 1970-2005" by the new Westrede Institute, which specialized in "future studies," then very popular. All were urged to be "aggressive," and I did as requested. Baker shared my opposition to religious interests in the public schools and was very surprised when I advanced the case for linguistic interests in the same schools. The language learning, I said, would take place in *state* institutions, whose teachers (having passed through hands "such as ours") might be expected to be more liberal in their transmission of cultural values than were the usual religious and lay teachers in private ethnic schools. Moreover, why must language learning always be couched in ethnic-group terms? What was needed was for all Canadians, whether ethnically conscious or not, to maximize the public potential of both multiculturalism and bilingualism in terms of reasonable individual interests. (Here I was brushing up against a fundamental dilemma that I would never overcome: I was interested in language learning for all Canadians as *individuals*, but I needed Ukrainian-Canadian *group* pressure to help bring it about.) With the forum strongly critical of ethnic-group identity, I ultimately defended it as well. As long as ethnic group life was a legitimate democratic option for Canadians, I thought it appropriate to try to raise the quality of cultural expression among such groups, especially as it might also help to enrich Canada's cultural identity. Following the discussion closely was June Sheppard, a lifestyle columnist for the *Edmonton Journal*, whom I would soon meet again under very different circumstances.

To inject a sense of urgency into Ukrainian group involvement, I accepted Dzenick's invitation to address the annual provincial convention of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League on 20 November. Entitled "Ukrainian Canadians at the Cultural Crossroads," the presentation was the first to draw heavily on the recent visit to Ukraine. Because of Soviet Russification abroad and Anglo-American assimilation at home, Canadians of Ukrainian origin faced a terrible predicament which, like the French, rendered them "not a people like the others." In touting the linguistic dimension, I gave two reasons for having dismissed it earlier:

First, I did not believe that Russification in the [*sic*] Ukraine was as bad as the emigres said it was. Now, after seeing it for myself, I know better. Second, and more importantly, I did not really think that it was possible to dent, let alone break, the assimilative forces of North American continentalism with their strong emphasis on English unilingualism. I must admit that I am still not really sure that bilingualism in any form (even in Quebec) has much chance of thriving for any length of time. But I do feel that if there was ever a time to lay the foundations for a bilingual Canada (broadly understood), that time is the present.

It was a frank and objective, even confessional-type presentation, complete with the tripartite proposal and numerous suggestions for immediate action by the P & B clubs and the UCC—the latter hopefully under Canadian-born leadership.

About a third of the way through, Judge Decore and his wife arrived, and he led off the questioning. A strong Liberal, he thought my approach to official bilingualism was critical of the federal Liberals. I repeated my tripartite proposal (which he had missed) to show that he was mistaken. Persisting, he was generally ahead with the audience until he said that he had it "on good authority" that the Conservatives in Ontario would soon make French an official language in that province. What, he asked, would I say then? From what I knew of Ontario's 'English,' the development was most unlikely. When he persisted, I categorically denied that it would ever happen—and if it did, the situation for Ukrainian Canadians would be even worse. That evening the judge phoned to indicate that his wife liked my presentation and was upset that we had differed so openly in public. When he raised the 1964 French incident at the St. John's Institute, I told him I regretted it and that my present involvement was the result of the urgency created by Book IV. He confessed to a strong dislike of the term "ethnic" (but offered no alternative) and then dwelt mainly on the possibilities for multiculturalism of cable television, especially through a new Edmonton company in which his son,

Laurence, would be a major partner. When he learned that I was considering a trip to Toronto to speak at a UCC conference (at Kalba's request), he immediately suggested that I contact Stanley Frolick, a lawyer who was president of the Toronto P & B Club, married to Decore's wife's cousin.

Kalba had first mentioned the Toronto conference at the students' congress in September, but I was wary of the UCC and would not commit myself even at the Manitoba Mosaic. Once I learned of Frolick, I was determined to go, even if my role on the program was small—a seven-minute commentary on a paper by Roman Rakhmany of Montreal, a capable émigré journalist on Radio-Canada International who broadcast to Ukraine. Rakhmany placed most of the blame for Ukrainian language loss in Canada on the Ukrainians themselves, while I mainly attributed it to the hostile North American environment. Given our differences and my critical academic approach, the fifteen-minute discussion that followed was quite animated, but to my surprise the focus was less on what I had said than on my having said it in English!

It was, of course, incongruous to press for the retention of Ukrainian in English, but my Ukrainian was much too weak to participate. This was my first contact with Toronto's Ukrainian community, and I did not know that most of the postwar émigrés had settled there. In the afternoon plenary, despite three intervening sessions, references to my criticism of Rakhmany and, later still, of the UCC and other Ukrainian organizations continued to surface, as I defended myself in English. Even the mediation of William Hawrelak, the former mayor of Edmonton, who had earlier discussed leadership on another panel (in Ukrainian), did not help. Finally, I angrily switched into my kitchen Ukrainian and made it clear that it was precisely hard attitudes like theirs that were keeping the young away: "If you don't change your ways, those who come after me will be even worse; they will know no Ukrainian at all!" The issue, of course, would always agitate the purists, and though in time my spoken Ukrainian improved somewhat, its limitations would always be a handicap.

Next day I had a long meeting with Stan Frolick at the St. Vladimir Institute, the site of the conference, and as subsequent events showed the contact was a most important turning point. Frolick was then fifty years old (seven years my senior), politically well connected (he had unsuccessfully contested three elections for the Progressive Conservatives in Toronto) and quite knowledgeable about the Ukrainian community, especially in eastern Canada. As a native of the Crow's Nest Pass, where his father had been a miner in Hillcrest, Alberta, he was also fairly familiar with the west. Best of all, he understood my frustrations with the organized Ukrainian community and fully agreed that the P & B clubs (especially their Canadian-born members) were best qualified to maximize the opportunities presented by Book IV. Accordingly, he invited me to address the eastern clubs' May convention

in Toronto, the first step (hopefully) toward reviving the moribund national federation. For the first time I saw some daylight and indicated as much to Kucharyshyn, Boshyk and Bandera, also on the UCC program.

The P & B executive in Edmonton (including Judge Decore, whom I had invited) was delighted with my favourable comments on the meeting with Frolick. Even so, the main problem—precisely what the local club was prepared to do—remained. I suggested two projects: a major conference in January, organized by the club, and a brief from the club to the parliamentary constitutional committee, which, according to Yuzyk (a member of the committee), was slated to visit Edmonton in February. The brief easily won out at the regular club dinner meeting in December and an ad hoc constitutional committee was struck to prepare it: Peter Savaryn (chairman), Laurence Decore (secretary), Dzenick, Barabash and William Kostash, a teacher at Victoria Composite High School (and father of future author Myrna Kostash).

I was only mildly pleased with the outcome, for a strong reaction to Book IV was much more important. I also knew that constitutions always addressed rights, and I saw none that groups like the Ukrainians could advance. Nonetheless, I acquiesced. The club was involved in a serious national project, and a good brief might divert attention from the embarrassing one submitted by the national UCC in September. The extract below (typos and all) illustrates the latter's hopelessness as a political advocate of Ukrainian-Canadian cultural interests:

In the Canadian Constitution there must be definition of Canadian citizen. It must clearly define that there are two languages of communication in Canada between the Federal Government and its citizens but there are other languages recognized as Canadian because they are used by Canadian Citizens. How does one explain the fact that Canadian citizen, a third or fourth generation Canadian, uses a language as his mother tongue which is neither English or French? Is it a foreign language or is he a second rate Canadian citizen?...

The other languages, other than English and French have a right to preservation and propagation. The Official Languages Act must not be used to propagate English or French culture.

From its style and syntax, the work was unmistakably that of Kalba, who had no staff (apart from a single secretary) and no budget to speak of. According to documents provided at the meeting in Toronto, the UCC's revenues in 1969-70 were only \$20,717.34 out of a projected budget of \$35,000. In the current fiscal year (to 11 November), the constituent organizations had

contributed only \$11,982, and their arrears from previous years were \$15,520. Moreover, the federation of P & B clubs had contributed nothing!

Late in December the teachers' brief to the Worth Commission was finally ready. Besides editing it, I contributed the sections on "The School Curriculum and Canada's Ethnic Groups" and "The University and Ukrainian Studies." On Kobluk's insistence, an abbreviated version of my "Just Language Policy" paper was included as "An Epilogue," even though Worth's office had already obtained a copy. The most significant recommendations of the brief, backed by appropriate ones from Book IV, included the following:

- the study of Ukrainian for an hour in each grade;
- the fostering of trilingualism to achieve a Canadian identity different from the United States;
- the appointment of a methods instructor for Slavic languages in the Faculty of Education and of a professional consultant for Ukrainian in the Department of Education;
- the creation of optional Ukrainian history or literature courses *in Ukrainian* (emphasis in original) for grades three, six, nine and twelve, and on "Ukrainian Arts and Customs" in grade nine;
- the development of a unit on "The Contributions of Ethnic Groups to Canada's Cultural Development" in the elementary grades, and an optional course on the topic in the junior high grades;
- the study of Eastern Europe at the senior high school level equal to that of Western Europe;
- the introduction of university courses in Canadian ethnic studies, the history of Ukrainians in Canada and Ukrainian history; and
- the establishment of an institute of Soviet and East European studies at the university.

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So far, the fact-finding and advocacy had not involved the media. Despite assurances, neither the CBC nor Fil Fraser from the non-commercial Metropolitan Edmonton Educational Television Association had attended the conference in August. Accordingly, late in November I tackled the educational station. I had never met Fraser and did not know that he was a bilingual Canadian-born black from Montreal, very sympathetic to multiculturalism. Determined to indict the media and to indicate that Ukrainians, with their special cultural predicament, were no longer prepared to tolerate the neglect, I was quickly disarmed by a very receptive Fraser, who suggested that I appear on a new show, *Forum*, beginning in the New Year.

The host of the program, June Sheppard, and a studio panel of invited ethnic leaders would react to my twenty-minute presentation. Accordingly, the program was taped on 3 January 1971 for primetime viewing next evening, followed by a one-hour phone-in on CKUA radio the following evening.

The presentation on multiculturalism and the Ukrainian predicament was based on what I had been saying in recent weeks. The terrible situation in Soviet Ukraine ("Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, is a Russified city.... It's as if one were to visit Paris and be spoken to in German most of the time.") accounted for Ukrainian-Canadian pressure for "multiculturalism with a linguistic base." In Canada's current cultural crisis the Ukrainian Canadians were like Tevye in "Fiddler on the Roof." On the one hand, the French were doing Canada "a great service in sensitizing most Canadians" to the intimate connection between language and culture; on the other, many parents of non-French and non-British backgrounds were "rather uneasy" about the effect on their children's future. They were not "really sure that in a country as big as ours, their children will really need French—or at least need it more than a regional language like Ukrainian, German or Italian." What was therefore needed was "a 'just' language policy, a democratic language policy, a language policy without fear," which my tripartite proposal provided. In her pointed response June Sheppard wondered whether Ukrainian-Canadian youth supported my ideas. The jury was still out, I said, but I was meeting the young at every opportunity. On the panel, I recognized only Roncucci, Dzenick and Roger Motut, but I learned later from Horst Schmid, a participant who would become Alberta's minister of culture in September 1971, that the presentation provided a perspective on Ukrainian multicultural involvement that had not occurred to him before.

As might be expected, the impact of the TV broadcast was greatest on the Ukrainian émigré group, and its two most politically oriented leaders, Peter Savaryn and Celestin (Mykola) Suchowersky, the latter responsible for Slavic and East European collections in the university library, soon approached me. Savaryn was the first. At the P & B annual general meeting late in January, he suggested that we co-chair a multicultural committee for the club, with power to co-opt others. I liked the idea and we immediately co-opted Laurence Decore. The club approved the committee, whose purpose, according to Savaryn, was to co-ordinate all multicultural initiatives, especially contacts with governments and politicians. For the next fifteen years the Multicultural Committee spearheaded the Ukrainian political (and cultural) agenda in Edmonton, and occasionally elsewhere. But until the earlier Savaryn-Decore constitutional committee completed its brief, it was largely dormant.

More immediately helpful were the meetings of what came to be known as the "Ukrainian Professors' Club," the result of Suchowersky's phone

call shortly after the above P & B meeting. Far less polished and without Savaryn's political savvy or connections, the very active Suchowersky invited me to a meeting in his home with Orest Starchuk and Metro Gulutsan on 14 February to discuss the difficult situation in the Slavic department, where a young cohort was conducting a scholarly vendetta against Starchuk and his colleague, Yar Slavutych. I came with a long formal agenda, for by then my office had become a virtual clearing house for a host of swirling issues.

The Professors' Club developed as an informal group that met periodically over the next two years. It was never large—between five and ten members—and it suffered a very serious loss when Starchuk died suddenly of a heart attack on 18 February. Unlike the Multicultural Committee, the professors concentrated on academic and educational matters, occasionally even off campus. For example, as the club's president, I criticized the Department of Russian Studies at the University of Western Ontario (London) for refusing to introduce a first-year Ukrainian-language course, despite unrelenting community pressure. "Must one," I asked the departmental head (copying his dean), "adopt the tactics of the FLQ before the aspirations of groups interested in learning more about themselves are treated justly?" Not surprisingly, the reply (copying my chairman) was equally sharp, for there is nothing more sacred to university departments than academic autonomy! While the club members did not expect walls to crumble, we also knew that news of the letter would get around. With interest in multiculturalism growing, it was time that the longstanding negative attitude toward Ukrainian studies of specialists in Russian studies in North American universities began to change.

On 3 March, in June Sheppard's column on "Minority groups' education," I reiterated the Ukrainian predicament and publicly reclaimed my first name. In November, Harold Baker had introduced me to Sheppard as "Bob"; on the TV broadcast I was introduced as "Manoly."

I suppose you could say [I told Sheppard] I'm a living example of what many Ukrainians face. I was christened Manoly. But others find it a difficult name—are always mispronouncing it.

When you look in the Alberta Gazette you wonder about the identity people give up when they change a family name. But these are success-oriented people because that's what their grandparents came to Canada to seek and they know that in our society—in business and commerce—a Ukrainian name can be an obstacle.

From then on I was again Manoly, even on campus. A group off campus paying special attention was the pro-Soviet Association of United Ukrainian

Canadians, which disliked my earlier criticism of the Russification of Ukraine and used Sheppard in mid-May to refute my views. In categorically denying such Russification, Mitchell Sago (Mykhailo Saramaga), editor of the association's monthly, *The Ukrainian Canadian* (Toronto), illustrated yet again how communist misinformation confused Canadians about the true state of affairs behind the Iron Curtain—and incidentally made the Ukrainians (especially the political émigrés and their children) far more militant than they might otherwise have been.

(With the Cold War already more than twenty years old, no one really took the above association seriously. Its membership was steadily declining, and its views carried little weight with governments. In fact, by the early 1970s it was little more than a political spoiler. Convinced that Ukrainian was not threatened in Soviet Ukraine, the association generally supported Anglo-French biculturalism in the occasional brief that I heard. Multiculturalism was usually coupled with the dreaded multilingualism to embarrass the deluded "bourgeois nationalists," whose alleged poor understanding of Soviet cultural policies was responsible for their advocacy in Canada of multiculturalism with a strong linguistic base. Not surprisingly, like most immigrant organizations, the association preferred private ethnic schools to professionally staffed bilingual/trilingual public school classrooms.)

Toward the end of March it was finally time to address the local P & B Club. Leo Faryna, the new president, had left the date open, and a special meeting in Toronto on 27 March to consult on the feasibility of what came to be known as the Non-Official Languages Study made the moment opportune. The study, headed by Ken O'Bryan of the Modern Languages Centre at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, was sponsored by the federal Citizenship Branch, which made me very apprehensive. Not only were there constant references in Ottawa to "third languages" (a term I disliked about as much as Ottawa disliked "multilingualism"), but in the absence of a multicultural policy the idea of a comprehensive study of non-official languages appeared to place the cart before the horse. As a result, I refused to endorse the study until the chairman (R. Nichols) assured me that federal support of non-official languages in the future would not depend upon the study's findings. In light of North America's traditional hostility toward second languages, the interest in language learning among Canada's ethnic groups was bound to be low. More important than a study, I said, was federal advocacy and support of language learning *per se*.

At the meeting I again saw Steve Jaworsky of the Ethnic Participation Division in the Citizenship Branch. We had met in Toronto in December, and he regularly phoned me thereafter. Because Ottawa, he now indicated privately, viewed my position as anti-French, I should try to reach out to individuals like Jean-Maurice Olivier in Edmonton and take a more

positive approach toward the French in my speeches. Accordingly, in my address to the P & B Club on 31 March—“Canadians of Ukrainian Descent: Where Do We Stand?”—I reported on the above meeting and declared that “trilingualism is our fate” (Ukrainian “will have to survive as a third language”). I also suggested the following approach to the French “in our difficult circumstances”:

What we need to do is to impress upon the French on the prairies what is in fact a profound truth, namely, that their own survival and development is tied to our survival and development. The French Canadians amongst us must be made to understand that if French-English bilingualism is pushed so hard as to make it difficult to learn Ukrainian, then Ukrainian will disappear in time and French minorities outside Quebec will be left alone to face the sea of Anglophones who already surround all of us.... Of course, we must understand that the French Canadians’ own gains as a minority are very recent and they are still most insecure. They may very well conclude that their best bet in the future is to grab all they can for themselves and to hell with the rest. We have to show them the foolishness of this line of action as tactfully and diplomatically as we know how.

It was not much of a carrot, but it was the best I could bring myself to do at the time. Because most other ethnic groups, I added, had little interest in multiculturalism with a linguistic base, and because “the linguistic or cultural pecking order of Europe” ensured that knowing Ukrainian was “definitely not chic,” the odds in Canada for an expansion of language learning (including Ukrainian) were definitely low.

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At the meeting in Toronto I also saw Howard Palmer again, then under contract to the Ethnic Participation Division, and met Stan Szybala, the first-generation Canadian of Polish origin who headed the division. Both noted privately that a federal reaction to Book IV would probably be forthcoming in September or October. I also visited Stan Frolick and met several SUSK members in his home. All were fascinated by Alberta’s “Bonnyville affair,” the acrimonious debate between the French- and English-speaking residents (some of Ukrainian and Romanian background) aroused by the recent suggestion of the federal Bilingual Districts Advisory Board that Bonnyville become part of an official bilingual (English-French) district. The *Edmonton Journal* had reported on the situation at some length on 15 March, and I now

played down what the eastern press had greatly blown up. In the end the idea of bilingual districts across Canada fell before the bad feelings it aroused in Quebec, where the hard nationalists opposed English about as much as some in the west opposed having French “shoved down our throats”—and in places like the St. Paul-Bonnyville-Lac La Biche district the point could occasionally be made quite forcefully.

# Chapter Five

## THE FIRST CULTURAL BREAKTHROUGHS (1971–73)

### *Success at the Provincial Level in Alberta*

In Alberta the first cultural breakthrough occurred in April 1971, when the school law was amended to permit Ukrainian as a language of instruction—a change spurred by the brief from the Savaryn-Decore constitutional committee. After my two meetings with the committee, and with the recent teachers' brief to hand, Savaryn concluded that education was central and that the initial approach should be to the provincial government. Alberta was about to participate in the federal-provincial constitutional conference in Victoria, and it was important to influence it on minority concerns in language, culture and education. In the brief that I edited, Decore and Kostash submitted a section on the school law, and Savaryn and Decore contributed another on an East European institute at the university. Savaryn also included a piece on a centre for Ukrainian studies, not mentioned in our earlier meetings. To expect the government to support both an institute and a centre was not too realistic, but the committee had already arranged to meet the government on 14 April, and there was no time for further discussions.

With an election in the offing, the Savaryn-led committee was met by an impressive cabinet delegation: Premier Harry Strom, Education Minister Robert Clark, Attorney General Edgar Gerhart and Ambrose Holowach, the former provincial secretary, now styled more fashionably as minister of culture, youth and recreation. The amazed committee was told that the school law would be changed immediately to permit Ukrainian as a *language of instruction* for the whole school day in grades one and two (with an hour in English) and for half the day thereafter (the same as in French), even though the brief itself had asked only for Ukrainian as a *language of study* for an hour daily in each grade. The promised amendment was passed on the 28<sup>th</sup>.

Meanwhile, in an unco-ordinated (but fortunate) move, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee had invited the premier to speak at a public banquet on the 24<sup>th</sup>, the eightieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Strom now announced the above language change and the government's intention to develop a "major new cultural policy" to ensure that public programs "oriented to multiculturalism are given high priority." The government promised a position paper to which representatives of ethnic groups would react at a provincial conference, after which a government-appointed task force would formulate the new policy. The Social Credit

Party under William Aberhart, Ernest C. Manning (and now Strom), in power since 1935 and having earlier largely ignored ethnic aspirations, was now sufficiently vulnerable to propose drafting Canada's first multicultural policy in exchange for what it hoped would be the ethnic vote. Strom singled out the P & B brief as a model of ethnic input and, leaning heavily on it, paraded a fistful of tantalizing "goodies," once the government was, of course, returned to power. As I listened, I could not believe we were in the same premises—St. John's Orthodox Parish School and Auditorium—where just five months earlier I had wondered (in "Ukrainian Canadians at the Cultural Crossroads") whether anything at all was possible.

The government's new cultural direction was significant, as the *Edmonton Journal's* editorial soon showed. In April 1970, shortly after Book IV was released, the newspaper had declared pro forma that "Multiculturalism is also essential"; now, after pondering the matter for a week, publisher Ross Munro and editor Andrew Snaddon deemed the new direction "A dangerous path." Through the change in school legislation "the idea of bilingualism would be destroyed"; students who needed English to make a living would "diffuse their studies"; and by tending "to build ethnic regions...Canadian identity would suffer greatly." It was one thing, they said, "to strengthen the ethnic threads in Alberta's tapestry" in an election year, but "let's not promise too much." Because Canadian citizenship was the "primary concern," it was important to ensure that the proposed task force was "broadly based" (code for Anglo-dominated).

The city's Anglo establishment had reason to be concerned, for the government's new cultural direction bordered on the revolutionary. In bestowing legitimacy on ethnic subcultures, it could easily encourage pressure for a larger ethnocultural presence in all mainstream institutions—one that might even join Quebec's challenge to the dominant place in Canada of "McTavish," the name chosen by the Montreal playwright M. Charles Cohen for his article on "Canada's smug majority" in the *Toronto Daily Star* (1 May 1971). Designed to provide an "underside perspective" on Canada's majority culture, the article enjoyed wide circulation among ethnic groups in the 1970s and showed well how the ethnic reawakening in Canada was part of the larger struggle in North America for greater equity in racial and ethnic relations. According to Cohen,

Growing up Cohen in Winnipeg in the '30s and '40s, when one went downtown to meet the man, the man was inevitably McTavish. One's teachers through grade school were usually McTavish. Principals always were. So were policemen and police chiefs, firemen and fire chiefs, Hydro inspectors and Hydro

inspector chiefs, school trustees, aldermen, judges, mayors and truant officers.

In short, all of officialdom, petty and magnificent, was McTavish very nearly to a man. Whenever and wherever there were standards to be set up, rules and regulations to be laid down and enforced, reproof, discipline or punishment to be dealt out, it was McTavish who set them up, laid them down, and dealt them out.

...There were even a few Dubrovskys or Karaswitches or Blooms who fulfilled undeniably McTavish roles, and performed McTavish-like functions, but everyone knew that they weren't the real McCoy, or rather, the real McTavish. Their presence was token and erratic enough to be aberrant, and did not impart so much as a tinge to the pure Presbyterian waters of the McTavish sea in which we others would have to swim or sink.

There was, moreover, considerable recent evidence in John Porter's *Vertical Mosaic* (1965) that the situation had changed very little.

As the premier sat down to loud applause, I could not have imagined how subsequent developments would affect me personally. Before the end of April I was invited by Steve Odynak, whom I knew only by reputation as my father-in-law's friend in the Department of Education, to write the government's position paper. I do not know who suggested my name, but Holowach and Yuriy Stefanyk were close, and the latter may have recommended me. Drafting the province's (and the country's) first multicultural policy was not something one could easily pass up, especially in light of recent speeches. Accordingly, by 3 May I was in Holowach's office, together with Les Usher, the deputy minister, Ray Harrison, the director of the Provincial Museum and Archives, and Walter Kaasa, the director of the Cultural Development Branch. The position paper, I learned, would be the premier's address to the ethnic conference, then slated for 25 June. To assist me, I was literally swamped with background material—departmental brochures on everything from human rights to festivals to museums and archives, as well as two large recent UNESCO conference reports on culture. Although provided with a general outline, I was free to use it as I saw fit. There was no contract, and payment was not mentioned, it being sort of understood that all were doing one another (and the province, of course) a big favour!

I had never written a political document, let alone one on multiculturalism, and since late August I had focused mainly on one aspect of culture, the language question. I did have much to say, however, about climate- or atmosphere-building by governments—the creation of an environment that encouraged individuals voluntarily to identify themselves with their ethnic

or ancestral roots—and not surprisingly that became the dominant emphasis of the position paper:

The government [the final draft read] is positively oriented towards an expansion of linguistic studies and the preservation and development of the arts and customs of various ethno-cultural groups. We are willing to help build an atmosphere or climate—in short, to set a cultural tone—which will facilitate the above studies. The interest, however, must manifest itself locally.

I saw the new cultural policy as an opportunity to gauge the extent of individual ethnic consciousness in a society that positively encouraged it. It was also an opportunity to see how the increased ethnic consciousness—should it emerge—would manifest itself. Thus it was not necessarily a policy for everyone, nor was everyone expected to take advantage of it in the same way or to the same extent.

Holowach, of course, liked the approach, for it placed the onus on the individual, not the government. Anticipating the usual pruning, I made the first draft both comprehensive and specific. However, it was soon clear that the government would commit itself to as little as possible, especially financially. As a result, with every draft (there were six) the government's hedging increased and its commitment grew thinner and thinner.

I pressed hard for the post-secondary language schools or institutes in my tripartite language proposal, but Holowach absolutely refused to consider them. To facilitate the learning of languages, the Department of Education would only "study the best means of encouraging the development of special courses for adults." Holowach also agreed that one of the "village-like modules" in the new Athabasca University might make a significant contribution to a "School of Languages and Ethnic Cultures"—the latter suggested over lunch by the president of underfunded Athabasca, willing to consider almost anything to augment his shoe-string budget!

After a particularly difficult session late in June (the conference having been postponed to 16 July), I finally objected privately to Holowach's pruning. He attributed it to caucus and cabinet members "uncomfortable with the premier's new direction." It was hard to insist, however, for Holowach had already agreed to weigh in on Education Minister Clark to fund the university position in Ukrainian history that I had also been advancing. Even so, Stefanyk did call next day to establish what I really "had to have" in the government's paper. The government, he said, was unable to commit itself publicly on either funds or personnel; it could only "encourage, consider and recommend."

Holowach and I were mostly at loggerheads on the size of language classrooms. I proposed no more than fifteen pupils, and as late as the sixth draft that figure remained. "Industrial education classes," I maintained, "have long operated on a comparable teacher-pupil ratio and there is no reason why language classes, where the techniques of learning are at least as complicated, should not enjoy similar ratios." To Holowach, that was being much too specific, even though I saw it as a basic requirement for optimal language learning—and perhaps even the thin edge of the wedge, for I had long believed that teacher-pupil ratios in public schools should be no greater than in private schools. As usual, the compromise was insignificant: "My government is prepared to consider incentive grants on a per-pupil basis to school boards who encourage the study of a second language until such time as the new climate of opinion which we hope will emerge from our multicultural initiatives becomes prevalent." Like other politicians I would soon meet, Holowach was strong on per-pupil grants to private ethnic schools (usually in church basements). To me, however, the great need in a multicultural society was not just the acquisition of literacy by those who already spoke the ancestral language, but the development of fluency in third- and fourth-generation children who did not speak it at all. Here again, the political compromise was another "thorough study" of ethnic schools to isolate potential "models" for language learning.

However, several themes that I had been advancing did manage to survive the rigorous political editing. For example, in considering Canada's diverse population, the "time of arrival" was not important; moreover, the "intimate connection" between language and culture would be general, not confined to French. If Alberta's ethnic cultures were taught in the schools, the learning of languages, too, might become "more natural." Federal financial support for language learning was also endorsed, including the funding by government of transportation costs; moreover, public and separate school systems had to co-operate in order to facilitate such learning. Post-secondary institutes or centres studying non-Canadians had also to study the same peoples in their "*Canadian setting*" (emphasis in original); and even though Canadians might lack a clear identity, they were not without a way of life, one "largely embedded in western civilization, but with values derived from the gradual evolution of human civilization, which we all share."

As a result, most of us cherish national unity; take great pride in our unique, democratic parliamentary traditions; value honesty and kindness; drive about in cars rather than in horse-drawn carriages; and eat similar foods. In short, Canadians have a style of living, a culture (understood in the broadest sense as a way of life), if not necessarily a readily definable unique identity. However,

within the wider Canadian way of life are variations (frequently with a linguistic base) made by ethnic groups which may be termed ethno-cultures. These variations are...a major source of creativity...not only [to] be preserved and developed, but...[to] become better known and understood by all Albertans.

Holowach, who had studied music in Vienna in the thirties and was quite an accomplished pianist (I once saw him and his brother, who played the violin, give a recital in Willingdon), was very keen on the visual and performing arts, and not surprisingly the position paper was quite specific on festivals, tours, playwriting and the fine arts and crafts, as well as museums, archives and historic sites.

The conference at Government House was small by Manitoba Mosaic standards: only two representatives from each ethnic group, about eighty individuals in all from the lists of organizations available to the government. Those of Anglo-Celtic origin were well represented (two each from the English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish), and the French sent their two most prominent leaders, Louis Desrochers and Roger Motut. From the Ukrainians, the Catholic Savaryn and the Orthodox Dzenick attended, both chosen by the local UCC branch. Care was taken to include visible minorities (about twenty), as well as women (fourteen). Besides the premier, Clark and Holowach spoke, the latter introducing Strom, whose poor reading ability strained the delivery. After lunch, the representatives divided into five prearranged discussion groups led by bureaucrats and young, politically ambitious activists (like the future Edmonton alderman Bettie Hewes), all of whom reported to a plenary at four o'clock. The day ended with a banquet at the Chateau Lacombe, with entertainment provided by the Da Camera Singers, pianist Marek Jablonski (a Holowach protégé), and a "composite dance" by the Dell Hill Highland and the Ukrainian Shumka dancers to illustrate how ethnocultural groups could work together.

Holowach, a perfectionist, saw to it that everything came off without a hitch, and even the *Edmonton Journal* was more or less pleased. Three days later its editorial, "Multiculturalism," lauded the new policy "as far as it goes." It liked the distinction between the Canadian way of life and the ethnic variants, which left "members of ethnic minorities to carry on their inherited culture, with government assistance, as a sort of hobby." But multiculturalism could never replace biculturalism:

French Canada (part of which lies in Alberta) would be properly outraged to be described as a "variation" in the "Canadian way of life." If the concept of biculturalism and the struggle for national survival are to have any meaning, they must result in the

emergence of two “Canadian ways of life” with the support of all governments.

A government, it added, that loses sight of “the national goal...is in danger of erecting a serious barrier in the way of national unity.” Thus the basic ingredients of future debate were evident early, for in the Canada that had emerged by the 1970s a special place for the French outside Quebec—especially in western Canada—would be very difficult to establish.

That Strom’s new cultural initiative was a last-minute effort to improve his government’s poor electoral prospects was clear to most politicians. Next day Peter Lougheed, the Conservative leader, declared that his government would “encourage and support in every practical way” the concept of multiculturalism, countering the belated Strom-Holowach initiative. Although Strom referred to the new policy in ‘Ukrainian’ Redwater, and in mid-August sixteen (unnamed) leaders from eight ethnic organizations signed a resolution supporting the policy, there is no evidence that such moves were factors in the voting on 30 August. The government (and especially the Social Credit Party) was much too long in the tooth to stem the Conservative momentum. While I was certainly disappointed to see multiculturalism once more in political limbo, Peter Savaryn assured me that all was not lost. His connections with the Conservatives were close (as indeed they were), and with Lougheed’s favourable references to cultural diversity there was reason to be optimistic.

From a personal standpoint, the defeat of the government meant that I would not have to be a “special advisor” to the Department of Education on school programs in “ethnic languages, culture, and history,” a position offered in August by the deputy minister of education, R. Hawkesworth. I was to travel in northeastern Alberta in September to assess public interest in Ukrainian as a language of instruction and to prepare guidelines for the area’s parochial language schools. According to Hawkesworth, the minister (Clark) was prepared to embark on a “very extensive program” of minority-language education, with funds already budgeted for teachers and textbooks. While he admitted that opinions within the department differed on the government’s new cultural direction, he was also confident that “all would come together in the end.” I was to receive a per diem of fifty dollars plus expenses, but I did not look forward to the assignment and was very relieved when it fell through.

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In the new Conservative government Horst Schmid, one of the two representatives from the German-Canadian Association of Alberta at the

recent government conference, took over from Holowach. To size him up, the Multicultural Committee had Edmonton's P & B Club invite him to its Annual Awards Night banquet on 22 October. Although Schmid promised the *Journal* a "major speech" on the new government's multicultural policy, he only announced another "cultural heritage" conference next June, while admitting to some reservations about the term "multiculturalism."

I do not quarrel with that term as such but its overuse could lead to the wrong emphasis, so that we have a nightmarish vision of one ethnic group vying with another, and, in the process, undoing the very unity that has grown from our...common heritage.... those things, from all racial backgrounds, that will enrich the lives of all.

Disappointed by Schmid, Decore set off to corral the premier. The result was the first joint dinner meeting of the German, Scandinavian and Ukrainian P & B clubs, which Lougheed addressed in a packed Macdonald Hotel ballroom on 16 December. Although a fine public relations gesture, the premier too was disappointing. After briefly endorsing the multicultural concept in announcing the June conference, he quickly took off in other political directions.

The evening, however, did have one very good effect: it revealed for the first time the political clout that Peter Savaryn carried within the Conservative Party. An insider—one of a handful who had supported the party during its bleakest years in the 1950s—Savaryn was among those who had met Lougheed early in his rise to power. Although he could be quite liberal on social issues, Savaryn was strongly anti-communist on account of Ukraine's political situation and, like most postwar émigrés, saw the Liberals and New Democrats as "leftists" beyond the political pale. He was, however, rare among immigrants in that he understood the Canadian political process, especially the fact that political rewards usually came to those who worked, particularly at the non-glamorous constituency level. After 1958 he had often served as MP William Skoreyko's campaign manager in ethnically conscious Edmonton East. He was particularly adept at party fund-raising, one of the most difficult and, to many, the most unpleasant of political tasks, yet one that Savaryn seemed to enjoy. Not surprisingly, in another very important cultural breakthrough, he was appointed to the University of Alberta's Board of Governors in April 1972, where his extensive service would culminate in a four-year term as university chancellor ten years later. Savaryn was thus a very good man to know. Without personal political ambitions (he ran for office only once—an unsuccessful bid for a seat on the Edmonton City Council in 1964), he used his influence to improve the cultural and educational foundations of the Ukrainian community in Canada.

Although Savaryn was Laurence Decore's campaign manager in the 1971 aldermanic campaign, he and the tall, suave, third-generation Decore were as different as night and day. A good organizer with a long political antenna, Decore was sufficiently unhappy with Savaryn's ethnically based and uncertain management style to enlist others in 1974. He was considerably younger than Savaryn (thirty-one and forty-five years respectively in 1971), though just as politically partisan and as quick to disagree if he disliked a position. As a result, the young lawyer defended the Liberals at the drop of a hat, a trait no doubt acquired from his father, who was also quick to judgment, seeing most things through very keen half-Liberal/half-Ukrainian eyes, the twin bases of his considerable political influence, social standing and financial success.

Although the advent of the new government appeared auspicious for multiculturalism, the reality "on the ground" was less reassuring, as Schmid's enclosure early in January 1972 indicated. A sociological study by the recently created provincial Human Resources Research Council had found that not only was the interest of Albertans in multiculturalism low, but language fluency among the Ukrainians was much lower than among the Germans and the Dutch. Asked to comment, I termed the results "neither shocking nor unexpected," considering North America's sad legacy in such matters. Additional factors were the earlier discrimination against East Europeans and the relatively small Ukrainian immigration (37,004) between 1947 and 1964, compared to the German (279,398) and the Dutch (158,586). Rather than the "futility of multiculturalism," the study pointed up "the need for immediate action before the rapid assimilation forces of 'the city' make a complete shambles of the rich cultural potential inherent in Alberta's various ethnic groups."

In this respect the new government's multicultural conference on 16-18 June was a step in the right direction, even though it entailed still another brief for the Multicultural Committee. Its opening lines (penned by me) expressed the "frustration":

...to us, multiculturalism is a settled matter in principle, and we propose to concentrate on specifics.... The present premier supported it long before he came to power. And yet one wonders why the total budget of the Department of Culture, Youth, and Recreation is less than it was last year and why culture which was [according to Lougheed] "to play a leading role in the government of Alberta tomorrow" should receive only five million dollars in a budget well over a billion. Is "tomorrow" a euphemism for "next year," and how many such tomorrows will there be? We went, hat in hand, to previous governments. Are we expected to repeat the process again and again? For how long?

The point hit home, for Lougheed referred to it in winding up the conference, counselling patience while defending the cut.

In the committee's new brief, the following items were of greatest interest to me:

- incentive grants to public school boards to kickstart the amended school legislation of April 1971;
- per-pupil grants to private ethnic schools (a concession to Savaryn);
- an institute of Soviet and East European studies at the university;
- federal-provincial co-operation to assist universities to expand ethnic studies;
- post-secondary schools of languages, with St. John's Institute as a possible site in Edmonton; and
- provincial assistance to municipalities to establish multicultural pavilions (an idea I was then advancing before the Edmonton Historical Board).

Disturbed by the Research Council's study, sociologist Anne Marie Decore (Laurence's wife) submitted a section that proposed a more comprehensive government study of the same subject matter under more clearly specified criteria.

At the conference I began to recognize people and to make friends, but a group I always shunned was the pro-Soviet Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, which government officials occasionally invited. Gulutsan, who humoured the group for professional reasons, indicated that some of its members at the conference wished to meet me at the home of George Solomon, their provincial secretary. Accordingly, after the conference, I agreed to a social evening (with wives), at which Mitch Sago, Michael Korol, a member of the association's national committee, and (I believe) Mary Skrypnyk, a leading figure in the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the AUUC's predecessor, were also present (the last three from Toronto). Feeling vulnerable, I nursed two drinks all evening, acknowledging few toasts and making none until it was impossible to refrain any longer. Securing a promise to drink with me, I toasted Ukraine's freedom from Moscow and Russification, and surprisingly (despite Sago's earlier remarks) all rose, raised their glasses and drank!

In itself the "Cultural Heritage Conference" yielded little. In mid-November 1972 Schmid finally announced the government's "Cultural Heritage Policy" (Position Paper No. 7), with the term "multiculturalism" deliberately shunned. The concrete results, ostensibly gleaned from the "many" conference resolutions, were three: 1) the establishment of an Alberta Cultural Heritage Council, (2) the publication of a new *Heritage*

periodical and 3) the creation of “an office” in the Department of Culture “to co-ordinate the development of ethno-cultural programs in Alberta.” Nineteen months after Premier Strom’s promising speech, the above was the disappointing multicultural residue, fittingly carried on page ninety-six of the *Edmonton Journal*. To make matters worse the above council was not formed until October 1973 (almost a year later), and its first meeting was not until February 1974. The new government was clearly in no hurry to hear from the ethnocultural communities.

In June 1972 the (Worth) Commission on Educational Planning also released its report, dramatically entitled *A Future of Choices: A Choice of Futures*, in keeping with the contemporary vogue for future studies in a world unhinged by the counterculture of the 1960s. Despite its addiction to psychedelic colours, the report was anything but daring in addressing multicultural issues. Under “Canadian studies,” it granted that an “ideal” program “must recognize that Canada...is a multicultural nation” and then fudged the rest of the discussion:

...mindful of the diverse ethnic composition of our society, the builders of the new Alberta social studies program have opted for a new direction; a direction that asks students to attend to a global view that will allow them to perceive Canada as it honestly is with all her strengths and blemishes. Students will be given opportunities in their studies to consider Canadianism in the context of the global world. In this respect, Alberta, perhaps more than any other province in Canada, seems to have moved toward a multi-ethnic conception of Canada.

Under “Languages,” the commission was no more helpful. While concerned that “we stop playing around” with language study and aim for “truly fluent” children and adults, and that “greater status” be accorded language study to counter “the singular indifference and suspicion traditionally shown by North Americans towards foreign [*sic*] languages,” the commission settled for the status quo, leaving language study to the local school boards and to “reasonable and sustained demand.” From a “purely” multicultural point of view all languages “should share equal priority” with English, but Canada being a bilingual country, French was “next in priority.” “We should not, however, force any second languages on people in Alberta. Individuals should be free to remain unilingual if they wish. But for others, trilingualism, too, should be within easy reach.” Some of my ideas had obviously filtered through, even though the all-important *means* to effective trilingualism were completely ignored.

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On 12 March 1973, with the provincial multicultural policy marking time, Savaryn, Decore and I approached the provincial government's Committee on Education: Louis Hyndman (minister of education), Jim Foster (minister of advanced education) and Bert Hohol (minister of manpower and labor). The meeting was the second most important step in the development of the province's future English-Ukrainian bilingual program, the first being the legislative amendment in April 1971. Savaryn, who arranged the meeting, was politically well known to all three, and Decore and Foster had not only attended law school together but were "buddies" in the Naval Reserve. Hohol and I were on friendly terms, but we had not seen much of each other since Leduc.

Because the main goal was to activate the 1971 school legislation and attain bilingual education, I was the main spokesman, and on Hyndman's suggestion I subsequently summarized our main points in a letter over the signature of the UCC president (Yaroslav Roslak), who had accompanied us. Proposed was "an experimental, three-year project in at least one *classroom* in both the public and separate school systems of Edmonton where Ukrainian would be the *language of instruction*" (emphasis in original) on terms specified in law and the French-language regulations. To effect it, three things were needed:

- additional government grants to Edmonton's school boards to offset "any extra costs" incurred by the new classrooms;
- an "ad hoc" Department of Education committee to "prepare" or "seek out" suitable teaching materials; and
- government funds for a "permanent" methods instructor in the Faculty of Education for Ukrainian.

No amounts were indicated, but I quoted the sections in the federal multicultural policy announced in October 1971 (discussed later) that called for federal-provincial co-operation, urging Hyndman "to enter into serious discussions with the federal government to obtain the aid which the federal government is apparently willing to provide" for "third-language studies." Not surprisingly, none of the ministers had either heard of, or were much impressed by, the federal interest. Hyndman made much of the government's new Early Childhood Services program for kindergartens and ignored our interest in continuity between Ukrainian kindergartens and the elementary grades. Ignored also was our concern that in our "cost-conscious environment" school boards required financial incentives to undertake language studies. Hyndman's follow-up letter enclosed the kindergarten

program and suggested that we submit a proposal. I dismissed the enclosure, for without prior government commitment to Ukrainian bilingual classes at the elementary school level, Ukrainian kindergatens were pointless.

### *Success in Edmonton*

In Edmonton the first breakthroughs also involved ethnic politicking, though not all efforts were successful. In the fall of 1971, for example, the P & B members worked hard for the two aldermanic candidates of Ukrainian background and the four for the two school boards, but none (including Decore for City Council) were elected. On my suggestion the Better Education Association ran Dzenick and Gulutsan for the public school board, but neither was returned (only one of the association's seven candidates was elected that year). Their presence, however, did broaden the association's platform, which now included "attention to the history and cultures of Canada."

Ethnic politicking was much keener at the mayoralty level, largely because of a newly formed "Edmonton Coordinating Committee" of German, Austrian and (mainly) Ukrainian members, open (they said) to all cultural groups interested in promoting better intercultural understanding. I learned all this from a very excited Mykola Suchowersky, who phoned on 24 September, requesting financial support and indicating that the group planned to endorse Dent publicly. Dent had recognized Ukrainian Independence Day by flying the Ukrainian flag from City Hall in January 1971, and Suchowersky had promised to drum up ethnic-group support. I had contributed to Dent's mayoralty campaign in 1968 and did so again. On 5 October the committee indicated its support for Dent and twelve aldermanic candidates, including Decore and Natalka Faryna, wife of the P & B president. Next day Dent and the three named ethnic communities disowned the committee in the *Edmonton Journal*, exposing the farce.

Much more effective were the efforts of the Multicultural Committee to affect the ethnic face of the city through the naming of streets and subdivisions and establishing a Ukrainian presence in Fort Edmonton Park. My own interest in the park's development was long-standing, and I occasionally discussed its future with Cameron (Cam) Finlay, the city's director of Historical Development and Archives. I was particularly concerned to get a Ukrainian homestead (or even a thatched house) into the park's pre-First World War area, an idea Finlay strongly resisted. In the spring of 1970 we had words when he insisted that the direct impact of Ukrainians on Edmonton was slight. Although I granted that the Ukrainians were largely rural settlers, their effect on Edmonton's early development was nonetheless considerable, considering the urban commerce their presence

generated. With Lamoureaux's Mill north of Fort Saskatchewan (and also outside the city limits) slated for the park, the latter, I insisted, had somehow to reflect Edmonton's multicultural heritage, and the task of city officials was to solicit suggestions, not block them.

The issue caught Dent off guard when he spoke at the P & B dinner meeting in February 1971. Fresh from the good will generated by flying the Ukrainian flag, he enjoyed the tributes until midway through the question period I quietly related my experiences with the city's historical section and asked that he help change Edmonton's ethnic profile. With the mood changing and a civic election in the offing, Dent promised to intervene, but it was not until a year later that Mary Lobay, a teacher at Victoria Composite High School, and I were appointed to three-year terms on the city's Historical Board (the sheepish look on Cam Finlay's face at our first board meeting was worth recording!). At the board's next meeting (in March 1972), I moved that it obtain a list of ethnic organizations in the Edmonton area from the provincial Department of Culture and invite each organization to supply "lists of names, places and events of historical importance to Edmonton." Mary Lobay, in turn, was voted to the District Names Advisory Committee.

Meanwhile, in August 1971, Decore and Savaryn had submitted ten names to Dent for "future streets, subdivisions and the like," seven derived from Ukraine and three—"Oleskow," "Pylypow" and "Eleniak"—from the Ukrainian-Canadian experience. Those from Ukraine were partly justified by noting that names in Edmonton were often taken from "Counties, Cities, etc. in England." Troubled by the submission, the Names Committee waited until 22 February to indicate that the names did not meet its criteria—names had to be "euphonic in sound" and associated with something within the city's geographic limits. Bypassing the committee, Decore wrote a strong letter to the city's Planning Department, while Lobay on the Names Committee proposed "Trembita" (a musical instrument) for a subdivision west of today's West Edmonton Mall. As the Multicultural Committee disliked the choice, it was dropped in favour of "Oleskiw," which was officially approved by City Council in October 1972.

Opposition to Oleskiw from the former landowners quickly mushroomed, and within days the council heard from Field Hyndman, one of the city's most prestigious law firms. The former landowners proposed that the subdivision be called Wolf Willow, and so effective was their opposition that the Names Committee quickly rescinded its Oleskiw decision. This brought another strong letter, this time from the local UCC (signed by Roslak and Decore) that moved the issue to the City Commission Board, which recommended the reinstatement of Oleskiw. When the supporters of Wolf Willow persisted, a hearing before City Council on 22 January 1973 (at which Decore and Savaryn spoke) finally approved Oleskiw by a vote of eight to two. With the

precedent set, subsequent successes included Baturyn Elementary Public School, Romaniuk Road and Eleniak Road. The *Financial Post* (3 February 1973) rationalized the ethnic discrimination on commercial grounds: "As one alderman noted, real estate is thought to be more marketable when labelled with an Anglo-Saxon name."

### *Success at the University*

On the Alberta campus there were two important cultural breakthroughs, both in the fall of 1971. The first—the appointment of Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky to teach Ukrainian history in the Department of History—was very complicated, eventually involving the government and the Ukrainian community, as well as the university. The second—the introduction of my history course on "The Education of Selected Minority Groups in Western Canada"—was part of major program changes within the Faculty of Education and encountered no difficulties.

As we have seen, a position in the Department of History was a long-standing concern, and Rudnytsky was a particularly attractive candidate. An émigré who taught East European history at the American University in Washington, D. C., Rudnytsky had delivered a very impressive Shevchenko Lecture at the university in March 1970. Having recently married an Edmonton resident, he was naturally concerned to remain in Alberta. I met him shortly after he became a visiting professor in the history department in January 1971, and after his second equally fine public lecture in February I wrote Brian Evans, head of the history department (whom I knew well), about a permanent appointment. Although definitely interested, the department only had funds for a third of Rudnytsky's salary. Early in April, with the Savaryn-Decore constitutional committee about to meet the government, I wrote Premier Strom on P & B stationery, enclosed Rudnytsky's résumé and requested government funding for a "chair" in Ukrainian history—a letter that Savaryn was only too pleased to sign. Education Minister Clark's reply a month later—"I do not think that we can comply with this request at this time"—suggested negotiations were possible, especially as I had just begun to draft the government's new cultural policy. Because Clark indicated that "in-depth" discussions with the university had to precede any appointment, late in May I recruited Evans and members of the Committee on Soviet and East European Studies to meet the president (Wyman) and then Henry Kreisel, the academic vice-president. Both supported an immediate appointment provided funds were available.

Thus fortified, I placed the matter before Ambrose Holowach, already under pressure from the candidate's wife. At Holowach's request I wrote a memo to Clark, who offered \$12,000 toward the position, provided the

Ukrainian community furnished the additional \$5,000. Although only a one-time government grant, Clark indicated that Rudnytsky would be "worked into" the history department's regular staff in 1972-73 "in connection with the government's new multicultural policy." With the government committed, I immediately wired Isydore Hlynka, president of the national UCC's Taras Shevchenko Foundation in Winnipeg, requesting the additional amount: "Government bluff must be called." Although the foundation was not large (not until 1977-78 would its endowment reach a million dollars), my overture was well within its normal one-time grants.

While the move was admittedly peremptory, the situation required quick action: Rudnytsky was about to leave for Washington to teach summer school and had to consider next year's obligations to his university, where he enjoyed tenure. On 17 June, the day of the foundation's meeting, I wired Hlynka again: "\$5,000 Foundation aid imperative. Discussions delay matter. Is not anticipated delay of government sufficient?" Fortunately, the request was heeded, and the UCC branch in Edmonton (under Vasyl Hyrak) was soon informed of the decision. After consulting the university president's office, I wrote Holowach under Hyrak's signature, indicating the financial conditions under which the university would make the appointment.

Holowach, whom I saw regularly because of the government's position paper, counselled patience until the new cultural policy was in place, as the final decision was obviously Clark's. Accordingly, on 20 July, two days after the government conference, I saw Clark, and a memo signed by John J. Barr, his executive assistant, offered the UCC "up to \$10,000." Clark was also "prepared to ask the Universities Commission to earmark a portion of the 1972-73 operating grant to the University of Alberta for this purpose, even though we have reservations about the precedent thus set." Without Clark's signature, however, I dismissed the letter and pressed Barr and Holowach. Two days later Clark's signature deleted the reservation and rooted the grant in the new multicultural policy, which "pledged the support of government for all ethnic groups willing to work to preserve their cultural, historic and linguistic identities."

On 5 August, with Evans away in Europe and the government's electoral defeat a distinct possibility, Savaryn, Decore and I approached Wyman. Unimpressed by Clark's letter, the president raised numerous objections, causing the two angry lawyers to "really 'pour it on'" (as I put it in a letter to Rudnytsky) until Wyman finally agreed to call Evans about a "probational appointment leading to tenure." On the 13th the dean of arts offered Rudnytsky the position, which he accepted on the 18th, and within a week a university appointments committee made the decision official. Once Evans returned, he informed me that the department would top up Rudnytsky's salary in 1971-72 and work him into its next year's budget. Accordingly, I

advised Clark and Hlynka of Rudnytsky's appointment and asked that the promised funds be forwarded to the university. Meanwhile the government had fallen and for three very long days it seemed as if all was lost. When I finally reached Anders Aalborg, the provincial treasurer, on 3 September, he quickly assured me that an order-in-council for \$10,000 would be passed and a cheque sent to Hyrak. I was naturally elated beyond words!

Rudnytsky's was the first course on Ukraine in a Canadian department of history. While his appointment greatly strengthened Ukrainian studies in Canada, I occasionally found the politics of the situation quite bizarre. Here was a tight-fisted government pressing a financially strapped university with no interest in ethnic studies to accommodate an ethnic community whose businessmen and professionals generally applauded the same government's tight-fistedness toward public institutions such as the university! Little did I know that in the years to come the scenario would be repeated many times. Still, after years of agitating countless issues in the wilderness of one's classroom, it did feel good to have some success with an agenda I never dreamed to be advancing only months before. And where the out-going Socred government was concerned, the \$10,000 grant was doubly satisfying, for I received only \$1,500 as a consultant for some sixty days of work on a policy paper during which I could concentrate on little else.



Presentation of cheque for \$15,000 to establish the Ukrainian history position, University of Alberta, fall 1971. (Left to right) the author; Henry Kreisel, academic vice-president; Vasyl Hyrak, UCC president; Peter Savaryn.

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The ready acceptance by the university of my history course on Canadian minorities was the result of three factors: a major revision in the Bachelor of Education program that permitted more scope for senior undergraduate options; a new departmental chairman who wished to introduce his own speciality in Canadian educational history at the undergraduate level; and the increased influence of the Canadian-studies movement. The university may also have recognized the growing criticism that, apart from the French and the Anglo-Celts, the study of other ethnocultural groups was being ignored. In any case no one on campus challenged the new course, and with student interest consistently high (an average of thirty each semester), I dropped the "Issues" course and was finally able to concentrate solely on the history of education in western Canada.

The new course evolved gradually, especially the required readings—from only one (the former Alberta government's new cultural policy!) to seven by the time I left for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in 1976. The course always consisted of two main parts: the impact on public schooling of the changing theories of Canadianization from Anglo-conformity to multiculturalism, and the study of selected minorities to illustrate specific issues. The French were studied as an issue of special status (with emphasis on the school and language questions in Manitoba in the 1890s); the Ukrainians as an issue of submerged nationality (with emphasis on the Ku Klux Klan's nativist campaigns in Saskatchewan in the 1920s); the Doukhobors as an issue of conscience (with emphasis on the zealous Sons of Freedom in British Columbia in the 1940s); and the blacks as an issue of colour (with emphasis on their migration from Oklahoma and their racist reception in Alberta before the First World War). In the second year I added Book IV and Ramsay Cook's *The Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada* (1971) to the basic readings—Cook's volume being a particularly good example of how historians from central Canada habitually ignored the multicultural dimension when discussing Canada's crisis of culture and identity.

For most students, the subject matter was quite new but few held strong views on either Quebec, racism, discrimination or any of the other concerns raised by Canada's crisis of culture. Displays of prejudice were rare. On the questionnaires with which I opened each semester, most students were very sympathetic to the native peoples, almost evenly split on official languages and French Canadians and of an open mind on multiculturalism. What did surprise many were the earlier strong prejudices of the Anglo-Celts toward Asian, black, Slavic and Mediterranean immigrants. As a group, most students were remarkably tolerant of differences, rather indifferent toward

learning languages and generally not too ethnically conscious. At the time, however, ethnic studies were still largely in their infancy, though Howard Palmer's appointment to the Department of History at the University of Calgary in July 1973 held out great promise. He immediately took that university's *Canadian Ethnic Studies* journal in hand, changed its format and succeeded in making it the official publication of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, itself just barely off the ground in May 1971.

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It is difficult to say how much my academic activism may have hampered scholarly work. Certainly addresses at public conferences carried little weight compared to articles published in refereed scholarly journals. While it did not hurt to be consulted by governments or to speak to sundry community groups on Canadian minorities and multiculturalism—and becoming a member of the Edmonton Historical Board was definitely a plus, since assisting *such* community groups was especially well regarded—community involvement did not produce the kind of newly minted papers expected at scholarly forums. Moreover, repackaging the same ideas was eventually not only boring but occasionally aroused pangs of scholarly conscience when practically the only new dimension was the title. I was rapidly becoming a political advocate for a single cause, in danger of sacrificing the objectivity and balance usually associated with academic work.

On the other hand, almost every academic on campus—especially in the “soft” disciplines (the humanities, the social studies, education)—had some axe to grind, and one could take some comfort in knowing that some saw a new cultural era gradually unfolding. Professionally, it was important to be invited (by Palmer) to serve on the advisory board of the fledgling *Canadian Ethnic Studies* journal, and to be consulted by the federal Citizenship Branch on criteria for a “Canadian ethnic studies centre(s)” and for its “ethnic histories” and language studies. And personally, it really felt good to establish a closer fit between my professional work and community outreach, easing thereby the earlier departmental tensions over specialization. I was always partial to underdogs (generally rooting for the hares not the hounds), and ethnic and racial minorities were certainly that—and even religious minorities qualified, as long as their pretensions in public education were not encouraged.

When invited, I continued to speak in the academy, as well as to political and community groups. In February 1972, for example, I presented the “Just Language Policy” to a seminar in my department, quite noteworthy because Raj Pannu, a colleague from India, agreed to respond only “as a sociologist and not as a member of a minority group”—as if “coming out” as an ethnic

automatically skewed one's scholarly judgment. For a symposium on "Native and Minority Peoples" at the conference in May on "Law in an Age of Protest" that marked the opening of the university's new Law Centre, I read another paper, "From One Minority to Another." Invited ostensibly to share a panel with Harold Cardinal, author of *The Unjust Society* and at the time the leading native Indian spokesman, I wished to show how the steady deterioration of native cultures was related to "the great gulf that has always existed between the preferred and non-preferred peoples in Canada." The paper was the most bitter I ever wrote, much influenced by my recent readings for the new course on minorities.

What truly amazed me was the incredible glibness with which Canada's Anglo Protestants, in particular, weighed the relative merits of the world's peoples in the twentieth century. To them, "The preferred or dominant group (white, Nordic, and Protestant) originates mainly in the British Isles and northwestern Europe; the non-preferred peoples are the rest of mankind."

From our past, we have inherited a kind of racial pecking order with the Anglo-Saxon at the top, the French of Normandy and Brittany (from whom most French Canadians are incidentally descended) near the top, and the Hindu at the bottom. The African black, of course, does not even count. The native peoples are somewhere near the bottom, together with the lighter-skinned coloured peoples like the Japanese, Chinese, and gypsies....

The same preferred peoples, of course, also made the laws and controlled the school systems, which explains why nothing of the above theory [of Anglo superiority] is to be found in school textbooks. It explains also why very little about the traditions and the contributions to Canadian development of people beyond the British Isles and northwestern Europe is found in the same textbooks.

...the bargain between the dominant group and the peoples from the so-called less desirable countries has been all too one-sided until now. To escape the political autocracy and/or economic poverty of their former homelands, these immigrants and their children still hew wood and draw water out of all proportion to their numbers in the total population, according to *The Vertical Mosaic* by sociologist John Porter. At the same time, old-country ways have had to be jettisoned quickly—in the first or immigrant generation if possible and definitely by the third. The songs and dances, the music, the literature, the history—and above all the languages—have had to go. Anything retained, has been retained privately at no cost to the public treasury.

The essay was an emotional *cri de coeur*, lashing out at the insufferable arrogance of the insensitive. It was never published. I had supposed that a reporter from the *Edmonton Journal* would attend, drawn by Cardinal's presence. The latter, however, inexplicably bowed out just before the conference, and my paper was barely noticed, except by Metro Gulutsan and my wife, both of whom practically chain-smoked during its presentation! In November I offered the paper to a seminar in my department, again with little reaction, though Myer Horowitz, the new dean of the Faculty of Education (to whom I had sent a copy), liked its "blunt and to-the-point" nature.

In February 1973 I addressed multicultural education for the first time at a teachers' convention in Edmonton in a paper entitled, "What Should the Social Studies Do: The Community Responds." After examining Alberta's high school social studies curriculum and textbooks, I took a critical position developed more fully in "The Portrayal of Canada's 'Other' Peoples in Senior High School History and Social Studies Textbooks in Alberta, 1905 to the Present," a paper presented to a session of the Canadian Historical Association at meetings of the Learned Societies in June 1975. What troubled me most was the manner in which the immigrants who settled the west before the First World War and those who came immediately after 1945 were ignored after their arrival. "It is as if...the newcomers and offspring hit a huge swamp—an enormous field of quicksand—which simply swallowed them up!" Yet there was much that required attention:

How did the various peoples and their children fare in Canada? What were their main occupations, and how much has that changed? What specific problems did they pose for Canada? What problems, in turn, did Canada pose for them? What problems do each still pose for one another? What were their cultural and linguistic aspirations and how well have they been realized? In what ways have they helped to develop a distinctive Canadian identity? Were their efforts encouraged by the Anglo-Celts and French? How? Could each generation have done more if their languages had been given the same encouragement as their handicrafts, folk dances, and cooking? Why is no attention paid to the cultures (including the languages) of Canada's 'other' peoples when the crisis of Canadian culture and identity is discussed? Will the glib assumption that progress is being made and time will take care of the rest suffice?

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Despite the concerted effort to bring Ivan Rudnytsky to Alberta, I was not much interested in Ukrainian studies during the early 1970s. Unlike the interdepartmental committee of senior academics in Soviet and East European studies, a similar base for Ukrainian studies did not exist on campus, especially after Starchuk's sudden death in February 1971. Notwithstanding Savaryn's occasional references to a Ukrainian studies centre, the latter, I believed, was much too particularistic to attract public funds. Rudnytsky did not always agree, but unlike Gulutsan, who submitted a proposal for an East European institute to the dean of graduate studies in February 1972, Rudnytsky never drew up a similar proposal. To me, Ukrainian studies would simply have to make their way under such wider academic umbrellas as Slavic studies, East European studies or even Canadian ethnic studies, in which the federal government was beginning to show some interest.

This did not mean that contacts with Ukrainian studies did not take place. In March 1972, for example, I presented a seminar paper to the Committee on Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University, and early in June I attended my first conference of the Canadian Association of Slavists at the Learned Societies in Montreal. The visit to Harvard on Omeljan Pritsak's invitation was my first since convocation in 1963. Full of nostalgia, I stayed at the Faculty Club, shopped at "the Coop" and just savoured the atmosphere. Pritsak, who chaired the above committee and would soon (1973) become the founding director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, had delivered the Shevchenko Lecture in Edmonton in March 1971, where I had first met him. On his advice I prepared an overview of the Ukrainian-Canadian situation against the background of Canada's crisis of culture and entitled it "Ukrainian Canadians: Their Precarious Situation Today." It was subsequently published in *Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society* (1976), a volume edited by the sociologist Wsevolod Isajiw at the University of Toronto.

The meeting of Slavists in Montreal was especially important, for Rudnytsky and I were then considering a book on the history of Ukrainians in Canada—one of the twenty-odd "ethnic histories" recently proposed under the new federal policy of multiculturalism. On Yar Slavutych's suggestion, I took up the project, co-opted Rudnytsky and in January 1972 requested particulars from Howard Palmer. I was rather hesitant because (I told Palmer) my real interest, derived from both the new course on minorities and the recent political involvement, was to provide a "straightforward" account of "multiculturalism, politics, ethnic groups and the Ukrainians, in particular." I always regretted that numerous other commitments never permitted such a work. However, by the end of August there were enough

contributors to a volume on Ukrainians in Canada to present Palmer with a budget. A completed manuscript was promised by the end of 1975, which seemed reasonable at the time. However, a book did not appear until December 1982, more than ten years after it was commissioned. My becoming president of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation and regional chairman of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism in 1973, and then director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in 1976 mainly caused the delay.

In the interim the complex relationships between language and culture, biculturalism and multiculturalism, majorities and minorities, founding peoples, “charter groups” and immigrant communities took on major new proportions in the academy. It was important to challenge the simplistic dualism attached to Confederation by Canada’s intellectuals, especially in Quebec. To me, Confederation was a pact among provinces, not between two groups of people, let alone two nations. And the official status of French at the federal level should not hamper the cultural aspirations of other ethnocultural groups. A historical primer on Canada’s evolution from the narrow cultural policies of the past to multiculturalism was essential, but more pressing, immediate needs always intervened.

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On another level—though still on campus—the first celebration of “Malanka” (Ukrainian New Year’s Eve) in the university’s Faculty Club on 13 January 1973 was another significant symbolic achievement. It was organized by Metro Gulutsan, assisted by Zenovia Hawrysh in the Faculty of Home Economics, who supervised the menu, and by the Ukrainian Students’ Club, which furnished the strolling carollers and the ‘characters’ for the traditional skit at midnight. The Faculty Club executive, especially its manager (Mrs. Barlow), strongly resisted such an obviously ‘ethnic’ event, but Gulutsan persisted and when the opportunity came the word went out and Edmonton’s ‘Ukrainians’ packed the holiday celebration. The evening made the Faculty Club a lot of money and was otherwise so successful that it became an annual affair and the inspiration for countless “malankas” in the city—a kind of Ukrainian equivalent of the German Oktoberfest. Between 1978 and 1986 Natalia (my wife) convened the event.

### *The Federal Breakthrough*

The cultural breakthrough at the federal level did not take place until Prime Minister Trudeau finally announced his government’s policy on multiculturalism on 8 October 1971. As a result, that spring and summer

Ukrainian pressure for a national multicultural policy reached new heights, and my contribution (between drafts of the new cultural policy in Alberta) was a trip to Ottawa early in June and an address in Saskatoon a month later. The Ottawa trip entailed meetings with Citizenship Minister Robert Stanbury and Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier, and one with Trudeau, as part of the national UCC's delegation to challenge the prime minister's unfortunate remarks during an official visit to the Soviet Union in May 1971. The meeting with Trudeau was significant, for the displeased Ukrainians required placating, and a policy of multiculturalism on the home front became more important than ever. Because the trip to Ottawa also exposed the terrible ineffectiveness of the UCC, the need for a strong national federation of P & B clubs became even more critical.

In the Soviet Union, Trudeau had compared the U.S.S.R. to Canada's federal system and failed to raise the dissident question (most notably the case of Valentyn Moroz, then the *cause célèbre*) on human-rights grounds, despite the UCC's earlier request to do so. The idea that Canadians lived within a political structure "of the same basic design" as the Soviet Union was immediately criticized by the media in Canada, and Trudeau's defence on CBC TV's *Sunday Magazine* on 30 May only made matters worse. He could not, he said, take up the dissident cases of

so-and-so and so-and-so who had been jailed because of their nationalistic beliefs.

My position in the Soviet Union or Canada is that anyone who breaks the law to assert his nationalism doesn't get too much sympathy from me.

I didn't particularly feel like bringing up any cases which would have caused Mr. Brezhnev or Mr. Kosygin to say: "Well you know, why did you put in jail certain FLQ leaders? After all they think they are only fighting for the independence of Quebec. Our people say they are fighting for the independence of the [*sic*] Ukraine. Why should you put your revolutionaries in jail and we shouldn't put ours?"

Still smarting from the censure by Canadian civil-rights leaders of his use of the military in the FLQ crisis in October 1970, Trudeau brooked no criticism, though he had clearly overdrawn the comparison, unleashing a fury that knew no bounds, especially among the Ukrainian-Canadian political émigrés in eastern Canada.

I first learned of the crisis on 2 June in a phone call from Bill Swystun, the Winnipeg lawyer representing some very angry émigré clients. They had heard that I was being considered for the delegation to Ottawa and wanted

me to take a hard line: either Trudeau had to apologize or the delegation had to walk out. Having met me, Swystun thought I could be trusted to ensure that. Practically everyone in Toronto was willing to join the delegation, as few trusted the UCC because of an alleged pro-Liberal bias, mainly derived, it was said, from the executive's financial secretary, Anthony (Tony) Yaremovich, a Liberal supporter in Winnipeg who (some thought) was ambitious to advise the government on Ukrainian-Canadian affairs as a paid consultant. Swystun, a strong Conservative, was as concerned as other Conservative Ukrainians in Toronto that the clever left-wing (and therefore pro-communist) Trudeau should not be allowed to wriggle out from under an entrapment of his own making. In the end Winnipeg accepted Bohdan Maksymec, the ultra-Conservative president of the Toronto UCC branch, into the national delegation, and I joined mainly because the visit afforded meetings with Stanbury and Pelletier.

Problems emerged immediately, largely because in the struggle between Winnipeg and Toronto the UCC lacked the necessary stature to furnish leadership on either policy or organization. On policy, the émigrés wanted a strong (even vindictive) response that emphasized the political situation in Ukraine and criticized Trudeau for his intellectual faux pas; the UCC, on the other hand, preferred a milder response that focused on Canadian political remedies to prevent such poorly informed statements in the future. On organization, Kalba was well over his head. Persuaded by him to access Ottawa via Winnipeg (I had proposed a direct flight to save time away from the Alberta policy paper), I arrived at the UCC office on Saturday evening (the 6<sup>th</sup>) to utter confusion, in the midst of which an unperturbed Reverend Kushnir greeted all and sundry, dishing out his customary cliché-ridden soliloquys. Even though Ukrainians, particularly those in eastern Canada, were genuinely riled up, and for several days massive advice had been descending upon Winnipeg, at the UCC headquarters, as in Ottawa's Lord Elgin Hotel later, chaos prevailed. Individuals with rooms in the hotel freely mingled with the delegation, even attending its main meeting on Sunday evening to approve the final memorandum. No one liked the one drawn up in Winnipeg, yet all day Sunday Kushnir was nowhere to be seen. Kalba had insisted that all delegates leave Winnipeg together, yet neither he nor Kushnir was on the early morning plane with the SUSK's Marusia Kucharyshyn, Yaremovich and me. Kalba arrived in midafternoon and Kushnir that evening, having earlier performed the usual post-Easter church services on the graves!

With both the UCC draft memorandum and some hastily assembled suggestions from Roman Petryshyn, Jurij Darewych, a physics professor at York University, and Bohdan Bociurkiw, a new draft gradually emerged, the basis for the final memorandum. On Sunday evening the delegation (minus

the absent Kushnir) had dinner at the Chateau Laurier with Robert Stanbury and Bernard Ostry, the assistant undersecretary of state (citizenship). Over cocktails at a corner table I needled Stanbury pretty hard about the cabinet's apparent indifference to multiculturalism, especially singling out the government's "Big Three"—Trudeau, Pelletier and Jean Marchand—for ignoring the issue. The government's most important function, I insisted, was to build a climate or atmosphere friendly toward multiculturalism, and this was not being done. "You must be deaf, dumb and blind," an angry Stanbury finally snapped, alluding to his own numerous speeches. Having acknowledged them earlier, I snapped back just as angrily: "Nobody speaks to me that way—*ever*—not even a minister of the Crown, for in the last analysis who are you—nobody. Here today, gone tomorrow." As I finished, I felt a swift kick under the table from Kucharyshyn, seated next to me. Although others more distant were momentarily startled, the incident passed without further notice. To my written request later for statements by the "triumvirate," Stanbury could send none—and of the two he did send, one was his own and the other a paper by Jean Lagasse, director of the Citizenship Branch, delivered in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, in 1965. The meeting with Ostry, who liked my spirit, went very well.

The rest of the evening was also very difficult. Kushnir had finally arrived, and when the entire delegation (and others) assembled in his suite at about ten, he opened with another of his tedious monologues. Within minutes I interrupted—"You sound like a broken record"—and pointed to the great amount of unfinished business still before us. There was no definite memorandum, and with the ministerial meetings only hours away both outcome and strategy had still to be decided. To make matters worse all kinds of individuals kept barging in. Given the day's frustrations, I had used Valium to withstand the stress, and because of the drinks and wine at dinner more pills had to be avoided. Yet the anxiety level was high, as I was expected (by some) to carry many of next day's burdens. Kushnir and Kalba (who had opened a bar) were carrying on as if everything was settled and in good hands. The atmosphere being more conducive to socializing than work, I retired within less than an hour. When I returned at about two, I found Bociurkiw, Darewych, Maksymec and Yaremovich proofreading the memorandum worked on earlier.

Next morning the delegation met Pelletier in his office. There being no brief, I came prepared with questions and paraphrased Pelletier's replies to Frolick later:

...a) he sees no distinction between biculturalism and multiculturalism—the former blends into the latter; b) not everyone in Canada is to speak English and French (across-the-

board dualism is out; we shall see!); c) regional bilingualism *for the individual* is fine; d) he has no idea what it would be like to try to become trilingual on the prairies; e) he did not appear to be too familiar [with] or concerned about the third-languages study on which [Dennis] Galan, Szybala and Jaworsky, members of his staff, have been so high; f) he seemed surprised that anyone would pick him up for distinguishing between “main cultures” and “cultural groups” when referring to French and English in the first case and the rest of us in the second. He agreed in the end that all of us were members of “cultural groups” of which some were merely larger.

On the whole the meeting went quite well, even though Maksymec had to outwit Kushnir to ensure that I, not Yaremovich (as Kushnir and Kalba had planned), should handle the questioning.

The lunch-hour meeting with Trudeau lasted about forty minutes, for it *was* hastily arranged and he was otherwise engaged. In Trudeau’s anteroom, at the last moment, Kushnir insisted on reading the Winnipeg memorandum before I read the larger, composite one. There would thus be two memoranda! He relented only when I threatened to interrupt him again—this time before the prime minister. In his own comments Trudeau read extracts from his earlier remarks and yielded nothing in substance on the comparisons he had drawn. He appeared genuinely concerned, however, that the Ukrainian-Canadian community was, as the memorandum put it, “deeply hurt” by his recent statements, and he was “sorry” about that. Maksymec and Darewych (whom Kalba had finally allowed to join the delegation as “an expert on the Ukrainian question,” though not as an official delegate!) handled the issue of Ukraine well, getting Trudeau to promise to raise the plight of the imprisoned intellectuals on humanitarian grounds when Alexei Kosygin repaid the visit in October. In the midst of a touchy exchange with Trudeau on the reliability of Ukrainian-Canadian information on the Soviet Union, I pointed to non-Ukrainian authorities like the University of Saskatchewan’s George Simpson and Acadia University’s Watson Kirkconnell, whom he or his officials could have consulted, and the issue was defused.

After the meeting Yaremovich practically dove into the sea of TV lights and microphones outside the prime minister’s office. Earlier that morning he had bluntly declared that he, not I, would face the reporters. “You want to roll your R’s across the entire country,” I wryly observed, but he hardly noticed. (He had no idea, of course, that appearing on television was the farthest thing from my mind.) The press conference was a disaster, for the reporters’ questions were not only difficult, but in all the milling about not always audible. I watched the scrum from a safe distance, thankful that I

did not have to face the journalistic melee. Yaremovich was followed by Walter Deakon, a Liberal MP of Ukrainian background from Toronto who had accompanied Trudeau to Ukraine, and he, like Yaremovich, tried to put the best possible spin on the proceedings. A very angry Maksymec then practically seized the CBC microphone and elaborated at length on Trudeau's apology, which promised intervention on behalf of persecuted Ukrainian intellectuals on humanitarian grounds. Next evening, back in Edmonton, I briefly reported to the local UCC at an informal gathering in Dzenick's house, but to my surprise (and relief) there was nothing like the east's great interest in the issue.

The trip to Ottawa confirmed the dreadful political ineptness of the UCC. Accordingly, on 14 June, with the delegation called to Winnipeg to approve a draft communiqué on the trip, I strongly criticized Kushnir, and especially Kalba, before the UCC executive, singling out numerous instances of Kalba's incompetence, his toadying before politicians and government officials and the cronyism that marred the delegation's deliberations. In what I said would be the "last remarks" they would ever hear from me, I denied any personal ambitions, pointed to Book IV as the source of recent involvement and promised—before bowing out—to see two projects through to completion at the University of Alberta: an appointment in Ukrainian history and the establishment of an institute of Soviet and East European studies. The UCC, I added, would only be an effective national organization when it put its "own house in order" by acquiring a "universally respected man for president," a "young executive secretary" at a respectable salary and a "rotating civil service of SUSK members." It might then be in a position to approach the federal government for the operational funds occasionally mentioned. With Maksymec equally critical and Kucharyshyn only slightly less so, Kalba's glossy communiqué was rejected, and Jaroslav Rozumnyi, a member of the executive and head of the Slavic department at the University of Manitoba, and I worked late into the night in my hotel room to prepare another that did not embellish the facts. It was subsequently published in the Ukrainian press with only minor changes.

(A spinoff from the Ottawa visit was my participation (with Natalia) in a public demonstration against Soviet premier Kosygin when he visited Edmonton during his official tour in October. We walked with the Lytviaks from City Hall past the Chateau Lacombe, Kosygin's hotel, and unlike the protest in Toronto, where police on horseback used clubs to control some exuberant demonstrators, the slow, solemn walk in Edmonton with lit candles was peaceful and very moving, though the impact on Kosygin was undoubtedly negligible.)

On 3 July I gave the banquet address at the national convention of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League in Saskatoon. Aware that federal officials

would be present, I entitled it "Bilingualism and Multiculturalism: What Do the Ukrainians Want and Why?" (a take-off on the then-popular "What does Quebec want?"). Following up the points raised with Stanbury, I quoted the few lame references to cultural diversity (Ottawa's code for the French fact) by Trudeau and Pelletier in recent speeches promoting bilingualism and then emphatically declared that "no matter how other ethno-cultural groups may feel about this kind of double talk, Canadians of Ukrainian background cannot see much future for cultural diversity in the context of a linguistic duality confined to English and French." The rest repeated my tripartite linguistic proposal and closed with a ringing summary of the national, international, social and psychological benefits of multiculturalism. Delivered in the presence of Saskatchewan Lieutenant-Governor Stephen Worobetz and Premier Ross Thatcher, the clear statement especially pleased the young, who rose as one to lead a sustained standing ovation when I finished. On the same trip I also met Walter Tarnopolsky, then dean of the law school in Windsor, Ontario, about whom I had heard much from Frolick and Jaworsky. Although friendlier to the Liberals and to French-English dualism than I ever would be, Tarnopolsky was a very able scholar and academic politician with whom I would often work very closely in the years to come.

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On 8 October the above efforts (and those of many others) finally paid off with the release of the federal government's response to Book IV. Introduced in the House of Commons by Trudeau as a policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," it was, as events showed, the last time he would seriously address the subject. At the time I did not know who was mainly responsible for the policy's development. Much later I learned from Orest Kruhlak (then in the Secretary of State department) that Bernard Ostry, Jennifer McQueen and Michael McCabe—all officials in the same department—had had the largest input. The policy was premised on Trudeau's view, expressed in the Commons, that "there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for original peoples and yet a third for all others," and that "although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other." The document tabled by Trudeau indicated that:

The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort

to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.

The Government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.

The Government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian groups in the interest of national unity.

The Government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.

To implement the objectives, the document proposed six programs:

- the Multicultural Grants Program to cultural groups for a great variety of activities;
- the Cultural Development Program to secure data on the relationship of language to cultural development, to provide textbooks and other aids for non-official language teaching and study, and to support the ethnic press;
- the Ethnic Histories Program to present the background, contributions and problems of various ethnocultural groups in Canada;
- the Canadian Ethnic Studies Program to encourage academic research and publications;
- the Official Languages Program for children through a plan mutually acceptable to both the federal and provincial governments; and
- the Federal Cultural Agencies' Program for the National Museum of Man, the National Film Board, the National Library and the Public Archives (the CBC having earlier indicated an unwillingness to remove the proscription on the use of non-official languages in broadcasting, the CRTC had agreed to study other possibilities).

Inter-agency and interdepartmental committees were proposed and the need for future federal-provincial meetings was noted.

From my standpoint, tying multiculturalism to the bilingual (English-French) framework was unfortunate, for it raised the political (and vocational) value of French (especially at the federal level) and made trilingualism a must for ambitiously mobile, ethnically conscious Canadians *without providing the educational means to become trilingual*. Still, in view of the B and B Commission's bicultural origins and Trudeau's own strong view that official bilingualism was the key to national unity, the

bilingual framework could have been predicted. So also could the switch to multiculturalism, despite a decade of bicultural emphasis. It was easy, after all, to see that promotion of the French linguistic base would leave all other cultures behind and hasten their eventual disappearance. Thus, pleased as I was to see the federal government finally embrace a national policy that recognized multiculturalism, the policy was not only a compromise but potentially a double-edged linguistic sword, and all would depend on how multiculturalism was implemented.

Implementation, Trudeau said, would be by the Citizenship Branch of the same Secretary of State department that administered all other federal cultural programs. Even though the minister without portfolio responsible for citizenship (Stanbury) had an obvious interest in culture, as did the Manpower and Immigration department (considering the association of immigrants with multiculturalism), there was no ministry or department of multiculturalism to help sort out such relationships. But this anticipated the future. For the moment, in Winnipeg on 9 October, Trudeau was hailed as a messiah at the banquet of the Tenth UCC Congress. There was a tradition that went back to Louis St. Laurent of prime ministers addressing the triennial congresses, and politically it was a smart move to have the recently suspect Trudeau appear before the people regarded by many as the foremost advocates of multiculturalism. With representatives from other ethnic groups also present, the overflow from the large numbers (750, it was said) was accommodated in a special room with closed-circuit television in the Hotel Fort Garry.

The public reaction to the new multicultural policy was generally subdued, as most people did not know what to make of it. The Southam Press, of course, was hostile, and the *Edmonton Journal's* headlines reflected the conclusions it wished its readers to draw: "Multicultural Canada PM's goal," "City ethnic groups wary of multicultural program," "Multiculturalism viewed as aid to retain Old Country ways." Charles Lynch, the newspaper chain's leading political columnist, lampooned the policy with references to his own Irish ancestry ("my mother she was orange and my father he was green") and to unflattering ethnic and national rivalries abroad, holding up the NDP leader, David Lewis, who was of Polish-Jewish origin ("people...mistake him for a Welshman"), as the model "unhyphenated Canadian." Among French Canadians, the journalist Claude Ryan, a strong Liberal, and the sociologist Fernand Dumont, a strong *péquist*e, vigorously dissented in *Le Devoir* (9 and 26 October, respectively), as did Premier Robert Bourassa, who wrote Trudeau that the new policy clearly contradicted the mandate of the B & B Commission. Even among the Ukrainian Canadians, Yury Boshyk, the former editor of *Student*, criticized the new policy in "Ukrainianism and Multiculturalism: Middle Class Sell-Out,"

a long, angry, rambling piece steeped in the then fashionable Marxist terminology that protested the policy's relegating Ukrainians "to the status of a voluntary organization" and its failure "to guarantee the existence of ethno-cultural groups in Canada" (as if that were ever possible).

The most highly visible critique, however, was delivered on 21 October by British immigrant Michael Sheldon, vice-principal of Sir George Williams University in Montreal. Commenting on *Viewpoint*, CBC television's daily five-minute broadcast after *The National* news, Sheldon accepted folklore and ethnic histories, but anything more was "negative and divisive" to the development of an Anglo-Canadian identity alongside that of Quebec. Preserving other languages was "an anachronism" and the promotion of "sentimental ties" with homelands "a burden rather than a benefit" to children. The policy constituted political pandering to "special interests" that only promoted "ghetto-mindedness." Infuriated, Frolick called *Viewpoint's* producer in Toronto, who agreed to a favourable commentary from Edmonton, provided it was not a rebuttal. When Jaworsky and Palmer in Ottawa also urged a response, I suggested that it be from a French Canadian. I had recently heard a lot from both Jaworsky and Tarnopolsky about the special status of the French because of their numerous institutions in Quebec, and I therefore proposed that Louis Desrochers furnish the western response. In July, shortly after the Alberta government conference, Natalia and I had enjoyed a small dinner party with the Desrochers at the home of a mutual friend, Joseph Kandler, an émigré from Austria whom we had met at the Lytviaks. The Desrochers were very sociable, and Louis, in particular, had lauded the Alberta government's new policy of multiculturalism. To help persuade Desrochers, I phoned Roger Motut (whom I knew better), and Desrochers was taped on 25 November. His remarks, however, were continually bumped by commentary that took precedence in the eyes of CBC Toronto, and no *Viewpoint* supporting multiculturalism was ever shown—part of the CBC's unrelenting opposition to the concept.

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By October 1971 my earlier vow to devote only a year to the multicultural movement was definitely up, yet after the above successes my promise to Natalia (and to myself) had to be shelved. Of "unfinished business" the most important was undoubtedly the new federal multicultural policy. Much was promised but no dollar signs were attached. In 1970-71 the federal government had allocated some \$50,000,000 toward French language and culture outside Quebec, compared to only \$30-40,000 (according to Krawchenko) to the other ethnic groups. Clearly, the disproportion had to be corrected, but how large should the multicultural budget be? There was also

the policy's troublesome linguistic framework. In his remarks at the UCC banquet, Trudeau had taken an inconclusive approach to other languages. It was true, as he said, that the official bilingual framework gave "indirect" support to other languages "because it is a breach of the monopoly position of one language and an elevation of the stature of languages that are 'different.'" It was also good to learn that languages of culture "deserve the support of government...including financial help."

Yet in the document tabled by Trudeau in the Commons, languages like Ukrainian were placed on the back burner, pending completion of the "Culture Development Program," a euphemism for the Non-Official Languages Study approved in Toronto the previous March. And with the study's data also serving as "an information base for some of the other programmes and for future long range planning by the Citizenship Branch, the cultural agencies and other government departments," further program implementation would be delayed. Moreover, though the federal government was clearly interested in providing textbooks and teaching aids for other languages, such matters had first to be discussed with the provinces, which controlled education. What that meant in a country where federal-provincial relations had always been testy could only be imagined.

Within the Citizenship Branch program implementation would be by the Citizens' Culture Division (formerly Ethnic Participation) under Jennifer McQueen's direction. Her qualifications for the job, though unknown to me, were never an issue. Technically, she was responsible to Martin O'Connell, minister of state for citizenship, who had replaced Stanbury in August 1971. However, as the Citizenship Branch was within the Secretary of State department, McQueen's immediate "boss" was Bernard Ostry, who answered to Jules Léger, the undersecretary of state, whose "boss," in turn, was Gérard Pelletier, the secretary of state. As my correspondence with Stan Frolick shows, it was not always easy to navigate the labyrinth of politicians, bureaucrats and programs. When O'Connell moved on to the Prime Minister's Office in January 1971, he was succeeded by Pat Mahoney (a one-term MP from Calgary), who gave way on 27 November 1972 to Toronto's Stanley Haidasz, a physician of Polish background. Since Haidasz, the first minister of state specifically responsible for multiculturalism, had no staff of his own, he had to rely on that of the secretary of state.

In January 1972 Pelletier's officials had budgeted some \$3,000,000 for multiculturalism, with approximately two-thirds allocated to the four federal cultural agencies. After mid-March 1972 the first "Multicultural Grants" were publicly announced, subject to the guidelines and deadlines issued earlier. As one might expect, the grants became the most popular federal program and the one most frequently criticized by opponents of multiculturalism. Even so, the actual program expenditures were never

large. According to the report (June 1987) of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, they rose from \$875,000 in 1971-72 to \$8,183,000 in 1974-75, fell to \$3,940,000 in 1976-77 and gradually rose again to \$16,139,000 in 1985-86. The largest amount—\$18,372,000—was expended in 1984-85.

### *Ukrainians and the New Policy of Multiculturalism*

The 1971 UCC congress that witnessed the introduction of the new federal policy also saw the revival of the P & B Federation, much concerned thereafter to maximize the policy's benefits. The reactivation of the federation greatly influenced my life, especially after I became its president in 1973, succeeding Stan Frolick. On the same Thanksgiving weekend in 1971, I also learned much about the way the federation was perceived. There were, for example, very few official P & B representatives at the congress, though many delegates from other organizations were also P & B members. Such split loyalties greatly weakened the federation and were likely an important factor in its not becoming one of the UCC's thirty constituent organizations until 1970. Unlike most other organizations, the federation also had no clear orientation or purpose, and its finances and profile were much too low to make it the UCC's authoritative political spokesman, a function that I soon discovered the UCC actually favoured.

Basil Kushnir, the UCC's ineffective president, held the position mainly because he was politically innocuous, which made the UCC innocuous and allowed its five main constituent bodies—the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, the Ukrainian National Federation and the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's (Veterans') Association (all with national profiles of their own)—to engage in provincial and national politics pretty much as each saw fit (though all, of course, saw multiculturalism as an important means to facilitate Ukrainian cultural preservation and development by retaining the language). Executive positions in the UCC were filled on a rotational basis among the above "Big Five" organizations, with Kushnir, for years, the unanimous choice for president because, as a priest, he did not have a "job" and was thus readily available to represent the organized community. The fact that no one wanted his thankless position made his work fairly easy until agitation prompted by Quebec's Quiet Revolution exposed the weaknesses of the central organization. Its 1971 congress finally agreed to elect the president, and Kushnir was replaced by Peter Kondra, who assumed office upon his retirement from the University of Manitoba a year later. Although Kondra was a long-standing member of the Winnipeg P & B Club, his candidacy was proposed by the Ukrainian

Self-Reliance League, the secular arm of the Orthodox Church, where he was one of the lay pillars.

In the circumstances it was inevitable that the UCC congress should completely overshadow the federation's meetings in 1971, with the latter's two main events both socials. It was in fact on the sightseeing "Paddlewheel Queen" on the Red River that I first raised critical questions about the federal government's new multicultural policy with Jaworsky and Szybala, who strongly defended it. At the second event, a luncheon addressed by Walter Tarnopolsky, the new policy with its many challenges was again much lauded. In the brief business session that followed the luncheon the federation's executive (complete with a new constitution) was officially installed in Toronto. Concerned, like I, to revitalize the UCC, Frolick supported my motion to have the federation finance a civil service for the UCC. Even though heads nodded when I outlined the problem and linked it to the students' concerns, the motion was defeated by objections from Winnipeg. Serge Radchuk maintained that tact required a prior letter to the UCC; John G. Karasevich, a young lawyer who would succeed me as the federation's president in 1975, thought that the federation was in no position to pass such a motion. Frolick had earlier doubted the members' willingness to fund their own good intentions, and I could now see what he meant.

The resolution was prompted in part by the students (SUSK), very prominent that weekend on behalf of jailed dissidents in Ukraine, even leading a hunger crusade and confronting Trudeau on the issue. I always enjoyed a good relationship with them, but neither they nor the federation had much stature within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Even so, the federation made multicultural development its main concern, with Frolick carefully monitoring the new federal programs. What was badly needed, he soon discovered, was a co-ordinated plan for Ukrainian submissions, but the national UCC lacked the necessary clout with its constituent organizations to effect that. Apart from the federation and possibly the students, few other organizations would have accepted its lead, and even the federation, in an ethnic Catch-22, did not respect it sufficiently to furnish the funds necessary to make it respectable!

As a result, in the first batch of federal grants announced on 6 April 1972 Ukrainians received funds for a great variety of projects, including \$25,000 for an incredible submission from the national UCC in March 1972. At the top of a shopping list totalling \$230,000 was a "national Ukrainian Dance and Choir competition," budgeted at \$126,000. In April a boastful Kalba—the inspiration behind the projects—brooked no criticism on the phone. Among his other projects were three conferences for teachers of Ukrainian in both private and public schools and one for university professors in "Slavic studies." According to a memo from Joe Slogan, a Winnipeg dentist

and former Conservative MP for Springfield, Manitoba (1959-69), who represented the federation on the UCC's presidium and was part of the delegation that took the projects to Ottawa, "The last four were turned down out of hand and being connected with education are ineligible."

The federation was in a poor position to challenge such UCC adventures, for its own first effort was a movie (no less!) on the "Contributions of Ukrainians to Canadian Cultural Development," based on a script by Frolick's wife's nephew, a secondary school teacher of English literature in Edmonton. With both the budget and the script uncertain, nothing came of the application. Another project, William Kurelek's pictorial history of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, was more focused, but Citizens' Cultures deemed Kurelek a professional artist and referred the application to the Canada Council, which rejected it. Perhaps the most promising proposal—the role of both the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association and the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau in postwar émigré immigration—was stillborn when Gordon B. Panchuk, a school teacher in Montreal who (with Frolick) was very prominent in both organizations, did not respond.

In the end the federation's most important multicultural initiative was its delegation to Ottawa on 17 February 1973. Frolick and Haidasz, the new multiculturalism minister, were good friends, and both agreed that pressure was needed to help raise the junior ministry's low profile in cabinet. The nine-man delegation, drawn from club executives in Ontario, also included Tarnopolsky (then on sabbatical in Quebec), Michael Starr (Starchevsky), the former minister of labor in John Diefenbaker's government, and myself, which made it "national"(!). Slogan was not invited, ostensibly because of the federation's weak treasury, but Frolick disliked Slogan, and in a subsequent letter I diplomatically assured him that he was missed. Frolick, Starr and I motored to Ottawa, and the entire delegation spent the evening brainstorming next day's "points" in the room that Frolick and I shared at the Chateau Laurier.

Haidasz met us with his staff (McQueen, Szybala, Jaworsky and executive assistant Mel McInnes), and I made the presentation "as a westerner." We lunched with a small battery of ministers: Hugh Faulkner (secretary of state), Mitchell Sharp (external affairs), John Munro (labor) and Robert Andras (manpower and immigration), before whom Frolick, Tarnopolsky and I spoke briefly. The Liberals, reduced to a minority government the previous October, were quite attentive, especially when, "as a voice from the west" (where the Liberals had barely retained a toehold), I warned that the "established" ethnic groups (as Ottawa regarded the Ukrainians) were tired of being patronized and expected a greatly increased multiculturalism budget, particularly for "so-called" third-language studies. After a dinner in the parliamentary restaurant hosted by Senator Yuzyk, the delegation met Opposition leader

Robert Stanfield and the Conservative Party's Caucus Committee on Multiculturalism, chaired by Alberta MP Paul Yewchuk (Athabasca), to whom I presented an abbreviated version of my earlier remarks.

Back in Edmonton, I quickly drew up a follow-up memo to Haidasz (and others) on our "Concerns and Recommendations," organized (as was the presentation) around mass media, language education and federal-provincial relations, with the last two emphasized. Included in the recommendations was an excellent suggestion phoned in by Jaworsky—the replacement of the minister of state with a ministry of culture *and* an office of multiculturalism under a director with co-ordinators in seven areas: education, mass media, performing arts, library (and museum and archives), research, publications, and the ethnic press. "A government truly committed to a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," my memo read, "should provide the same driving force behind multiculturalism that it does behind bilingualism, where an executive officer (the bilingual ombudsman) and staff have existed since early 1970." Much stress was placed on multiculturalism and bilingualism being co-ordinates of a single official government policy.

It is hard to gauge the impact of the delegation. Some attributed Haidasz's increased budget in May 1973 to the visit, though Liberal electoral losses in 1972 were likely more responsible. Early in April Haidasz featured the federation's visit in a costly four-page supplement in 133 ethnic publications, with large photos of himself, Trudeau and the delegation. The federation's executive had not been consulted and the political brazenness amazed Frolick and me. Worse still, the propaganda appeared only in the ethnic press, where further publicity on behalf of multiculturalism was hardly needed.

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Although the federation undertook the Ottawa trip because of the UCC's ineptness, neither organization, in truth, was the powerhouse that governments believed them to be. The federation had no treasury to speak of. The annual fee of three dollars per club member barely dribbled in and at best totalled some \$5,000 per year. The Edmonton club did not send its 1971-72 fee (\$528) to Toronto until 5 May, and even Toronto delayed until 10 April, the \$300 well short of its true membership. Because the federation's occasional magazine (*Ukrainian Canadian Review*) and its more regular newsletter (*Panorama*) ate up most of the funds, little was left for promotional visits to clubs. All kinds of good intentions regularly surfaced, but at its first truly national convention in Toronto in September 1972 no steps were taken to improve the meagre treasury (\$1,295.03) or to establish

the much-discussed English-language national newspaper. What the convention did yield, however, were more good papers for the 1973 *Review*, in which Frolick's treatment of earlier French-Ukrainian relations in Canada was particularly instructive. Harking back to the 1940s and Vegreville MP Anthony Hlynka's experiences with the French, he declared:

I remember...Hlynka being almost obsessed with what he considered to be his mission and self-imposed role...to seek an understanding and alliance with politicians from Quebec and a common front against the WASP establishment to better realize the objectives of French and "Ukrainian" Canada. And I recall too his keen disappointment that not only were the French Canadians not disposed to deal with anyone at all, but in his estimation, in their disregard for the rights, hopes and aspirations of others, they were less sympathetic than the English-speaking majority if not downright opposed to granting any rights at all or redressing any inequalities. Similarly, another Western M. P. of Ukrainian origin [John Decore] also found his high hopes of reaching a meaningful *modus vivendi* with French language politicians dashed to smithereens [in Ottawa].

As for the UCC, its best minds did not impress me, especially after I received Isydore Hlynka's paper advising Ukrainians to establish homogeneous urban neighbourhoods as a hedge against assimilation. How, I wondered, could this be done in a socially mobile society that so strongly valued personal choice? As program chairman for the federation's upcoming convention in Edmonton in May 1973, I was concerned to have the relationship between the UCC and the federation aired, but the very wary new UCC president, Peter Kondra, only agreed to participate if his and Frolick's presentations were entirely separate. If Frolick wished, he could react to Kondra's remarks, but Kondra would not comment on Frolick's, even though their topics explored the same subject matter! Ultimately, neither said anything that created much of a stir. There was, for example, no suggestion that the UCC could, as some in the SUSK occasionally proposed, do away with the co-ordinative umbrella concept and enrol members without regard to religion or ideology—except for the communists, of course.

Without a doubt the most significant presentation at the Edmonton convention in 1973 was Haidasz's luncheon address, which announced a doubling of the multiculturalism budget from what he said was \$5,659,000 to more than \$10,000,000 in 1974-75. A Canadian Ethnic Studies Advisory Committee, not the oft-mentioned national ethnic studies centre, was proposed to fund academic projects. The Advisory Committee would also

supervise the Visiting Professors' Program, which enabled scholars to spend up to six months teaching ethnic studies in any Canadian university. Advertising in the ethnic press was boosted by another \$500,000 and a research study of public attitudes toward multiculturalism (the future Majority Attitudes Study) was announced. But the most important initiative was undoubtedly the creation of the 101-member government-appointed Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM), with the first national conference on multiculturalism projected for Ottawa that fall. Robert Stanfield, who spoke at the main banquet, preferred a council one-third as large elected at a national conference of ethnic organizations, but it was also clear that the Progressive Conservative Party had still to produce a multicultural policy of its own.

For me personally, the convention was a major watershed that greatly affected my life during the next thirteen years. On that Victoria Day weekend I not only became president of the federation for a two-year term but chairman for three years of the Prairie Provinces and Northwest Territories region on the brand-new CCCM. When Savaryn, Decore and I discussed the presidency, I had proposed Decore or Julian Koziak. Frolick and Savaryn, however, privately counselled against Decore, and with Koziak definitely not interested, I knew that I was "it." As chairman of the nominations committee, Savaryn promised a young, able executive, and he was as good as his word. Decore became executive vice-president and Savaryn one of the directors.

Trudeau had first aired the council idea at a Liberal dinner in Winnipeg on 26 May 1972. A "Canadian Advisory Council on Multiculturalism" was needed, he said, "to make recommendations designed to ensure the full participation of all Canadians in the cultural development of this country." That a federal election was on the horizon was not mentioned! I first heard of the council from Jaworsky, who, late in March, was having difficulties with Haidasz, himself under pressure from MP Allan Sulatycky, who favoured lawyer Virgil Moshansky, mayor of Vegreville, for the regional post. Once Tarnopolsky turned down the national chair, I too was no longer interested. Jaworsky, however, persisted, and when McInnes from Haidasz's office also called, I was gradually persuaded, especially after learning that Tarnopolsky would be a council member from Ontario. Having earlier accepted the federation's presidency, I thought that being prairie chairman might make it easier to realize the federation's multicultural goals.



Executive of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Federation, Edmonton, 1973-75. (Left to right, seated) Orest Talpash (secretary), the author (president), Peter Oluk (treasurer); (Standing) William Diachuk, Orest Evenshen and Peter Savaryn (directors), Laurence Decore (vice-president), Edward Kay (public relations).

# Chapter Six

## IMPLEMENTING MULTICULTURALISM AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL (1973–76)

### *The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism*

The executive of the CCCM held its first meeting at the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa on 7 June 1973. Although called for nine in the morning, it did not begin until midafternoon—the fault, according to chairman Julius Koteles, of “the bureaucrats,” “the terms of reference,” “the operating guidelines,” “the budget,” “the lack of a secretariat,” “the unclear line-and-staff arrangements” or “the advertising contracts” (not necessarily in that order). Koteles preferred an arm’s-length relationship to the government and desired an independent secretariat for the council. The government believed that the Department of the Secretary of State could easily meet the council’s needs. From the beginning, the Canadian-born Koteles, a second-generation lawyer of Hungarian background in his early forties from Winnipeg, a good Liberal who also chaired the Manitoba Folk Arts Council, operated like a westerner with a chip on his shoulder against central Canada, especially the Ottawa bureaucracy.

My contribution at the first meeting was minor. When Koteles asked for each member’s understanding of multiculturalism, I drew on a paper I was then preparing for an address in Winnipeg and stressed the creative possibilities of ethnicity, linking the latter to Canada’s long-sought goal of a distinctive cultural identity and labelling the potential identity multiculturalism. Koteles, who later admitted to having read “all” my papers, was sufficiently impressed to invite me to address the Ontario regional meeting in Toronto on 16 June. The plan was to hold similar meetings in Edmonton (23 June), Sydney (7 July), Vancouver (14 July) and Montreal (the date left open because Saul Hayes, the Quebec regional chairman, was not present)—culminating in the first conference of the entire council in Ottawa during the Thanksgiving weekend.

The Toronto address was important because it so disturbed Agathe Lacoursière-Lacerte of Quebec City, one of the two national vice-chairs, that through her Liberal connections in Ottawa she had it translated into French and distributed to several members of the B & B Commission and some forty others (including Trudeau, according to her). At seventy Lacoursière-Lacerte was a former professor of languages at Laval University, active in immigrant-orientation work and very interested in folklore (her brother was the director of Les Archives de folklore at Laval). To someone who had never thought of

Canada in anything but bilingual and bicultural terms and knew little of the west (she admitted to having travelled only as far as Winnipeg), my paper could be quite upsetting. It contained the familiar tripartite proposal and the usual references to bilingualism and multiculturalism as complementary umbrellas of a single government policy whose specifics would “vary from area to area according to how the people themselves perceive their needs.” In support, I quoted Trudeau’s reference to “meeting different priorities in different areas” in a recent debate on bilingualism in the Commons. The paper, “Canada’s Last Chance to Develop a Distinctive Identity,” praised the government judiciously for introducing the policy. It also put forth the hope that (taken seriously) Canada’s cultural and linguistic diversity could lead the world to see the Canadian as someone who, unlike the essentially unilingual American, “*is likely to be able to speak more than one language*” (emphasis in original), English-French but not necessarily English-French. “Nothing would do more to give Canada that most elusive and much-sought goal—a distinctive identity.”

The organizer of the Ontario meeting was chairman Thaddeus (Ted) Glista, president of the Polish Alliance of Canada and as strong a Liberal as Koteles. Most of the region’s members were also Liberals, some openly admitting that they had never heard of multiculturalism and owed their appointment to being “good Liberals.” And, indeed, the mark of the party was everywhere, with ministers Donald Macdonald (energy, mines, and resources) and Robert Stanbury (now in revenue), along with Martin O’Connell (Trudeau’s new principal secretary in the Prime Minister’s Office) attending the evening banquet. After Haidasz’s address, Koteles surprised everyone with a long, seemingly interminable speech delivered without notes. He would repeat the process in each region, eating sparingly (he was slim and short, practically bantam-weight) and talking “the ear off” anyone who sat next to him.

Once back in Edmonton, I tackled the enormous task of organizing a regional meeting within less than a week. Nothing was in place except for my earlier circular announcing the meeting and site—the St. John’s Institute, because of Koteles’s suggestion to avoid hotels (Glista had used the German-Canadian Club Harmonie). With Toronto as a model, I reserved hotel accommodation, hired a photographer and an interpreter (for simultaneous French translation), alerted the media and invited over one hundred ethnic leaders and local politicians to dinner, complete with a wet bar and entertainment. No one ever appreciated the miracle of the telephone more than I did that week!

On 21 June, two days before the event, Haidasz’s office called to say that the parliamentary and newspaper campaign against the minister had been so exhausting that he would be unable to attend. At issue were the funds allocated by him to advertise multicultural programs in the ethnic press. Four

months earlier, Bernard Ostry, in submitting Haidasz's amount (\$230,745) to Treasury Board, had termed the request "unwise" and "irresponsible," as Haidasz's total budget was apparently only \$1,500,000. "In substantive policy areas," Ostry advised, "you or your executive assistant should deal with me or with the new undersecretary of state, Mr. Jean Boucher." Once Ostry's memo hit the *Globe and Mail* on 18 June, the chain of command became a major issue until Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner, Ostry's ultimate "boss," indicated that the assistant undersecretary would not have to resign. Haidasz was, in effect, hung out to dry, and for several days everything about the multiculturalism portfolio was under intense scrutiny. Deeply involved as I now was in what was blatantly a political exercise, I refused to be stood up by the minister—a point made so bluntly with Haidasz that he quickly recovered. Koteles, Glista and I met him at the airport "to bolster his spirits," as Koteles nicely put it, but on arrival he was as reserved as ever, always somewhat uncomfortable with the council.



Stanley Haidasz, minister of state (multiculturalism), addresses the CCCM, Prairie Provinces and Northwest Territories region, Edmonton, June 1973. (Left to right) Jean Boucher, undersecretary of state, Horst Koehler, chairman B.C. region; Agathe Lacourcière-Lacerte, vice-chair CCCM (only partly visible); the author, Julius Koteles, chairman CCCM.

The dinner was a great success, despite the sweltering heat in a building without air conditioning. Haidasz made his usual ponderous presentation, followed by an embarrassingly long, rambling address by Koteles to mumbled expressions of executive discomfort. In private, Koteles was becoming the butt of executive jokes. He talked too much, ate very little, worked late (invariably phoning after eleven) and appeared paranoid. His reaction in Edmonton to the unexpected arrival of Jean Boucher, Faulkner's undersecretary, was a case in point. To Koteles, Boucher had come to undermine the council's work by establishing stiffer bureaucratic controls; to the executive, Boucher's presence appeared to support a minister portrayed in the press as on the outs with the bureaucracy.

The first regional meetings were largely get-acquainted sessions. Most of the twenty-six prairie members were Canadian-born (only five were immigrants), in sharp contrast to the mostly naturalized Canadians among the forty-one from Ontario. The most articulate prairie member was Robert Painchaud, a young professor of Canadian history at the University of Winnipeg, one of two French Canadians. The Métis had one member and the natives three, including an Inuit from Cape Dorset, who attended only the second meeting (it took him five days to make the return trip via Montreal!). The Anglo-Celts had two prairie members, and among the others the most prominent was likely Paul Thorlakson, an older Winnipeg physician of Icelandic-Norwegian background who was also the chancellor of the University of Winnipeg. From the papers that he and Koteles sent me, it appeared that he had had some nice things to say about the "Canadian mosaic" in the 1960s. Notable also was Peter Kondra, about to begin his second year as the national UCC president.

Because of the small size of the Atlantic region (seven members), the sessions at Sydney, Nova Scotia, were informal, and on Koteles's suggestion I concentrated on the roots of my personal involvement. The regional chairman was Linden MacIntyre, the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald* correspondent in Cape Breton and later a CBC reporter. An executive member of the island's Gaelic Society, which hosted the luncheon, MacIntyre was concerned about the council's strong political overtones and resigned within a year, believing that continued membership could handicap his reporting on the policy. He was succeeded by the Lebanese-born Joseph Ghiz, the future premier of Prince Edward Island. Because we left Sydney on the Department of Transport plane provided for Haidasz, the return was leisurely with ample time to discuss political and cultural issues with Lacoursière-Lacerte, especially the concept of founding peoples, which she strongly defended. Raised to view Canada's identity in dualistic cultural terms, she could not see how multiculturalism could help develop a more inclusive, distinctive Canadian identity, notwithstanding the multicultural clichés she had

acquired in immigrant work. In the end we could agree on little except that Canadians were quite uninformed about one another's regions and had few bonds to keep them together. Raised on different histories, they possessed different understandings and attitudes about Canada as a nation—or whether it was even a nation. In subsequent months she kept returning to the same issues until Koteles had had enough and recommended against a renewal of her one-year term.

The meeting in Vancouver was the first in the posh surroundings of a first-class hotel—the Bayshore Inn—because regional chairman Horst Koehler, a businessman, found it much easier to make hurried arrangements. A charming and unpretentious postwar immigrant from Germany, Koehler had parlayed a weekly travelogue on CTV television into a small fortune. We “hit it off” from the first meeting, and he was easily my closest colleague on council. In Vancouver the afternoon session was interrupted by a hastily arranged meeting with Trudeau, in the city on other business. I thought it a waste of time, but Koteles insisted that it would impress the members with the government's interest in multiculturalism. Hurriedly packed off in taxis to the Hotel Vancouver, we awaited the prime minister, who duly arrived, regal-like and smiling—and as uncomfortable at making small talk as were his admirers. During the introductions he and I exchanged knowing looks, the twenty-minute meeting permitting little else. Some members who had experienced earlier Trudeau meetings now wore their memories like badges of honour. At dinner that evening, a guest, Bernard W. Hoeter, vice-president of the Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians, nearly precipitated an incident when he openly upbraided Koteles (after yet another long speech) for criticizing the local government's disinterest in multiculturalism. As we shall see, the first-generation Hoeter would, to my great chagrin, make his presence felt again in Ottawa in October.

The meeting in Montreal at the Jewish Montefiore Club was chaired by the sixty-six-year-old Saul Hayes. A Montreal lawyer fluent in French, Hayes was a veteran of ‘ethnic wars’ for the Canadian Jewish Congress, then also its executive vice-president. His poor health limited participation and he served literally from meeting to meeting. I was struck both by the small size of the Quebec group—only ten members, the same as in British Columbia and less than a quarter of Ontario's representation—and by the complete absence of French Canadians, apart from Lacoursière-Lacerte. This reflected French Quebec's hostility toward multiculturalism and its belief that the policy was primarily for immigrants, a belief that French non-participation ironically only reinforced.

Besides Lacoursière-Lacerte, French representation on the council consisted of six others, though the two French-speaking Métis from the Prairies (officially in the “Canadian Indian” category!) usually supported

French positions. Representation was always a thorny issue: whom did the 101-member council (its very size frequently contentious) really represent? Those of French and British backgrounds (the latter officially categorized as "Anglophones," though everyone else, including the French, spoke English) were sometimes ill at ease on a council clearly intended to represent non-British and non-French interests. Some members of Celtic origin disliked the term "British," insisting that they were neither British, Anglo-Saxons nor "Anglophones." Thus the category "Anglo-Celtic" was born and became part of the council's vocabulary. Today unfortunately no record exists of those first regional meetings, largely because the council was without its own secretariat and none was yet provided by the Secretary of State department.

The prairie council's second regional meeting was held at the Scandinavian Centre in Edmonton on 6-7 September 1973. Because a report to the minister would follow the national meeting in October, it was essential to obtain the strongest possible resolution(s) on third-language education. Accordingly, I had the members focus on the school law and regulations governing language study in the Prairies. With Painchaud's help a very comprehensive resolution was passed, calling upon the federal government to "make funds available to relevant provincial departments of education for the teaching of languages other than English and French." Singled out specifically for support were teaching materials, teacher training, transportation, language camps, school libraries, language consultants in provincial departments, kindergartens and other pilot projects, and "post-secondary language immersion centres" (my own special interest).

The first conference of the whole council in mid-October was held jointly with Senator Paul Yuzyk's second "Thinkers' Conference" (the first was in December 1968), which Hugh Faulkner had promised Yuzyk in March 1973, before the CCCM was formed. The result was 150 additional participants chosen by the government, who joined the members in five workshops after the council's own meetings. Although Yuzyk protested the conference format, arguing for one of participants designated by the ethnic organizations themselves (the usual Conservative position), in the general euphoria no one noticed. I addressed the "Language and Cultural Retention" workshop on a panel with Ken O'Bryan, who reported on the Non-Official Languages Study, and Jean-Guy Savard, director of the International Centre of Research on Bilingualism at Laval University. Having earlier secured the approval of the CCCM for the comprehensive language resolution from the Prairies, I moved that the workshop do the same. The chairman, Tom Symons of Trent University, accepted the motion only as information and ruled that "we really must do our own thing in our own way." Before long the worst happened. Bernard Hoeter, Koehler's friend from Vancouver, moved that the federal government not only make parental

contributions to community (i.e., ethnic) language schools tax-deductible but that it consider “special grants” to such schools. With the immigrant delegates strongly supportive, my objections—“I fail to see why we should settle for crumbs when we have a chance to get the loaf”—were ignored and Hoeter’s motion passed, weakening the basis for future federal support of bilingual education (broadly understood) in the public schools.

For the subsequent CCCM report to the minister, eight council members joined the executive to sift through the recommendations from the national meeting, the workshops and the regions. After 8 December, when MacIntyre and I were given executive responsibility for the section on “Language and Cultural Retention,” I pulled together the pertinent language resolutions for a meeting in Ottawa late in January. To ensure parity for multiculturalism with official bilingualism, I suggested the following preamble:

- (1) Bilingualism as defined in the Official Languages Act and multiculturalism are complementary policies;
- (2) The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism believes that language plays a major role in cultural preservation and development for all of Canada’s peoples.

This, I thought, placed the “cultural” bilingualism emanating from individual ethnocultural needs on a par with the “institutional” bilingualism emanating from the Official Languages Act. Still, as individual bilingualism carried “certain risks” in an official bilingual context, I also suggested that the educational system provide pre-schools for second-language learning and effective post-secondary opportunities for third-language learning. Moreover, to counter Hoeter’s motion, it was important that the comprehensive resolution from the Prairies be seen as the “first priority” of council, and that it appear as such in the report.

On 1 February, with the council’s first anniversary only three months away and a snap federal election by the Liberal minority government likely (it was called on 19 May), the executive accepted Koteles’s suggestion that only the priorities (without supporting text) be submitted to Haidasz as an “Interim Report.” It distinguished long- and short-term priorities, the latter consisting of “language and cultural retention” and “overcoming inequalities”—priorities that should begin immediately but take a long time. The larger short-term category took in “multicultural centres,” “the ethnic press and mass media,” “the arts,” “the immigrant” and “youth”—priorities that were ongoing activities and should be intensified. Haidasz received the Interim Report at an executive meeting on 3–4 May, but once the election was called the report was effectively in political limbo. In Ottawa William Johnson of the *Globe and Mail* approached me to leak the “confidential”

report, but fortunately he persisted only briefly and left. Thus ended the first or Haidasz phase of the CCCM's work. The executive would not meet again for six months, by which time it was responsible to a new minister, John Munro.

The first year on council was an extremely busy period, characterized by the departure in January 1974 of multiculturalism's two top officials—Ostry and McQueen. The loss of Ostry to the National Museums of Canada was the more serious, for he and his wife were quite influential in Ottawa, and his association with multiculturalism raised its profile within government at a time when Haidasz was floundering. Because of Ostry's departure, the government's interdepartmental committee to review the impact of multiculturalism on other federal programs was never established, and the meetings of the inter-agency co-ordinating committee to monitor the implications of multiculturalism for other federal cultural institutions were discontinued. From Steve Jaworsky and Orest Kruhlak (the latter McQueen's temporary replacement), I learned that the Non-Official Languages Study (which O'Bryan had termed "imminent" at the Ottawa conference) was nowhere in sight and that there had been no federal-provincial discussions in the educational area. The multicultural grants (they said) were also making a "farce" of the policy, giving it a predominantly folk image. Most council appointees appeared to be "non-entities or political hacks" with little understanding of multiculturalism or Canada's crisis of culture. Worse still, the prime minister was showing no interest in the policy and Jean Boucher was playing it down. There were no ads on multiculturalism in the mainstream media, and it almost seemed as if the government was afraid of its own creation. Even if Haidasz were less "inept and anemic," he could, as a junior minister, have very little influence in government.

My own estimate of the council that spring was summed up in a letter to Koteles at his request. Although its work was much too rushed, "perhaps the biggest weakness" was the lack of publicity for its activities (and thus for multiculturalism), the fault mainly of Haidasz who projected a weak image, the likely reason for the departure of Ostry and McQueen. A commissioner of multiculturalism "equivalent in status to Keith Spicer's office" was needed, as was a major conference of Canadian intellectuals to consider "what really is a multicultural society," especially against the background of the "overpowering influence of the USA upon all aspects of Canadian development." Having learned how federal funding had helped the Acadians establish an office in Halifax, I proposed that other ethnic groups receive similar assistance.

On a brighter note, the multicultural movement was strengthened that spring by the release in mid-March of the Progressive Conservative Party's highly comprehensive draft policy on multiculturalism, the work largely

of Paul Yewchuk's Caucus Committee. Besides favouring legislation that would declare Canada "a multicultural country with many languages, two of which, English and French, are official" (a standard expression out of Edmonton), it proposed a CCCM of just thirty-five members elected by a "national conference of ethnic organizations." In the "sensitive" area of education it opted for "careful consultation" with the provinces "to eradicate the bias in educational materials" and "to keep alive the third languages, and the literature to which they are the key." A great many specific recommendations for the schools followed.

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A majority Liberal government was returned on 8 July 1974, and Labor Minister John Munro was given responsibility for multiculturalism. Many in and out of government saw the disappearance of Haidasz's portfolio as a demotion for multiculturalism, and I tended to agree, especially as Munro appeared in no hurry to assume his additional responsibilities. On a panel at the SUSK congress in Winnipeg late in August, I admitted that I had not heard from anyone—not even the council chairman—since early May. What was needed, I said, was open agitation "as in the good old days" to get the ministry restored, a report released, the Non-Official Languages Study published, youth representation on council and federal-provincial discussions on multiculturalism. Doug Lord, Munro's political special assistant, was jolted by the remarks, though he did admit that Ottawa had "emotional problems" in dealing with multiculturalism.

The government's spin on Munro was that as a ranking minister (tenth in seniority in the thirty-member cabinet) he would raise the policy's political profile, and "as a Scot" he would take it to mainstream Canada. Representing a very ethnically conscious constituency in Hamilton (35 per cent Italian in background), Munro was a consummate politician. At his first address in mid-September to the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation, he brought a cheque for \$6,000 for its upcoming convention in Vancouver. He also promised an additional \$500,000 for advertising—\$250,000 from his own multiculturalism budget (\$75,000 had already been delivered) and an amount as large again from the other departments.

At our first meeting at a UCC congress luncheon in Winnipeg on 12 October 1974, I strongly criticized the minister and the council's inactivity since the election. Initially miffed, Munro was soon friendlier, promising a council meeting by November and a cabinet document in support of third-language education once the Non-Official Languages Study was available—a pledge he repeated at the banquet that evening. Late in October regional meetings similar to those of the previous year were laid on,

culminating again in one of the whole council in Ottawa in mid-December. On the executive, Suzanne Drouin, a forty-six-year-old widow from Quebec City, had replaced Lacoursière-Lacerte, and within the bureaucracy Michael Andrassy had become director of the new Multiculturalism Directorate, replacing acting director Orest Kruhlak, who would soon leave to head Alberta's Cultural Heritage Branch.

Through the new round of regional meetings I quickly established a very good working relationship with Munro. Compared to Haidasz, the new minister was confident, much more open and quite informal, encouraging contacts on a first-name basis. Even before meeting the executive, he had released Haidasz's Interim Report, wanting its recommendations "out in the open." He also encouraged the executive to prepare a final report, whose publication he favoured. Meanwhile William Johnson of the *Globe and Mail* reported the recommendations in several articles under scary headlines, complete with dire forebodings: "Multiculturalism means multilingualism"; "The unclear direction of Ottawa's program of multiculturalism/Maximum interpretation would mean chaos, commissioner [Peter Findley, the B & B Commission's new English-speaking co-secretary] says"; "'Union Jack culture is no longer the official one': Canadian consciousness looks for a hyphen" (Koteles quoted in an interview).

In producing the final report, I soon found myself on a team of "writers," with personal responsibility for the text on "Language and Cultural Retention." For the first time the assignment required serious consideration of the meaning of multiculturalism. The deficiency first noted in 1962-64 had somehow to be remedied. From my reading, I was aware of the bad image that folk culture carried. I also knew the sharp distinction drawn by French Canadians between their culture and *ethnic* culture, which they equated with folklore—an inferior form to be avoided. I was quite impressed by the way the Ukrainian Shumka Dancers in Edmonton occasionally choreographed Canadian themes into their dance repertoire and how the painter William Kurelek often incorporated Ukrainian subject matter into his Canadian paintings. Both, I thought, were similar to the manner in which Jewish culture had been woven into the musical *Fiddler on the Roof*. The more I thought about it, the more it seemed that ethnicity (the basis of folklore) could be a powerful creative force. Thus, instead of being shunned, ethnicity should be encouraged—not for its own sake but for its creative potential in a Canadian setting.

Such ideas were not simply plucked out of the air. In my ethnic studies course, writers like John Murray Gibbon were strongly criticized for celebrating Canadian folklore *per se*, and in a paper, "The Challenge of Multiculturalism," presented to the national convention of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League in Winnipeg in August 1973, I had stressed the creative

potential of ethnicity. The Winnipeg paper encompassed my philosophy of multiculturalism and became the basis of the text in the *First Annual Report* of the CCCM:

To cultivate ethnicity for its own sake, as most ethnocultural groups have been doing (largely under the duress of survival), is to freeze the folkways of ancestors into forms which can seldom thrive on Canadian soil because they have been transplanted from their original frequently isolated milieu (usually peasant or peasant-based) into one of large homesteads, rapid transportation, quick communication, growing urbanization, intensive industrialization and the pressure of competing values.

But clearly understood and encouraged, the culture (including the folkways) of any ethnocultural group can release the creativity of discriminating individuals who will then combine selective aspects of the North American way of life with the feelings, aptitudes, and impulses rooted in ethnicity into cultural forms which will be distinctively Canadian.

*Multiculturalism, then, may be viewed as the development of a consciousness of one's ancestral roots or ethnicity for creative purposes in the hope that a distinctive Canadian identity will emerge* (italics added).

The emphasis on creativity at the core of multiculturalism is an emphasis on cultural development as well as cultural preservation. In the past, the emphasis has been on preservation and the result has been much alienation of the young, who cannot readily identify with norms, institutions and customs imported from other parts of the world. However, once immersion in the culture of another country is seen as something which can provide a creative springboard for the development of a distinctive identity, the whole matter, including the learning of another language, takes on a different light.

Because of multiculturalism's bilingual framework, I also included my tripartite proposal. Robert Painchaud, also on the "writers" team, found it much too specific for a government report. He also disliked several other passages that I gladly exchanged for his willingness to preface the comprehensive language resolution from the Prairies with my earlier preamble recognizing bilingualism and multiculturalism as "complementary" policies, with language playing a "major role in cultural preservation and development for all of Canada's peoples." In mid-December the executive presented the final report to Munro, and the full council endorsed it without

reservations. Because of delays in French translation, it did not appear until early 1976. This, however, did not relieve the government from providing an official response, one that Munro delayed as long as possible, boxed in as he was by a number of controversial recommendations, the most pointed undoubtedly being that on language.

### *John Munro Reorients the Multicultural Policy*

At an executive meeting in May 1975, Munro indicated that a response to the council's report was still being prepared. The minutes also show that he had in mind "a reassessment" of the program and a "policy paper" for the cabinet, in which the council's views and his own recommendations would "set new directions and priorities." The executive, pleased that a response was forthcoming, ignored the part about "new directions and priorities"—much to its sorrow, as events would soon show.

At the third conference of the whole council in Ottawa in June, Munro's initial response was predictably tentative, especially in the language area. As non-official language programs were within provincial jurisdiction, he would do his "best," he said, to undertake federal-provincial discussions "shortly," especially as provincial replies to the report's recommendations were "enthusiastic about co-ordinating initiatives" to further Canada's multicultural policy. (This was really stretching it on the language question, for neither Jaworsky in Ottawa nor Kruhlak in Edmonton was indicating any government interest in federal-provincial initiatives on third-language studies.) In the meantime, Munro added, support for third languages was available through grants for teaching aids and from the Multilingual Biblioservice of the National Library, which was about to distribute some eight thousand volumes in eight different languages to the twenty-five "deposit centres" established to serve the country's public libraries. Even assistance to the private ethnic language schools was on hold, pending further consultation on the new policy.

I expect that such policy will take into account the findings contained in the Non-Official Languages, Supplementary Schools and Majority Attitudes Studies reports, the Council's report, public reaction to these reports as well as consultations with the provinces and my Cabinet colleagues.

In the Language and Culture Committee (which I chaired) the reaction to Munro's remarks was blunt: "We reaffirm in the strongest possible terms the urgency of arriving at an early decision on the implementation of the recommendations contained in the Annual Report." The minister should

also propose language programs to the provinces (including funding), now that the Non-Official Languages Study (also tabled by Munro that weekend) offered “strong evidence” in support of the report’s language recommendations. Next day the full council accepted the committee’s succinct report without debate, unlike the occasionally lengthy and heated exchanges on others.

Although Munro’s response was tepid at best, I was less disappointed than I might have been had he not already (as we shall see) greatly assisted the English-Ukrainian bilingual program established in the Edmonton public schools in September 1974—sentiments that I conveyed to the Language Committee to spur others to press for similar programs in their provinces. I also took Munro’s bland response in stride, for the first half of 1975 was not a particularly good time to be encouraging bilingualism in any form.

In May 1974, for example, Quebec’s Bill 22 had made French the language of work, and shortly thereafter English-speaking airline pilots challenged the use of French on international flights over Quebec, plunging Ottawa into more linguistic turmoil. I personally welcomed Bill 22, for once the primacy of French was established in Quebec the Québécois could expect to be understood in their own language, and the pressure to become bilingual would be where it properly belonged—on the province’s unilingual Anglo-Celts. To me, the latter had always been at the heart of Quebec’s language problems, stubbornly refusing to learn French and practically forcing the French to learn English, thereby subtracting from the value of French on an English-speaking continent. Occasionally, I pointed this out to the unilingual Anglos on council, especially those from Montreal, who were invariably upset. In the pilots’ dispute I again sympathized with the French, if only to irritate the unilingual “English,” whom I suspected of using safety in the air to mask their own historically privileged positions.

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In tabling his tentative response, Munro, as noted, also tabled the Non-Official Languages Study, finally completed after four years and released in 1976 as *Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism*. Based on an interview-questionnaire approach administered to the ten largest “non-official language groups” in five cities (Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Vancouver), the study confirmed much that might have been expected. Because Canadians in the ten groups were not homogeneous, it was certainly “erroneous” to see them as any third force. In gauging language loss, generational differences were very significant, even within groups with high retention rates. By the second generation, for example, only one in ten individuals was fluent, and none thereafter. Language

usage also varied greatly with the size of cities (the larger the city, the more immigrants, the greater the fluency), but significant also were opportunities for language usage, as well as family background, group characteristics, religious and attitudinal patterns, and access to media. The most notable surprise was the amount of support for language retention that did exist. Even among third-generation respondents, a majority favoured it, and the remainder was mainly indifferent, not opposed.

...language retention is a key issue among Greeks, Italians, Chinese and Ukrainians. It occupied much less prominence among Hungarians, Scandinavians and Dutch, but even among these groups there was fairly widespread support for language retention.... our data...clearly point to the need for programmes to be developed to meet the expressed views of the respondents concerned.

Even on ancestral languages as *languages of instruction*, relatively few, even in the third generation, indicated that they “don’t care” or would “discourage” their children from taking such courses: Dutch (“don’t care” 30 per cent; “discourage” 5 per cent), Scandinavian (21 and 3), Polish (17 and 3), German (17 and 2), Ukrainian (13 and 1).

However, there were also several warning signs that a minister under duress might find useful. Support for the policy of multiculturalism among non-official language groups was generally soft, even in the first immigrant generation: “uncertain” about the policy (14 per cent), “disagree somewhat” (8.8 per cent), “disagree strongly” (6.6 per cent), for a possible dissent total of 29.4 per cent. Among “older families” (those past the third generation), the possible dissent was even higher: 42.2 per cent (12.7/ 12.5/ 17). Even 22 per cent of Ukrainians in the first immigrant generation had doubts about multiculturalism (15.5/ 1/ 5.5), and by the third generation the doubtful stood at 34.6 per cent (16.1/ 10.7/ 7.8). And among the Dutch and Scandinavians, the levels of first-generation doubt were, of course, even higher: 47.4 (11.5/ 25.2/ 10.7) and 47.3 (12.8/ 15.3/ 19.2), respectively. Among Ukrainians, support for third-language learning in “better ethnic schools” was also much higher than within the public school systems. The precise impact of such findings on Munro and his officials is not known, but the data would not necessarily encourage maximal efforts from anyone either lukewarm, skeptical or under pressure to lower the profile of multiculturalism or to discourage non-official languages in the public schools.

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In the months after the CCCM's June conference in Ottawa, life for its executive was much less hectic, preoccupied as it was with organizing the second national conference on multiculturalism, slated for February 1976. While Munro only attended one executive meeting (in Edmonton in September), I met him in Vegreville on 27 June, when he addressed the "Canadian Showcase of Ukrainian Culture" on a very wet long weekend. Here, as in his address to the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League in Edmonton in August (distributed as usual to all council members), he made much of the retention of language and culture, proudly singling out the recent large grant (\$56,605) to the new English-Ukrainian bilingual program in Edmonton.

As a result, Munro's interview in the *Globe and Mail* on 26 November on the changes he intended to place before cabinet shocked everybody. He wished, he said, to emphasize "group understanding" rather than "cultural survival and development of ethnic groups." "Combating discrimination" would become "the major over-all objective," and the "folkloric aspect" (grants to folk dances, traditional "feasts" and music, ethnic cook books, poetry readings) would be de-emphasized, as funds for such activities, he said, were available in the private sector. The government also would not support the teaching of non-official languages, though funds could be provided "on a small basis outside the institutional structure, with the objective of providing group understanding."

"We just don't see ourselves in the educational area," he said. "The provinces would resent another federal intrusion in their own jurisdiction." [At the time Ottawa, according to William Johnson, Munro's interviewer, was spending \$104,600,000 on bilingual education and \$5,600,000 on multiculturalism.]

In extreme cases, when a board asked for support for a particular program with the approval of the province "we would, within the limited funds available, respond on an experimental basis only and for a limited period of time." [He undoubtedly had the recent Edmonton grant in mind.]

Because, Munro continued, "large, well-structured minorities with established leadership" did not need federal support, the multicultural program had to address the needs of smaller groups—"the real minorities of the country"—"black people, the Portuguese community, people from the Caribbean, India or Pakistan, and the native people." Such minorities needed help to protect themselves from discrimination—as did the French outside Quebec, and national unity required that the program "encourage the

acceptance of multiculturalism within a framework of official bilingualism." Also needed was a smaller CCCM in which advisory "regional panels" without formal membership would replace the regional councils. Munro spared only the ethnic press: besides the sums already committed, a stated percentage of the advertising budgets of all firms that held federal contracts was also being considered.

What had brought about the reorientation? From a syndicated article by George Radwanski in the *Edmonton Journal* late in July, it was clear that the government was into a "complex policy-making exercise" to determine "policies and legislation for the next three years," with an eye on the sputtering economy. All ministers were being polled in six priority areas, with each department required to prepare a document for the cabinet Committee on Priorities and Planning. Even Munro's speeches (had anyone bothered to read them!) had made it clear that something major was afoot. In Montreal, for example, he had told the Ukrainian National Federation on 11 October that "a review of multicultural policy is now underway," and such "major questions" as the following were being asked:

Should the Government place greater emphasis on supporting long-term objectives such as language teaching? Should we support supplementary schools and similar projects which teach language skills so necessary for the development of our different heritages? This would not mean that the government would abandon its support of folkloric activities but it would mean a change in emphasis. Many people who strongly support the multicultural concept have complained that the emphasis on colorful costumes and arts distorts the image of ethnic groups. Maybe we should make a conscious effort to get away from this overly simple view of what cultural diversity is....

Should more attention be paid to the relation between multiculturalism and immigration policies; to combating inequalities and prejudices facing immigrants? When it comes to giving grants, should the government pay greater attention to the less well-organized, less articulate groups? Should a greater effort be made to help them to develop and maintain their cultural activities?

Besides the recommendations of council, the review would, he said, consider responses of ethnocultural groups to government programs, as well as the experiences of federal departments and agencies, of federal regional officers and of provincial and municipal officials. The "interim report" of the federal government's Majority Attitudes Study had concluded that the overall response of Canadians of Anglo-Celtic and French backgrounds

to multiculturalism was only "mildly positive." Before the whole council in June, Munro had mentioned the review, and had anyone thought of it at least an update might have been requested at the executive meeting in Edmonton in September. In hindsight, it was a serious mistake for the executive to be so heavily absorbed that summer in organizing the second national multicultural conference.

Thus Munro (and the government) had been sending out signals for months. In June fiscal restraint was front and centre in the *Edmonton Journal's* report of Munro's Liberal meeting, and he touched upon it again in Vegreville next day. And, not surprisingly, in his remarks in November he also noted the budget: "...combating discrimination will not require more funds than are found in the program now," especially as departments like Justice "would be expected to earmark a part of their budgets to the fighting of discrimination."

On the CCCM executive, it was also common knowledge that the government's Quebec caucus was especially uneasy about the new multicultural policy, and from Jaworsky's handwritten, confidential memo late in August 1975, it is clear that multiculturalism in Ottawa was practically an orphan:

From the Undersecretary of State, via the Assistant Undersecretary of State and Director of General Programs down to the Director of the Multicultural Programme there was no one who could give a damn about the success of the policy. As a matter of fact the present Director of the program [Andrassy] several years ago was instrumental in liquidating the then ethnic participation program and his views were absolutely opposed to multiculturalism.... It is ironic that not only within the government as a whole but even within the Department of the Secretary of State this policy is looked upon with contempt and sarcasm. As recently as last week, the Minister of the Environment spoke at a conference at Chicoutimi about a "Bilingual and Bicultural" Canada. The Department of National Defence continues to have the office of the Director General of Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Outside of a very narrow circle of Members of Parliament who honestly support this policy, the majority of the Liberal caucus look upon the expansion of multiculturalism with hostility and disfavour.

Having taken the full measure of the government's complicated multicultural policy, Munro likely decided to extricate himself from all kinds of financial, political and ethnic pressures by simply burying the report's

very sensitive language issue. Instead, he would emphasize the CCCM's second long-range priority, "Overcoming Inequalities," which asked the government to do nothing as pointedly controversial, at least where the French were concerned.

The Ukrainians themselves may also have contributed to the reorientation. On 12 September 1975, when Trudeau paid an unprecedented, surprise visit to the UCC headquarters in Winnipeg, the executive placed before him the "Ukrainian Canadian Cultures Centres" project, budgeted at "30, 40 or more million dollars." The "initial fund" was pegged at ten million, of which the "special Federal Assistance Grant" would be three and a half million, according to the document I eventually received. The centres would serve "to consolidate" the Ukrainian cultural heritage, as indicated below in unmistakable Kalba-ese:

The aim of this consolidation would be to set up adequate co-ordination services for those organizations which are strong enough to continue their operations. The other organizations may wish to merge their inventories under the umbrella of all-Canadian centres to be located in the cities with the largest concentration of Ukrainian population....

We therefore request substansial [*sic*] grants for the following:

- Performing Arts Centres, housing Ukrainian theatre together with Ukrainian music and dance school,
- Reference libraries, archives, museum and art collections, combined with extension courses in Ukrainian crafts,
- Academic research and Study Centre, to supplement activities of Ukrainian departments at Canadian universities, and
- Youth Centres equipped for winter activities.

The proposal was absurd, yet millions were being requested for its meaningless content. Although I had seen Serge Radchuk, the federation's successful nominee for the UCC presidency in October 1974, in Edmonton in June and again in Winnipeg in July, and even though Kalba had spent several days in Edmonton in May, I had heard nothing of the "Cultures Centres" proposal until a day or two before Trudeau's visit. Aghast, I counselled against its presentation, but Kalba, pleased with the "magnitude" of the proposal, refused to listen. With the government interested in large projects, the UCC would oblige in spades! *To make matters worse the same proposal was placed before Munro when he visited the same headquarters on 5 October.* According to Susan Scotti, his assistant, Munro was puzzled by the request, for it was easy to see that Ukrainian Canadians already possessed numerous "Cultures

Centres" throughout the country. The poorly conceived, costly project was thus part of the cultural context when Munro strongly reprimanded the "well-established" ethnic groups in reorienting the multicultural policy a few weeks later. For at least a decade the Ukrainian agenda had been driving multicultural discussions, and Munro may well have concluded that it was time to rein it in.

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I first learned of the interview from Orest Kruhlak on 27 November. From his contacts, it was clear that the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) had not cleared Munro's remarks and knew nothing of the interview. Their liaison, Kruhlak wryly observed, was as poor as that between the federal and provincial governments on multiculturalism! He thought that a meeting with Munro was crucial: "We want some goddamn answers." Before the day was out, Frolick and Jaworsky also called, Frolick to indicate the steps that he and Bohdan Onyschuk, a legal colleague as Conservative as Frolick, were taking to activate the UCC branches in Ontario, and Jaworsky to express disbelief that Munro could have been "so rough" without first consulting the CCCM executive or anyone in the bureaucracy. Munro's remarks were likely a "trial balloon," and the executive should now "snow him under" with a strong reaction.

In the bitter controversy that followed, the government's position—expressed briefly by Trudeau in the Commons on the day of Munro's interview—was that continued government commitment to multiculturalism did not mean accepting "everything the consultative council on multiculturalism recommends." And this certainly touched the heart of the matter, for the council was only advisory and the government could either cherry-pick among its recommendations or ignore them altogether. Munro, who quickly began to limit the fall-out by arranging speaking engagements, was less dismissive in an address two days later to the Multicultural Council of Windsor and Essex County in Ontario:

If we find ourselves unable to do all things today that the Consultative Council urges, it does not mean we reject them. It does not preclude us from doing them for all time.... It simply means that we have to order our priorities—to do one thing at a time and build in an orderly and sound fashion on the foundations we have already laid.

The reaction of the ethnocultural groups varied. In a telegram to Trudeau the national assembly of the Folk Arts Council, meeting in Toronto on 30

November, termed the reorientation “a total negation of the letter and spirit” of the government’s policy of multiculturalism. Signed by Senator Yuzyk and the presidents of eleven national ethnic organizations—all white—it requested an immediate meeting with the prime minister and Munro. The UCC (in Winnipeg and in Ontario) saw the issue as one for the human rights commissions and the Department of Justice, not the minister responsible for multiculturalism. Stanley Haidasz, in a press interview, simply termed the reorientation an addition of new needs to old. A popular line from the Folk Arts meeting in Toronto was provided by Koteles: the \$4,300,000 spent by the government on multiculturalism during the thirty-one months for which statistics were available “works out to 10 cents per Canadian per year,” a far cry from the two dollars per capita that he thought was needed.

However, it was Koteles’s interview on the CBC radio program, *Identities*, on 1 December, just before the executive met Munro, which grated the most. In it Koteles accused Munro of holding priorities that were “all fouled up” and questioned his integrity and competence:

I don’t believe the Department, and I don’t believe the Minister when he says that he’s going to do more for the smaller groups when he’s not even doing enough for those groups which have demonstrated the desire to survive.... There is enough money in the pot, and there always has been, to look after the smaller groups. If they [the department] haven’t done the job, it’s because of their ineptness and inefficiency, and their own indifference and the lack of progress there is condemnation of the Department and the leadership it has.

And in a passage that Munro found particularly offensive, Koteles, carried away by his own rhetoric, placed himself beyond the pale. Asked to probe Munro’s motives, he at first preferred not to speculate and then obliged, bordering on paranoia:

...insensitive statements like the one that appeared in the *Globe and Mail* interview are a threat to us all. You know, today it’s our culture that is being taken away, tomorrow it’s going to be our schools, the day after that our jobs, and then our homes, and then our freedom, and then our very livelihood, and then one might as well be looking at Auschwitz.

Munro’s dinner meeting with the executive in Ottawa on 2 December was a total victory for him and the officials he had gathered around the large table in one of the private rooms in the Carlton Towers Hotel. No one on the executive

liked Munro's remarks, but only Koteles and I really challenged him—and even I backed off after Munro confirmed that large grants such as the recent one to the Ukrainian bilingual program in Edmonton met his new criteria and would continue. Susan Scotti had reassured me earlier by phone, and with the projected needs already clear there was no question of my resigning. In fact, resignation was not on anyone's lips. I tried to convince Munro to undertake serious negotiations with at least Alberta and Saskatchewan, whose school legislation permitted instruction in non-official languages, but he only referred me to André Renaud, the specialist on Indian education (the same Renaud whose paper I had criticized in Toronto in 1969), now close to the Secretary of State's Official Languages Program for the public schools. Renaud described the uncertain fate of federal language funds in provincial school systems, and I knew enough about the problem of federal aid to provincial education not to insist on documented evidence. In the end the meeting accomplished little, as it was certainly the minister's prerogative to set policy. In Toronto, on the way home, I phoned Frolick from the airport: "The jig is up; the government has finally called our bluff on the language question." Not only was the so-called third force an empty political construct, but the Ukrainians themselves were in a poor position to challenge the government on their "vaunted" agenda—bilingual education in the public schools—as no one apart from the Ukrainians in Edmonton had stirred.

In the weeks that followed—until the next national multicultural conference in February—the council's executive worked independently to organize what Koteles termed a "protest-type manifestation." Munro, in turn, immediately embarked on clarifying his position before the Italians in Hamilton, the Ukrainians in Edmonton and the Germans in Kitchener. I do not know what pressure(s) he experienced elsewhere, but at least some Ukrainians found Munro's remarks genuinely insulting. What made matters worse for him was that the "real" minorities did not embrace the 'new Munro.' Neither the Ontario Muslim Association nor the Toronto Jamaican Canadian Association, the only ones to go on record, welcomed the policy reorientation in the *Toronto Star* (28 November).

Accordingly, Munro looked for opportunities to explain himself, and when Scotti called, I arranged a meeting with "the Ukrainians" in Edmonton at the St. John's Institute on 13 December. In preparation I had the UCC call a briefing session on the 11<sup>th</sup>, where the *Globe* interview, the CCCM's *Annual Report* and other appropriate materials were distributed. I counselled a moderate strategy that avoided quick approval (applause) or deliberate offence (insults); if Munro was flying a kite, community input into the formation of policy could be useful.

At Scotti's request, I met Munro at the airport, and for some two hours at the Inn on Whyte he drank coffee, chain-smoked and repeatedly recited all

the good things he had done (and was doing) for multiculturalism, especially in education. Not much noticed, he said, were the Multilingual Biblioservice, the National Film Board's four hundred films dubbed into nineteen different languages (including some ten in Ukrainian that were seldom viewed!), the academic Canadian Ethnic Studies Advisory Committee and its Visiting Professors' Program, and, of course, the twenty ethnic histories. Why, he wondered, had I not applied for a visiting professorship, and when would the Ukrainian ethnic history—"the one the young needed so badly"—be ready? When I pointed to numerous other obligations, he became even more annoyed: it was just such unfulfilled commitments (as well as folkloric projects) that made his job in cabinet so difficult—something that few ethnocultural communities seemed to appreciate. I had never seen the self-assured Munro so insecure, his self-pity quite out of character.

At the meeting itself, he immediately touched base with all who might enhance his credibility. He thanked Senator Earl Hastings, the Liberals' provincial organizer, for attending and singled out the prominent Ukrainian Canadians he knew: Bill Sametz (a supporter in his Hamilton constituency, formerly from the west, whom he had brought with him!), Mykola Plawiuk (a CCCM member from Ontario, apparently invited as well—"Is Mike here?" he asked), Orest Kruhlak (who was present) and the late Mayor Hawrelak (whom he said he had known "for a long time—20-22 years"). Otherwise, he mainly backpedalled, promising even more funds out of existing budgets, including "seed money or assistance" to national ethnocultural organizations and even for "folkloric activities" that touched other communities in Canada. On language education he distinguished between the "volunteer sector" and the provincial "educational framework," encouraging applications from the former. It was clear that the language issue was the main stumbling-block that had prompted the reorientation.

Speaking without a prepared text, Munro was surprisingly coherent in a presentation of approximately forty-five minutes. Unfortunately, the questioning was unco-ordinated and poorly focused, though it did yield Munro's admission that anti-discrimination programs would not be confined to visible minorities. In strong remarks that earned a headline in the *Edmonton Journal*, Peter Savaryn attacked the small amounts allocated to multiculturalism, compared to the "billions and billions" available for the majority's "anglo culture"—the same majority that had also "preempted all the positions of power." Taken aback, Munro invoked the Official Languages Act to defend the larger expenditures and accused Savaryn of "breeding confrontation," even though multiculturalism was designed to encourage the opposite. The bilingual program in Edmonton received considerable attention, and one parent even committed Munro to assist with transportation costs ("We could put more into that, yes"). Unfortunately, too

many questions concentrated on specific projects, and one postwar émigré even got Munro to encourage grants to ethnic (Saturday) schools—Hoeter’s ghost again! After the meeting, at Munro’s request, I quickly arranged for an evening reception and dinner with a few community leaders at the new (Ukrainian) Troyanda Restaurant. When Munro arrived, he appeared intoxicated, which the dinner wine and his strong cigarillos made even more apparent as the evening wore on (he was, I learned later, experiencing marital difficulties). The result was mostly a lost opportunity, as he was soon in no shape to speak, and a substitute was clearly inappropriate.

Munro’s interview was his way of getting the council’s first report off the government’s back. The report’s recommendations—some vague, some costly, some confusing and some (like that on language) very thorny—constituted a veritable political minefield. Their implementation would have challenged even a country that could agree on fundamentals. In Canada, however, there was no such agreement, and the implementation of a policy as complex as “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework” was bound to cause difficulties. The very meaning of multiculturalism was so unclear that even the CCCM itself did not dare to explore it, fearing the many views that would likely emerge. Interminable debate was certain, which would only aggravate the disagreement on fundamentals.

I knew when the language resolution was passed in Edmonton that its subject matter was contentious and would not be welcome. To suggest that non-official languages in public schools should enjoy something of the same consideration as official languages was tantamount to waving a red flag. Why, then, did I encourage its passage? First, it was difficult to know precisely how to involve the federal government in support of educational bilingualism writ large. Second, a federal government espousing multiculturalism and encouraging the provinces to implement official bilingualism in their schools just might put in a good word (and some funds) behind other languages in the same schools. Third, it was always possible that the government’s political antenna in the west might suggest cherry-picking the comprehensive language resolution and yield benefits. Finally, I suppose I was also curious to see how “the feds” would wriggle out from under the resolution; I did not expect, however, to see it simply dumped.

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Munro’s interview had the effect of doubling to five hundred the number invited to the national conference on multiculturalism slated for mid-February 1976—Koteles’s way of letting the minister know what “the people” had in mind. However, the conference, on the books since early May, was poorly designed to meet that objective. Concerned about the

opposition to multiculturalism in Quebec, Saul Hayes had suggested that the attitudes of the French and the Anglo-Celts be explored by scholars and journalists in academic-like sessions to minimize political fall-out—a format less than ideal for nailing a minister. I encouraged the intellectual approach because far too many council members were simply drifting. Scholars like John Porter and Guy Rocher and journalists like Charles Lynch and Douglas Fisher had done much to focus my own thinking, and perhaps they might even spur others to clarify theirs. The approach pleased Munro, for it involved mainstream Canadian “thinkers” and reinforced his emphasis on multiculturalism as a policy for all Canadians. To him (and likely Trudeau), Haidasz’s separate ministry had been an unfortunate example of ethnic ghettoization—the very opposite of what the government had intended and what they thought the country needed.

Thus all agreed that the conference should bring together as many mainstream representatives as possible—“opinion-makers” from the media, voluntary organizations, government cultural agencies, schools and universities, labour and business associations, and women’s groups. All would grapple with ‘intellectuals’ and mingle with the CCCM and the chief officers of some fifty ethnic organizations, along with another fifty participants chosen at large by the regional chairmen, prorated according to the council’s existing regional representation. After the December confrontation with Munro, Koteles specifically added youth and increased the ethnic press contingent, urging the executive to add others at will. To stay within budget, sit-down dinners were reduced to one, supplemented by sandwich-style buffets, and ethnic organizations were encouraged to subsidize additional delegates, with some individuals even sharing hotel accommodation. The proceedings, Koteles agreed, might not be as tidy and elegant as was perhaps desirable, but the minister had stirred the “hornets’ nest,” and it was important that he hear from the ethnocultural constituencies in force.



The author, a pensive CCCM regional chairman, at the difficult Second Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, Ottawa, February 1976. Also shown (left to right) Ted Glista, chairman Ontario region; Horst Koehler, chairman B.C. region; John Munro, minister of labor responsible for multiculturalism.

The conference began with a “bear-pit” session on 13 February to which Lynch, Fisher, Claude Ryan and Beland Honderich, president of Southam Press, had been invited. When only Lynch and Fisher accepted, Monique Bégin, the parliamentary secretary to the secretary of state for external affairs, and Rosemary Brown, a British Columbia MLA prominent in the National Black Coalition, rounded out the panel. Next day the “Francophones” and the “Anglophones” aired their “viewpoints” on multiculturalism. Robert Painchaud, the Reverend Léger Comeau, director of the Department of Extension at St. Anne’s College, Church Point, Nova Scotia, and Guy Rocher agreed to makeup the first group. The choice of “Anglophones” was influenced by Munro’s insistence that they be “positive,” which ruled out John Porter. Accordingly, the Harvard sociologist Nathan Keyfitz joined Howard Palmer and Senator Eugene Forsey. In the end the “Anglophone” panel was not like anything originally envisaged. Neither Keyfitz nor Palmer was opposed to multiculturalism, and Forsey, whose brief remarks were the most disappointing, took the safe “contributions” approach, lecturing his listeners on the English speech, English political institutions and “imperial fountain” at the base of Canadian freedom. George Woodcock, a social historian at the University of British Columbia, would have been better, but he declined Munro’s invitation.

On Sunday morning the session was divided between the Non-Official Languages and the Majority Attitudes studies, a slot that either Munro or his officials had filled, for the executive had left the morning free until eleven, when the wind-up session, “Multiculturalism—A Neighbour’s Viewpoint,” featuring Zbigniew Brzezinski, would begin. Someone within government, perhaps concerned about the way Koteles was stacking the conference, decided to place the latest facts about Canadian attitudes toward linguistic retention and multiculturalism on the conference table. When circumstances obliged Brzezinski to cancel abruptly, Michael Novak, whose book *The Unmeltable Ethnics* I was then reading, was hastily summoned. The conference was nothing like the huge demonstration of “ethnic power” that Koteles had envisaged. No one confronted Munro and all presentations came off without incident. If Munro was looking for a vote of confidence, he could hardly have been more pleased.

Practically everyone (especially the poorly prepared and clawless “bears” in the “pit”) made much of the fact that multiculturalism was the contemporary form of ethnic politicking. Yet no one thought to ask whether anything important in Canadian life had ever been free of politicking, or whether ethnic politicking was necessarily bad if it enriched the lives of Canadians in other ways. It was also true, as Forsey said, that the Anglo-Celts had (and would likely continue to have) “the most decisive influence on Canadian culture and institutions,” but what was also needed was some recognition that their former

role as “McTavish” was still too much in evidence. Totally undeveloped was Rosemary Brown’s point that in our preoccupation with cultural differences, the social differences resulting from class relationships rooted in ethnicity were being ignored. For far too many individuals, the correlation between their present socio-economic position and that of their group’s entrance status as immigrants was still much too large.

Rocher, as expected, did not flinch, but unfortunately he sent the sociologist Leslie Laczko (University of Ottawa) to read his paper. Rocher’s absence took the edge off the Francophone session, and his main argument—that multiculturalism could only be a sociological, not a political, construct because Canada politically required a dualistic cultural framework from coast to coast to prevent the French from being swamped by ‘the English’—was not challenged. To me, establishing the primacy of French in Quebec went a long way toward providing the security for French that Rocher maintained was lacking. Outside Quebec, the fate of French would always be problematic (especially in education, the key to survival) as long as the French put forth their claims as one of right rather than of respect for others, earned through sharing the cultural consideration that their majority in Quebec gave them. After all, it was not those “others,” or even the Anglo-Celtic majority elsewhere, who had practically predestined multiculturalism in Canada. As Painchaud himself pointed out, it was the “lack of interest in supporting the movement of French-Canadians towards the Canadian prairies” by the “political, journalistic, and clerical elites of Quebec” that had largely prevented the French expansion to establish a culturally dualistic west—a fact that Quebec academics stubbornly refused to recognize.

In his own address Munro finally made clear the large role that the Majority Attitudes Study (released in 1977 as *Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada*) had played in his recent reorientation of the policy. The study showed that the majority of Canadians were still either unaware of the policy, or they saw it as mainly allowing immigrants to maintain their customs. To Munro, such attitudes required that Canadians experience ethnocultures through activities that showed “in a concrete way” how the groups were enriching Canada’s culture.

By moving more forcefully to meet the second and third objectives [of the 1971 policy]—the breaking down of cultural barriers and the promotion of cultural exchanges—I think we can make some meaningful headway on some basic concerns of cultural groups in this country.

Keyfitz showed well how Canada had moved away from the earlier Nordic ethnocentrism (the “social Darwinism” of his paper) through

Anglo-conformity and the assimilative melting pot to contemporary multiculturalism. Unfortunately, too much of what he had to say was couched in sociological jargon too difficult for most laymen to follow. On the other hand, Palmer's historical paper, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," was one of his best efforts—a model of comprehensive and lucid writing.

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With the conference out of the way, I again saw Munro in Calgary late in February 1976 at my second conference on "Multiculturalism in Education," invited by Kruhlak to discuss the government's role on a panel with him and Andrassy. The conference was the brainchild of the SUSK, which snared Munro for a question-and-answer session. As was his wont, Munro brought along Walter Tarnopolsky to 'protect' him, an invitation that Tarnopolsky, then a prime candidate for the chair of the about-to-be-formed Canadian Human Rights Commission, could not easily refuse.

That evening Munro, Tarnopolsky and I canvassed the future of multiculturalism and the CCCM from every possible angle for more than three hours over dinner. Munro wanted one of us to succeed Koteles as chairman. He had offered the position to me in Edmonton in December, but I put him off because the establishment of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies was practically assured and I would likely become its director. That pleased him no more than had my earlier recitation of projects and responsibilities. Tarnopolsky and I had agreed earlier that, if pressed, I would serve as chairman for a year (taking a sabbatical, if necessary), and that he would follow should the human rights chair not materialize. Munro wanted a chairman who, unlike Koteles, could work well with the bureaucracy, help him reduce the size of the council and promote French bilingualism in western Canada and multiculturalism in Quebec—a tall order indeed! Under consideration also were several bureaucratic changes: the replacement of Andrassy (possibly by Alberta's Kruhlak), the appointment of either a commissioner or an assistant deputy minister for multiculturalism and additions to Munro's multicultural staff. Munro admitted that his labour portfolio crowded out multiculturalism and that such assistance was needed. He also indicated that the cabinet document planned for the end of March would contain no fundamental changes, though federal non-support to third-language education was firm.

Back in Edmonton, I discussed the alternatives with my departmental chairman. To accommodate both Munro and the potential institute a year's leave was essential, requiring the earliest possible decision from Ottawa. Accordingly, on 22 March I informed Munro that I would chair the council

“on the understanding that between now and the assumption of office in May, steps will be taken to make the necessary changes in the civil service (discussed earlier in Calgary)... the ‘changing of the guard’ ought to include more than just the chairman if maximum results are expected, and you alone can ensure that.” In fairness to the university, it was “imperative” to have a decision “within the next three weeks.” When Munro merely acknowledged the letter, I pressed for a report on the changes we had discussed: “Unless I hear from you soon, I shall draw the appropriate conclusions. I am prepared to help but I do not need to add to the many unsolicited difficulties I already have.” The upshot was another meeting in Ottawa on 13 May that resolved nothing, as nothing had changed in the interim. I concluded that Munro was not serious enough for me to take on the additional responsibilities.

Just before meeting Munro I had organized a CCCM regional meeting in Edmonton on “Ukrainian Bilingualism in the Elementary Schools: A Close-up of Edmonton’s Unique Pilot Project.” The council members were divided into four groups for school visitations after the public and separate school consultants had introduced the program. It was important to see multiculturalism in action—to show it in a practical setting in the schools, where in my view it was most needed and most effective. Although all might not necessarily appreciate the experience, I no longer really cared. Munro was waffling, the promised federal-provincial discussions were nowhere in sight and the Non-Official Languages and Multicultural Attitudes studies were clearly discouraging federal action, the very thing I had feared at the meeting with federal officials in Toronto in March 1971. After the school visitations, program officials answered questions, and the ‘show’ quite overwhelmed those it was mainly concerned to impress: Suzanne Drouin from Quebec City, Painchaud and Scotti, the latter now the minister’s main political watchdog on council.

Drouin, according to the minutes, saw the experience as “living multiculturalism”—a way to decrease prejudice and a demonstration of the “large number of points of similarity between the aspirations of ethnocultural people in western Canada and the French-speaking people.” Painchaud asked a lot of probing, practical questions about the program. In reply to Thorlakson, he freely admitted that the French in Manitoba would “not be terribly sympathetic” to having benefits similar to theirs extended to other groups. When I attributed this to “the neurosis which surrounds the question of bilingualism.... They [the French] know that the atmosphere is not in favour of bilingualism, and that they have had to fight for whatever they have realized,” Painchaud drove the nail even deeper: “I think the main opposition comes from what you have described often as Anglo-Saxon conformity.” Drawing on my dissertation, I then referred to the traditional French position on assisting others: “...be patient, please, let us establish

ourselves solidly and then we will be your best ally.” With the situation now “really excellent for francophones in western Canada,”

It is time to start thinking seriously about following through on the usual arguments. In short, where do we go from here? I may be mistaken, time alone will tell, but it is my opinion that bilingualism, defined narrowly, will not go very far, or if it is pushed very hard other forms will die.

In the end the only concrete result was still another resolution (approved unanimously) to do what the minister had already indicated the government was not prepared to do: “...call at the earliest possible date the necessary federal-provincial meetings to implement recommendation number 1 of the CCCM First Annual Report.”

That evening (7 May), fully aware that Koteles was on his way out, I had him address the group on “The CCCM: The First Three Years in Review.” Although Scotti had questioned the move, her objections being mild, I extended the invitation. As usual, Koteles spoke without notes and rambled a lot, veering between pessimism and optimism, the end of his three-year period still pending. He could not understand the government’s tight control over the CCCM relative to other advisory councils, and he was scathing of the fraudulent politicians who regularly patronized “Kensington Market,” his euphemism for their unflinching appearances at ethnic cultural and social events.

But it was his gutsy treatment of the odds against the effective implementation of multiculturalism that was the most telling. He criticized the “puny” grants—“political payoffs in the view of Lynch and Fisher and some people within the department and within the government itself.” He noted the “hostility from the Anglo press in the form of the method that is so very kindly Anglo-Saxon—when you want to obstruct something just keep quiet and ignore it”—and the “outright hostility” of the Quebec press. More gently, he skewered the indifferent prime minister (“to this day we have not seen a personal visit”) and the part-time minister (a man of “great competence but with a very busy portfolio”). Time and again Munro’s November interview came up:

There is a great deal more to multiculturalism than folk dancing but the money has never been there. The personnel has never been there. The programme has never been developed even though we put it into writing and advocated it. There is language retention (the Edmonton experiment) but in the same interview we are told it cuts across provincial jurisdictional lines and the provinces don’t want it. Which provinces don’t want it? I have

not run into one that is opposed to receiving money of any sort for any purpose at any time.

He also revealed an incident which, if true, was a well-kept secret. After his own interview on *Identities*,

within twelve hours of the broadcast the full transcript of what I had to say was on the minister's desk. I wait for answers from the minister for months on other matters and from the CBC for years on other matters, and within twelve hours—within two months the announcer was fired. He had been with the programme for over a year. Within another four and a half weeks the producer was fired.... What is the sudden power, is it ministers, is it deputy ministers, is it appointed flunkies; what is this power over the CBC?

By the time Koteles finished, the audience was stunned, but during the question period only fellow Winnipeggers—Painchaud, Thorlakson and Kondra—tried to cheer him up.

Thereafter, though the Opposition in the Commons wondered about a separate ministry for multiculturalism (13 May) and questioned the vacancies on council (28 May), nothing much happened, a hiatus reminiscent of 1974. Munro continued to make speeches on what he referred to as the horizontal view of multiculturalism—an expression for mainstreaming multiculturalism. A new council chairman was needed, but I took no further notice. Having become the director of the new Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies on 1 July 1976, I had no time even for a holiday. Late in August I was hospitalized with pneumonia and was largely out of circulation for the next two months. At a meeting with Munro on 21 October I found that absolutely nothing had changed since our meeting in Calgary. The political will, he said, was not there, and he looked to me to help him change it. Searching for an exit without burning bridges, I employed a tactic frequently used by Koteles: I asked for a meeting with Jim Coutts, Trudeau's principal secretary in the Prime Minister's Office. I intended, I said, to place before Coutts the need for a *government* strategy that would take multiculturalism to Quebec and bilingualism to the west. I was prepared to promote both through the CCCM, but the problems of the 1971 policy were larger than both the ministry and the council; they required the prime minister's personal attention. A surprised and uncertain Munro reluctantly did as requested, but like all ministers he disliked the political end-run.

Ushered into Coutts's office, I spent no more than five minutes with the "great fixer" before being shunted off to Pierre Juneau. The latter had earlier

resigned as the secretary of state to contest a by-election in Quebec and was recovering from political defeat. Temporarily in charge of cultural policies in the PMO, Juneau appeared to take a real interest in my critique of the government's approach to multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, both in Quebec and in the west. In the latter, I said, wholly unnecessary political problems were the result—problems that individuals like Laurence Decore and I could help to overcome. There was a terrible ignorance in the land—of Quebec in the west and of the west in Quebec (I specifically referred to earlier discussions with Lacoursière-Lacerte and Drouin)—and I offered suggestions to improve the situation. After about an hour and a half, Juneau suggested a PMO seminar that he would arrange, and I left on a fairly high note—never to hear from him or the PMO again!

That evening at dinner I gave Munro, Andrassy, Scotti, Renaud and others my decision not to accept the chairmanship. Not only were my responsibilities in the new institute large, but I thought I could help the policy more by speaking as an academic to such bodies as the PMO. The usual regrets followed until I agreed to become the council's national vice-chairman from the west. The appointment of Peter Bosa as national chairman three weeks later probably meant that he was already in the wings. Munro had confided in February that the job could only go to someone of Ukrainian or Italian background, and Bosa, as a first-generation Italian Canadian and a strong Liberal from Toronto with large political ambitions, fit the bill perfectly.

# Chapter Seven

## IMPLEMENTING MULTICULTURALISM ELSEWHERE (1973–76)

### *The Beginnings of the Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Alberta*

As already indicated, while on the CCCM I was also president of the P & B Federation, concerned to involve the latter in significant cultural projects. Of these the Ukrainian bilingual program in Alberta was the first. We have already seen how an earlier meeting (March 1973) with the Alberta government's Education Committee had failed to establish Ukrainian as a language of instruction in the public schools. An untoward incident at the first regional meeting of the CCCM in Edmonton in June 1973 inadvertently provided the next opportunity. At the noon press conference I had strongly criticized the multicultural policies in Manitoba, Ontario and Alberta, terming them "façades" compared to the federal government's efforts. Culture Minister Horst Schmid, invited to the council's evening reception, caught the interview on his car radio and voiced strong objections upon arrival. In defence, I referred to the earlier March meeting with Hyndman, Hohol and Foster and the lack of government follow-up to our request for a pilot project in English-Ukrainian bilingual education. The "real action," I insisted, lay in such projects, not in the myriad of small grants being doled out by his department. Unaware of the meeting, the embarrassed minister became even more agitated until Laurence Decore waded in, freeing me to look after other incoming guests.

Not to lose the momentum, I quickly wrote Schmid and enclosed a copy of the March letter to Hyndman. No one on the Multicultural Committee, I said, was "playing politics" with multiculturalism, and it was "time to enter into serious discussions" on the letter. Schmid saw Hyndman, who informed the UCC on 10 July that the government would assist in the establishment of a pilot project. Besides funding four buses, a person selected by the UCC would be sent to Soviet Ukraine to discover whether appropriate textbooks could be purchased "in the same manner as selected texts now subsidized by the Department of Education." In addition, "someone" of Ukrainian background in the department would be appointed to work with the Multicultural Committee to have the project operational by September 1974. Although unquestionably an important breakthrough, the letter posed several serious problems. Not only were Soviet texts unacceptable, but the Multicultural Committee was in no immediate position to fill the promised buses with children. My hands were full with the fledgling CCCM and with the revitalized federation,

and there were no ready volunteers to organize the recruitment campaign that would certainly be needed.

In the circumstances help came (again inadvertently) from a totally unexpected source: the Orthodox Church Council of Ukrainian Schools in Edmonton. In mid-August the council had invited the supervisor of Early Childhood Services in the Edmonton public school system (Kay Cherniawski) to explain the government's new kindergarten program. Impressed, next month the women called another, larger meeting, chaired by the president of the professional Ukrainian Language Association (Maria Flak), to which I was invited by a public school teacher who had heard me speak. Amid the enthusiasm for Ukrainian kindergartens, I read Hyndman's letter, explained the 1971 school legislation and suggested a joint Orthodox-Catholic committee to establish the kindergartens that would hopefully become the first bilingual classes next September. With the committee in place, I contacted Peter Savaryn next day, and the resulting Catholic counterpart also accepted Flak as its co-ordinator. At the first joint meeting of the Ukrainian Kindergarten Committee, Flak became its head and Savaryn and I advisors to the Catholic and non-Catholic sections, respectively.

From the beginning, Savaryn and I saw the Edmonton classes as a project of the federation to be expanded to such larger centres of Ukrainian population as Saskatoon, Canora-Yorkton, Winnipeg and perhaps Thunder Bay and Toronto. As soon as the first enrollees reached eighty, I prepared a short brief that Roslak and I presented to the public school trustees on 27 November, and which Savaryn and I took to the separate board on 10 December. Both boards were very receptive, largely because the kindergarten program was government-approved and Hyndman's letter promised additional support.

Accordingly, on 27 December the Multicultural Committee met Hyndman and Schmid to clarify the extent of government assistance. It was critical to extract the maximum, for ten days before Christmas a very tired and frustrated Maria Flak had dumped the transportation problem in my lap, and the difficulties quickly mounted. Several days on the phone made it clear that not only were vehicles and licensed drivers scarce, but our committee did not have the funds to hire either. Yet, with the children in scattered pockets throughout the city, buses were absolutely essential. Transportation fees could be introduced, but they had to be low so as not to discourage registration. Some fifty children had already been lost to the vagaries of busing—a serious matter, considering that barely one hundred eventually enrolled.

Hyndman, now much less forthcoming than in his earlier letter, left it to Schmid to find some \$20,000 in the government's Priority Employment Program to hire teachers and aides. With a ten-dollar-per-child parental fee and healthy contributions from both kindergarten sections, the \$40,000

for the first six months was somehow met, but it was also clear that for the grade one classes in September the government's commitment had to be larger. Hyndman's letter of 2 January offered \$40-50,000 per year for three years, provided that both school boards 1) contributed funds, time and/or personnel, 2) conducted an objective external evaluation of the project and 3) kept the project "within the existing parameters of the relationship between the Government and the school boards." To clarify such matters, as well as curriculum development and the department's "consultation services," Hyndman asked that I call a meeting of Edmonton's two school superintendents, the associate deputy minister (Jim Hrabí) and the director of curriculum (Gene Torgunrud). Before the meeting, scheduled for 25 January, I spent many hours with Flak, mastering a budget that totalled \$225,000. At the meeting, however, finances took a back seat to Hrabí's insistence that without a Ukrainian program specialist the department could not produce the necessary curriculum materials in time for school opening in September. Only when Savaryn (Decore was also present) threatened to call the premier did Hrabí's objections subside.

After the meeting I phoned Hyndman to establish the precise extent of government support over the three-year period. Initially, he offered only \$40,000 per year for curriculum development (including the salary of a "Ukrainian curriculum assistant") plus 80 per cent of the program-evaluation costs. I pressed for consultants in each school system, and he added \$10,000 to help defray "supervisory services." This was very little, but further pressure only brought forth letters to the school board chairmen, which I deemed essential to secure the supervisors. Equally firm on transportation, Hyndman only offered \$3.50 per student per month, the amount in existing regulations. Finally, the community had to guarantee "no fewer than 100 students" for grade one, and the UCC had to ensure parental support and "continuing commitment" to the program. The transportation costs were the Achilles' heel that almost sank the program within a year, and by the mid-1980s they became an annual financial albatross of about \$100,000 in the Catholic system alone, met largely through bingos, casinos and a flat annual assessment on each parish.

In April, to implement the program, the department hired Xenia Turko (suggested by Savaryn), a secondary school teacher of Ukrainian in the Edmonton Catholic system whose deceased first husband had pioneered the preparation of Ukrainian teaching materials in the thirties and forties. In September the school systems in Edmonton added two part-time consultants. The Canadian-born trio spoke excellent English and Ukrainian, with Turko prominent in the Catholic community and fairly astute politically. By tapping various departmental funds, she farmed out enough piecemeal work to fellow-teachers during the summer to produce a curriculum guide and several lessons

by September. At the meeting with Hrabí and Torgunrud, I had suggested that science and mathematics (and, of course, the English language arts) be taught in English, with the rest of the curriculum in Ukrainian. The department accepted the division, and once the first grade one pupils (approximately 130) enrolled in September 1974, Turko embarked on a reading series with accompanying workbooks for the elementary grades.

As a result, during the Christmas break she approached me (as the federation's president) to obtain federal publication funds for the books she was planning. Phil Lamoureux, the associate director of curriculum (languages), was adamant that the larger-than-anticipated costs of preparing both the curriculum and the reading series ruled out any thought of departmental publication. Upon reflection, an application from the federation offered a fine opportunity to spring some major funds for a non-French language program; it might even lead to the oft-mentioned but seldom realized federal-provincial co-operation in education. And it would certainly test the image of openness that the friendly John Munro had been projecting since November 1974.

With Turko's preliminary estimate (\$96,965) from Metropolitan Printing before me, I visited the manager, stressed the large potential of the North American market, promised Metropolitan all subsequent contracts and reduced the amount to \$56,605. The federation's application under Savaryn's signature, dated 23 January, was accompanied by a long covering letter to Munro, perhaps unusual in its frankness:

I...cannot assure anyone that the money will not be wasted. What I do know, however, is this: If Canadian Ukrainians, the most tenacious, the most vociferous...group on the subject of second language learning, do not burn up the heather...in their rush to open up more bilingual classes, enrol more children, and utilize more textbooks, then their bluff would have been called for all time to come as far as I am concerned, and, in my view, all involved may then rest easily.

No one then knew how much real interest in language learning the right conditions might generate, and having government-approved materials available was certainly a very important condition.

Although I had occasionally mentioned the bilingual project to Munro, it was impossible to predict his reaction. His officials and the Multiculturalism Directorate, however, knew that the project was central to my multicultural agenda, and despite the size of the request (four or five times the usual grant from the \$150,000 Cultural Development Program, I was told), they could assume that I would not give up easily. Early in March I learned that,

despite some opposition from the Secretary of State department, Munro was favourably disposed and on 21 May 1975, at an executive meeting in Ottawa, he handed me a cheque for \$56,605. Deposited by Savaryn in the Ukrainian-operated Heritage Savings and Trust, the amount grew to \$60,450 within a year, as the first two readers took longer to develop than anticipated.

In May 1975 I had the federation's biennial convention in Winnipeg convert Edmonton's outgoing executive into a Standing Committee on Education, which enabled Savaryn and me to manage the textbook operation for several years. The process was very simple: the provincial government's School Book Branch stored and marketed the federation's publications and sent a portion of the sales (usually 15 per cent) to me as committee chairman, which cheque I then forwarded to Savaryn for deposit at Heritage. Michael Fedorak, the branch manager (and a schoolmate of mine from Willingdon), Turko and I set the price, and a self-revolving fund for future publications gradually emerged. Early in 1977, after the much larger fourth and fifth readers exhausted the fund, I submitted a second application to Munro from the Edmonton P & B Club, which yielded another \$88,600 in August 1978 to publish the sixth and seventh readers (and workbooks). It was such financial needs that made continued membership on the federal council absolutely essential, even when dissatisfaction with the government's implementation of the multicultural policy might occasionally have tempted my resignation.

As indicated, the cost of transportation posed the greatest problem. Savaryn and I pressed the P & B Club for contributions, but in the first two years only some \$10,000 was realized. The transportation difficulties soon affected other aspects of the bilingual project. In October 1974 the Catholic parents, frustrated by uncertain bus schedules, had formed a Parents' Advisory Committee for better liaison with the separate school board's transportation officials. Once the Ukrainian Bilingual Association came into being in March 1975, the committee's uncertain relationship to the association occasionally caused unfortunate friction.

Transportation also created difficulties elsewhere. The low and fluctuating kindergarten enrollments (101 in January 1974, 86 in September that year, 152 a year later) practically guaranteed split classes (more than one grade in a room), which resulted in more withdrawals. To cope, I proposed smaller teacher-pupil ratios, first to Mike Strembitsky, superintendent of the Edmonton public school system, then to Julian Koziak, who succeeded Hyndman as minister of education in March 1975. It was not right that school officials should complain about enrollments under twenty when classes of twenty-six or twenty-eight appeared not to bother them. In my letter to Strembitsky I urged an "administrative initiative" through Edmonton's two school boards, backed by interested ethnic groups (the French included), to give the government a

basis for justifying lower ratios. Strembitsky, however, merely underlined the higher costs of small classes and thought the political initiative should come from a joint committee of Ukrainian and French parents.

Rebuffed, I turned to Savaryn, who arranged a meeting with Koziak to consider the issue and a whole range of other matters that troubled Turko. As a result, Hrabi and Lamoureaux also attended on 21 November. In a follow-up letter (requested by Koziak), I made the case for smaller classes—termed by Savaryn the “intensive care treatment” for bilingual education:

The existing circumstances are well known: an essentially hostile Anglo-American unilingual environment; second-, third-, and fourth-generation homes with (in the main) a poor support base for bilingual education; teachers whose own fluency in a second language could stand considerable improvement; and scarce or outmoded teaching materials. These circumstances make bilingual education a special kind of education worthy of the same special consideration we have traditionally given to vocational and technical education with comparable teacher-pupil ratios. Special circumstances or special conditions warrant special consideration.

Koziak, in reply, ignored the above and dismissed Turko’s complaints about Lamoureaux’s arbitrary use of the budget to restrict the production of teaching materials. The Ukrainian program had already exceeded the \$150,000 initially promised by the government, he said, but the Language Branch would continue to meet its textbook and curriculum commitments in grades one through three. Thereafter, through “consultations and representations,” Lamoureaux could initiate other materials, though results would be “limited by financial and human resources.” While reining in Turko, the letter did not prevent future bickering, for she was full of much-needed energy and ambition, and I encouraged her at every turn.

Refused in Alberta, I turned to the national UCC to help improve the situation. What was needed to spur enrollments was a major inter-provincial push on behalf of English-Ukrainian bilingual education, especially in the Prairies. As president of the federation, I had done something to promote the program in the *Ukrainian Canadian Review* and in a half-hour videotape presentation, “Ukrainian Bilingualism,” shown on the CBC national television network on 1 August 1974. Early in November I had also talked up bilingual education before the Ukrainian teachers’ association in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, and again at a joint banquet of the association and the P & B Club that evening. At Saskatoon I met the executive of the young P & B Club and lauded bilingual classrooms at its first banquet and ball in February 1975. After October 1974 I regularly discussed program expansion with Kalba and

UCC president Serge Radchuk, the federation's successful candidate for that position, especially as the federation's executive, in Winnipeg since May 1975, was doing nothing to promote the program. Despite such efforts, neither Saskatchewan (whose school legislation permitted a similar program) nor Manitoba (which had still to pass such legislation) stirred. Accordingly, when Kalba arranged a "'Teaching Aid' conference" for 30 March 1976, I had much more in mind than just federal support for a UCC package to accommodate publication projects such as Turko's. Unfortunately, it turned out to be a sad watershed in the promotion of Ukrainian bilingual education in Canada.

Present were the leading professional educators of Ukrainian background from the Prairies and Ontario, as well as representatives from the federal Multiculturalism Directorate. Before the workshop, I proudly showed a copy of Turko's just-published first reader to Sonia Cipywnyk, an educational psychologist in the Faculty of Education (University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon), and to my great surprise she criticized it severely. It was "behind the times," she said, based on "outdated methodology," even though nothing of its kind *acceptable to provincial authorities* then existed for the elementary grades. Next day a package of teaching materials for federal funding emerged, pegged at \$134,400, including some \$80,000 to publish the sixth and seventh readers in "Edmonton's bilingual program"—and therein lay the rub.

The bilingual program was not just Edmonton's; from the beginning it had been presented to governments (and to all who would listen) in national terms. It was modelled on the French program in the Edmonton separate schools, and in the public schools it had broken the ground for French itself. (According to Jim Jones, the public school board's language supervisor, the Ukrainian classes emboldened the French, who immediately petitioned for the same.) Nowhere in Canada did the French favour the traditional "core" language classes (French as a language of study, then the norm in most Ukrainian classrooms), and they certainly had no interest in private Saturday schools. Why, then, if Ukrainians aspired to the same government consideration in public education as the French, should they not accept Ukrainian bilingual education as their first priority, quickly phase out language-of-study classes and reorient their Saturday schools to supplement the cultural education of the bilingual classes?

As I listened to the horse trading of publication priorities among the four provinces, I said little, especially in the presence of the federal officials. However, at a post-mortem that evening before the UCC "Committee on Canadian Affairs," chaired by Kondra (with Radchuk and Hlynka present), I noted that the main problem—achieving fluency in Ukrainian among Canadian-born children—lay elsewhere than in the upgrading of materials.

It was a problem that the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (then about to emerge) would have to tackle, hopefully with the UCC's assistance. Within a week I outlined the issues in the letter I had promised the committee.

Because of the high rate of intermarriage (as high as 90 per cent, according to some priests), the old type of program geared to children from homes where Ukrainian was the first spoken language had to be replaced by one that met the needs of children who knew little or no Ukrainian. In Edmonton fully 40 per cent of the children in the bilingual program came from intermarried homes, and many more would likely participate *once the Ukrainian leaders themselves made such classes their main priority*, phasing out the core classes and reorienting those held on Saturdays, which incidentally some guilt-ridden parents used as substitutes for the the much more involved bilingual classes. In fact it was not unusual to see private and public classes competing for the same students. While the federal authorities were certainly prepared to help, they would not do so on all fronts, and as a member of the CCCM Committee on Language and Culture, Kondra knew that. He and Radchuk also knew that Ukrainian bilingual education was being emphasized before government officials and that its expansion was especially important in the Prairies. For the UCC to see the Ukrainian bilingual classes as just another educational alternative was inexcusable, and had I been consulted about the recent meeting, I would strongly have argued for a totally different approach.

...as events unravelled on Tuesday, it became more and more evident that the language game being played was more in the interest of the writers of materials than of developing fluently bilingual children and I gradually lost all feeling for the distasteful exercise.

What was immediately needed was another meeting of the key professional personnel in the Prairies to consider the future.

The UCC rejected the suggestion in favour of the status quo: "We should," Kondra wrote, "make the best possible use of the present situation to obtain as much fluency as possible while at the same time we should work towards establishing bilingual schools." No existing programs would be phased out, and the UCC would continue to do the co-ordinating without indicating how it proposed to tackle the difficult situations in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Having joined the game of *national* linguistic politics long before Book IV appeared, the UCC saw no need to re-examine priorities in the wake of Book IV. Yet a strong, immediate groundswell on behalf of Ukrainian bilingual education would have quickly convinced the authorities that the Ukrainians, like the French, were ushering in a new era, and that

their educational problems, too, required serious government attention. However, the UCC's reputation for defining priorities that affected the young was poor, even though the same young were regularly memorialized in countless adult speeches and resolutions.

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In the early 1980s a small window of opportunity to increase enrollments appeared from a totally unexpected source—the University of Alberta Senate. With the introduction of the English-German program in Edmonton's public schools in 1978, Alberta Education approached the Faculty of Education in the fall of 1980 to help service the growing needs. The moment was opportune, for Madeleine Monod, responsible for the French program in the Department of Secondary Education, was about to retire, and I, as an interested party from the institute, was invited to discuss the situation with the chairs of elementary and secondary education in the faculty. The problem, of course, was to find a suitable candidate, one with training and experience in bilingual education and a language base either in French, German or Ukrainian. So serious was the problem that within the faculty a proposal for a "Centre for the Study of Second Language Education" emerged by the late spring of 1982—one geared largely to research but which recognized the importance of teacher preparation for heritage-language programs. Challenged by several departments (most notably Slavic studies and Linguistics), the promising proposal quickly disappeared.

In the fall of 1982 the desperate faculty finally advertised a position in "Secondary Languages Education," among whose responsibilities was "implementation and evaluation and expertise in Ukrainian." Through its grapevine the institute located a Canadian-born candidate, excellent in English and Ukrainian and in the last stages of a doctorate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, specializing in language arts, early childhood education, psychology and linguistics. However, because of last-minute budget cuts by the university's (not the faculty's) position-control committee, the available funds were suddenly diverted to fill "more important" priorities within the education faculty.

At this juncture the university Senate unexpectedly took up the cause. Since language education within a multicultural context was already an issue, a Task Force on Second Languages, chaired by Sherburne McCurdy, principal of Alberta College, was established in January 1980. Invited to appear, I described the difficult bilingual situation in the public schools (it was part of the committee's terms of reference) and cautioned against resurrecting any *compulsory* language requirements because university opinion was strongly divided on the issue. Instead, I advised stressing the importance of

bilingualism, a measure intended to help loosen the government purse strings for both teaching materials and an appointment in the Faculty of Education for the bilingual programs already in the schools. In May 1981 the task force's recommendations to the university *and* the government avoided compulsion and urged the faculties to introduce (or reintroduce) second-language entrance requirements and to consider language study in their review of courses and programs. As expected, the reaction was overwhelmingly negative. On 19 November 1982 the Senate learned that the university "does not at this time wish to expand its second language requirements."

As a long-time member of the Senate, Peter Savaryn, its chancellor since July 1982, was now determined to take the task force report under his wing, and at his request I attended the Senate meeting on 19 November. Supporting the negative side were mainly Anglo-Celtic members, whose arguments revived memories of the bigoted innuendo in the old North-West Territories against the use and teaching of French. One Peter Hunt emphasized the alleged low level of English literacy among undergraduates and the weak English among foreign students, insisting that "We must learn to walk before we can run." Academic vice-president George Baldwin joined in: "The crucially sorry state of English competency is preoccupying scores of us," obliging the university to concentrate on English and French "at this point." Canon Leadbeater (with whom I had crossed swords in the sixties on religious education in the public schools) picked up the chant with the piety characteristic of his calling. Savaryn, Mary Lobay and several other 'ethnics,' in strong dissent, invoked the standard individual, national and international benefits of second-language learning.

Asked by Savaryn to comment, I expressed surprise at the tone of the opposition. Its narrow-mindedness reminded me of the territorial days, quite unsuited to the new era of multiculturalism, with its many bilingual classrooms. "It is outrageous," I concluded, "that in this day and age one finds the Baldwins, the Hunts and the Leadbeaters lined up against the Lobays, the Savaryns and the Lupuls" on the language issue. As *Folio*, the campus organ, reported, the remarks "clearly angered some members," and I must admit that they were scarcely out of my mouth when I regretted them, for they were certainly personal, as McCurdy duly noted. Asked by a television reporter, whom I had tried to avoid, to comment on the Senate's "Follow-Up Report," I did so hurriedly and dismissively, noting only that in the hostile North American environment the language issue was "hopeless," and that I was tired of repeating the same arguments to a majority that refused to listen.



Ukrainian Christmas celebration, third-grade class, Ukrainian bilingual program, St Martin Separate (Catholic) School, Edmonton, December 1981.

The determined Senate followed with a Progress Review Committee for Second Languages, before which I again discussed the bilingual programs, especially the twin needs: teaching materials and an appointment in the Faculty of Education. The committee's report of 27 April 1984 to the Senate showed well how academic officialdom could sweep sensitive issues under the table. In his letter the dean of education (Bob Patterson) blamed the "severe fiscal restraints" of 1983 for making it necessary to sacrifice the earlier language position to one ostensibly higher in priority. The committee, however, was assured that "the matter of second language instruction will continue as a question of priority in this faculty." In the Senate I indicated that on the education appointment the university, by now, was "facing a crisis situation." Baldwin disagreed: "A sense of crisis is one thing; communicating the sense of urgency is quite another." Myer Horowitz, the university president, supported him: "University Politics 101" indicates that one does not make changes by passing motions that could be perceived as mandatory; "you do it by lobbying and talking." That was, of course, true—but in the matter of an education appointment there was no one left for the institute to lobby. Another Senate committee updated the situation in April 1986: "There is still a need in the Faculty of Education for instructional staff in languages other than French." However, my term as director of the institute was now almost up, and I was spared the pointless task of urging the matter before the Senate again.

### *Other Efforts at Implementing Multiculturalism*

Deeply involved with the CCCM, the federation and the Ukrainian bilingual program, I did not attend my first meeting of the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council until early in 1975. The council, formed in October 1973, consisted of some fifty members designated by the ethnocultural organizations and about a dozen others appointed by the minister—individuals whom Horst Schmid wanted particularly to have ‘on-side.’ I was among the ‘anointed’ and this gave me some leverage, which I used sparingly, largely in support of historical projects (the \$12,000 grant to the Parks and Recreation Department in Edmonton for the study of ethnic-group impact on the city’s historical development was typical). Each ethnic group had at least one council member, with each five per cent on the 1971 census rating an addition. As a result, the Anglo-Celts, the Germans and the Ukrainians had nine, three and two members, respectively. The first two nominees of the local Ukrainian Canadian Committee were Laurence Decore (also the council chairman for the first year and a half) and Peter Savaryn, with the Reverend Mykhailo Sopuliak (editor of *Ukrains’ki visti*) also an appointed member. In September 1974 Orest Kruhlak, whose Ukrainian-born parents lived in Edmonton, became director of the Alberta Cultural Heritage Branch. His departure from Ottawa was partly my doing. After Savaryn called, I phoned Kruhlak and then suggested that Savaryn recommend him to Schmid. (Kruhlak returned to Ottawa in January 1977 to head the Multiculturalism Directorate.)



First executive Alberta Cultural Heritage Council, Edmonton, February 1974. (Left to right) R.P. Wekherli, 2nd vice-chairman; Rev. Bogdan Zjalic, 1st vice-chairman; Laurence Decore, chairman; Horst Schmid, minister of culture, youth and recreation; Pierre Monod, treasurer; Joseph Kandler, secretary.

The Heritage Council, like the CCCM, had much difficulty in defining its role. It was advisory to the minister but Schmid very seldom consulted it. After recommending a \$15-per-pupil grant to classes in private ethnic schools (implemented early in 1974), it did little but pass resolutions, most of which the minister ignored. However, the German-born Schmid addressed the council with such enthusiasm that the government's inaction was generally overlooked. It did not help that many of the resolutions were either badly worded or raised issues that were hard to handle. Thus, at my first meeting (31 January 1975) of the Language and Education Committee, matriculation credits for languages taught at home or by the ethnocultural communities were discussed. Unfortunately, the committee chair, Anne Anderson, a Cree elder who taught at Grant MacEwan College and helped to organize Cree classes in Edmonton's public schools, little appreciated the odds against the educational establishment taking community education seriously. In her view, exams in such languages should be set for the Department of Education by "a leader with the Canadian teacher's certificate" whose competence "a Department of Language in the most appropriate college or university in North America" would establish. I tried to improve the phrasing, but my experience with the educational establishment told me that the resolution, however worded, would go nowhere. In the end Schmid merely referred it to the minister of education, where, like so many others, it simply died.

That the issues requiring attention were many is clear from the council's six committees: media, youth, culture, education, language, and human rights. But how easily could a minister request the federal government to "relax the broadcasting regulations so as to allow ethnic groups access in the English and French languages to all radio stations and T.V. so as to provide listening and viewing throughout the province and across Canada"? Nor was it much easier to "relieve municipal taxes levied on land and buildings devoted primarily to ethnocultural activities." Resolutions that entailed public expenditures usually fell before "a shortage of funds," and those that touched on policy were taken "under consideration" or "study" and seldom heard of again. With the time interval for a ministerial response six to twelve months, this was fairly easy to do. Moreover, not only was Schmid very popular, but the turnover in committees was considerable.

The government did introduce the first human-rights legislation and broadened the designation of heritage sites. Before long, large historical signs on highways described the discovery and/or settlement of a district, with the signs in some areas even bilingual (in English and a heritage language). In 1968 "ethnocultural activity" had been added to the province's annual achievement awards, and in November 1975 I was one of three recipients in that category. Such changes in the public landscape, coupled with articles about pioneering and current ethnocultural activities in the

bimonthly *Heritage* and in the monthly *Bulletin* of "Council News" and "Alberta Events," gave one the impression that much was happening, even when many of the activities did not amount to much.



Alberta premier Peter Lougheed presents the author with Achievement Award for "Ethnocultural Activity," Calgary, November 1975.

What little effect the ethnic dimension had on important public projects may be gauged from the sad fate of an issue raised by Decore after the first council meeting in Edmonton in February 1974. With the city seriously considering a convention centre, Decore urged that it be a *cultural* and convention centre with space for the activities of ethnocultural groups. About to contest an aldermanic seat, Decore found the centre a good issue around which to rally the (ethnic) troops and perhaps even to make the work of the largely toothless council more significant. With both Decore and William Hawrelak, a mayoralty candidate, victorious in October, the ethnic dimension had suddenly to be taken seriously by the city's twenty-member advisory committee for the (renamed) "Cultural and Convention Centre." On 27 January Hawrelak held a meeting in the Edmonton Art Gallery Theatre to brief the ethnocultural organizations on the centre. Joe Kandler, the council's secretary and the newest addition to the advisory committee, chaired the meeting, the mayor brought greetings and the architect lauded the concept of the centre in a slick audio-visual presentation—and it did appear that the "cultural" dimension would finally be given its due. However, once the ethnocultural organizations replaced the council as the main negotiators, their internal disagreements dragged out negotiations and enabled the convention-and-trade component gradually to shake off the cultural segment, especially after Hawrelak's sudden, fatal heart attack in November 1975.

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By the mid-1970s multiculturalism and related aspects—ethnicity, multicultural education, immigration, national identity—were gradually acquiring a higher profile in Canada. As predicted, political initiatives created a climate and atmosphere that made ethnocultural interests more fashionable. Even dissent in newspapers and popular periodicals like *Maclean's* (always cool toward multiculturalism) was not necessarily bad, for the controversy made people think about matters that had earlier troubled only the more ethnically conscious.

Perhaps most acceptable were the familiar folk arts activities—the festivals that either sprang up or were reinvigorated. Thus the federal government's first "Canadian Multicultural Festival," held in Ottawa during the whole month of July 1974 (and even longer the following year), gave the Toronto "Caravan" and the Winnipeg "Folklorama" a new lease on life. For "Folklorama," the Carling Community Arts Foundation, established in January 1974 "to help Canadian ethnic organizations spread their culture to a wider scope of people," was a major sponsor, providing a total of \$190,000 in grants to ethnic organizations in 1974. The Ukrainian "Vesna Festival" in Saskatoon and the multicultural "Heritage Days" in Edmonton were in the same tradition. Multicultural centres, too, were suddenly very popular, with most established with some government aid—more than \$240,000 to thirteen cities in fiscal 1974-75 from Ottawa alone. "Chinatown" also took on a new lease on life in Edmonton. Floated on the rhetoric of urban renewal and tourism, the historic Chinese ghetto was enlarged and accepted (even praised) by the *Journal* as a "central-city cultural enclave." And in Vancouver and Toronto bilingual English-Chinese street signs appeared in 1976.

Like Carling O'Keefe Breweries, the Royal Bank's *Monthly Newsletter* (November 1973) lauded Canada's "ethnic mosaic," with a positive nod in the direction of the country's new multicultural policy. A month later in Toronto Queen Elizabeth II "urged Canadians of all ethnic origins...to accept her as their monarch." And in the same month, at a CCCM conference luncheon in Ottawa, George Ignatieff, the "distinguished Russian-born provost" of Trinity College in Toronto, whose name would soon be bandied about for governor general, admitted to having "suffered the humility of being called 'Bohunk' on account of his ethnic origin." To him, the "essence" of the Canadian way of life was that "each and every one of the ethnic cultures that go to make up the Canadian mosaic is supposed to be of equal validity." In a major political article, "Ethnic fact being felt," in the *Ottawa Citizen* late in January 1974, the "wasp establishment" was briefed on the "ethnic dynamism" that was bringing the Schreyers, Romanows, Hohols, Yaremkos, Haidaszcs and Bogdaneviches (deputy minister in Saskatchewan)

to the fore. Perhaps fittingly, a headline in the *Edmonton Journal* late in June 1975 noted that "British subjects lose right to vote in Canada."

On another level Sondra Gotlieb, author of *The Gourmet's Canada* (1972) before her escapades in Washington, discussed ethnic cuisine in "A feast from the roots: Multiculturalism is beautiful" in *Maclean's* (December 1973), introduced by eight young ladies in ethnic costume. And by May 1976 the *Edmonton Journal* could report that the "ethnic look" in fashion was "a strong mood surfacing above any other this spring":

Multi-culturalism which first started making inroads into fashion about three years ago is now firmly implanted with folk-art trim on large tent-like denim dresses with shoestrapping straps; dark diminutive floral prints, wrinkled cotton gauze tops and shoulderless Mexican style wedding dresses for summer evenings.

Radio programs like the *Scandinavian Hour* and the *Ukrainian Hour*, both on CFCW Camrose (southeast of Edmonton), were joined by *Kontakt*, a weekly half-hour in Ukrainian on QCTV in Edmonton, the community cable channel that opened in 1973, owned in part by Laurence Decore. And in October 1975, ACCESS Alberta, the province's new educational TV station, produced a film for its *Come Alive* program that portrayed the typical farm activities of Ukrainian pioneers, set in the Historical Village Pioneer Museum at Shandro.

Yet even as the multicultural bandwagon was gathering momentum, the *Edmonton Journal*, always an uneasy rider, got off from time to time to expose the foibles of ethnic politics. During the Edmonton civic election in October 1974, for example, Olive Elliott, a *Journal* columnist strongly opposed to multiculturalism, relished digging out the particulars behind the "Edmonton Cultural Co-ordinating Committee," which had publicly endorsed a slate that included Hawrelak for mayor and Decore and eleven others for alderman. As in 1971, the committee was largely fictitious, mainly the brainchild of several German-Canadian émigrés close to Schmid. The *Journal* exposed the group's ineptness in clearing only its Hawrelak ad, and in the fall-out the 'non-ethnics' (Hewes, Cavanagh, Falconer, Tanner, Newman, Leger, Matheson) quickly repudiated the endorsement, leaving only the 'ethnics' (Olsen, Rutkowski, Butti, Volkman and, of course, Decore and Hawrelak) to express their indifference.

Far more damaging to the image of multiculturalism was the ruse perpetrated on Schmid's department in May 1975 by CHQT radio newsman Len Grant. His "phoney application," reported in a large red front-page *Journal* headline, had received two government cheques in support of a fictitious St. George's Gaelic Society Language School in Edmonton. The

amounts, \$285 for the nineteen pupils at the standard \$15 per-pupil rate (with a covering letter from Schmid) and \$2,000 as an *unsolicited* grant toward its facilities and equipment (with a covering letter from Lou Hyndman, in whose constituency Grant resided), naturally embarrassed Schmid and the government. The indignant *Journal* lectured away in an editorial, in its city-affairs columns and in a cartoon—a puzzled parent receiving “a \$2,500 grant from Horst Schmid for the Pig Latin Language Society?” with a buck-toothed youngster, hand outstretched, declaring, “That’s for me!” Two reports followed on procedures taken by Schmid to prevent such departmental “slip-ups” in the future. The implicit message was clear: multiculturalism as ethnic symbolism was fine, but ethnic consciousness had no place in sharing political and economic benefits. Good Canadians celebrated ethnicity in the manner of St. Patrick’s Day: at the head table of the Irish Sports Social Society in March 1976, “the candles were green, the carnations were green, even the water was green,” according to the *Journal*. Good Canadians trotted out their ethnicity only on special occasions. The fact that in most parts of the country Canadian culture (politics and economics included) had generally evolved within the crucible of Anglo-Celtic ethnic consciousness was simply ignored—even though it was driving the French majority in Quebec to distraction and slowly even to separation.

In the emerging climate of multiculturalism, notable beneficiaries were also the more visible minorities, who began to establish ethnocultural organizations (some national in scope) and to speak out against racism and discrimination. Concerned that the expressed views be representative, governments welcomed the organizations, especially among the more recent immigrants. To facilitate South Asian representation on the ACHC, Schmid even initiated the Council of India Societies in Alberta in October 1973, complete with a \$2,500 grant toward the cost of the India Centre’s rented premises. By August 1976, with federal help, activists in Alberta like Gurbachan Paul, a sociologist at the University of Alberta, and Krishan Joshee, a provincial civil servant, helped to establish the National Association of Canadians of Origins in India.

African Canadians, with roots in Alberta that preceded the First World War, also began to organize, forming the Black Research Society of Alberta in the fall of 1972, which held the “First Western Canadian Home Coming and Awards Night” in Edmonton in August 1973. Another group, the Cultural Association for Black People, formed in May 1974, held a talent show for blacks in the provincial museum in June and a fashion show with black models in the Jubilee Auditorium in October. In July 1975 the same association took on its biggest project, the “Miss Black Alberta Beauty Pageant,” which, coupled with the homecoming celebration the previous weekend in Amber Valley (the site near Athabasca of the original black settlement), garnered

the black community a good deal of very favourable publicity. Unlike the South Asians, blacks, Chinese and (to a lesser extent) Japanese—all of whom generally embraced multiculturalism—Canada's native peoples tended to participate marginally. Even so, the appointment early in May 1975 of Ralph Steinhauer (from an old Alberta Indian family) as the province's (and Canada's) first native lieutenant governor was, according to Trudeau, the result of a concern to maintain "a good cross-section of Canadians in every post" filled by order-in-council, especially from groups that might have been "neglected in the past."

Very few media accounts of visible minorities failed at least to mention racism and discrimination. Once the Special Joint Parliamentary Committee began to hold hearings on the federal government's Green Paper on Immigration in 1975, the issue of Canada's future demography brought the Third World, the main source of recent immigration, into sharp focus, frequently accompanied by racial overtones. Although Gurbachan Paul had urged me to appear before the committee, I left the matter to a young lawyer (Ihor Broda) who was the local UCC's official spokesman on the subject, having addressed the federation's biennial convention on the Green Paper that year. From personal contacts with Paul and from the papers he sent me, it was very clear, however, that some South Asians were skeptical about the potential of multiculturalism to meet the needs of *all* of Canada's peoples.

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The impact of multiculturalism (and ethnicity) on Canadian society gradually affected the schools through what came to be known as multicultural education. Ontario, with its very large immigrant population, especially in Toronto, took the lead in 1973, its Department of Education supplementing programs *for* immigrant- or minority-group children with programs *about* ethnic groups, evident in the units on "Canada's Multi-Culture Heritage" in grade nine history. Equally significant were the extensive discussions spurred by the public hearings of the Toronto Board of Education's "Work Group on Multicultural Programs," whose six trustees subsequently issued three reports between October 1974 and February 1976 on how schools might best reflect the city's multicultural dimension. In the end they decided not to press the provincial government for bilingual school legislation comparable to that in Alberta and Saskatchewan. At another level the highly influential Canadian Society for the Study of Education, based in Toronto, took "Multi-cultural Societies and Education" as the theme for its *Bulletin* in September 1974.

Multicultural education in Alberta was given a boost with the appointment in 1973 of Michael Strembitsky as superintendent of the

Edmonton public school system. In his first *Journal* interview in April, "School superintendent aiming for diversity," references to ethnicity were prominent. Prominent, too, was the growing interest that the Intercultural Education Council of the Alberta Teachers' Association was beginning to show in "Multiculturalism in Education," the title of its annual conference in October 1973. Thereafter the *ATA News* regularly carried reports on the subject. Multicultural education was greatly strengthened in September 1974, when the French community joined the Ukrainians in establishing bilingual kindergartens within the Edmonton public school system. A year later the hitherto private Jewish Talmud Torah School (established in 1912) became an integral part of the same system, with the public board funding all aspects but the "religious component." Even so, nothing as yet was being done to have the school curriculum reflect the province's multicultural reality, especially in the social studies.

However, it was through ethnic studies at the post-secondary level that multicultural education had its greatest impact, especially among sociologists and anthropologists, some psychologists and younger historians, and a few members in faculties of education, all of whom became the main applicants for research grants from the new federal Canadian Ethnic Studies Advisory Committee. In June 1973 the meeting of the Canadian Guidance and Counselling Association in Winnipeg took as its convention theme "Counselling in the Canadian Mosaic," the first such conference in Canada. And from the meetings of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association in Toronto and Winnipeg in 1973 and 1975, it was easy to see how much the association had grown in just four years. In 1972 it had adopted *Canadian Ethnic Studies* as its official journal, published by the University of Calgary's Research Centre of Ethnic Studies, thereby increasing the journal's subscriptions substantially.

Spurred by the Calgary example, in the fall of 1973 the University of Saskatchewan in Regina created an Ethnic Studies Division within its newly established Canadian Plains Research Centre. The division's conference on "Culture, Education, and Ethnic Canadians" early in October 1976 brought together what was at the time practically a "Who's Who" of scholars in Canadian ethnic studies. The conference papers, published early in 1978, yielded a 500-page paperback volume that greatly raised the profile of ethnic studies on Canadian campuses. Equally significant was the founding of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta in July 1976 and the almost simultaneous establishment at the University of Toronto of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, a government-funded research centre and archival depository for the province's ethnocultural communities.

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Besides helping to found the above institute, I also introduced a course on the history of Ukrainians in Canada in January 1976. When I first approached Cedric Lowe, the chairman of the Department of History, in October 1973, he was surprisingly receptive, stipulating only that the course be a seminar at the more specialized 400 level, entitled "Slavic Settlement in Canada: The Ukrainian Experience." The Arts Faculty Council considered the course on 14 May 1974, and to my pleasant surprise proposed that either "Ukrainian" or "East European" replace "Slavic" in the title. When I pressed for "Ukrainian," the department's "Canadianists," fearing a proliferation of courses by ethnic groups, countered with "Ethnic Settlement in Canada." To my objections that I lacked the background to offer such a broad course, Lowe indicated that the department did not much care what I taught; it was only important to have a general title that could accommodate other groups. Thus it was that History 406, "The History of Ethnic Settlement in Canada," was duly approved in the fall of 1974. In February 1978 I was suddenly informed that the department wished to replace the above with a 300-level course, "The History of Ukrainians in Canada." According to the new department chairman (Robert Hett), the former course would "remain on the books but I assume it will not be taught in the foreseeable future." I do not know what prompted the change, but, as I had earlier supposed, the fear that other ethnic groups would follow the Ukrainian lead was largely groundless. It took a lot of effort to realize such projects, and not too many minorities had the interest, energy or resources to cope with the difficulties in implementation.

Of some import also were the two papers I presented at the Learned Societies in the mid-1970s. The first, in June 1975 to a session of the Canadian Historical Association, surveyed "The Portrayal of Canada's 'Other' Peoples in Senior High School History and Social Studies Textbooks in Alberta, 1905 to the Present." Crammed with facts and quotations, it was written in some disgust with earlier scholarly neglect, and those whom it criticized may have found parts of it carping. However, after I examined the holdings of the Curriculum Library in the Faculty of Education, it was clear that the need for such a study was great. Concentrating on the British (the Anglo-Celts) and the French and displaying an almost pathological fascination with the Canadian native peoples, the mainstream publishers had shown little interest in other Canadians. Peter Savaryn sent copies of the paper to Hohol and Koziak, and it may have influenced the latter, for it was during his ministry (1975-79) that multiculturalism was gradually introduced at all levels of the Alberta social studies curriculum. The paper appeared in the *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* in 1976.

The other paper, "Bilingual Education and the Ukrainians in Western Canada: Possibilities and Problems," presented to the Canadian Association for the Study of Education in June 1976, was by far my best work on the subject. Russ McArthur, an educational psychologist who specialized in linguistic cognition in our faculty, thought it unfortunate that other commitments kept me from producing more work at that level. It was written in the wake of the terribly difficult UCC meeting on the subject in Winnipeg two months earlier and against the background of the many problems posed by unpredictable and uneven enrollments. Besides transportation costs and split classes, these included

such perennials as articulation [between grades and divisions], the elimination of languages in university matriculation, a weak support base at home, and the need to work out a satisfactory relationship between the four classical components of any educational ladder within a provincial school system, namely, the university, the department of education, the school system (including the teachers), and the parents.

The paper appeared in the association's yearbook for 1976.

As interest in multiculturalism grew, colleagues in the academy began to request articles for publication. With time at a premium, I delved into largely unpublished earlier addresses to meet the most pressing needs. Such were the origins of "Multiculturalism and Canadian National Identity: The Alberta Experience" in *Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity*, a book of readings published in the spring of 1977, edited by Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald (a former student of mine), colleagues in educational foundations in Alberta and Manitoba, respectively. As a text in junior courses for several years, it helped expose hundreds of future teachers to issues that were central to the multicultural movement.

One academic decidedly unimpressed by my views on multiculturalism was Jean Burnet, a sociologist at York University who had reputedly had a large hand in the writing of Book IV. She had heard my paper, "Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: An Essay in Definition," at a sociology and anthropology conference in Banff in December 1973, and in mid-March she levelled both barrels at me (and John Porter) in her paper, "The Policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: An Interpretation," delivered at a conference at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Ignoring the core of my presentation—ethnicity as a creative underpinning for multiculturalism—Burnet zeroed in on my view of the relationship between language and culture. Impressed by *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), a study by the American sociologist Frederick Barth, she

maintained that the policy of multiculturalism was intended to encourage ethnic groups, not whole cultures (languages included). Members of the former were to see themselves as either English- or French-speaking Canadians, "eager to maintain their distinctive identity through such means as ethnic associations, newspapers and supplementary schools." The latter were "cultural traits" and "badges of identity"; they did not constitute "a complete and living culture," because members of the group were "geographically dispersed and highly differentiated" as to both time of arrival in Canada and socio-economic status before and after arrival.

In reply, I termed the argument "double-edged," for French Canadians outside Quebec and New Brunswick were also badly dispersed and therefore could not contemplate life with a complete and living culture *unless* the rest of Canadian society helped them to do so. "And if it is willing to help them, why not others?" Burnet had also dismissed the post-secondary institutions of my tripartite proposal on financial grounds. "One billion and a half dollars for vocationalism and commercialism in education is fine," I retorted, "a pittance of that for humanistic education is over-burdening the 'explosively angry' Canadian taxpayer! It is time that people like you and me taught such taxpayers what education is all about instead of merely trotting out their arguments." Although Burnet did not reply, our paths crossed frequently and subsequent discussions were always friendly.

What amazed me even more, however, was that neither Burnet nor anyone else reacted to my proposition that ethnicity, as a creative basis for multiculturalism, could provide Canada with the much-sought distinctive national identity. I had not expected much of a response from the earlier (1973) presentation of that view to the Ukrainian Canadians in Winnipeg, and certainly there were few on the CCCM who paid much attention to multiculturalism as an ideology, but I did think that some social scientists (and possibly historians and their literary colleagues) might have had something to say about my approach to multiculturalism. In the end I concluded that I was either so off base as to merit no comment or that most intellectuals already realized that the country really had little use for ethnicity; that it was temporarily borne as the inevitable consequence of immigration; that for most groups it was destined to disappear quickly; and that in the meantime it should affect the country's public institutions as little as possible.

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It is hard to say how much the heightened interest in multiculturalism actually affected Canadian public opinion. Apart from the print media, I cannot recall any marked public reaction to what was taking place. However,

from the federal government's study of attitudes toward multiculturalism, it is clear that the 1,849 respondents in June-July 1974 did not give the policy a ringing endorsement:

Knowledge of multiculturalism policy was not widespread (only one fifth knew about the policy), and most people perceived the government's current policy to favour "permissive" rather than "supportive" integration. Despite this low level of knowledge and the inaccurate perception of the policy, multicultural attitudes were generally positive. With respect to multicultural ideology, respondents were on the whole slightly in favour of cultural diversity in Canada. The perceived consequences of multiculturalism were also slightly positive. Although programme attitudes were greeted with general acceptance, there is evidence of greater acceptance of some programmes (i.e., "community centres" and "folk festivals") than for others (e.g., "radio and television shows in languages other than English or French" and "teaching in regular school programs of the languages of the major cultural groups who have settled in Canada"); indeed, respondents showed slight rejection of the last two programmes. Finally, behavioural intentions were less favourable than attitudes.... It may well be that Canadians think that the idea of multiculturalism is good, that some of the programmes are enjoyable, but that they do not want to get involved.

The study found that the attitudes of Quebecers, the elderly, the less well educated and those of lower socio-economic status were the least positive. The Quebecers did not surprise me, but the skepticism of the others only underlined how much multiculturalism, like "culture" generally, was largely a white-collar, middle-class preoccupation, with all the difficulties that that implied for carrying it to the blue-collar sector. Practically all members of the CCCM and the ACHC were drawn from the white-collar sector, as were most members of Ukrainian organizations. I rationalized this by noting that cultural leaders in the wider Canadian society were also mainly from that sector, but this did not hide the fact that promoting multiculturalism could be seen as an elitist activity that touched the vast majority very little.

*President of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional  
and Business Federation*

For the Ukrainians, as we have seen, implementation of the multicultural policy at the national level was much hampered by the unfortunate weakness of the UCC, which I discussed as president of the federation in an invitational paper to the UCC congress in Winnipeg in October 1974. At fault was the very nature of the central organization itself. The “mutual suspicion and endless inter-party bickering” rooted in “Catholic-Orthodox differences with obscure roots in the twenties and thirties” and the “squabbles between the Banderivtsi and Melnykivtsi” (the two most nationalistic political factions) meant very little to the “young suburbanites” or to “an owner of a fleet of trucks, or the manager of a suburban bank or the general contractor battling problems of supply, fluid prices, and restless unions.”

Business and professional people who are taught in school to despise or to minimize their ancestral backgrounds; business and professional people who have to make their way in an environment which finds ethnic consciousness amusing if not downright ridiculous; business and professional people who are successful because of efficient management; business and professional people who seek meaningful challenges which can be met through a careful coordination of efforts—such individuals will want no part of any Ukrainian organization which lacks clear-cut, attainable goals and leaders with whom they can readily identify. Moreover, they will certainly not engage in any shouting match with stand-pat organizations which, in the manner of student power advocates of recent years, assume positions in which nothing is negotiable.

To make the UCC more effective, the first step—the new federation executive in Edmonton concluded—was to elect a president at the above congress who would not embarrass the community before governments and the public. Because the UCC headquarters were in Winnipeg, the ideal candidate would have been someone from that city, but no one on the executive could suggest anyone. For a while the federation courted Paul Yuzyk (rumoured to be interested), but when his candidacy fell through at the congress, I phoned Serge Radchuk, who was willing to stand. Although I did not know Radchuk well, the forty-eight-year-old Ukrainian-born lawyer had adapted well to Canadian ways, spoke good English and was very active in the Ukrainian community. His name had occasionally surfaced at executive meetings, and at least in Winnipeg few appeared much better.

When Radchuk easily carried the day, from a distance it did appear that the federation held a very good hand. Besides my executive link to the CCCM, Savaryn and I were on the UCC's new Constitution Committee and in a good position to help extend the electoral principle beyond the presidency. However, it did not take long to discover that no dramatic changes would result from Radchuk's election. In discussing his candidacy in October, I had stressed the UCC's poor image and the importance of creating an infrastructure that would help it to obtain federal funds for really significant community projects. It was, I said, practically the only thing that was really important. Radchuk agreed that both a new executive director and an effective "civil service" were needed. However, he was not the type to take initiatives, and not until mid-February 1975 was I finally able to sound out Roman Petryshyn, then a graduate student in sociology at the University of Manchester in England, about becoming "Kalba's assistant with 'right of succession.'" The salary—more than \$15,000—was good, but Petryshyn was not interested in the subordinate position. Without an effective executive director, the Radchuk-Kalba combination was soon as hopeless as anything that had preceded it. A case in point, as we have seen, was the outlandish "Cultures Centres" project that had been placed before Trudeau and Munro in the fall of 1975.

For me personally, such failures, together with the UCC's unwillingness to make Ukrainian bilingual education its first priority, were extremely disappointing. As a result, by the mid-1970s my interest in the organization was very low, sustained only by curiosity about the fate of the changes proposed by Savaryn's Constitution Committee, on which I had represented the federation during the spring and summer of 1975. The changes were important, for they extended the electoral principle and democratized the umbrella organization. I was never as optimistic as Savaryn, for both the Catholic and Orthodox committee representatives were much too accommodating, trusting that their mother organizations would veto the changes, which they duly did. To the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, which believed that the rotational system for executive positions introduced in 1971 had not been sufficiently tested, the very existence of the committee was premature. To the (Orthodox) Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the basic principle governing all non-administrative decisions in the UCC presidium was "mutual agreement" (i.e., unanimity) among the six largest organizations, termed the "Big Six" (the federation now included). Its abolition by the committee was therefore totally unacceptable. Liberalization of the community's central organization was thus at the mercy of a terrible paradox: the principle of unanimity in the constitution could only be amended by a unanimous decision, which neither the Orthodox nor the Catholics were prepared to grant! In the end none of our changes were

among the presidium's recommendations, and despite strong support from the students and the Ukrainian scouts (Plast), the federation's efforts came to nought. By that time, however, I was already the new institute's director and much too busy to lead a fight that might well have split the UCC.

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As president of the federation, my relations with the Edmonton P & B Club became even closer. A regular at executive meetings after February 1973 (once Frolick informed Laurence Decore, the club's president, that as vice-president of the federation for Alberta and British Columbia the liaison could be mutually beneficial), I attended until the fall of 1980. Through the easy linkage, I explained the federation's (and the Multicultural Committee's) projects to the executive, but on some issues it was best to be primarily an observer. Two of the most contentious were the admission of women to club membership and (for a brief period) the organization of the Shevchenko Lecture at the university.

The female issue was first raised in Edmonton in May 1973 at the federation's usual post-convention business session through a resolution requesting that women be "allowed" membership according to criteria to be established by the new Edmonton executive. On 28 July the latter deferred the matter to the next meeting of the federation's annual Executive Council (the presidents of all the clubs), with Decore to provide the needed criteria. Because of the council's very heavy and involved agenda in October 1973, the membership issue was shelved, but I had already dropped "men" from "business men's" on the federation's new stationery, and at least technically it was gender-free. Meanwhile, in mid-September 1973, the Edmonton club's executive had also deferred the issue to the next annual general meeting in January. In all, it took five years to effect a constitutional amendment. In the process the plurality for change had to shrink from three-quarters to two-thirds to a simple majority before women were admitted. Rather amazingly, the issue was never openly debated, always falling before such technicalities as the size of the majority, the absence of a quorum or merely the lack of time. The most frequent objection—that the presence of women would discourage attendance and decrease membership—did not stand up once the gender bar finally fell in September 1978. The influx of women more than made up for the men who left, the latter's falling away having in fact begun with the club's first serious fund-raising for the bilingual classes in 1975.

The issue of the Shevchenko Lecture was closely related to Ivan Rudnytsky's coming to the university in 1971. For the prestigious annual event the P & B Club provided the airfare, a modest honorarium and a post-lecture reception at the Faculty Club. The lecture was organized

by the university's Committee on Soviet and East European Studies, on which Rudnytsky was a prominent member. For the lecture in 1972 he had proposed his good friend, the historian Omeljan Pritsak of Harvard, a poor public speaker who had chosen as his topic the twelfth-century epic *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (The Tale of Ihor's Armament). Next year another good friend, Eugene Pyziur, a historian at St. Louis University, lectured on "Edmund Burke and Taras Shevchenko: Similarities and Contrasts in Their Ideas of a Nation." Again the audience was disappointed: "...to the extent that one could follow the intricacies of the thesis, it was intellectually stimulating," observed the frustrated editor of the *Clarion*, the club's newsletter. In the next issue Rudnytsky's "rebuttal" insisted that parts of Pyziur's paper were "a brilliant and penetrating interpretation" and "an original contribution on a high level of scholarship," which did not help matters.

Reacting to rumblings from the executive, the committee in 1974 invited the Reverend Alexander Baran of the University of Manitoba, another historian and Rudnytsky friend, to lecture on "The Cossacks—Legend and History" (supposedly a more popular subject, better suited to the mentality of laymen!). Bypassing the committee in 1975, the club's president John Bachynski, a radiologist at the University of Alberta Hospital, invited the Ukrainian-born Leon Dmochowski, head of virology at the University of Texas with impressive credentials (M.D., Ph.D.), to lecture "On Cancer and Cancer Research: Present Status and Future Outlook." Dmochowski's visit was a complete success, as the *Clarion* proudly reported, underlining what the recent lectures had lacked:

An obviously experienced public speaker and scientist certain of his subject matter, Dr. Leon Dmochowski had no difficulty in holding the attention of his audience.

Dr. Dmochowski had a very busy two-day visit in Edmonton. He visited all the local researchers doing cancer and virus studies, delivered a paper on breast cancer at the Dr. W. W. Cross Cancer Institute and had a two and one-half hour press conference where he was interviewed by the three local TV stations, two radio stations, and two local papers. No less than six times did he appear on television on the evening of March 20, and his Shevchenko lecture was video-taped by a local cable company.

To me, the dissatisfaction was prompted by a good deal more than met the eye. At executive meetings uneasy jostling periodically surfaced between those in the "real" world and those in the "ivory tower"—between those close to business and science and those professional carriers of Ukrainian culture in the humanities and other disciplines to whom the

former had always to defer. To make matters worse most of the “cultural” specialists were postwar émigrés, many with fairly large egos and difficult accents, unimpressed by the ways of the Canadian-born. Most of the latter earned their living in mainstream society, where little of the Ukrainian fact could be seen. John Bachynski was not the only “Ukrainian” who longed to impress the public with something more than just borsch, acrobatic dancing and embroidered shirts. The naming of streets and the erection of Shevchenko monuments on public grounds were in the same vein as “The Edmonton Symphony Goes Ukrainian” in the Jubilee Auditorium and “Las Vegas Night” in Toronto’s Inn on the Park, both attended by numerous non-Ukrainians. All were events “of vital interest to all regardless of race, color, and creed,” as the *Clarion* put it in promoting Dmochowski’s lecture. Although I personally tried to keep my distance from such controversial issues, most members knew that I favoured the admission of women, as well as Shevchenko lecturers who were less formidable “intellectuals.”

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One of the great disadvantages of being both federation president and CCCM regional chairman was that there was little time for outreach to other ethnocultural organizations and even to the federation’s own clubs (outside Edmonton). Thus I always regretted missing the opening offered by the congratulatory letter in May 1973 from Frank McMahan, president of the Association canadienne-française de l’Alberta. French-Ukrainian relations always seemed to be long-range, attended to after all immediate needs were met. Whatever socializing took place was almost always brief and in crowded ceremonial situations. We needed more efforts like the joint French-Ukrainian cultural evening of music and dance in the Jubilee Auditorium in mid-February 1974, organized by the Francophonie jeunesses de l’Alberta and the Ukrainian Students’ Club on campus, with federal and provincial funding in which I had had a hand. On my recommendation Robert Painchaud had also addressed the federation’s biennial convention in Winnipeg in May 1975 on “Multiculturalism in Canada: A Western French-Canadian Viewpoint” (an important factor in my recommending him for the CCCM conference the following February). In Winnipeg he softened up attitudes toward the French fact, even though that was not always easy as long as other Canadian intellectuals confined their group-minded thesis of Canadian society to the French. As I put it to a friend in July 1973,

I will not accept a group-oriented society for the French and an individual-oriented one for the rest of us, especially when it makes it more difficult to keep ‘the Ukrainian fact’ alive in Canada—as it

certainly does. The people who melt together live together, but for some to melt while others set themselves up as charter groups (!) is a type of social arrogance which no liberal democracy worth its salt can afford to tolerate.

As a result, the French were partly in mind when the federation produced the TV program, "Ukrainian Bilingualism," during the summer of 1974. Its purpose was both to recruit children for the first bilingual classes in Edmonton that fall and to show how Ukrainian bilingualism could assist both multiculturalism and French bilingualism by strengthening the bilingual principle in Canada. "It was always your executive's intention," I told the federation's convention in May 1975, "to build on that principle, not to tear it down." The program consisted of a videotape produced in about three weeks in which kindergarten children, teachers and parents, Ukrainian performing groups and community leaders illustrated how language underpinned Ukrainian culture on radio, in the churches and on the stage. With the help of such professional announcers as the CBC's Lorna Jackson and the CTV's John Bohonos—the latter a member of the local P & B Club who operated a training school for broadcasters—a fairly sophisticated program emerged.

The rushed effort, however, was quite demanding, and early in August I ended up in hospital with diverticulitis. To make matters worse the program, scheduled for 8 August, was abruptly moved up a week (I watched it in the hospital), which cut into the time for publicity. A sympathetic Jackson advised that I complain to Ain Soodor, the producer in Toronto responsible for *Access*, a special half-hour summer slot intended to give community groups access to primetime television. Mindful of the CBC's reluctance to embrace multiculturalism, I vented the federation's displeasure with the hurried production and criticized the network for its neglect of ethnocultural concerns:

Why should approximately one-third of Canada's peoples...be ignored by a public agency sustained in part by their own tax dollars? Do you really think that the sop of a summer series makes up for the CBC's indifference during the rest of the year? And do you not think it is humiliating to realize that when the CBC finally does get around to you it is when practically no one is watching? Moreover, you have to hurry—the network which you own—your network—is doing you a big favor! But then minorities—especially non-charter group minorities (to use John Porter's phrase)—will put up with anything, won't they?

Perhaps understandably, Soodor did not reply.

The insufficient outreach cost the federation its vice-president for the central region in mid-June 1974. Joe Slogan resigned because, he declared vaguely, he could not “fully agree with several directions” the federation had taken. In fact he thought the federation would benefit if Frolick, he and I “were out,” a position that angered the other executive members. In January 1974 the executive had added a centre of Ukrainian studies to its bilingual education project, even though (as we shall see) the Executive Council had resisted the centre-idea in Edmonton in October. Earlier, in June 1973, Slogan had indicated that “our immediate and first priority” should be to build a strong federation by visiting the clubs and minding communications; later in excusing himself from the above council meeting, he had again cautioned against undertaking “too many initiatives on our own.” Although I, too, valued contacts with the clubs, I believed in reaching out through specific projects that gave the organizational work greater purpose. Had I had political ambitions, perhaps meeting individuals at the grass-roots level would have sufficed. But multiculturalism to me was much more than political sloganeering; it involved concrete achievements entailing projects of the kind that institutionalized multiculturalism—especially in education. For this, state aid was absolutely essential, and Slogan, as a businessman and a strong Conservative, may have had difficulty with that. Among such projects were the university courses, the Rudnytsky appointment and, of course, the Ukrainian bilingual program. But of these, the most important was certainly the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, whose establishment on 1 July 1976 was a major outcome of the politics of multiculturalism as practised by the federation’s executive in Edmonton.

# Chapter Eight

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA (1973–76)

Although aware of Book IV's recommendation—"that Canadian universities expand their studies in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences relating to particular areas other than those related to the English and French languages"—I did not take the idea of a Ukrainian studies centre seriously at first because, as already indicated, I did not think that the academic base for such a centre existed on the Alberta campus. The situation, however, changed dramatically on 3 June 1973 after Ivan Rudnytsky introduced me to George Luckyj, a professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Toronto. I was impressed by Luckyj's research and publication plans, especially his willingness to direct a Ukrainian studies centre in Toronto. The P& B Federation (of which I had just become president) was without a cultural identity, and there was no gainsaying the fact that such a centre had its appeal.

On 25 July I relayed my favourable impressions of the possibilities in Toronto to Savaryn, and a meeting with Rudnytsky and Metro Gulutsan followed. With some effort, Savaryn was persuaded that Toronto, not Edmonton, was the best site for the centre, as it could only develop under Luckyj's direction. Accordingly, I wrote Luckyj to initiate discussions with the university. Savaryn, in turn, volunteered to contact the national UCC, a step that appeared premature (if needed at all), but no one really knew how best to proceed. His letter to Winnipeg reactivated the earlier UCC application to Ottawa to hold a national Ukrainian studies conference in Winnipeg. It also brought a "personal" letter from the UCC president, the Orthodox Peter Kondra, counselling against a new institution and proposing that the Ukrainian studies program at the Orthodox St. Andrew's, a theological college on the University of Manitoba campus, be enlarged to constitute nothing less than "a Ukrainian University"! From Luckyj, too, the news was anything but good. The university already had two related centres (international relations and Russian and East European studies), and the most it would accommodate was a "Ukrainian Ethnic Research Centre"—and that only if the federation provided all the funds.

Thus, for a Ukrainian studies centre to emerge, the Ukrainian community, it appeared, would have to furnish the bulk of the funds. Accordingly, I placed three projects before the federation's Executive Council at its annual meeting in Edmonton on 20 October 1973: 1) a studies centre at an annual cost to the federation of \$80,000; 2) a national Ukrainian newspaper or

journal in English at \$20-30,000 per year; and 3) a young executive director for the UCC at \$11-15,000 per year "for at least ten years," assisted by three or four field workers paid for by the federation out of federal multicultural grants. Because the UCC's ineptitude was proverbial, the council, after a very difficult two-hour discussion, opted for the UCC project. There was no great enthusiasm for a Ukrainian studies centre or in fact for any project that entailed financial commitment.

A week later, between sessions of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association in Toronto, I met Frolick, Luckyj, his colleague Danylo Struk and Jurij Darewych of York University, the latter having earlier submitted a proposal for a "Ukrainian Research Institute" for the Executive Council's consideration, had it chosen that option. All now agreed that with Toronto at least receptive to a centre, it should be established as a low-key affair by 1975. The federation would raise \$150,000 in 1974 to provide \$30,000 per year for five years to cover a third of Luckyj's salary, a full-time bilingual secretary and office supplies. The centre itself would then access an additional \$50,000 annually for publications from, as Luckyj put it to Robert Spencer, dean of Toronto's School of Graduate Studies, "various private Ukrainian foundations and the Shevchenko Foundation in Winnipeg." Even so, the Toronto contingent was confident that sources for a modest endowment fund (approximately \$350,000) were already readily available; all that was needed was a visible centre to attract them.

After Luckyj relayed Toronto's plans to Bohdan Bociurkiw at Ottawa's Carleton University, he learned that Senator Yuzyk and Constantine Bida, chairman of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Ottawa, were about to establish a Ukrainian studies centre through a recent private endowment. While no one in Edmonton or Toronto had taken Kondra seriously, Ottawa was another matter. Not only did its Slavic department offer a doctoral program, but Yuzyk, who knew his way around Ottawa, might well locate additional funds within a young multicultural policy whose uncertain program criteria were susceptible to political pressure. The damage to Ukrainian studies might then be serious, for the bilingual University of Ottawa was in the first throes of shedding a narrow denominational Oblate Catholic past. It also had little of the prestige of the University of Toronto, "roughly Canada's Harvard," as I put it to Yuzyk in a letter on 14 December. Nor could Bida, whose academic reputation was not Luckyj's, or Yuzyk, who was a full-time politician and community leader some ten years removed from serious academic work, furnish the kind of scholarly leadership that would be needed. Accordingly, when Yuzyk rejected my appeal against a press release on the projected Ottawa centre (it appeared before the year was out, "precipitated" by my letter to Yuzyk, according to Bociurkiw), I decided that it was time for the federation to act.

At an executive meeting on 10 January 1974, the treasurer, Peter Oluk, a successful professional engineer and businessman, presented (at my request) a financial plan to establish a Ukrainian studies centre in Toronto by May 1975, when the executive's term expired. The executive committed itself unhesitatingly, visibly relieved to see the end of the seemingly interminable discussions on the subject. Oluk's plan was simple (and costly), entailing the "charity raffle" of a Cadillac at \$100 per ticket to yield an immediate \$25,000 and the sale to club members of \$500,000 of interest-free debentures, with each of the three largest clubs in Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto subscribing at least \$100,000. A timetable for the collection and redemption of debentures and for the establishment of the centre in stages was also provided.

Temporarily withholding Oluk's plan, letters followed to the club presidents, the UCC branches in Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto, the national UCC and the federation's representatives on the UCC. The latter were still to pursue the restructuring of the UCC, but as the University of Ottawa was forcing the issue, the centre required immediate action. The UCC was asked to call a meeting of academics (with or without federal help) and to obtain "formal written approval" from its presidium for a centre in Toronto. Also requested was a "declaration of policy" that encouraged similar centres elsewhere "only after consultation with the future director of the projected centre at Toronto to prevent overlapping of function and additional unnecessary costs to the Ukrainian community in Canada." Both Edmonton and Toronto quickly endorsed the executive's move, but from Winnipeg the silence, not surprisingly, was deafening.

Early in February I spoke to Orest Kruhlak in Ottawa, who agreed to furnish the \$9,000 for the academic conference slated for Winnipeg on 6-7 April. Shortly thereafter John Karasevich visited Edmonton to discuss the federation's next convention in Winnipeg, and a terrible row ensued when he defended the recommendation of the University of Manitoba Senate to establish a Ukrainian studies centre at St. Andrew's College. With the federation now badly divided as to site, it was up to the academics, I wrote Luckyj, to settle the matter: "To raise the sums required will not be easy and if the project is killed in Winnipeg, that will be most unfortunate but perhaps, as a people, we do not deserve better, for we are a most fractious bunch." Luckyj, too, appeared to be losing heart, as his strangely wooden program showed, focusing on Ukrainian studies by discipline with no discussion of either the centre or the federation's plans to support it. After Rudnytsky and I reworked it, the UCC added a dinner address by me, followed next day by Luckyj's remarks on what a centre might do.

With the conference definitely on, Savaryn agreed to look seriously, as a lawyer, into establishing a foundation for Ukrainian studies. The immediate

priority, however, was to carry the Winnipeg conference for Toronto. This would not be easy, what with its locale in Winnipeg and Yuzyk and Bida present. With Walter Tarnopolsky unable to attend, I wrote Bociurkiw an SOS letter on 19 March. On a visit to Ottawa on CCCM business early in February, I learned that he supported a national centre in Toronto, as the one in Ottawa would be modest and only of local significance. Accordingly, I now requested an early "diplomatic statement" by him in Winnipeg "to loosen the term 'Centre' and facilitate its transfer to Toronto." He agreed, but I said nothing to him about a development the day before full of exciting but unknown possibilities.

From Savaryn I had learned that Bill Diachuk, an MLA and member of the federation's executive, had discussed its plans over coffee with Jim Foster, the Alberta minister of advanced education, who appeared willing to fund a Ukrainian centre supported by the three other western governments. I contacted Diachuk, who arranged a meeting on 21 March with Foster, Bert Hohol, Savaryn and Laurence Decore. The government, we learned, was indeed interested in a national centre and would work to have its entire costs underwritten by the four western governments on a basis similar to other recent regional projects. Edmonton could be the site, but the location was unimportant, provided it was in the west and the other provincial ministers supported it.

The prospect of public funding added an important new dimension to the address I was preparing for Winnipeg. The difficulty with centres was that they tapped into local loyalties and detracted from the type of national fund-raising on behalf of Ukrainian studies that the federation's executive was contemplating. Government funding not only obviated the need for a public campaign but raised the possibility of a unique institution, an *institute* to co-ordinate all Ukrainian studies (whether centres, programs, projects or funds). As a result, in my dinner address, the federation's purpose was now to create an "Institute of Ukrainian Studies" that "would not overshadow existing programs in Ukrainian studies, but merely give the latter greater visibility and strengthen their work through the publications, conferences, research, and teaching which it would organize."

On 26 March I sent the address, with its financial alternatives—Oluk's plan and the government's proposition—to Bociurkiw, Luckyj and Frolick. Bociurkiw said nothing and Frolick very little; Luckyj, however, found the government's intervention "a shock," as it "practically wiped out" Toronto's chances for a centre. The decision as to site, he believed, should be made on academic, not financial, grounds. On 4 April Frolick, manifesting the first signs of possible east-west rivalry, phoned in a very attractive third alternative. A client from Toronto in his late fifties was prepared to will the federation a \$250,000 building (yielding \$32,000 in annual rent), with

an additional \$100,000 at his death. The federation could either sell the building immediately and establish a foundation or collect the rent and treat the building as a foundation. The offer was not necessarily contingent on a location in Toronto, but with the donor from that city the implication was clear. This means, I emphatically concluded in a revised address, "*that an Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the kind described earlier is now practically a certainty in Canada*" (emphasis in original).

With all the eggs no longer in one basket, I approached the conference in Winnipeg in an inclusive, more confident mood. Free of rancour, the forty-seven scholars in Ukrainian studies from eleven Canadian universities passed resolutions that welcomed "the Ukrainian Studies and Research Fund at the University of Ottawa" and endorsed the federation's initiative "to create an Institute of Ukrainian Studies by the four Western Canadian Provincial Governments" that would "coordinate and support financially Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies in Canada." Back in Edmonton, I immediately contacted Foster's executive assistant and was advised to submit a proposal from the federation that Foster could take to a ministerial meeting in Victoria within a week. Three days later a proposal was on Foster's desk. Drawn up hurriedly, it was unfortunately the only document that various government and university authorities would have before them during the next two years.

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During the next five months Savaryn and I briefed the MLAs of Ukrainian background—Hohol, Catherine Chichak, Ken Paproski, Julian Koziak and Diachuk—and met with Foster three times. The last meeting in September was the most hopeful. Not only did Walter Worth, now the deputy minister (who was present), favour the proposal, but Foster had sent it on to university president Harry Gunning for a reaction. We were advised to take it up with the university: Savaryn with Gunning as a member of the Board of Governors and I with Henry Kreisel, the academic vice-president who chaired the all-important Academic Development Committee (ADC). As for the other provinces, Manitoba was "very interested," Saskatchewan was "interested" (and even suggested that the institute be located there!) and British Columbia promised to study the proposal before the next meeting in January. "Foster is of the view," I wrote Rudnytsky on 22 October, "that the other provinces will come in with token support, perhaps only in principle, which Foster does not mind as he already indicated to his fellow ministers that Alberta is prepared to contribute the lion's share." Even so, because much of recent post-secondary education in the west was being developed regionally, Foster wanted the other provinces on side and urged letters from

the federation soliciting their support. Kondra had already secured the support of Ben Hanuschak, the minister of education in Manitoba, which the latter confirmed to me at the SUSK congress in Winnipeg in late August. In Saskatchewan Roy Romanow, the attorney general, also endorsed the project, but in British Columbia Eileen Dailly, the minister of education, merely acknowledged it.

At the university the ADC discussed the proposal at six meetings between mid-November 1974 and mid-May 1975. A major difficulty, of course, was the sketchiness of the proposal. The introduction referred to Ukrainians as an "endangered species" because of assimilation at home and Russification abroad. It also presented the institute as the cap on Ukrainian efforts "to establish an educational structure from nursery school through college and/or university to preserve and develop Ukrainian culture and ensure our survival as a people." Otherwise, the purposes and programs of the institute shared equal billing with the results of the recent academic conference and were poorly developed. Its \$310,500 budget, a sum practically plucked out of the air, was equally vague. Slapped together to meet a short political deadline, the whole might have been dismissed out of hand but for Savaryn's political influence on the board and Rudnytsky's and my academic standing on campus (being a spokesman for multiculturalism also did not hurt). Even so, but for Henry Kreisel none of that might have mattered much. As a successful postwar émigré, Kreisel easily identified himself with Canada's multicultural reality, and as an ex-officio member on the board he saw Savaryn's presence as an expression of that reality. Kreisel also remembered my being his student in 1947-48, and after I joined the staff in 1958 we had occasionally exchanged pleasantries, mutually cognizant of our Jewish and Ukrainian backgrounds. When we met late in November 1974, he indicated his support for the institute and suggested that Rudnytsky and I meet with the ADC early in January.

In the meantime, to ease the growing anxieties of Metro Gulutsan, director of the newly formed Division of East European and Soviet Studies, who had often referred to the central place of Ukrainian studies in his efforts to convert a small teaching division into a major research institute, I assured Willard Allen, associate vice-president (academic) and the division's immediate supervisory officer, that the institute would not offer courses and that the two units would in fact be "complementary bodies."

As the development of Ukrainian specialists *per se* would not be wise occupationally, students with a major in Ukrainian studies would be required to round out their studies with courses dealing with eastern Europe. The existence of the Institute would thus heighten the value of the Division of East European and Soviet

Studies, and the latter in turn would provide the institute with a co-operative service locally which would render specialization in Ukrainian studies not only more meaningful but more marketable professionally.... No duplication is intended and none will occur; the Division and the Institute will reinforce each other's work and in doing so will provide the University with two unique institutions which might well illustrate the ideal relationship between a specialized institution and a general area of study.

This made the division far more important than it could ever be, but at least the serious cry of duplication could not be raised on campus.

The appearance before the ADC in January was uneventful. Rudnytsky presented the academic aspects of the proposal and stressed the importance of applied scholarship—the publication of academic textbooks, the promotion of courses in the social sciences and history and the coordination of Ukrainian studies generally. I addressed the financial and political ramifications of the proposal, minimizing the potential of federal multicultural funding and (with the Rudnytsky precedent in history in mind) emphasizing the importance of integrating the institute into the university as quickly as possible. Kreisel made it clear that if the government provided the funds, the ADC could “endorse” the establishment of the institute before the General Faculties Council. The ball again was thus squarely in the government's court.

With the next ministerial meeting slated for 21 January, Savaryn and I prepared to see Foster again—only this time, with an election imminent, Savaryn wished to include all “our friends” on the government side in the delegation. Once Foster learned that a dozen MLAs might be present on 3 February, he called off the meeting, and when Savaryn and I arrived at 5:30, he was nowhere to be found! Although we saw him on the 13<sup>th</sup>, the election was called next day and the meeting accomplished nothing. In the circumstances Gunning's optimistic “progress report” to Savaryn (7 March) was most welcome. The ADC had discussed the proposal with the assistant deputy minister for program services, and discussions with the chairmen of the departments of history and Slavic languages would follow, as “the relationship between the Institute and these two departments is not clearly defined in the proposal.”

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After the election on 25 March 1975, Hohol replaced Foster and Koziak entered the cabinet as minister of education. While I do not know the role Koziak may have played in the establishment of the institute, he was very

active in the Ukrainian community, and his mere presence in cabinet was reassuring. Although our paths had occasionally crossed, I did not know Koziak as well as Hohol. Within a month Savaryn arranged a meeting with Hohol, and it was indeed a memorable one. We were greeted warmly: "I have read the file," he declared while still on his feet, "I like the institute-idea and intend to implement it. But I'll need your help." He informed us that the department did not think much of the proposal ("Prognosis: Poor" read its evaluation report), that Worth had not favoured it and that Foster had no intention of establishing an institute. While Hohol was prepared to take it under his "personal wing," I would have to work with his assistant, Syeda Hameed, whose "special task" was to take the proposal "through the department" before its presentation to cabinet.

With the federation's biennial convention less than a month away, it was now possible to report real progress. But first certain practical matters had to be settled. For the institute's name, Savaryn, Rudnytsky (who took minutes) and I adopted the *Canadian* Institute of Ukrainian Studies for its greater campus appeal and to differentiate it better from the *Ukrainian* Research Institute at Harvard, in existence since June 1973. We also agreed that Rudnytsky would direct the institute "on a part-time basis" (at his request), and I would be his associate. The subject was not an issue; I was not in Ukrainian studies and had no academic base to run such an institution. In considering new professorial positions, I made it clear that "money originating with the Alberta Government could under no circumstances be used for the financing of teaching positions in other provinces." For the Department of Political Science on campus, I suggested Bohdan Krawchenko, whose progress as a graduate student I was then following. For the foundation, it was decided that Savaryn should continue his initiatives, but that its executive should be in Toronto because, as Savaryn put it, "our well-to-do people in the East, who belong to the 'new' immigration, show more understanding for Ukrainian cultural needs than their counterparts in the West." Stan Frolick was proposed to head the foundation, whose chief purpose would be to subsidize institute publications, especially the English-language encyclopedia of Ukraine. It was "unrealistic," we concluded, to think of an operational institute in 1975-76. There was the matter of cabinet, General Faculties Council and board approval, "all of which could not even appear to be rushed."

As already indicated, the federation's convention in Winnipeg in mid-May 1975 converted the outgoing Edmonton executive into a Standing Committee on Education to pursue the federation's three main projects—the bilingual program, the federation's foundation and the institute. With fund-raising clearly on the horizon, there was not much enthusiasm among the few who heard the reports. (Unlike the convention in Edmonton, the one

in Winnipeg was poorly attended, and the contingent from Toronto was especially small.) One could sense some uneasiness about Edmonton's open moves to identify the aimless federation with Ukrainian studies. It did not help that the references to the institute, the foundation, the Ukrainian encyclopedia, the bilingual classes and to government and community funding contained few details and that press releases were deliberately avoided, but until the government of Alberta actually voted the funds, Savaryn and I deemed it best to limit publicity.

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On 24 May, scarcely a week after the convention, Ontario premier William Davis, on the verge of calling an election, addressed the Toronto club's annual Spring Ball. To thunderous applause, he charged MPPs Nick Leluk (parliamentary assistant to Culture Minister Robert Welch) and John Yaremko (former provincial secretary and minister of citizenship), both present, to seek funds from the government's Treasury Board to "endow a chair of Ukrainian studies" at the University of Toronto. No sums were mentioned and no one was quite sure what the premier had in mind, but those who had organized the ball, with "Proceeds devoted towards the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies," were elated, especially Frolick, Ihor Bardyn, the club's president, and Bohdan Onyschuk, the Ontario UCC president.

Prior to a CCCM meeting in Ottawa, I had asked Frolick to call an evening meeting at his home on the 22<sup>nd</sup> to discuss both the foundation's by-laws (drawn up by Savaryn) and the idea of basing the foundation's executive in Toronto. With Luckyj and Bardyn (among others) in attendance, I noted in my résumé that "a decision from Alberta's government on the Institute before the end of June would help efforts (which will be made) to get Ontario government support for G. Luckyj's publication plan before the next election is called. Fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) was suggested." No chair was mentioned, though references to the Spring Ball and to the institute as its beneficiary were frequent. However, on the ball's bilingual program, received later, the University of Alberta was not given as the site of the institute, and the beneficiary was not the institute but the "Katedra ukrainskykh nauk u Kanadi" (Chair of Ukrainian Studies in Canada). The latter was a familiar concept with wide appeal, especially among the Ukrainian émigrés in eastern Canada, many of whom were even then generously contributing to the Ukrainian chairs and research institute at Harvard. According to Bardyn's letter of the 26<sup>th</sup>, Davis was briefed before he spoke, but "Whoever briefed him on the Institute may have inadvertently given him the wrong impression as he referred to the Chair

of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard and the setting up of the same Chair at the University of Toronto."

But what was deemed inadvertent soon took on a life of its own. To me, an endowed chair signified another academic position, of which there were already several in departments across Canada; it was definitely not the institute we were developing. But as the confusion between the chair and the institute grew, enthusiasm for the chair mounted in Toronto—enthusiasm that could not be dampened, for not only were details lacking but Edmonton, too, still awaited a definite decision. Moreover, the very people who now toasted the chair were to manage the institute's foundation; they simply could not be alienated. As a result, a race between Toronto and Edmonton gradually emerged, and in it Frolick and Savaryn were soon working to outdo one other. Both were prominent Conservatives with good government connections, Frolick having run as a Conservative candidate in Ontario and Savaryn being practically a charter member of the Conservative Party revitalized by Loughheed. Their personal rivalry was soon entwined with the traditional Canadian rivalry between the young and upstart West and the experienced and more worldly East. In the middle was the academic interest, represented in Toronto by Luckyj, who now found himself in something of a no-man's-land, tailoring his valuable scholarly plans to meet the requirements of the most recent political meeting or government proposal.

In negotiations during the next twelve months the sums bandied about between the government and the Toronto club were considerable. One million dollars to \$1.5 million was requested at the first meeting with Welch on 30 May. Even more—\$1.9 million—was put forth on 12 August in the proposal (drawn up by Bardyn) to Welch and James Auld, minister of colleges and universities, in the presence of their deputies and Leluk and Yaremko. On the 27<sup>th</sup> Malcolm Rowan, Welch's deputy, offered \$600,000, which was refused, pending further negotiations.

Luckyj was close to the negotiations and I, of course, had his ear. I encouraged him to play down the chair-idea and to suggest an endowment to the newly incorporated foundation, large enough to carry an annual budget of \$100,000 for the encyclopedia project. The latter would attract additional donors, and the resulting endowment would lower the costs to the projected institute of what appeared to be a very expensive project. Neither Luckyj nor I, however, could get anyone in Toronto to take our advice, which had, of course, to be offered discreetly. In a letter from Frolick to Walter Tarnopolsky late in July, Luckyj, for his pains, was even judged "timid," with "no political sense or feel" and a "tendency to think 'small' and play things down." To Frolick, a chair was important because "the Premier himself had used the word 'Chair' and, of course, a prestigious sounding name would satisfy the emotional needs of our community and facilitate its financial support."

In its obsession with the chair, the club soon came to pursue it as the eastern equivalent of the institute and even occasionally as the institute itself. On 15 August, for example, Bardyn asked that “for purposes of our negotiations with the Ontario Government” the reference in the foundation’s constitution to western Canada as the site of the institute “be deleted” or amended to read as follows: “To assist in the establishment of the Institute of Ukrainian Studies in Canada at a site yet to be determined in western Canada; and to assist in the establishment of a Chair of Ukrainian Studies *in Canada* [emphasis mine] at a site yet to be determined in eastern Canada.” The chair, like the institute, would thus ostensibly meet the needs of the entire country! And on 30 January 1976 Frolick, in a personal letter to Welch, noted the elapsed time since the premier’s “support for a chair or institute of Ukrainian Studies” and pointed to “the tremendous assistance given the Institute by the Government of Alberta for the Western anchor of the Institute’s programme at the University of Alberta”! In the end, as Rowan had made clear on 27 August, the Ontario government saw the chair as the funding of “one Professor and one Secretary,” for which an endowment of \$600,000 was available to the institute’s foundation. The club’s proposal, based as it was on the federation’s proposal to Foster (sent to Bardyn on 30 July at his request), encompassed much more than the usual chair, and the entire drawn-out effort ultimately yielded no more than \$76,000 for Luckyj’s publications project, to be matched by the institute’s foundation in “sweat equity” on Luckyj’s part.

In retrospect, it does appear that Toronto resented the Alberta government’s intervention, and Frolick, in particular, interpreted it as a move by Savaryn to ‘steal’ the much-discussed centre away from Toronto. Frolick and Savaryn were rivals for Conservative favours—an appointment to the Canadian Senate would have been the ultimate for both—and neither was enamoured of the other. Frolick thought that Savaryn bragged too much about his political accomplishments; Savaryn thought that Frolick exaggerated his political connections. For my part, I thought it strange that Frolick, having learned of the Alberta government’s interest, should suddenly phone in a most attractive large bequest for a future centre practically on the eve of the academic conference in Winnipeg. Although the bequest was certainly welcome at the time, it was also easy to conclude that with the benefactor from Toronto, Frolick was matching Savaryn in a game of political one-upmanship to keep the centre there.

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Meanwhile the university's consideration of the federation's proposal continued in Edmonton. On 17 April 1975 the ADC met with the deans of arts (George Baldwin) and of education (Myer Horowitz) and with two departmental chairmen, Tom Priestly (Slavic languages) and Cedric Lowe (history). According to the minutes, none opposed the proposal, but Horowitz and Lowe were the most supportive and Kreisel and Horowitz had to parry Baldwin's more critical remarks. Besides its academic dimension, Baldwin observed, the institute was also concerned to preserve and develop Ukrainian culture. While "a liberal Arts Faculty preserved knowledge—he did not know that the Faculty had ever been dedicated to the preservation and development of a culture." Kreisel granted that there were "elements" in the proposal "which went beyond the normal sphere of University activity.... Were this not the case, there would be no need to propose the creation of an Institute of this kind." Horowitz was less diplomatic: the perpetuation of a culture at the university was "a central concern—the difference being that the perpetuation of a majority culture was taken as a matter of course." But this meeting, like the two in May, inevitably returned to the central issue: the university's commitment to the proposal would depend on the government's commitment to funding it. Only when the latter was clear would the federation be asked to furnish a detailed proposal to facilitate implementation. And such, in essence, was Gunning's response on 2 September to the government's earlier request for a university reaction.

With Hohol now obliged to act, Savaryn and I briefed him (at his request) on 30 September, before next day's meeting with the government's Social Planning Committee. From an ecstatic Savaryn I learned next morning that Hohol had been "very, very successful"; he had secured the "go-ahead" motion through a vote that was "spontaneous," "unanimous" and "not given grudgingly." Hohol, too, was pleased. "I can honestly say," he phoned Savaryn, "that this was my best performance"; the project being "unique and different," it was easy to identify oneself with it. A week later Hohol's RFD (Request for Decision) passed the government's Finances and Priorities Committee, chaired by Loughheed (with whom Savaryn had discussed the project earlier), and on 21 October the cabinet assigned an additional \$350,000 to the university's budget for the institute. Support for the idea, according to Savaryn, was "excellent"; there were questions and a discussion of implications, but "not one spoke against it." Next day I wrote Hohol an appreciative personal letter and set in motion the "gala celebration" mentioned therein. As a result, on 7 November the Hohols were feted at a private dinner at the Troyanda Restaurant attended by about thirty

people, mostly members of the federation's former executive and of the Multicultural Committee, along with prominent politicians such as Koziak, and their wives.

A few days later Horowitz, who had succeeded Kreisel as academic vice-president in July 1975, asked that I chair an ad hoc committee to prepare a "Detailed Proposal" for the institute and requested other names. To help with the preparation, I met Luckyj and Bociurkiw in Toronto in mid-November while on CCCM business. Among other things, both strongly advised that the institute's future budget be proportionate to the percentage that \$350,000 bore to the university's total budget in 1976-77. We agreed to postpone all publicity and dealt mainly with work plans, concentrating on the "List of Proposed Publications" submitted earlier by Luckyj. Subsequently, Horowitz indicated the difficult route still awaiting the proposal and stressed the continued importance of my meeting "key people." For the ad hoc committee I suggested Brian Evans in history, Madeline Monod in secondary education, Gulutsan and Priestly. Evans was interested in developing an Asian studies program on campus, and Monod was frustrated by her inability to meet the needs of Ukrainian-language teachers (especially in the elementary school bilingual program) in her "methods classes" for secondary school teachers of French.

In drawing up the new proposal I benefited much from the minutes that the ADC made available. It was clear that the Ukrainian-Canadian dimension had to be more prominent, that the institute's national inter-university function required special attention and that the institute's relationship to other academic units on campus was also troublesome, especially regarding teaching and staff appointments. The practical dimension of scholarly research and publications also needed a higher profile, and the institute's relationship to bilingual education as a major community concern was a good place to start. Among more personal concerns, the institute (from my experience with amateur writers of Ukrainian textbooks) had to avoid publishing teaching materials for school use, an activity also deemed inappropriate by the ADC. Undergraduate scholarships had also to be large enough to cover tuition and living costs from the first year. All research grants and graduate student support had to be tied to the publication of books especially useful in college or university classes, and an inventory of scholars and scholarly needs in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian studies was absolutely essential. Finally, the significance of the encyclopedia of Ukraine project (and its budget) had to be clarified, including its relationship both to the University of Toronto and to the foundation. The first draft was ready by the 23<sup>rd</sup>, and the committee's reaction was very favourable.

One person who had had no input into the development of the new proposal was Ivan Rudnytsky, away in Europe on sabbatical leave since

September 1975. We had discussed his plans before he left, when I indicated for the first time that he might not necessarily become the institute's director. The government, I intimated, had raised the matter and assumed that because of the institute's overall importance, I would accept the position. This was not strictly true, though Savaryn had raised the issue in precisely those terms, as did Luckyj and Bociurkiw at our meeting in November. I remained non-committal, but with the institute's administrative structure affecting the budget, a decision could not be put off indefinitely.

The choice was a very difficult one. I still knew very little about Ukrainian studies and not really all that much more about the study of Ukrainians in Canada. Becoming director of a research and publications institute specializing in both had been the last thing on my mind when I first met Luckyj more than two years ago. Since then, however, much had changed. The institute was to be in Edmonton, with a marked Canadian emphasis. Moreover, its ambitious inter-university nature and its close association with both the bilingual program and the Ukrainian professional and business community (especially through the institute's foundation) required scholarly interests and political skills on and off campus that Rudnytsky did not possess. It was also clear that during the latter's sabbatical most of the work had fallen on my shoulders. There was now too much at stake not to realize the institute's full potential, especially as Rudnytsky himself admitted to having no particular interest in administration. This meant that even if he did become the director, I would, as his associate, have to do most of the work.

Among my handicaps, a major weakness was a poor knowledge of standard or literary Ukrainian; I had never learned to write it and I read it very slowly. To compensate, I opted for a part-time special assistant, a possibility explored on 17 November with Andrij Hornjatkevyč, whom I had met socially. An American with a Ph.D. in Slavic languages, Hornjatkevyč had briefly taught at Harvard and was on contract in the Slavic department. He appeared to be an excellent prospect, one most eager, of course, to acquire permanent employment. Because of my heavy load since 1973, I had also decided I would need to be a full-time director. Accordingly, the new proposal included a special assistant, my full salary and two non-salaried associate directors, Luckyj and Rudnytsky. When Rudnytsky, in Edmonton for the Christmas holiday en route to Harvard, read the proposal, he hit the roof at a very difficult meeting in his home. He knew Hornjatkevyč and strongly opposed a tenured appointment to meet needs that he and his wife (who had a master's degree in Slavic studies) thought others could fill better. Luckyj, too, disliked losing the one-third released time he had incorporated into his earlier budget. In the end both agreed to postpone their released time provided I reduced mine by one-third and they were each given a full-time assistant.

Despite the above, the budget was never a problem in either proposal. I arrived at the earlier figure (\$310,500) by simply totalling up what was most desirable. No ceiling had been indicated for the second proposal, because that would have been difficult, and though within two years the \$363,800 was most unrealistic, the amount at the time was easily defensible. When the government drew the line at \$350,000, it was not difficult to make the adjustment. An important concern, however, was to ensure a flexible budget. The "Detailed Proposal" asked the university to "accept the responsibility of committing annually to the Institute that percentage of the University budget which \$363,800 bears to the total University budget for the academic year 1976-77." Because the ad hoc committee thought the government alone could make such a commitment, I discussed the matter with the university's vice-president (finance), and then with Savaryn, who assured me, after appropriate inquiries, that permanent funding was no problem. Worried by a letter from Frolick drafted after a phone call to Hohol, suggesting possible discrepancies in how we and the minister understood funding, I phoned Syeda Hameed in mid-January for her reaction to a draft passage that committed the government to *incremental* funding "without term." When a copy was forwarded without result, I phoned Hohol on 2 February and was assured that the government would fund the institute "forever," the mechanism of funding "to be worked out by specialists."

During the next two months the ADC discussed the proposal three times, with the ad hoc committee present on 22 April. There were no mishaps or hitches. On 25 March the ADC had solicited comments from deans and chairmen affected by the proposal, which I also sent to some two dozen individuals on campus for their reaction. No one had any reservations; uneventful also were my visits in mid-March to John McGregor, dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, and to George Baldwin. On 29 April the ADC passed the proposal with five conditions:

- that the institute operate on "strict observation" of university policies governing staff, space and courses;
- that the government understand that the university assumed no responsibility for the institute's budget;
- that joint appointments with the institute "may" not be possible without additional departmental funding;
- that there be "further examination" of the institute's proposed inter-university (i.e., off-campus) activities; and
- that "the Director and Advisory Committee" report to the ADC after the first and second years, with "a more complete evaluation" at the end of the third year.

"I'm very optimistic that the Ukrainian Canadian Institute will be supported," Horowitz reassured me in a personal letter on 30 April, and Savaryn's phone call after a board meeting next day was just as encouraging: Horowitz had received supporting letters from the faculties of arts and education.

On 13 May, three days after the proposal passed the Executive Committee of General Faculties Council, Dean McGregor, in the *Edmonton Journal*, criticized the institute's "backers," who with government support had challenged the university's "cumbersome methods" for establishing new programs, thereby presenting it with a "fait accompli." "It seems cynical to fund so handsomely a program such as this when the legitimate research needs of the university have been starved for funds during the past few years." Having financed universities much more sparingly in recent years, the government was certainly vulnerable. But McGregor's reference to "legitimate" research and to a possible "flood of ethnic institutes 'which in no way reflect the priorities of the university'" also exposed the kind of resistance the proposal might have faced had it come from one of the two usual sources—an outside community or a "recognized discipline, base or unit" within the university, as Baldwin had put it before the ADC on 17 April 1975. What confounded the authorities was that the federation's proposal had come from an outside community organization headed by an academic working closely with other academics, a proposal that neither the government nor the university could easily dismiss.

On 31 May the General Faculties Council approved the proposal, complete with the above conditions. Savaryn and I attended as observers, and I shall never forget the sense of relief when the vote was finally taken. Senior administration had engineered the passage of the proposal so skillfully that its acceptance was almost anticlimactic. There were very few questions and no debate as we awaited the dreaded fireworks that never came. (The fact that McGregor did not attend may have been a factor.) Savaryn and I retired to the Faculty Club, where we toasted the efforts of all with beer and tomato juice (Savaryn's "usual"), and the chit can be seen to this day! On 18 June the board approved the institute, and two months later Hohol informed Eric Geddes, the chairman, that a \$350,000 grant would be transferred to the university's budget for 1976-77. "Separate budget submissions for the Institute," he indicated, "should be made annually to my office along with the University of Alberta estimates." Thus though technically the institute was not on term funding, its separate budget also signified that it was not yet an integral part of the university. That would depend on how well it met its objectives, as the ADC had already indicated.

Shortly after the council's approval, I obtained a secondment from my department for three years, as I did not wish to be away longer. The

department also provided space for the institute's initial location: an office across from mine in Education Building II until it could be accommodated a year later in historic Athabasca Hall (the university's first building), then under renovation. Next I had a long meeting with Rudnytsky, recently returned from sabbatical, and explained that there were simply too many demands on my time to be a part-time director. He appeared to understand and raised no objections. On 10 June, after Luckyj noted Frolick's continued chair negotiations and concluded that the apparent goal was to make Toronto "independent of Alberta," I sent Frolick "some basic guidelines" to govern relations between the institute, the University of Toronto and the institute's foundation, which he headed. Toronto had to realize that both the institute and the foundation were national institutions, that the foundation existed to support the work of the institute and that an institute kept "fully informed" in the performance of its "inter-university, co-ordination, clearing house function" was "in the best position to indicate where the funds might be expended most profitably." It is significant, I think, that though no subject was ever off-limits during our long friendship, Frolick never commented on this letter orally or in writing.

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies was established by the largest public grant that any Ukrainian community project had hitherto received outside Ukraine. To me, it was a fine tribute to the first Ukrainian settlers who had done so much to open up the Prairies. The institute was also an expression of my personal gratitude to grandparents and parents who had taught me to love education and value culture (Ukrainian and otherwise). But without the "immersion" in Ukrainian studies provided by Luckyj, Bociurkiw and Rudnytsky, it would have been impossible to draw up its blueprints. Similarly, without Savaryn's very large political influence within government and the university, the institute would not have come into being. For the institute in the last analysis was a political act—an act of *public* policy made possible by the funds that the government made available. Hohol's support in that respect was crucial, and if Savaryn and I may be considered the institute's godfathers, he was the presiding medic at the institute's birth whose gentle tap at precisely the right time gave the institute its first heartbeat. For me, the politics of multiculturalism at the provincial level were never sweeter.

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In retrospect, I am fairly certain that, even if the federation had not pursued the institute project, an institute would have been established eventually. Its nature and its form of financing might have been different, but an academic presence on some Canadian campus to further Ukrainian

research and publication would have emerged. A research institute already existed at Harvard, and Luckyj and Rudnytsky were not only familiar with its operation but knew that the community base for a similar institution was even stronger in Canada. Thus, even if the federation had not budged, the émigrés in the east, having generously donated to Harvard, would likely have brought something into being. After all, the modest Iwachniuk Fund at the University of Ottawa was established by an émigré couple from Toronto.

The term “institute” was adopted because of the sudden appearance of competitive centres. I was absolutely convinced that as a national body the P & B Federation should not marshal its large potential for just any centre, program or fund. What was needed was a single *national* co-ordinating institution that worked from clearly established priorities and discouraged duplication. Whatever might be said for Ukrainian duplication elsewhere, to expect the state to fund significant Ukrainian research centres in various parts of the country was not just unrealistic but most undesirable from the standpoint of quality scholarship.

Of the individuals involved, Bert Hohol, as the government’s paymaster, was undoubtedly the most important. “Long after you are forgotten for much else in your ministry, you will be remembered for this,” Savaryn kept telling him after his commitment in April 1975. But I was surprised that Hohol thought enough of the project to take it under his wing, for I had never heard him speak Ukrainian or show any interest in Ukraine or Ukrainian-Canadian affairs. Nor did he reveal much interest in either in the course of pursuing the institute-idea.

Next in importance was certainly Savaryn, who knew Lougheed well enough to discuss the institute with him. While the premier had no special ethnic interests, his government also did not shun ethnic politics. With all the money at his disposal in the mid-1970s because of OPEC, Lougheed likely did not think that \$350,000 (raised to \$500,000 within three years) for a Ukrainian institute would breach the tough financial stance his government had adopted toward the university after its election in 1971. On the Board of Governors, Savaryn had had time to “talk up” the project with Gunning and such Conservative colleagues as Eric Geddes, the chairman of the board. Savaryn was important enough to the party (between 1974 and 1978 he served as its vice-president and president) and to the university to have his phone calls answered, and if Hohol was the ultimate political engine, it was Savaryn who provided the lubrication. This did not always make him popular, for he tended to lecture his political “friends” on subjects close to his heart. When, for example, Jim Foster stood us up in February 1975, none of the MLAs—not even Diachuk or Koziak—showed up, and the grapevine had it that Koziak did not always appreciate Savaryn’s political moralizing.

Still, without Savaryn's political rudder, it would have been impossible to take seriously the government's alleged interest in an institute.

In Toronto Luckyj was by far the most important. An able academic with a scholarly reputation that opened most campus doors, he (and Rudnytsky) knew practically everyone who was anyone in Ukrainian studies in North America and Europe, and there was never any doubt that he would bring high standards to his research and publication projects. Luckyj disliked Ukrainian-Canadian politics and preferred to keep community leaders at arm's length. Like most good scholars, he did not crave administration and was willing to direct the Toronto centre only because of his many scholarly projects. He was content with a modest operation and certainly never envisaged either the institute's eventual granting programs or its national (even international) outreach.

Luckyj admired my doggedness in pursuit of the project, but he must also have wondered about my talents as an administrator. He was extremely disappointed when Alberta's funds ruled out Toronto as the site, and he was certainly right that such decisions were best made on academic, not financial, grounds. When he, too, began to envisage two centres—one in Edmonton, the other in Toronto—I had to remind him (September 1974) that "we are not planning a Centre to be divided between Edmonton and Toronto but a single national Institute of Ukrainian Studies which would coordinate and help fund Ukrainian studies in centres, or as funds or projects, wherever they might be found." I was always prepared to cover a portion of his salary (up to one-half, if necessary), but was reluctant (at least at the outset) to do the same for Rudnytsky, and the parity that the latter demanded forced me at times to be less generous to Luckyj than I would have wished.

George Luckyj's opinion of the "P & B boys" in Toronto was never high, though we both often marvelled at how much time some were willing to devote to community affairs. The public profile of Ukrainian studies appeared to please them, but I could not believe how little most understood about what was being attempted. Although sensing that they were part of something big, they appeared reluctant to follow the lead from another part of the country. Stan Frolick was certainly their most able leader, but even he was frequently jealous of the west's successes, as I reported them with a tip of the political hat to Savaryn. His failure to take seriously the position of president of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Foundation (1975-76) was most annoying. Conceived in the first instance to finance the institute, the foundation was essential if the oft-mentioned, multi-volume, English-language, alphabetical encyclopedia of Ukraine was ever to see the light of day. Frolick knew all that, yet with him at the foundation's helm not a single dollar was raised.

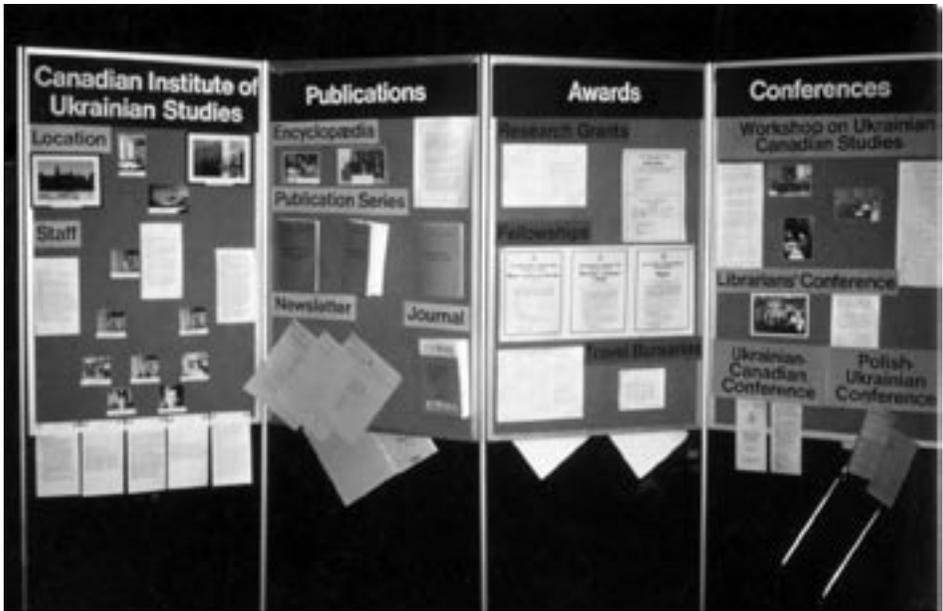
On the Edmonton campus the most important by far were the academic vice-presidents, Henry Kreisel and Meyer Horowitz. Kreisel and I were good friends, and he occasionally had some nice things to say about the multicultural movement in the 1970s. After 1973 Horowitz was my dean, and our relationship was naturally more formal, though he favoured my multicultural involvement. If either had wished to torpedo the initial proposal, they could easily have done so, for it was brief and insufficiently thought out. That they favoured it before the all-important ADC (which they chaired) saved the project, and with their prestige they ensured its academic viability when that counted most.

Ivan Rudnytsky's role was more ambiguous. While he certainly favoured a centre in Toronto and later an institute in Edmonton, it was also clear that someone else would have to bring it into being. Rudnytsky and his forceful wife impressed me as individuals with many ideas for others to develop. In September 1975, with the institute clearly on the horizon, they took off for a sabbatical in Europe. Rudnytsky's direct role in the founding of the institute was minimal. He had not written either of the two proposals, and when he returned to Edmonton in June 1976, the institute was practically a reality. Realizing how little he had contributed to its establishment, he appeared almost relieved to learn that he would not have to be its first director.

Of others who contributed to the institute's formation, Metro Gulutsan and Paul Yuzyk were significant largely because of what they did not say or do. Had either wished to sink the project, they could have raised serious doubts in many quarters. Gulutsan, in particular, had every reason to be concerned. He had tried hard to establish an institute of Soviet and East European studies, and it certainly must have hurt to see its central component—Ukrainian studies—suddenly drawn off. Had the university listened, it might have benefited much from his more comprehensive institute, but despite considerable efforts over several years, he never acquired the political clout to spring the necessary funds. Even though he personally favoured the Conservatives and cultivated Hohol and others, he failed to put forth a manageable proposal or to organize a politically effective Central and East European community association to press for an East European institute *before* the Ukrainian one came into being.

Paul Yuzyk was too much of a "Ukrainian patriot" to oppose the institute-idea. I saw him regularly at the Bociurkiws' on my visits to Ottawa, but otherwise I kept my distance. Although technically a senator for all "Ukrainians," he loved being a Conservative politician (the Conservative Diefenbaker had appointed him), which caused the Liberals to dismiss him and made him *persona non grata* to the CCCM. He took himself much too seriously for the influence senators actually have in Canada—and in this he was much encouraged by Americans in the Jersey City-based Ukrainian

National Association, to whom a Canadian “senator” was still a senator, entitled to the deference of his much more powerful American counterparts. In November 1975 he located the hotel in Toronto where Luckyj, Bociurkiw and I were shaping the academic profile of the “Detailed Proposal” and insisted on being included, despite his great distance from serious scholarly work. I had invited Bociurkiw because he was in political studies and (having lived in the west) had a better understanding of western Canada than Luckyj and could be relied upon to support my emphasis on Ukrainian-Canadian studies. Otherwise, his influence in the founding of the institute was mostly indirect. He appreciated the modest nature of the University of Ottawa fund, and in Winnipeg in April 1974 he had an important steadying influence on its originators, Yuzyk and Bida.



First exhibit of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the convention of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation, Toronto, May 1977.

# Chapter Nine

## MULTICULTURALISM IN OTTAWA'S POLITICAL WILDERNESS (1976–80)

### *The Canadian Consultative Council under the Liberals*

After July 1976, with an institute to develop, the CCCM naturally became a secondary concern. I accepted John Munro's invitation to become its vice-chairman because it was an ideal position for me. It carried no specific responsibilities and enabled me to keep an eye on political developments, especially in the area that interested me most: maintaining a balance between official bilingualism, which the federal government greatly favoured, and official multiculturalism, whose political fate was still uncertain. Among other unfinished business were, of course, the future needs of the still young English-Ukrainian bilingual program, as well as Munro's *formal* response to the council's 1974 recommendations and the media's portrayal (the CBC mainly) of Canada's multicultural reality. The free telephone service and the frequent out-of-town meetings also helped to lower the institute's travel budget.

During the next five years political developments continued to colour much of the council's work. First, there was the electoral victory of the separatist Parti Québécois in mid-November 1976, which suddenly placed national unity at the centre of most council activities. Early in July 1977 Prime Minister Trudeau announced a Task Force on National Unity (the Pépin-Robarts Commission), which in May 1978 resulted in a major confrontation between the commission's Francophone members and the council on the possible contributions of multiculturalism to national unity. In June of the same year Trudeau, determined to repatriate the Canadian constitution, introduced his government's Constitutional Amendment Bill, and I became the point man on the council's ad hoc constitution committee.

The election of Joe Clark's Progressive Conservative government in May 1979 ended my six-year term on the council executive, though by the fall I was co-chair of the same council's Multicultural Education Committee. The return of the Liberals in February 1980 and the triumph of federalism in Quebec's May referendum saw the quick return of Trudeau's constitutional bill, and during the parliamentary hearings in November I largely wrote and presented the national UCC's constitutional brief. While never exactly in the Liberals' good books, a year later (October 1981) I was definitely *persona non grata* after strongly criticizing the government's implementation of multiculturalism on a CCCM panel in Edmonton. Being "on the outside" made critical analysis much easier, which I did in a strong

letter to the Southam Press a month later on the occasion of the policy's tenth anniversary.

In all this, much had somehow to be balanced against the demands of a fledgling institute, and some things in the latter's administration might have been different had there been more time for the kind of diplomacy that often softens goal-oriented perceptions. The politics of multiculturalism regularly took up many hours and human relations occasionally suffered.

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The first meeting of the new CCCM executive in November 1976 (the first since the spring) took place at the national UCC headquarters in Winnipeg, where Peter Bosa, the new council chairman, was introduced. In a curious twist, besides Munro, the sacked chairman (Koteles) was also present. Following the afternoon's proceedings, Koteles drove me to the airport and over coffee pressed me to resign. Aware of my liberal orientation, he painted the ethnic communities in the most unflattering terms (conservative, church-dominated, etc.), insisting that my continued involvement only strengthened their reactionary hold on ethnocultural development. I granted him as much and looked to the generally more liberal young (SUSK) to help ameliorate the difficult situation. We parted amicably, and I never heard from him again.

At the time there were several reasons to be optimistic. Munro had backpedalled considerably from his public interview of a year ago, and there were indications that once Koteles was gone a strong effort would be made to give the multicultural policy greater substance. Over lunch in Edmonton in August 1976 Munro had referred to a cabinet document recommending a separate ministry of multiculturalism and citizenship, a co-ordinator for ethnocultural affairs in either the Privy Council Office (PCO) or the PMO and more 'ethnic' appointments in the civil service and government agencies. He also intended to challenge the "outright antagonism" toward multiculturalism in the civil service and in such agencies as the Canada Council and the CBC. The concept of multiculturalism had to be transformed into a public philosophy that enveloped industry, trade and commerce—as well as the public schools. A closer link had also to be drawn between "individual freedom" and "greater equality of opportunity"—both key liberal tenets—before affirmative action programs could be introduced. He promised to send me a copy of his document when it was ready.

CCCM chairman Bosa also exuded confidence. An Italian-born insurance executive, more open and far less manipulative than Koteles, Bosa had served three terms as alderman in Metro Toronto and had a good grasp of multicultural issues. As prominent in the Italian community as in the Liberal party, the personable Bosa was appointed to the Senate in April 1977. In the

bureaucracy, too, there was some room for optimism. Hugh Faulkner's new deputy minister, André Fortier (who had replaced Boucher), was said to be better disposed toward multiculturalism, and Munro did not intend to retain Mike Andrassy in the Multiculturalism Directorate. (Orest Kruhlak succeeded him in January 1977.) Susan Scotti also appreciated my efforts with Munro to convert her political appointment into a civil-service position. In the wings was Paul Migus, a SUSK alumnus responsible for intercultural communications in the Ethnic Groups Liaison Division of the Secretary of State department. Although the Kruhlak-Scotti-Migus trio was at the low end of the bureaucratic pecking order, each was close to government policies and programs and, together with Steve Jaworsky and Bohdan Bociurkiw, provided a fine pipeline into developments in Ottawa.

In reorganizing the council, Munro created five standing committees, among them language and cultural development. He also wanted ethnocultural organizations to present briefs to the council's executive at regional meetings, accompanied by special youth sessions (18-25 years of age) after June 1977. After the PQ victory, the Committee on Language and Cultural Development had "and the Relation between Bilingualism and Multiculturalism" added to its name. Munro told the executive on 11 December that he wished to see more emphasis placed on the "interface" between multiculturalism and the French-English fact, under which "language and cultural development" could be subsumed. The quoted extracts below indicate the "points for discussion"—provided by the bureaucracy for each committee—that the future "Interface Committee" was to address:

1. The value of language as a primary cultural determinant among ethnocultural groups:
  - a) language as a means of avoiding assimilation
  - b) language retention as a barrier to integration with the "host society"
  - c) Is the retention of cultural identity possible without the retention of language?
3. a) In light of the Non-Official Language Study's findings and bearing in mind that education is a provincial jurisdiction how can the Federal government respond to demands for assistance in language retention.
4. Terminologies are a matter of concern. Official Multiculturalism is often mistakenly equated with Multilingualism. Official bilingualism is often mistakenly equated with bilingualism. This is of concern to various ethnocultural groups who view this as a threat to their own cultural survival. The committee should

examine these problems of usage and recommend how they may be alleviated.

8. The question "Are Canada's Official Languages Act and Multiculturalism policy complementary?" requires further reexamination. If the two are not on par with each other would legislation rather than just an Order-in-Council make them more equal?
10. Is "Multiculturalism" an all embracing concept which includes the Anglo-Celtic, French Canadians and Native Canadian peoples, or is it a concept limited to other Canadian ethnocultural groups?
11. Is the Multiculturalism policy a cultural policy or is it a social policy or is it a combination of the two? To what extent?

Although each committee received a short bibliography of "Resources," none inexplicably was provided for the Interface Committee. With the executive excluded from chairing committees, I had Peter Kondra assume the chair, which ensured continued emphasis on the basic language-and-culture concerns of the council's *First Annual Report*.

Although Munro used the PQ victory to justify the above committee's addition, there were two other reasons. First, many of the "points for discussion" had a direct bearing on the language section of the council's report. Second, on 9 December (two days before the above executive meeting), the cabinet had considered Munro's long-promised "Memorandum to Cabinet [on] Citizenship and Multicultural Strategy," dated 25 November 1976, which I received from Scotti just before Munro's departure in April 1977. The memorandum contained provisions that benefited both the multicultural policy and the Liberal Party, but only the latter survived. Thus a portion of departmental advertising contracts would be earmarked for the ethnic press; all "high-profile" ethnic events would be attended by a government representative; all order-in-council appointments would be reviewed for adequate ethnocultural representation (appointments to the CBC and the CRTC to be dealt with at a subsequent meeting); the Liberal Party office would assist MPs with multilingual mailings; and the following senatorial appointments would be considered—"an Italian from Ontario [the basis of Bosa's appointment], an Italian from Quebec, a Jewish woman and a Ukrainian" (John Ewasew of Montreal was appointed in 1977).

Rejected were a separate department of multiculturalism and citizenship with "a full time Minister plus control over an increased budget and man-year resources", as well as a PCO co-ordinator for multiculturalism. Nor would the cabinet reaffirm "the mutually reinforcing nature of bilingualism and multiculturalism," with special attention to "the Alberta experience" that "may have paved the way for the implementation of French bilingual instruction.... Further weight would be given to this reaffirmation if the Prime

Minister also restated it either in the House or at an appropriate occasion." The suggestions were "taken as advice to the Prime Minister" after Health Minister Monique Bégin "expressed concern over multilingualism and the conflict that additional languages would have with present bilingual policies." Accordingly, Trudeau postponed further discussion of the "reinforcing" aspect to "another time, perhaps when the question of the government's multiculturalism policy comes forward"—as if it were not then on the table!

The cabinet's resistance to substantive multiculturalism was echoed at the CCCM executive meeting two days later. André Fortier, the undersecretary of state, noted the difficulties that the council's recommendations were posing for the French and the Anglo-Celts (referred to simply as "other groups") and stressed the importance of "balancing" the development of multiculturalism with their understanding. On language learning in the public schools, he did not think that the council's direction should be "institutional multilingualism": "We should move through the voluntary sector as much as possible." Munro took up Fortier's lead: the voluntary sector and a "flexible" federal granting policy should press the provincial authorities "to institutionalize other languages where the need arises."

I countered with my usual position: the difficulties in language education stemmed from the federal government's failure to advance the principle of bilingualism, under which all bilingual combinations in education could be publicly accommodated where numbers warranted. A first step would be a federal-provincial conference on multiculturalism—an idea to which the council kept returning without result. When Fortier, prompted by Munro, suggested that some province should place the federal role in language retention on the agenda of the Council of Education Ministers (slated to meet on 13-14 January 1977), I immediately volunteered to approach the Alberta minister, Julian Koziak. From him I learned that he had already suggested that Secretary of State John Roberts provide greater flexibility in the administration of federal bilingual funds to accommodate other bilingual combinations, a proposal that Roberts only received as information. If, Koziak added, Munro were really serious, he should raise the matter with Roberts. As a result, in my letter to Munro on 4 February I noted that it was Hugh Faulkner, Roberts's predecessor, who had requested the earlier meeting with the Council of Ministers, and then asked, "What stands in the way of a similar request from you?" Had I then known the fate of his cabinet document, the answer would have been obvious (the letter, not surprisingly, was never acknowledged).

In Edmonton on 29 January 1977 Munro finally provided a waffled official response to the council's language recommendations. "Should the Council of Education Ministers take the initiative and place the subject

of the development of languages other than English or French on their agenda, we would be prepared to carefully review their recommendations and requirements at that time." For the present, he introduced only a new Cultural Enrichment Program that offered per-pupil grants to heritage-language classes in the private voluntary ethnic schools, similar to those that Alberta and some other provinces were already providing. In the end the Hoeter resolution of October 1973 prevailed (minus its tax-deductible dimension), though Munro himself had many nice things to say about both the Ukrainian bilingual program in Edmonton and his earlier support of Turko's textbook project. Although the response did not surprise me—Munro, after all, had telegraphed it as early as June 1975 and confirmed it in the *Globe and Mail* interview in November—it still really hurt (despite his and Scotti's apologies) to have the comprehensive language recommendation dropped before its potential had been explored with even a single provincial jurisdiction, especially in the Prairies.

In mid-April André Fortier returned to the subject of the relationship between multiculturalism and bilingualism at a national unity meeting in Winnipeg. In a prepared "personal view," he referred often to the just-released *Heirs of Lord Durham*, a report of the newly formed, federally funded Fédération des francophones hors Québec, which (according to Fortier) saw the French "menaced" in a country that was "bilingual but multicultural." The "real crux" of the problem was to find "the model" that would resolve "the question of English and French in Canada." The Confederation of 1867, the model for more than a century, had gradually shrunk the French presence outside Quebec. The most recent model—bilingualism from coast to coast—was being challenged by the separatist model of the Parti Québécois. With the assimilation of the French still unchecked and with the "inalienable right to education at all levels" in French not yet realized, the most recent federal model still had a long way to go. English-speaking Canada had to produce a model that satisfied Quebecers. Had the ten provinces recognized the two official languages, "perhaps Quebec would not have done what it did." Thus, for Canada to survive one had "first...to deal with the problem confronting the Francophone community...before opening the way for multiculturalism." In this context multiculturalism was clearly secondary, not complementary, to bilingualism, and official bilingualism, not official multiculturalism, was the key to national unity.

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The secondary status of multiculturalism was well illustrated by Munro's successor, Joseph Guay, during a crucial vote in the Commons on 21 July 1977. At the executive meeting on 11 December I had urged that the Immigration

Bill, then before Parliament, characterize Canada as multicultural as well as "Federal and Bilingual." Whether Munro wrote Immigration Minister Bud Cullen (as he promised), I cannot say, but what did happen so upset the executive and the directorate that it dogged the CCCM's deliberations for years. When Andrew Brewin, the Conservative immigration critic, moved in July to add "multicultural" to the bill, the government not only defeated the amendment, but Multiculturalism Minister Guay—unlike Munro, who at least had the good sense to stay away—voted against it! Dismayed, the executive had Bosa write the prime minister (6 September), who replied that the "brief" reference to "cultural pluralism as an appendage to the Act would do nothing to strengthen the concept or further its acceptance. We hope to find other and more effective methods of achieving this goal." Meanwhile discussions should begin between the immigration and multiculturalism ministers as "the logical prelude to any change in the legislation." Bosa's own suggestion that the government establish a "statutory base" for the multicultural policy (an idea occasionally bandied about informally by the executive) was commended and also referred to the minister.

Against this background, the extensive efforts to "sell multiculturalism" by taking it to the mainstream press, to the television stations and to corporations like Xerox appeared as pointless as Bosa's own Senate speeches and his letter to the *Toronto Star* (17 March 1977), which opened with the bold (foolish?) declaration: "True national unity can only be achieved through multiculturalism." Roy Vogt, an economics professor at the University of Manitoba who succeeded me as prairie regional chairman, failed to persuade Xerox to promote multiculturalism with the ad: "Each Canadian is unique/ Canadian youth cannot be duplicated." Late in March, according to Kruhlak, the CBC also flatly refused to carry a clever multicultural commercial entitled "Faces" because of its alleged "political message." Instead of a speakers' bureau, a Public Relations Committee eventually emerged—along with such publicity by the directorate as *Notes on Multiculturalism* (published in 1978). Yet, quite incredibly, Munro himself did not mention multiculturalism in addresses to two mainstream groups—the Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association in Regina on 22 January 1977 (where he proposed the traditional toast to Robert Burns) and several Rotary clubs in the Burnaby area of Vancouver on 14 March! The double standard was hard to explain and contributed to the executive's growing cynicism, also occasionally apparent among the council's members and the leaders of Canada's ethnocultural organizations.

In this context the Interface Committee also dug in its heels. On 26 March it reminded the minister that the relationship between official bilingualism and multiculturalism was already "probably best explained" in two documents: the one tabled in the Commons in 1971 by the prime minister himself and the council's *First Annual Report*. "The Official Languages Act,"

according to Trudeau's document, "designated two languages, English and French, as official languages of Canada for purposes of all the institutions of Parliament and government of Canada; no reference was made to cultures. Nor, on the other hand, should the recognition of the cultural value of many languages weaken the position of Canada's two official languages." And from the *Annual Report*, "The policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework makes English and French the languages of communication within Parliament and the agencies of the federal administration throughout Canada; all other languages are important for cultural purposes" (a passage I had written earlier). The problems of terminology were thus only in the minds of some government members and their officials, especially the French-Canadian contingent, who unfortunately felt diminished when multiculturalism superseded biculturalism in 1971.

The Interface Committee now urged the minister to enter into federal-provincial agreements that would give Canadians "the opportunity of learning languages other than English and French in the public schools." Both the minister and the secretary of state should invite the provincial ministers of education ("or accept an invitation from any province") to discuss federal support for language and multicultural programs in education. In addition, the minister and the provincial ministers of culture and of education should disseminate materials and information on bilingualism and multiculturalism "and on the value of studying various ethnic languages in Canada." The CBC should also reflect Canada's multicultural reality in its programming. Two weeks earlier at a joint meeting in Regina practically identical resolutions were passed by the three multicultural advisory councils in the Prairies.

The Interface Committee was much emboldened by Jane Dobell, director of the Language Programs Branch in the Secretary of State department. In discussing the work of her branch in the provincial schools, she admitted that the federal government not only lacked jurisdiction, but that its efforts were "entirely" outside the Official Languages Act. Dobell outlined the many support programs of the branch, their remarkable flexibility and the large sums involved—\$160 million in 1976-77, with \$13 million for "special projects" alone. Recent experiences in the provinces, she added, had demonstrated the futility of trying to produce fluent speakers where a second language was studied for only 120 minutes per week (still the prevalent practice in most Ukrainian classrooms). Such classes not only failed to develop linguistic skills but bred "anger and hatred of the language." Dobell's open presentation aroused the committee to add language animators and grants to language associations to its earlier demands. Unfortunately, none of the committee's efforts had any effect on government.

Just as inconsequential as the CCCM's first report was its second, based on the recommendations from the ethnocultural briefs and the special youth

workshops between June 1977 and April 1978. The most earnest participants were the most recent Third World immigrants, most of whose problems were socio-economic, not cultural, and usually outside the council's terms of reference. The older groups criticized the implementation of government programs, and most also condemned the media's negative attitudes toward multiculturalism. In public education the emphasis was less on language learning than on multicultural content in the curriculum. Bilingual education was rarely mentioned, though no briefs criticized (and some commended) the teaching of French. With many recommendations overlapping those from the CCCM's own standing committees, the latter in the end constituted the core of the council's second report, released in the spring of 1978.

The report was generally more hard-hitting than I thought the very political Bosa would accept. The extract below on "Language" in the section "What did you learn in school today?" was typical:

Although the Council understands and respects the federal government's concern not to encroach upon provincial jurisdiction, it continues to point out that there are perfectly respectable alternative strategies. The bilateral federal-provincial agreements in effect since 1969 to increase the opportunities of Canadians to learn English and French as second languages are a case in point.

This, I thought, touched the heart of the matter. There *were* alternatives that could be explored with provincial governments, but unfortunately increasing the bilingual combinations in public schools was not part of the federal government's multicultural agenda. For the first time, too, the report had much to say about what soon came to be known as "multicultural education," drawn mainly from the briefs, whose concern with multicultural content often took in the mass media as well as the schools. Unlike Munro, however, the ministers who followed did not provide formal responses to the council's recommendations.

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As already indicated, Joseph-Philippe Guay succeeded Munro late in April 1977. Like the earlier Haidasz, Guay was given a separate ministry that appeared to boost the policy, but without a separate department he was again tied to the secretary of state's apron strings. Worse still, in terms of status, Guay, as a minister of state, again hugged the bottom of the ministerial pecking order. He met the CCCM executive only once, briefly on 29 April. My own major contact with him was at a small reception at the university's



Presentation of cheque for the Ukrainian bilingual program by Joseph-Philippe Guay, minister of state (multiculturalism), to Orest Mulka, president, Ukrainian Professional and Business Club, Edmonton, August 1977.

Faculty Club on 25 August 1977, when he brought the cheque for \$88,600 to publish the balance of Turko's textbooks for the Ukrainian program. I had submitted the application early in March, and Munro had approved it before leaving. Guay thus technically only "made the delivery," though for a short time early in May he held up the grant. Both Kruhlak and Scotti (who accompanied him) disliked Guay's appointment (at one point Kruhlak even threatened to leave, especially when the textbook grant appeared in jeopardy), and only Munro's assurances that Guay's tenure would be brief made the appointment palatable. Guay, who represented the French enclave of St. Boniface, Manitoba, displayed little understanding of multiculturalism and appeared both awkward and ill at ease at the Faculty Club, his comments containing more clichés than usual. Having voted against multiculturalism on the Immigration Bill in July, he was seen as a 'traitor,' and all close to the policy were relieved when, in mid-September, Trudeau moved him into the ministry of national revenue on his way to the Senate.

Norman Cafik, who followed Guay, took his office and himself very seriously and was probably the most travelled of the five ministers I came

to know. Although practically powerless in cabinet, he would not let on, thriving on the adulation of ethnic groups and likely addressing more of their organizations than his predecessors combined. He saw himself as an ambassador for multiculturalism and tried hard to project that image within both the bureaucracy and the media. Cafik's mother was Scottish and his father Ukrainian (Kafytsky, according to Steve Jaworsky), his father having left Zalishchyky in Western Ukraine at the age of fourteen and entered Canada illegally, jumping ship in Halifax. Having served in Canada's armed forces in both world wars, the elder Cafik died shortly after the second ended. Norman Cafik had represented Ontario's Simcoe riding, north of Toronto, since 1968, and was very proud of his origins and parliamentary career. The owner of a publishing firm, he was a stranger to the organized Ukrainian community, though he did reveal something of his past at the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Winnipeg in October 1977.

Cafik spoke no Ukrainian and was not much interested in the group's domestic language-and-culture agenda. He saw multiculturalism in terms of "global government strategy"—what Munro had earlier called the "horizontal approach." Cafik intended to maximize appointments to federal boards and commissions and to see multiculturalism taken seriously by other government departments and agencies. He was also determined to take multiculturalism to the non-ethnically conscious masses, believing himself particularly well qualified because of his mixed ancestral background. While admitting to a small budget and to the popular image of multiculturalism as a token ministry, he insisted that it was his personal impact on others, not the budget, which was all-important. In his self-confidence he exuded a simple liberal outlook that would see all people treated "fairly" and "equally" and recognize their "tremendous" contributions to Canada "in all walks of life." He referred often to human rights, being careful to avoid specifics, and dwelt (especially before Ukrainian audiences) on the importance of international human rights, pointing to the personal freedoms in the recently adopted Helsinki Accords to which the Soviet Union was a signatory. (In Munro's recent cabinet document the subject was seen as a sure-fire winner with East European ethnic voters.) For all the rest, Cafik was pretty much an open book—willing to lend a sympathetic ear to practically anything.

He was thus a very good person before whom to place "Multiculturalism—Focus '78: A Discussion Paper" initiated by Orest Kruhlak as part of the directorate's program review, completed in November 1977. The non-political, very frank paper identified the following as the main problems facing the multicultural program:

- the perceived lack of commitment within the bureaucracy and elsewhere in government;

- the indifference of federal cultural agencies;
- the low visibility and poor understanding of the program;
- the unclear relationship between Ottawa and the Secretary of State department's regional social development officers, unfamiliar with the program;
- the lack of funds to move away from folklore toward support for language retention and the development of infrastructure within ethnocultural organizations; and
- the ideological conflict between the largely folkloric cultural orientation of the program and the everyday social needs rooted in immigration, human rights and unemployment.

The directorate then suggested four main priorities for itself:

- to help strengthen ethnocultural communities by studying the state of their organizations;
- to improve race relations by tackling discrimination under deteriorating economic conditions;
- to foster understanding by encouraging encounters between minority ethnocultural groups and francophone minorities outside Quebec and the Anglo-Celts in Quebec; and
- to influence the attitudes of Canadians toward multiculturalism through education in the broadest sense, including the media.

By March 1978, when the executive finally considered the Discussion Paper, the directorate had become much more innovative than either the minister or the CCCM. Not only was it advising the executive, but the latter increasingly looked to it for advice and assistance. As a result, Kruhlak became a strong voice in the development of multicultural policy and programs. Earlier he had grouped the programs around eight main areas, with clear granting criteria for each:

- Canadian Ethnic Studies (to support academic research and publications);
- Intercultural Communications (to assist the co-ordinating efforts of local multicultural councils and other intercultural bodies);
- Performing and Visual Arts (to support amateur and semi-professional ethnocultural artistic groups and artists);
- Writing and Publication (to assist ethnocultural history and literary projects tied to education);
- Cultural Enrichment (to furnish per-pupil grants and support for teacher training and the development of teaching materials for

- private ethnic language schools);
- Group Development—Cultural Integration (to ease immigrant orientation);
- Group Development—Operational Support (to encourage newly emerging ethnocultural groups to form national organizations); and
- Group Development—Projects (to strengthen the cultural identity of ethnocultural communities poorly accepted by other Canadians).

In May Kruhlak created four divisions, each with its own head, though he himself never became an assistant deputy minister, nor were multicultural officers ever designated within the Secretary of State's regional offices.

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Despite such progress within the bureaucracy, the problem was the almost total inaccessibility of the peripatetic minister. After dropping in on the executive in Ottawa in October 1977, Cafik appeared to avoid it, perhaps intimidated by its probing questions. In February Bosa, citing raised expectations, finally wrote, requesting a meeting. Cafik obliged in April with an impressive evening in the parliamentary restaurant—a prelude, he said, to a much longer meeting. After dinner the rambling discussion touched on a host of outstanding issues. On the CBC, Cafik said he had recently met CBC president Al Johnson and was awaiting a report on the network's multicultural broadcasting. On ethnic appointments, he insisted that without the "substantial" Human Resources Bank requested earlier, he was unable to put forth "appropriate" names. (The executive—and the bureaucracy—found the compilation of names very difficult.) On the size of the CCCM, he was reluctant to downsize it as long as the issues of French relations, national unity and approaches to the provinces on language instruction and school curricula were unresolved. On human rights, he suggested a committee, apparently unaware that one had existed since December 1977. And on the projected youth conference, the executive, unlike Cafik, opposed postponement in case of a federal election. When I queried the absence of advertising in the mainstream press, Cafik invoked the budget, though even then at least \$500,000 was being funnelled annually to the ethnic press.

The promised longer meeting took place in mid-July at the Chateau Montebello, a ritzy Quebec resort in the Gatineau Hills, about an hour's drive from Ottawa. Present for the first time were the two new executive members appointed in January—Brad Barton, a black teacher from Halifax who replaced Joe Ghiz in the Atlantic region, and Morris Chaikelson, a Jewish lawyer from Montreal who took over from Saul Hayes in Quebec. Also present were John Vojtech Stephens, a lawyer of Slovak background

from Thornhill, Ontario, and Raymond Blais, a French-Canadian judge from Saskatchewan, the former being groomed to chair the ad hoc committee on public relations (communications) and the latter the ad hoc committee on the Canadian constitution. Pierre Juneau, who had succeeded Fortier as undersecretary of state, also attended. The meeting, hyped by KruhlaK and Scotti as pivotal to setting future directions, resolved little. The executive spent most of the first afternoon (without Cafik) on the terms of reference for the two new committees, followed by another rambling after-dinner session with Cafik on next day's agenda. Two items—the CCCM's relationship to the minister and the review of past council activities—took up most of the next morning. Conducive to rhetorical flourishes, both wasted much valuable time, but the two new members had suggested the first and Bosa wanted the second. Cafik, of course, welcomed both, and platitudes flowed freely.

To review the previous recommendations, the directorate had conveniently provided a status report on those from both the first council report (some twenty-five, with several subsections) and the just-released second one (some twenty, with fewer subsections), complete with Cafik's (internal) summary responses to the latter. It was impossible to do justice to the large item on the very crowded agenda. As a result, among the recommendations taken up were those on language and culture, all of which, according to the status report, Cafik had decided either to "discuss" with or "refer" to the provinces. When Chaikelson (according to the secretariat's minutes; Cafik brought his own secretary) asked whether the directorate could discover what was "being done on curricula in each province," Cafik excused the "overwhelmed" directorate and suggested another committee. Juneau then observed that, as the Secretary of State department had already dealt with the Council of Ministers of Education, a letter to discover "what they were doing in that field" was appropriate. In the minister's minutes the ministerial council was not mentioned:

Language and Education—CCCM asked if it is possible to find out what the Provinces are doing in this respect so that the Committee [CCCM] can address themselves to this. Orest KruhlaK and Manuel Da Costa to look into this. Pierre Juneau suggested that perhaps a letter to the Provinces asking for a report would be a good approach.

Even though the council's second report and KruhlaK's own earlier program-review document had urged the minister to present a strategy to the Council of Ministers of Education—or at least meet with the ministers of culture on the matter—Cafik clearly was not interested in doing either.

In responding to Roy Vogt's query about youth representation on the council (first requested in the 1974 report), Cafik admitted he was not aware of the recommendation, even though it had been "acted upon" in the directorate's status report, suggesting a weak liaison between Cafik and the bureaucracy. In the minister's minutes the item appeared as an "important consideration. Perhaps a new policy for young people should be developed." The same minutes also reported: "CCCM not satisfied with the quality of response and lack of followup. A meeting is to be set up between the Minister, John Roberts and Marc Lalonde to discuss Recommendations," but there is no evidence that one ever took place. Cafik again resisted downsizing the council, though the executive could revisit the matter, "keeping in mind any [political] repercussions it might have." To my report of complaints that the regional offices were uninformed about multicultural programming, Cafik insisted there was insufficient work in the field for multicultural specialists, and, in any case, the budget would not permit additional man-years.

The third national conference on multiculturalism (at the time still termed the "Youth Conference") absorbed the next hour. It was hoped that Trudeau would give the "major speech"; Cafik, in turn, proposed a tour of Ottawa and an evening "performance," but neither materialized. Because of the referendum talk in Quebec, Juneau suggested (and Cafik quickly agreed) that the multicultural reality of that province be included on the program. To my question about the "horizontal impact" of multiculturalism on federal agencies like the Canada Council and the CBC, Juneau admitted that a federal inter-agency co-ordinating committee existed "in theory but not in practice." He suggested informal meetings between the CCCM and the agencies, which might also provide regular updates on their multicultural activities (perhaps every two years). Cafik confessed that his meeting with Johnson of the CBC was "an eye-opener." "Most of us were prejudiced" about the job the CBC was doing, though he admitted that he had still to receive Johnson's promised report. As for "Future Directions," Cafik wanted more attention to domestic and international human rights and to visible minorities—to the groups that had the greatest difficulty integrating into Canadian society. His meeting with Toronto's visible minorities in January, he said, had left a deep impression.

Over dinner that evening, Kruhlak, Scotti and I commiserated, seeing little that would change the existing drift. According to Scotti, Cafik saw such meetings as "hand-holding sessions" and did not take them seriously; everyone needed "stroking" from time to time, and the executive was no exception. Cafik did not mind schmoozing late into the night over drinks and believed that such socializing was all that unhappy executive members needed—and he was probably right, for the carping ceased, even as his absences continued.

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Besides the above meeting, the other major disappointment of 1978 was the executive's earlier clash in May with the federally appointed Task Force on National Unity. The latter was one of several strategies adopted by the Liberal government to counter the election of the first separatist government in Quebec. In June 1977 it had released *A National Understanding: The Official Languages of Canada*, in which it admitted for the first time that "circumstances" might require "deferment" of its preferred national unity policy of bilingualism from coast to coast. The publication made no mention of multiculturalism, referring only to the importance of cultural diversity (Ottawa's usual code for the French fact), while conceding nothing to the country's linguistic diversity.

A month later, during the Commons debate on national unity, Trudeau announced the creation of the Task Force, co-chaired by his ebullient former minister of transport, Jean-Luc Pépin, and John Robarts, the avuncular former premier of Ontario. Prior to the Task Force's visit to Edmonton on 18 November, its organizing committee phoned to provide liaison with the city's ethnocultural groups. As a result, I met most of the Task Force members, and in conversation with Pépin and John Evans, president of the University of Toronto, I referred to my grandparents' generation as founding settlers in the west. Interested in my view of the concept of "founding peoples," I explained that the western colonizers and settlers were no less important in the development of the country than were the earlier discoverers, explorers and settlers. While Pépin demurred, Evans appeared intrigued by my expansive concept, as well as by my liberal approach to bilingualism through multiculturalism. He, however, resigned from the Task Force late in February 1978 and was not part of the group that met with the council's executive on 8 May.

Once the executive decided to submit a brief to the Task Force, Kruhlak was saddled with the first draft, while Bosa and Cafik met Pépin to educate him about the council. In the New Year I assisted Kruhlak and then edited the final version. The succinct brief made four main points. First, multiculturalism promoted national unity through its emphasis on the tolerance and mutual respect that improved human relations. Second, to meet French fears that multiculturalism was "a political expedient to strengthen the position of the already dominant English-speaking community," multiculturalism and bilingualism were declared to be complementary policies:

Multiculturalism respects the linguistic status of English and French as defined in the Official Languages Act. It respects both the historical claims and the present realities on which official

bilingualism is based. Moreover, all ethnocultural communities have a special interest in guarding against the drowning of cultures in the Anglo-American sea. They see the continued viability of the French language as one of the cornerstones of cultural pluralism.

Third, the national image projected by the educational system, the mass media and the government had to be one with which all Canadians could identify themselves:

...if the national image is overwhelmingly one of Anglo-Canadianism, the French Canadians are clearly denied their rightful place in society. By the same token, if the Canadian image admits only French and Anglo-Celtic heritages, then a large number of citizens are relegated to the status of aliens until they are totally assimilated in several generations.... The Canadian image, then, can only have a strong and unifying appeal if it speaks to all Canadians equally. The policy of multiculturalism recognized this fact in describing cultural pluralism as the essence of Canadian identity.

Finally, the "very make up" of the Task Force was deemed inadequate, for its personnel did not reflect the "true Canadian reality." The short brief contained few of the platitudes that often characterized similar documents.

The Task Force members present included Pépin (but not Robarts); Gérald Beaudoin, dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Ottawa; Solange Chaput-Rolland, a public-affairs broadcaster and writer from Montreal (the latter two soon to become senators); Richard Cashin of Newfoundland; and the two representatives from western Canada, Ross Marks, mayor of 100 Mile House in British Columbia, and Muriel Kovitz, chancellor of the University of Calgary and a prominent member of the Jewish community. The meeting was not pleasant. "To me," I wrote Kovitz in July, "it is incredible that two bodies created by the same government and concerned with the same issues of language, culture, education, human dignity, and national unity should be unable to meet and conduct a dialogue without the whole thing degenerating into near-confrontation." Nor was it convincing. "I have a feeling," Bosa confessed in his letter to the council's membership in June, "that we have not totally convinced the Task Force members of the importance of multiculturalism."

Pépin began the questioning, wondering how, if multiculturalism is "the essence of Canadian identity," bilingualism fit into the equation. Bosa, drawing a distinction between English and French as official languages

of communication and their role as languages of culture, was interrupted by Pépin: "It [English] must be the language of culture for the Anglo-Celtic." How, then, could one refer to multiculturalism as the "essence" of Canada's identity and also celebrate two official languages as languages of communication without at the same time celebrating the biculturalism underpinned by the two languages? "But that is exactly our point," I interjected: "We don't want it to be understood that the culture of Canada is Anglo-Celtic alone or Anglo-American alone with English as the [sole or necessary] vehicle for it." Pépin's was, of course, the natural dilemma of anyone concentrating on either end of the policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework." The executive would have both parts emphasized equally: French would be confined to its official use for the French-speaking population outside Quebec (with French, of course, the primary language in Quebec), while English would be combined with all other languages in and outside Quebec in an expanded or liberalized form of bilingualism (trilingualism in Quebec) based on individual preference and choice. However, the very thought of confining French at a time of French *épanouissement* (flowering) was anathema to the three Francophone members, occasionally leading to fairly heated exchanges, especially between Bosa and Pépin and Chaput-Rolland and me.

Bosa insisted that he favoured multiculturalism because it placed his Italian cultural background on a par with all others in Canada and made him feel at home. The exchange between Chaput-Rolland and me was just as personal but more direct:

Lupul: Are you asking me who lives in the Anglo-Celtic, Anglo-American culture as well as in the Ukrainian one (My first language was, in fact, Ukrainian; I knew no English until I went to school) to substitute the French culture for my Ukrainian ancestral culture?

Chaput-Rolland: I'm not asking you to choose anything, I'm only asking for your respect, that's all.

Lupul: I want a specific answer, please. What does "biculturalism" mean to you where people in my situation (and there are many such individuals) are concerned? Would you care to explain?

Chaput-Rolland: No. I can't because I'm telling you that you are living in a country where you have a chance to be part of one or the second [culture] and when you choose to speak to me in English, I suppose that you're more English than French. The third

culture, your background, is very important to Canada but not before you accept the first two. Maybe I'm wrong, I'm sorry, but that's the way I am. That is what I believe and it doesn't make me somebody who does not respect what you are. On the contrary.

Lupul: It is easy for me to understand what you're saying and it is not new. All I'm saying is you try and sell it where I live. You'll end up unicultural (what we pretty well have already, by the way) and unilingual (which we pretty well have already also). So, let's stay with reality, please, not dreams, or else you'll end up with unilingualism also in the Province of Quebec, which some people already (as you know) want very badly and are working their butts off to get. This is all very serious. If you snuff out those ancestral roots, then you will end up with "uni" not "bi" anything, let alone "multi." ...Let's start cultivating the differences that exist because this will make it possible for the biculturalism of French-English to exist, as well as the biculturalism of other kinds of individuals. These different "biculturalisms," if you like, reinforce one another; they are not competitive.

Chaput-Rolland: The fact of the situation is that there are two official languages in Canada. It is a fact because of the history of Canada.... it might not have been wise, but it just happened that the two main languages spoken in Canada since two hundred years are English and French. It's a fact. Whether we like it or not it's a fact. We have to build or to rebuild the country on those facts.... You say, alright, we may have a multicultural country with the two main languages. If this is so, don't you have to accept the fact that the multiculturalism will also express itself either in English or French in addition to its own culture. In other words, you would restrict English and French to a pure language of communication. It's more than that.

Chaput-Rolland made it sound as if I was denying the close relationship between French language and culture. The problem lay in her inability (or unwillingness) to see my difficulty in accepting French as a second culture *before* my own ancestral one.

What I found particularly striking, however, was that Cashin and Marks, the two members of Anglo-Celtic background, said nothing during the entire two hours—and this even after Kovitz admitted that, being Jewish, she understood my position, having had to live part of her life in another cultural milieu. The Anglo-Celts appeared quite content to have the “ethnics” argue it out among themselves. I felt quite bad about the acrimonious session until I remembered that at the earlier “Destiny Canada” conference in Toronto in June 1977, Chaput-Rolland had favoured the simple two-nations concept of Canada, which incidentally drew “loud and sustained applause,” according to the *Edmonton Journal* report (29 June).

The report of the Task Force, issued early in January 1979, satisfied few people. It displeased Trudeau because, in entrenching the Official Languages Act, it also bowed to strong provincial pressures and decentralized federal power, leaving all language education at the mercy of local legislatures, which could even designate their own official language(s). It also linked “Canadian ethnic pluralism” to “Canadian regionalism” and recommended that provincial governments assume “primary responsibility for the support of multiculturalism in Canada, including the funding of ethno-cultural organizations.” The public and private sectors were also asked to “make efforts to reflect in their institutions more adequately the cultural diversity of Canada.” Because I had expected little from the largely dualistic Task Force, it was not too difficult to live with the outcome. However, the other executive members, especially Bosa, were sufficiently upset to issue a very critical news release on 9 February, largely drafted by the senator. Although welcoming a more active role for the provinces in developing Canada’s multicultural society, the release “strongly” regretted that the Task Force had removed the “federal obligation” of dealing with all Canadian citizens. The recommendations of the Task Force, however, were barely noticed, and in the end the reaction of the council mattered little.

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The Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism was held in Ottawa on 27-29 October 1978. On the drawing board since February 1977 as a “Youth Conference,” it was postponed in May to better accommodate the youth workshops introduced in June 1977. Young people from across Canada were joined by national ethnocultural organizations, which submitted more briefs and participated in workshops on “Multiculturalism in the next five years.”

Invited also were leaders from school boards, provincial multicultural councils, multicultural groups, ethnic studies associations, social welfare agencies and government generally—some four hundred participants in all. The logistics of provincial, gender, age and ethnic distribution were horrendous, made worse by my suggestion that some non-ethnically conscious youth and young adults also be included.



David Lupul, SUSK delegate, discusses multiculturalism with Norman Cafik, minister of state (multiculturalism), at the Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, Ottawa, October 1978.

Following Juneau's suggestion, Monica Matte, a social worker from Montreal, co-chaired the conference (with Bosa), and a panel variously entitled "Multiculturalism in Quebec," "Ethnic Groups in Quebec," and "Multiculturalism and Bilingualism" was added. Matte, in her brief, carefully chosen remarks, noted how the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism had changed in Quebec. Earlier defined as one of "two founding nations," the Québécois were coming to see themselves as "the Quebec majority," not as "a Canadian minority." They were also "beginning to understand" that most individuals within the greatly enlarged immigrant communities who had once learned English were now "quite willing to learn and speak French in order to fit in with the Quebec majority." Matte saw this as a good thing—as did I—but without attention to third languages, it only suggested a second melting pot, similar to the one that English-speaking Canada had been stoking for decades.

The three other Montrealers—all, like Matte, unknown to me—were Rosa Maria De Sousa, a Portuguese-born, Quebec-raised community organizer in the Portuguese community of Montreal, Renzo Viero, chairman of the National Congress of Italian Canadians (Quebec region), and Thérèse Lavoie-Roux. The latter, like Matte, concentrated on Quebec and the contributions of immigrants to its welfare, recognizing the latter's "ticklish" situation between the two main language groups, where they had come "to feel like a political football." De Sousa said surprisingly little about Quebec and emphasized the familiar need to give other Canadians and the Portuguese themselves a better understanding of Portuguese culture and its contributions to the creation of "a bilingual and multicultural Canada." Viero displayed the most frustration. The fate of Italians in Canada was one of "isolation, incomprehension, one-way participation, mutual misunderstanding"—in short, "the 'third solitude.'" Unrepresented in senior federal government positions and in the judiciary, faced with the "painful memory" of the St.-Léonard conflict in 1968, and unrecognized for their accomplishments in both Quebec and Canada, they felt like "a hostage of the two majority groups." "I repeat, we are true citizens. It is up to you to prove this to us." The panelists tended to talk past each other and did not show how multiculturalism might serve as a basis for national unity in Quebec.

The older national ethnocultural organizations had been preparing briefs since at least the mid-1960s and none contained anything new, but no one complained and all, as usual, praised the multicultural policy and its programs. Among the issues, education and human rights predominated, with mass media frequently mentioned. To some, the CCCM was either unrepresentative, too divorced from the organizations or too politically partisan. Surprisingly, however, there was little pressure for a similar council of ethnocultural groups, though some would have preferred to name their own CCCM members. As expected, the Ukrainians, Balts and Poles requested greater support for the teaching of non-official languages; the Japanese sought redress for victims of forced incarceration during the Second World War; and the blacks and South Asians decried the inhumane effects of racism. Unlike the Balts, who called upon the federal government to support their campaign against the Soviets in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, the Arabs called for the opposite: the government should adopt "a strictly neutral political stance towards countries of origin." All wished to see multiculturalism included in any future Canadian constitution.

The youth workshops touched many of the same issues and generally produced similar recommendations, but in the four sessions that I observed fundamental questions about the meaning of multiculturalism and the value of ethnic consciousness were also raised, a fact not reflected in the official conference report. All favoured youth representation on the council

(the executive included), and some even suggested youthful equivalents of the CCCM, particularly at provincial or regional levels. (Youth, given a single executive post in the early 1980s, experienced no further changes.) The conference again increased the stock of recommendations, and at times it appeared as if all the regional meetings, briefs and workshops since 1976 enabled the entire political apparatus to mark time. There was little momentum, and the disillusionment of some was magnified when Trudeau refused to participate. Only when Opposition leader Joe Clark unexpectedly dropped in on two or three afternoon workshops did Trudeau put in a hastily arranged appearance the same evening at the governor general's reception at Rideau Hall, practically across the street from 24 Sussex Drive. Some SUSK members peppered him with questions and snide remarks, but these appeared to faze him little. Although invited (at my suggestion), the Fédération des francophones hors Québec, a national ethnocultural organization created by the federal government in 1976, did not attend.

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As we have seen, the portrayal of Canada's multicultural reality in the media had long been a central concern of the CCCM. To me, television was a second educational curriculum, one perhaps even more important than the schools. The council's first report (1974) discussed the portrayal issue, along with media programming in languages other than English and French. The latter—multilingual broadcasting—was always politically troubling, for few in my generation ever listened to radio broadcasts in Ukrainian, though they were frequently urged to do so. However, the portrayal of Ukraine and Ukrainian Canadians on radio and television was another matter. The weekly *Identities* program on CBC radio was a good beginning, but unfortunately it was the only public-affairs program of its kind. More typical were presentations like that on CBC radio's *Sunday Magazine*, which in a segment entitled "Are Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Policies Compatible?" ended on the following disappointing note on 12 September 1976:

It's one of the ironies of Canada, some say, that when we set out to build a cultural mosaic we appear to have ended up with only two pieces with which to work. The other ethnic groups are there, the Chinese community in Vancouver, Calgary or Toronto, Vietnamese in Montreal, Ukrainians in the Prairies, and Germans and Dutch in southwestern Ontario. And most of them have maintained their cultural heritage as they have always done, without help from the government. Not really integrated

or assimilated, just business as usual. Government, after all, has never been particularly successful at creating culture, be it in Canada or anywhere else. Culture, after all, is really nothing more nor less than people.

The first proposal for a commercial multilingual television station was submitted to the CRTC in March 1977 by Dan Iannuzzi of CITY-TV (Toronto), which already provided thirty-six hours of multicultural programming each week. Predictably, the *Edmonton Journal* (25 April 1977), echoing much of the Toronto press, greeted the news with "The tower of Babel for ethnic Toronto?" Lobbied by Iannuzzi, the CCCM executive simply asked the CRTC to favour the application that would "best assist" the implementation of multiculturalism. By the fall, however, among the three contending groups, one was headed by Leon Kossar, a Ukrainian Canadian (close to Yuzyk) deep into folklore, whose "programming philosophy," I thought, took in all kinds of Canadians—"those born in Canada and elsewhere"—and was therefore easy to support. Late in December 1978, however, the nod went to Iannuzzi, his Liberal connections likely more influential than Kossar's.

In the spring of 1977 the CBC was suddenly vulnerable. Because of the separatist victory in Quebec, the CRTC had established a Committee of Inquiry into the National Broadcasting Service to probe the alleged separatist influence in Radio-Canada, the CBC's French-language network. How well was the CBC fulfilling its mandate to "contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity," as stipulated in the Broadcasting Act of 1968? For the committee's benefit, the CBC prepared a special document, "Touchstone for the CBC," full of *mea culpas*, in which it admitted that, besides expanding regional programming to reflect Canada's cultural diversity, broadened public input on future programming was also needed. As a result, when the Committee of Inquiry reported in July 1977, it noted the CBC's willingness to change "many of its traditional attitudes," especially as its own public survey had indicated that more network programming was needed in five areas: "other regions; ethnic minorities; rural problems; French Canada, for English; English Canada, for French."

The CBC was X-rayed again in 1978 in advance of the CRTC's public hearings in October on the network's licence renewal. Among the concerns was "the CBC's reflection of special and minority needs," the latter referring to "minority, frontier, ethnic and official second language communities and groups," whose past representations had "consistently" focused on "their physical isolation and their cultural anxieties." The CCCM's executive, snubbed by the CBC after its first report, barely noticed the network in its second one. Now, with both the "Touchstone" document and the report

of the Committee of Inquiry before it, the executive had Ricardo Smith, a black in the directorate, draft a brief to the CRTC that leaned heavily on *Visible Minorities in Mass Media Advertising*, a report from the CCCM Human Rights Committee in June 1977, published by the council in 1978. Smith emphasized programming for both a multiracial and multicultural society (away from multilingual broadcasting), a point underlined by Bosa in his own appearance before the CRTC in October. Besides calling for visible and other minorities "with accents other than British as 'on-air' personalities, journalists, and programmers," the council's brief suggested that "in Canadianizing English television" the CBC should include more Canadians of non-French and non-Anglo-Celtic backgrounds as performers, writers and filmmakers. To help locate "artists of outstanding talent," it noted the special sixty-minute multicultural presentation before Queen Elizabeth in Ottawa in October 1977, in which "neither the CBC nor commercial TV showed any interest," despite the "critical acclaim" that followed.

The inadequacies of the CBC were well illustrated in October 1978 with the release of *A Decade of Multicultural Programming*, a mimeographed compilation of the radio and television programming, promised by Johnson earlier. There were fewer multicultural programs in French than in English and fewer on television than on radio. Television had nothing like *Identities*, but both radio and television needed more programming that reported, discussed, portrayed and analyzed multiculturalism in Canada. The *Decade's* introduction indicated the CBC's "general approach"—"to produce material which is of general audience interest and seeks to place ethnic culture within the context of the Total Canadian Society." As a result, the *Decade's* contents was typical of earlier civics and social studies school textbooks, with their emphasis on music from other lands, ethnic festivals and holiday celebrations, immigration and settlement (especially pioneering), native peoples, 'peculiar' religious minorities (Hutterites, Doukhobors, Mennonites), racial discrimination, and ethnic writers, artists and musicians. Now, daily news broadcasts about international affairs (especially the Middle East) and foreign feature films, including a play by Henrik Ibsen based on "an Italian opera in its original language," were also listed. *King of Kensington*, a sitcom series in its third year, was much lauded for its portrayal of Larry King, "the owner of a small corner store in a racially mixed area of Toronto." Included also were countless television vignettes such as the following:

*Trumpets of the Lord*

8 May 1968

"All American Negro cast singing spirituals and readings from the Bible."

*Weekend* 10 December 1972  
 "Extract from a performance of Chinese acrobats who are currently touring Canada."

*Country Canada* 4 March 1973  
 "Visit to a Dutch Flower auction."

*Some of My Best Friends Are Men* 1975  
 "8-part series deals with racial questions within the context of the women's lib situation."

*Sam and the River* 3 July 1978 (starts)  
 A six-part series from London, England, of the adventures of two eleven-year-old boys as they follow the trails of international smugglers' activities on the Thames River.

*Canadian Reflections* 26 August 1978  
 "Potters at Work shows four scenes from the daily work of traditional rural craftsmen in the mountain villages of Onda and Keishibara in southern Japan."

*Victorian Memory* 27 August 1978  
 "The only filmed interview with Her Royal Highness, Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone."

*Tommy Hunter*  
 "Often features the violin talents of Al Cherny in special Ukrainian selections."

During the interval afforded by the federal election in 1980, Kruhlak arranged an all-day meeting in Ottawa on 9 February between CBC president Al Johnson (and the rest of the CBC "brass") and ten council members especially interested in media. The delegation, led by Normie Kwong, the council chairman appointed by the Conservatives in October 1979 (discussed later), included four other representatives from the visible minorities, who focused most of the two formal hours on non-whites in television advertising and on the need for on-air positions for non-whites in news and public-affairs broadcasting. Besides Johnson, who belaboured the CBC's difficulties (as if it were not self-evident that balancing local news, international affairs, public affairs, sports and regional broadcasting would not be easy), the delegation heard from the heads of several divisions, all of whom solemnly swore on the Multiculturalism Bible while reeling off non-descript programs reflecting that reality.



Part of ten-member CCCM delegation to brief the CBC executive on portrayal of Canada's multicultural reality, Ottawa, February 1980. (Left to right) Normie Kwong, chairman CCCM; Rita Finestone (Quebec); Gordon Chong (Ontario); the author; Gurbachan Paul (Alberta); Carol Litman (Manitoba).

In 'my turn' I zeroed in on the "renaissance of Ukrainian life in Alberta" in recent years—the institute, the foundation, the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, the Ukrainian bilingual program and the general ethnocultural political and cultural activism—and wondered why the CBC had brought none of *that* reality to the wider Canadian public. Multiculturalism, I said, meant monitoring ethnic *life in Canada*, and there were plenty of well-qualified individuals whom the CBC could consult (possibly through a programming advisory council over a five-year trial period) once it began to take multiculturalism seriously. Until now, I added, the CBC had been essentially defensive, coming forward with documents like *A Decade of Multicultural Programming*; it had to become proactive with the help of ethnocultural talent close to the scene. (I had in mind Ukrainian cultural and media personnel like Roman Onufrijchuk, Halya Kuchmij, Bohdan Zajcew, Robert Klymasz and Ivan Fecan, individuals well known to me, but whom I did not, of course, name.)

The meeting did not accomplish as much as it could have. Despite Kruhlak's best preparatory efforts, the council's presentation was quite disorganized. After introducing the delegation, Kwong surprisingly said nothing, nor did he (or anyone else) delegate specific areas for others to pursue. At most times the delegation's participation resembled a free-for-all, with members generally "winging it." As a result, the visible minorities were the main long-term beneficiaries through increased participation in commercials and on-air reporting, trends already well under way in the United States. *For the other groups, Johnson promised CBC seminars and other consultative mechanisms that never materialized.* The CBC's subsequent attitude was well illustrated in a 1984 government publication, *Multiculturalism and the Government of Canada*, which described its role in "furthering the

national policy" in terms practically identical to those in a similar document in 1978: "As a national reflection of Canadian life, and consistent with the responsibilities assigned to it, the CBC has long practised a policy of cultural pluralism in programming." The rest of the 1984 account was a brief general summary of *A Decade of Multicultural Programming*, except for the recognition that for "identifiable minorities" special training (already under way) was needed.

### *The Canadian Consultative Council under the Conservatives*

In May 1979 the Liberals were replaced by a Progressive Conservative government under Alberta's Joe Clark. For multiculturalism, the prospects were at best uncertain, because during the previous Christmas break Clark had declared in High River, his birthplace, that, if elected, his government would take "a hard look" at abolishing "the departments of fitness and amateur sport, multiculturalism and urban affairs." Clark had, however, to contend with Ontario MP Gus Mitges, the Conservative "co-ordinator of multiculturalism." In March Mitges had floated a draft policy that the party issued in a watered-down version on 3 May, promising, among other things, to include multiculturalism in a new Canadian constitution and in the Immigration Act. In an outright appeal to the East European ethnic vote, imprisoned dissidents were also singled out for attention. However, in keeping with the party's anti-government orientation, "special 'multicultural programs'" would only be created "where it is apparent that the regular activities of government are unable to serve the needs of our ethnic communities."

For the CCCM, the Conservatives promised "an operating grant" to make it (the council), rather than the civil service, "the central instrument of federal multicultural policy." With its advisory committees, the council would scrutinize the Department of Employment and Immigration, the Public Service Commission, the federal cultural agencies and "even the Privy Council Office, responsible for the most senior appointments within government," to ensure that "qualified" Canadians of all ethnic backgrounds had a "fair opportunity for advancement." By reporting "directly and openly" to Parliament, the council would ensure political and bureaucratic compliance. The Conservatives also promised to combat discrimination without supporting racial quotas and to facilitate cultural expression by giving Canada's "mass markets" of authors, composers, singers and filmmakers access to cable television and the Canada Council. But because "all government departments and agencies must recognize the impact of their activities on the multicultural reality of Canada," the Conservatives dropped Mitges's suggestions to appoint a commissioner of

multiculturalism and to elevate the directorate to a full division under an assistant undersecretary solely responsible for multiculturalism within the Department of the Secretary of State.

As usual, I did not participate in the election, though at Bosa's request I did send Cafik's campaign a \$100 donation. I was surprised by Bosa's phone call and contributed pro forma, even though the government appeared totally bankrupt on multiculturalism, unable (or unwilling) to move the many concerns articulated repeatedly in the council's reports and elsewhere. Because the Liberal defeat ended Cafik's eleven-year political career, he took the loss extremely hard at the reception that followed a brief executive meeting in Ottawa.

Steven (Steve) Paproski, an MP since 1968 from the largely blue-collar, ethnically conscious Edmonton North constituency, became the new minister of state for "Fitness and Amateur Sport and Multiculturalism," the very areas Clark had thought to abolish. I knew Paproski well from our days at Victoria High School, where we had rehearsed for weeks for the song-and-dance "Vic Varieties," the school's annual premier event. With a Polish father and a Ukrainian mother, Paproski was only a 'distant ethnic,' not active in either community or fluent in either language. Stocky and heavy (well over 200 pounds), he had been a second-string lineman on the Edmonton Eskimos football team in the early 1950s, which partly explains his choice of teammate Normie Kwong to head the council. With his ready smile and quick, affable wit, Paproski was very popular and practically tailor-made for the combined ministry. On 20 July, in Edmonton on lottery business, he held a "multicultural reception" for a handful of ethnic, business and sports figures at the Chateau Lacombe, where the "old days" were recalled and pictures taken, with multiculturalism hardly mentioned. As a result, I was really surprised in October by his one-year extension of my term on council in a non-executive capacity.

With Clark from the west and with such western 'ethnics' as Don Mazankowski, Bill Yurko, Paul Yewchuk, Stan Schellenberger, Peter Elzinga, Stan Korchinski, Jake Epp, Ray Hnatyshyn, Harvie Andre and, of course, Paproski in tow, there was a strong feeling abroad that the political guard in Ottawa was changing. Allan Fotheringham noted it in his weekly column in *Maclean's* (4 June) under the caption "Here comes Hunkie Power! For Joe Clark, suddenly the tongue is on the other foot," illustrated by a stout "Waznooxhmzbigznaskizarychuk" hayseed, chewing on a wheat stem and wearing a baseball cap, a loud tie and an ill-fitting suit—trailed into the PMO by two neat, stylish officials in bowler hats named Smith and Leblanc.

How crazy, in this crazy country, that a party elected by good safe-mortgaged WASPs in fact is secure in power because of a

new ethnic power game—some time zones to the west of the Quebec border.

With Governor General Ed Schreyer at Rideau Hall, the section of the populace that “previously has never been allowed access to power” had suddenly arrived—or so at least it appeared to some.

Among the most expectant (and worried) were Steve Jaworsky and Orest Kruhlak (the latter now seen by some as a Liberal) in the Ottawa bureaucracy. Jaworsky’s phone call concentrated on appointments: Kruhlak should become an assistant deputy minister in charge of multiculturalism to counter the influence of Juneau and his especially hostile assistant, Paul Larose; Gil Scott, a very able black, should succeed Kruhlak in the directorate; an ethnic presence should be secured on Clark’s personal political staff (the PMO)—perhaps Yuri Shymko, who had lost by only forty votes in Toronto and was already a special advisor in Paproski’s office; Bill Pidruchney, a card-carrying Conservative, should be appointed to the CCCM; and Stan Frolick should succeed Bosa as council chairman.

As a result, the Multicultural Committee—all close friends by now—met at the institute on 9 June, where Savaryn and Pidruchney, well known to most of the newly elected Albertans, agreed to lobby in the above directions, and Decore, the president since May 1979 of the P & B Federation, volunteered to send Clark a congratulatory letter from his organization. According to Kruhlak, Savaryn’s call (on the 12<sup>th</sup>) had a very good effect: Paproski, who met Kruhlak and Larose that same afternoon, indicated that the minister would work with Kruhlak “directly”; that Shymko was being considered by the PMO; and that Kruhlak could approach Frolick about the CCCM post. A week later Kruhlak reported that Paproski had discussed an assistant deputy minister’s position for him with both David MacDonald, the new secretary of state, and Juneau; that Shymko would come on as a special advisor should the PMO appointment fall through; that Susan Scotti and Paul Migus would remain as executive assistants; and that Paproski was prepared to “go for broke” to make the policy “work” and be taken seriously. Savaryn having done “a good job,” Paproski now understood what “he is up against.” On 22 July another opportunity suddenly presented itself: an appointment to the lieutenant governorship of Alberta was pending, and the Multicultural Committee again discussed strategy at the institute. As Savaryn was certainly the strongest candidate, Pidruchney agreed to explore his chances with David Jenkins in the premier’s office and possibly also with David King, Koziak’s successor as minister of education. Depending on results, Bill Skoreyko would be asked to line up the federal (‘ethnic’) members in Parliament and Pidruchney would approach Julian Koziak to do the same in Alberta.

In the end very few of the possibilities panned out. As usual, only the Nevilles, McNeils, Gillieses, Doyles, Pigotts, Oslers, Perlins and Payettes entered the PMO; Kruhlak was not promoted and Shymko did not even become a special advisor. From Frolick I learned in November that he had turned down the council position because Walter Baker, the deputy minister and Frolick's "seat-mate" at Osgoode Hall, had placed his name on the prime minister's "short list" for the Senate. Nor did Savaryn become lieutenant governor, though the initiative may have influenced his election as university chancellor in 1982. Only Pidruchney (and, of course, I) became members of the council—a far cry from what had been envisioned, especially as another Ukrainian Canadian, Terry Mokriy, a secondary school teacher in Toronto and Ontario's new CCCM chairman, was a totally unknown quantity.

Despite Bosa's best efforts to ingratiate himself, Paproski held a retirement dinner for him in Ottawa on 25 October with the entire outgoing executive present, and next day the press announced that Kwong, "one of the country's all time great football players" (*Edmonton Journal*), was the new chairman. The surprise appointment may have necessitated some arm-twisting, for I always thought that Kwong, a commercial salesman and leasing negotiator for Knowlton Realty in Calgary, looked somewhat uncomfortable in the post. As vice-chairmen, Paproski chose Maurice Arpin, a St. Boniface lawyer and former chair of the University of Manitoba's Board of Governors, and George Grodecki, an engineer from Weston, Ontario, and president of the Canadian Polish Congress. The chairman of the council's "Alberta component" was Gurbachan Paul, first appointed to the council in May after I had introduced him to John Munro on 30 January 1977 at a think-tank-type, invitational dinner for a few academics in Edmonton. As for Paproski himself, he was not included on any of the new government's most important policy committees, perhaps befitting his lowly status in cabinet.



Reception for outgoing CCCM executive tendered by Steve Paproski, minister of state (multiculturalism), Ottawa, July 1979. (Left to right) Morris Chaikelson (Quebec); Roy Vogt (Manitoba); John Vojtech Stephens (Ontario); Horst Koehler (B.C.); the author; Raymond Blais (Saskatchewan); Suzanne Drouin (Quebec); Paproski; Peter Bosa, (Ontario, former chairman CCCM); Brad Barton (Nova Scotia).

On 6 November I discussed the new government's likely impact on multiculturalism at a seminar in the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. The influence of multiculturalism and of the Ukrainians would likely be minimal, I said, because MPs like Hnatyshyn, Mazankowski, Andre and Paproski were not "overly ethnically conscious." On the council executive Mokriy was now one of fourteen members, whereas I had been one of eight, and the Ukrainian-Canadian contingent on council had been reduced from seven to four. As a pressure group, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was "a joke," having hitherto received nothing in federal operating funds even as the *Fédération des francophones hors Québec* was scooping up \$12,000,000 (twelve dollars per head) annually. Without individuals committed to multiculturalism in the cabinet, the PMO, the PCO or the upper echelons of the bureaucracy, the new council too would soon be "lost."

At the council's first meeting at the Park Plaza Hotel in Toronto in mid-November, the only other holdovers were Horst Koehler, John Stephens and Gurbachan Paul, which meant, I wrote Saul Hayes, that everything had to be "aired for the nth time." Most members were "political appointees, as before, and know little and care even less about multiculturalism." The new government retained both the council's large size and its old name, rejecting the former executive's suggestion (March 1979) that it be downsized to thirty-five members and renamed the Canadian Council on Multiculturalism. In his first address Paproski's main orientation echoed Cafik's: precedence would be given to equality of opportunity in order to enable all Canadians to participate "fully" in the country's social, cultural, economic and political life. Even so, Paproski would not be "the 'Moses' for Canadians of minority cultural backgrounds. They are Canadians and must be served as Canadians by every government agency and institution."

I intend to ask the Prime Minister to designate a senior official in the Central Agencies (Treasury Board, Privy Council Office, etc.) in order that all submissions for consideration by Cabinet, wherever necessary, take into account the full cultural character of this nation.

Referring specifically to the Canada Council, he thought there were "a number" of dance groups in Canada whose standards of performance were "at least equal" to the similar state-supported troupes from Central and Eastern Europe that periodically visited Canada. And he wondered "whether the standards of excellence based upon the traditions of the English Theatre were adequate to judge the artistic expressions of all cultural groups." Here, Paproski was really pushing the envelope, for institutions like the Canada Council cared little about ethnic-group standards. It was impertinent even

to question the prevailing approach. After all, whose culture and whose heritage was it anyway?—a question first raised by the French Canadians in the 1960s.

In keeping with the new government's fiscally conservative commitment to "tighter control," "accountability" and "strict guidelines," a parliamentary committee to review the country's cultural policy was quickly in the wings. Accordingly, Paproski proposed that grants to folklore, especially to the Canadian Folk Arts Council, and to the ethnic press undergo "comprehensive study" to better "rationalize" government support. To that end a special Cultural Policy Review Committee, co-chaired by Gurbachan Paul and Rita Finestone of Montreal, took its place alongside the CCCM's other committees: equal opportunities, multicultural education, media, and youth involvement. A sixth—the Newsletter Committee—emerged spontaneously, and its product, *Cultures Canada*, was deemed so politically valuable that within a year (with the Liberals back in power) the directorate took it over. Because Paproski fully subscribed to Joe Clark's view of Canada as a "community of communities," the council's former regions were replaced by eleven provincial and territorial "components," with a chair for each. The Liberals retained the new structure when the brief (nine-month) Conservative period ended in February 1980.

Under the Conservatives, I was closest to the Multicultural Education Committee, which Terry Mokriy and I co-chaired. The provincial components were generally not too effective, because most members (at least in Alberta) were not much interested in what were essentially public-relations functions: reaching out to the ethnocultural communities (especially the French and the native peoples) and to the provincial multicultural councils, as well as monitoring the work of the CCCM committees. Only a few of the eleven individuals in the Alberta component attended meetings after the first in Toronto in November, and the group's activities were not serious enough to warrant much attention. After two largely informational meetings with ethnic groups in Edmonton (December) and Calgary (January), the "component" did not meet again until July, which made it very difficult to sustain momentum.

The Multicultural Education Committee, however, was a different matter. I had not picked it with any great enthusiasm, for the results since 1973 had not been encouraging. For the new committee, the bureaucracy had changed the emphasis from language education to "multicultural education"—the impact of Canada's ethnocultural diversity on the public schools. Several recommendations in the council's second report had dealt with the subject, and though Cafik himself had only deferred them for discussion with the provinces, in 1977 the directorate had brought in Roberta Russell, a former teacher, to survey the organizations and agencies engaged

in multicultural studies and to suggest sample programs for multicultural education. Because most of the Education Committee's members were first-generation Canadians, primarily interested in private language schools, I helped steer the members in Russell's direction at the first meeting in Toronto and she, knowing my interest in bilingual education in the public schools, occasionally reciprocated.

I was passably pleased with the meeting and looked forward to working with the group. Unfortunately, because of a winter break, I could not attend the January meeting in Ottawa, where Eric Lugtigheid, the administrative officer in charge of Ottawa's Cultural Enrichment Program, dominated the proceedings and led the committee to favour a national conference on private ethnic or "supplementary" schools. At the next meeting in Vancouver in March the Ukrainian bilingual program came up inadvertently, and my motion requesting the federal government to furnish transportation grants to the provinces for "second-language immersion programmes in tax-supported school systems in which at least 50% of the instruction is in a language other than English or French" passed unanimously. When the council's executive rejected the motion because it "could be misinterpreted to exclude French or English language instruction," I reworded it in May to include instruction "in any second language," which the executive (now chaired by Laurence Decore) quickly approved. As usual, nothing happened, and in the council's next report (1980) the issue was simply sloughed off: "The minister indicated that the Cultural Enrichment Program would keep the situation under review."

### *The Return of the Liberals*

By now the minister was James (Jim) Fleming, because Joe Clark's minority government had fallen in mid-December 1979 and Trudeau was returned to power early in February. During the election both parties worked the ethnic beat as perhaps never before. The new initiatives announced by Paproski and Secretary of State MacDonald on 24 January offered electoral "goodies" of an unprecedented nature: a federal-provincial ministerial conference on multiculturalism; "a highly effective Multiculturalism Secretariat...to ensure co-ordination within the Government of Canada"; a research institute of multicultural affairs; and an operational-grants program for national and regional ethnocultural organizations—each often the subject of earlier CCCM discussions. The Liberals, too, cultivated the "ethnics," especially in Toronto, where they carried nineteen of the twenty-three seats, including immigrant-rich Spadina, held by the Liberals for thirty-nine of the previous forty-six years, though Jim Coutts would lose it eighteen months later in a by-election. Victory granted Trudeau a fortuitous reprieve from

constitutional oblivion, and he was now determined to repatriate the British North America Act (Canada's constitution)—with provincial co-operation, if possible, and unilaterally, if necessary. Fleming, his new minister of state for multiculturalism, was of Scottish background, born and raised in multicultural Kitchener, Ontario, a "mini-Canada," in Fleming's words. A former journalist, radio broadcaster and public-affairs host on television, he was first elected to Parliament in 1972.

Because my term on the CCCM ended early in 1981, I never came to know Fleming as well as I did Munro, Cafik and Paproski. However, from Laurence Decore, who replaced Kwong as council chairman late in April 1980, I learned much about Fleming's strengths and weaknesses, and on the whole the former, I believe, predominated. On 26 April, in what was possibly his first speech, he was remarkably candid before the first conference of national ethnocultural organizations in Toronto, set in motion by the Conservatives. Dealing with the equality of cultural groups under multiculturalism, Fleming was the first minister to admit in general terms that "we do have a Canadian culture, a very strong one at that." Because of this, the multicultural programs "mainly" served minorities that were not native, Anglo-Celt or French in origin, and among the minorities the larger ones had a "greater quantitative impact." Moreover, a "good number" of the federal programs were only needed because "our agencies" had not met the aspirations of "our Canadian minorities." This was, of course, very refreshing, considering how much official verbiage had been spilled on cultural egalitarianism. On another front, however, Fleming was as keen as anyone on the so-called horizontal approach within government. Like Paproski, he would not be a minister for the 'ethnics,' and he looked to "thirty-one other cabinet ministers" to help meet the needs of the ethnocultural minorities. Later, once he had acquired the lingo of his predecessors, he would echo their sentiments—so much so that by the winter of 1981 he was literally back to the old Trudeau saw about there being "no dominant or lead culture in Canada."

As one might expect, many of the old issues continued to haunt the program. In July 1980 the council's brief to the CRTC called once again for greater media attention to the multicultural dimension. However, the CBC in its own brief (April 1981) to the federal government's Cultural Policy Review Committee (the Louis Applebaum and Jacques Hébert committee created by the Liberals in the fall of 1980) completely ignored the dimension again. Similarly, the issues of downsizing the council and of simplifying its name continued to dog the council. (Not until the fall of 1983 did a new minister, David Collenette, finally reduce the new Canadian Multiculturalism Council to thirty members.) Nor was there any abatement of rhetoric about mainstreaming multiculturalism, and in June 1980 even short-lived newspaper advertisements actually appeared across Canada:

“Seen the typical Canadian lately? Take a look in the mirror,” sponsored by “Multiculturalism Canada/The Canadian Experience.” Even so, when Fleming addressed the Radio-Television News Directors Association in the same month, multiculturalism was not mentioned even once!

The ethnic press, too, was back in favour, with the Liberals immediately lifting the Conservative freeze on advertising, even though a Decima research study on the press, commissioned by Paproski, was anything but favourable. And, of course, the unresponsiveness of such federal cultural agencies as the Canada Council and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council continued. Decore, with a special interest in the latter, visited its offices in August 1981, and in a follow-up letter to André Fortier, now its director, requested that, for granting purposes, multiculturalism be included as a sub-theme under Canadian studies. However, as far as one could tell, nothing changed. On the always-popular subject of youth involvement, the third report of the CCCM finally recognized that the North American cultural environment discouraged ethnic identity among the young:

The role models youth identify with are seldom other than Anglo-Celtic, francophone or American. Together with a constant and insatiable need for acceptance by peers, the role model serves to cause the camouflaging of culture and a consequent unwillingness to demonstrate ethnicity through participation in multicultural groups. Thus, powerful influences are subverting the basic concept of multiculturalism: that youth may retain their ethnicity and be Canadian.

As a result of executive meetings in Yellowknife, St. John’s and Whitehorse, a new aspect—the native peoples—suddenly became a major council concern, though *cultural* aid was hardly what was most needed to alleviate the dreadful socio-economic conditions of most natives. In July 1980 the first formal federal-provincial meeting took place between Decore, his two national vice-chairmen (hold-overs Maurice Arpin and Gordon Grodecki) and the chief executive officers of several provincial multiculturalism councils. Although *Cultures Canada* made much of the event, it did nothing to bring about the much-needed meeting at the ministerial level.

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In 1981, on the tenth anniversary of the multicultural policy, the Liberals underwrote several national conferences. The first, on the problems of immigrant women, was held in Toronto in March, after which Fleming

allocated \$300,000 for "pilot projects" to assist their integration into Canadian society. In mid-June the first (and last) "Heritage Languages Education Seminar" was held in Saskatoon—the supplementary-schools conference to which Lugtigheid had committed the Education Committee in January 1980. The meeting again raised the Pandora's box of ethnic-school problems—poorly organized curricula, inadequate textbooks, untrained teachers, etc.—all difficult enough for a single group to tackle over some time, let alone many groups in one fell swoop in such a forum. At the directorate's request I moderated the introductory panel, and during the conference it was gratifying to hear positive references to the Ukrainian and other non-French bilingual programs in the Prairies. Included were requests for provincial legislation that would not only integrate heritage languages into the school day but permit the development of "bilingual and trilingual" programs. Although Fleming said all the usual nice things about the significance to Canada of heritage languages—tying them closely to his growing preoccupation with racism and to the reality they shared with the country's multilingual native peoples—it was Max Yalden, the commissioner of official languages, who urged a national policy on second-language learning, singling out attitude as the main impediment to achieving it:

At present it might be said that our attitude is mildly paternalistic. We do not *object* to the use and teaching of the heritage languages. But we have no *positive* vision of their future, no plan for development as languages which have much to offer and can pay their way.... Either we accept our linguistic heritage wholeheartedly or we might as well forget about it.

At the above conference I finally met Jean-Paul Lefebvre, the assistant undersecretary of state for citizenship and official languages, to whom Kruhlak was immediately responsible. For months I had heard much about his negative attitude toward multiculturalism—an important factor in Kruhlak's eventual departure to head the regional office in Vancouver. Gil Scott and Vasyl (Bill) Balan, a social development officer in the Secretary of State office in Winnipeg, had arranged for Lefebvre and me to sit at the same table, and after dinner we spent a good half-hour discussing the need for federal support to bilingual classrooms in non-official languages. Lefebvre fell back on the Official Languages Act and was very surprised when I referred to Jane Dobell's earlier assertion that the French and English classrooms at provincial levels were outside the act.

I did not let on I knew you [I wrote Kruhlak] or anyone else in the Directorate. I criticized the Conservatives and every minister

except John Munro. I indicated I knew something of the French attitude toward multiculturalism in cabinet and compared the narrow-minded French members to their Anglo-Celtic counterparts. This did not please him, but he was glad that I was high on the primacy of French in Quebec. He admitted in the end that he had a copy of the book on separatism which I had edited; I suggested he should read it if he wanted to understand how Ukrainians who did not dislike the French approached language and culture for the good of the individual, various groups and the country as a whole.

Although *Heritage Language Education: Issues and Directions*, published by the government in 1983, provided a valuable record of the conference, I cannot say that either it or the conference itself did much to ameliorate the basic problems of the private ethnic schools—and, of course, neither did anything to improve the situation of the public bilingual and trilingual classrooms.

The third in the series of federal conferences took place in Ottawa on 23 October. Billed as the Fourth Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, it brought together participants and invited representatives from “big business, labour and the media,” including the Ottawa Press Club Band, which featured Charles Lynch, the Southam chain’s severest critic of multiculturalism, playing the harmonica at a special reception hosted by Fleming! For the first time Trudeau put in an appearance, and in the evening a “gala” multicultural performance (“All for One”) was held at the National Arts Centre in Ottawa. As we shall see, it was this conference that provoked my first *public* statement strongly criticizing Ottawa’s implementation of multiculturalism.

A fourth conference, “Building Bridges: A National Conference on Multicultural Education” (again a first), took place in Winnipeg in mid-November. An enormous undertaking, two years in the making, it had no fewer than eighty sessions, attended by more than four hundred professional educators. I was amazed to see what had grown from the seeds sown earlier by Roberta Russell, though for other reasons that particular period was, as we shall also see, a very difficult one for me personally.

Less public was a fifth conference in Ottawa on 6-8 November, organized by the newly formed Council of National Ethnocultural Organizations of Canada. Since at least the mid-1970s ethnic leaders had occasionally complained about the unrepresentative nature of the CCCM. Under Joe Clark’s Conservatives—the most trenchant earlier critics of the CCCM’s aberrant nature—Paproski, pressured by Laureano Leone, president of the National Congress of Italian Canadians, brought the leaders of twenty-three

national organizations to Ottawa on 27 October 1979, and in April 1980 the Council of National Ethnocultural Organizations was founded in Toronto. At its first conference the new minister, Fleming, termed the council "another important avenue of consultation," especially as the government-appointed CCCM members were "not requested to be spokesmen for the communities they come from." (That was the usual government line, though most members were in fact seen as community representatives.) The new ethnocultural council, Fleming said, had three main purposes: to identify the "common issues" and "a strategy for tackling those that are of priority"; to develop "the basis for talking to the Anglo-Celtic, native and French-Canadian communities"; and to furnish the names of individuals for order-in-council appointments. Concerned to have multiculturalism recognized in any future constitution, the infant council was immediately jolted by guest speaker Paul Comeau, president of the *Fédération des francophones hors Québec*. The original "pact," *Cultures Canada* (June 1980) reported him to say, was between the French and English, and a new constitution therefore would be valid "only if it is based on the fundamental principle of two founding nations."

As Canada's legislators [*Cultures Canada* editorialized] move to renew federalism in the wake of the Quebec referendum—won for the federalists with the solid support of Quebec's minority ethnocultural groups—the ground is being carefully staked out by those who feel that today's reality, not history, is a more appropriate basis for sharing power.

The new council of thirty-three organizations—ten from the visible minorities—elected Leone as president, and in July its first newsletter was published from an office in Ottawa (moved to Toronto in April 1982). An executive director was hired in June—the entire project funded out of the directorate's Group Development—Operational Support Program.

While the constitution was certainly uppermost to many implementing multiculturalism, important also was the CCCM's cultural policy review, set in motion by the Conservatives through the Paul-Finestone committee. Compared to the Liberals' Applebaum-Hébert committee, established to produce a white paper for a national cultural policy by 1982, the Paul-Finestone committee was very low-key, but both brought me into regular contact with Paul and Decore to consider the future. Although Decore had considerable political influence in Ottawa, he was less sure of himself on the subject of multiculturalism. Paul, on the other hand, was absolutely convinced that multiculturalism had to become the sole cultural policy for all Canadians. As the council's third report (in which Paul's hand was

prominent) put it, "Canada's cultural policy and its implementation must be based on the equality of the cultures of all of Canada's people." As an immigrant from India experiencing racial discrimination (Paul once showed me the egg-splattered front windows of his residence in the tony Westbrook district of Edmonton), he would use the equity implicit in multiculturalism to combat racism. Only when all other cultures were on a par with the dominant Anglo-Celtic and French ones would individuals of whatever colour or ethnic background be accepted on a par with those who had traditionally dominated the elites in Canada.

Decore was strongly influenced by Paul, and, as we shall see, when he became mayor of Edmonton in October 1983, he would push hard to liberalize the city's cultural policy and ensure that the cultural interests of all ethnic groups benefited equally from the civic treasury. I was much less sanguine about such liberalization, but shared their concerns and willingly participated in the meetings in 1980-81. Central to Paul's thinking were the affirmative action programs that the council's third report recommended for women, natives, the physically handicapped and (specifically) Nova Scotia's black community, *to be extended in time* to "all racial or cultural minorities." "Areas, job categories and employment levels where the designated groups may be under-represented must be identified to overcome underutilization of these groups." Before long, the above-named groups were included in federal affirmative action programs, but white ethnocultural minorities were never added, presumably because groups like the Italians, Greeks and Ukrainians no longer experienced discrimination! In the end, however, all such cultural reports, irrespective of size, origin or importance, were completely overwhelmed by the constitutional crisis of 1981-82.

# Chapter Ten

## MULTICULTURALISM AND THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS (1980–82)

### *The Campaign to Entrench Multiculturalism in the Constitution*

Of the many issues that faced the CCCM in the late 1970s, the constitutional one interested me the most. At its core was not only the recognition of multiculturalism, but also the one issue that interested Trudeau the most: the entrenchment of English-French bilingualism in the federal institutions *and* in the provincial public school systems, the key to national unity as he saw it. With French immersion classes in English-speaking Canada prospering after the PQ victory in 1976 and with English itself under duress for the first time in Quebec's Bill 101, the federal government brought its Constitutional Amendment Bill forward on 30 June 1978, complete with a charter of rights and freedoms and its generous provisions for official bilingualism. Two days later the CCCM executive established an ad hoc committee on the constitution consisting of Raymond Blais (chairman), Morris Chaikelson and myself. Although the above bill made no mention of multiculturalism in either the preamble or its "Statement of Aims of the Canadian Federation," the omission did not appear to bother Cafik. "I have heard people say," he told the Ethnic Press Association of Ontario on 6 September, "'Ah, but you don't mention multiculturalism, as a word.' We don't mention 'external affairs' either, but I don't think the Minister of External Affairs is afraid he might disappear. Constitutions don't deal with the mechanical aspects of government operations"—as if correctly identifying a dimension of the country's fundamental reality was just a mechanical matter! In discussing the constitutional bill in the Senate, Bosa, too, said nothing about its failure to include multiculturalism.

When our ad hoc committee met in Toronto on 10 December, neither Blais nor Chaikelson proposed any changes. My amendments called for multiculturalism to be included in the preamble and in the federation's aims, and for a clause to be added to the section on minority-language rights in education. Blais and Chaikelson accepted the changes, requesting only that the terminology be cleared with draftsmen in the Department of Justice. Accordingly, the council's secretariat arranged for Chaikelson and me to meet an official (Fred Jordan) who vetted the terminology but did not think the government would take kindly to the new education clause. For the preamble I proposed that the bracketed portion below replace the government's wording (underlined):

The Parliament of Canada, affirming the will of Canadians to live and find their futures together in a federation based on equality and mutual respect, embracing enduring communities [an English-speaking and French-speaking multicultural society] of distinctive origins and experiences, so that all may share more fully in a freer and richer life....

The next passage of the preamble was also substantially revised:

Not this—

Honouring the contribution of Canada's original inhabitants, of those who built the foundations of the country that is Canada, and of all those whose endeavours through the years have endowed its inheritance;

but this—

[Affirming] the contribution of Canada's original inhabitants, [and] of those who built the foundations of the country that is Canada, [and recognizing the valuable and unique contributions of men and women from many lands in shaping the evolution of the Canadian nation;].

Under the federation's aims, I tucked "languages" into the passage below and included a new section (iii):

- (ii) to ensure throughout Canada equal respect for the many origins, creeds [languages] and cultures and for the different regional identities that help shape its society, and for those Canadians who are part of each of them; and
- [(iii) to encourage and assist the various ethnic communities in Canada to preserve and develop their respective cultures, and to foster active intercultural exchange;].

Finally, after adding "In furtherance of [the realization that the increasingly multicultural character of Canada merits the preservation of indigenous and heritage languages]" in section 22 on the preservation of the English and French languages, I placed immediately below it the new subsection to flow out of such "realization" (modelled on the extensive wording for English and French as minority languages of instruction).

In furtherance also of Canada's multicultural reality, provincial legislatures may decree any language other than English and French as a language of instruction, where the number of children in any area of a province in respect of whom notice has been given as contemplated by this section [22] warrants the provision of facilities required to give effect to such language instruction out of public funds.

Even though the above section was discretionary and without the force of English and French as entrenched languages of instruction, it was, I thought, the most that most provinces would accept. However, by providing for the possible use of other languages, the section might in time acquire more than symbolic significance.

At an executive meeting in Ottawa on 19 January 1979 the changes were placed before Cafik, who only questioned making the new subsection part of the bill's "Official Languages and Language Rights" section. When I proposed changing the latter to "Language Rights and Languages" and Bosa suggested that Cafik's hand in cabinet "might be strengthened...if he had both the recommendations of his advisory council and his own point of view," Cafik acquiesced. After 'sleeping' on the recommendations the executive adopted them with little debate a month later, perhaps recognizing that the political will did not really exist to accept any of them. Although Trudeau's electoral defeat temporarily derailed the constitutional process, his return in February, coupled with Quebec's rejection of separatism in May, rejuvenated it, and early in June 1980 the government introduced the Canada Bill, a stripped-down version of the earlier Constitutional Amendment Bill. The new bill only emphasized the so-called "people" issues: the entrenchment of French and English as languages in government and in education, the granting of individual rights in a charter and the confirmation of equalization in regional development. On 6 June a preamble was added in a separate statement of principles that recognized the presence of the English, French and native peoples, as well as "the contribution of millions of people from the four corners of the earth," and reaffirmed the official status of the French and English languages and "the diversity of cultures within Canadian society." Again, neither multiculturalism nor Canada's multicultural nature was specifically mentioned—the very term seemingly an abomination in the eyes of the government.

Because of Quebec's objections and difficulties with strident provinces like Alberta, provincial concurrence to repatriate the constitution was not secured. Late in October the federal government invoked closure, after which the bill was referred to a Special Joint (Parliamentary) Committee on the Constitution for further consideration. In the difficult federal-provincial

negotiations over political and economic power sharing, multiculturalism was understandably eclipsed. Only within the CCCM was it uppermost, and a worried Decore kept Gurbachan Paul and me informed, especially after 20 June, when he became chairman of the executive's constitutional committee, which also included the two vice-chairmen, Arpin and Grodecki. On 3-4 July the new committee met several of their provincial counterparts in Ottawa, all of whom strongly supported the inclusion of multiculturalism in the new Canadian constitution. The main stumbling block was Jim Fleming, who, like Cafik, accepted the absence of multiculturalism and refused to raise it in cabinet.

To strengthen Decore's hand the directorate compiled a large dossier consisting of 1) Joseph Guay's negative vote on Andrew Brewin's multicultural amendment to the Immigration Bill (1977) and the Bosa-Trudeau correspondence that followed; 2) the CCCM submission (May 1978) to the Task Force on National Unity and its critical response to the Task Force report; 3) the explicit recognition of the "multicultural character of our society" in *A Time for Action*, the government's own discussion paper that preceded the Constitutional Amendment Bill (1978); 4) my revisions (above) to the Amendment Bill; and 5) Marc Lalonde's clear statement at the annual meeting of the CCCM in Ottawa in October 1978 that "*the Government itself has absolutely no objection to inserting the word 'multiculturalism' in the text of the Constitution*" (emphasis mine).

On 12 September Decore's committee telexed Fleming from Winnipeg, requesting that he convey to cabinet its support for the entrenchment of English and French, and the inclusion of multiculturalism in both the preamble and "the substantive portion of the constitution so as to ensure recognition and protection of all ethnic and cultural communities." Having earlier taken the government's commitment to multiculturalism "for granted," the committee expressed disappointment at the "continued lack of performance in any positive action that would implement that commitment." Three weeks later, on 2 October, its formal submission to the minister reviewed the earlier, unsuccessful attempts to obtain legislative status for multiculturalism and enclosed the large dossier. In urging "statutory legislation" for multiculturalism, the committee proposed four broad options: 1) entrenchment of multiculturalism through the preamble in the constitution; 2) entrenchment by including multiculturalism among the provincial and federal powers bearing on immigration and agriculture in section 95 of the BNA Act; 3) entrenchment through a new "Cultural Rights" section; and 4) entrenchment through a Multiculturalism Act "as an interim measure" to ensure that "governmental mechanisms are created to implement legislation on multiculturalism." The committee also requested a "Ministry of Culture" to handle "all matters relating to culture and

sociocultural development” for “all of Canada’s Cultural Communities,” including “The Cree, The English, The French, The Italians, etc.”—an idea that the Paul-Finestone committee was then advancing.

Although the submission was far from tidy, its tone and accusatory passages reflected an easily discernible sense of frustration. In transmitting it to Fleming, Susan Scotti’s covering letter did not flatter the government: “The Committee’s message is that it is time to act now in order to show Western Canada in particular that the government is not using multiculturalism as a political football.” The report’s historical discussion “paints a very negative picture of the government’s perceived lack of commitment to the policy.” The committee wished, she added, to meet with Fleming before the national meeting of the council in Edmonton on 24–26 October, failing which it was prepared, if necessary, to place the entire issue before the council.

On 14 October the long-delayed meeting with Fleming finally took place and, according to Kruhlak’s phone call, it was “explosive,” with Fleming strongly opposed to the committee’s appearance before the parliamentary committee. As a result, the mood at the national council meeting in Edmonton was grave, with Decore even contemplating resignation. Aware of the earlier public falling-out between Doris Anderson, the chair of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and her minister (Lloyd Axworthy) on women’s issues in the constitution, Decore wished to avoid a similar confrontation, but it was definitely an option. Clutching at any straw that might assist him, I wrote to Roy Romanow, the attorney general of Saskatchewan and Premier Blakeney’s point man on the constitution, who co-chaired (with Jean Chrétien, the federal justice minister) the federal-provincial committee on constitutional reform. Even though we had still to meet, I thought Romanow should have the council’s earlier position, noting that “The suggested changes indicate the extent to which Canada’s multicultural reality is ignored in those crucial sections which bear upon identity, culture and language.”

To pressure Fleming at the meeting in Edmonton, it was agreed that Decore would include entrenchment in his welcoming address on Friday evening (the 24<sup>th</sup>). Next morning Gurbachan Paul would do the same in his remarks, “Multiculturalism—A Cultural Policy for Canada,” after which William Thorsell, assistant editor of the *Edmonton Journal*, and I would comment. Mary LeMessurier, Alberta’s minister of culture, would touch on the subject as the luncheon speaker (it being the seventy-fifth anniversary of Alberta’s entrance into Confederation). Pidruchney, as master of ceremonies, would do the same that evening when introducing Fleming, the banquet speaker, and Decore would arrange for Fleming to meet a delegation on Sunday morning from the Edmonton P & B Club (put together by me).



Part of the head table, CCCM national meeting, Edmonton, October 1980. (Left to right) Mary LeMessurier, Alberta minister of culture; Laurence Decore, chairman CCCM; Jim Fleming, minister of state (multiculturalism); William Pidruchney (master of ceremonies), member CCCM, Alberta component.

Everything worked out as planned, except that my hard-hitting commentary on Saturday morning—my “swan song” (as I termed it) to the council—was much more than an exegesis on Paul’s paper and surprised even Decore, who chaired the session. At a meeting with Kruhlak in his hotel room before the conference, I had learned that my term on the council would not be renewed, that Kruhlak himself was contemplating relocation (within a year he would in fact become director of the British Columbia regional office) and that Susan Scotti was not only supporting Fleming, but that she and Decore were barely on speaking terms. Bumping into Scotti after leaving Kruhlak, I expressed disappointment with the government’s constitutional package, but she only bobbed and weaved, insisting that Fleming was doing everything possible and that the situation was not as bleak as it seemed.

That evening (the 23rd) I outlined a presentation that I had wanted to deliver for a good long time. Finally free to approach multiculturalism as an academic, I offered the plenary “a few observations” on the government’s approach to multiculturalism. On the council we had been told, I said, that multiculturalism was a cultural policy for all Canadians, yet after nine years culture was still being administered by three separate federal ministries (the secretary of state, Indian affairs, multiculturalism), with multiculturalism segregated and on the periphery of the other two. We had bemoaned the

lack of interest in multiculturalism by the Anglo-Celts, the French and the native peoples, yet why should they become involved when their cultural needs were being well taken care of elsewhere? We had been told that multiculturalism was above party, yet appointments to the council were in the main political, the slate being cleared when the Conservatives took power, and the Liberals were about to clear it again. We had been told that multiculturalism was not a policy for immigrants, yet a solid majority of the council appointees were politically reliable former immigrants. We had been told that funds did not exist to promote multiculturalism in the mass media, yet funds for bilingualism were practically unlimited—\$223,932,000 for bilingual development and another \$210,356,000 for bilingualism in education in 1978-79 alone, according to the most recent report of the Secretary of State department. We had been told that multicultural budgets could not rise, yet in 1980-81 the Fédération des francophones hors Québec had received \$13,000,000 for organizational purposes alone.

We had been told that the place of English in Quebec had to be secure, yet after twenty years it was abundantly clear that it was the unilingual English-speakers whom the French disliked the most, still refusing, as 'the English' had done for decades, to recognize the primacy of French and carrying on in the province as if they were a second majority. We had been told to avoid duplication in the development and implementation of multicultural programs, yet federal-provincial meetings on multiculturalism had not been held, even though they had taken place with ministers of education and of culture on bilingualism. We had been told that liaison with provincial authorities was important, yet Mary LeMessurier had been strongly opposed as a *provincial* luncheon speaker because the council was a *federal* body. We had been told that multiculturalism had to become a reality in Canadian life, yet the very essence of Canadian society was its multicultural nature. The same society, however, was not bilingual (though I wished that it were), and it would never be such under a policy of multiculturalism within its narrow bilingual framework, rather than bilingualism within its living multicultural reality.

There was, moreover, still no statutory declaration for multiculturalism, even though the concern was first expressed as early as 1972 by the Molgat-MacGuigan parliamentary committee in its recommendation that "The preamble to the Constitution should formerly recognize that Canada is a multicultural country"—and this even though Lalonde had informed the CCCM in 1978 that the government had "absolutely" no objection to such recognition. The real problem, I concluded, was the government's poor understanding of multiculturalism. At bottom—at its most fundamental level—multiculturalism was the sharing of power and opportunity, and sharing power meant much more than appointments to government

boards, commissions, councils and the civil service. It meant sharing social and cultural opportunity broadly, including the educational level, which entailed much more than merely parachuting the Official Languages Act into the provincial school systems.

As might be expected, Susan Scotti, who sat next to Kruhlak, showed the most discomfort, and even Kruhlak raised the occasional eyebrow as the indictment unfolded. An astonished Decore drew no special attention to the unexpected turn of events, while the council members loved it, tendering a standing ovation when I finished. There could be no doubt that, having experienced a severe setback at the hands of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress two weeks earlier (discussed below), I had entered upon a new, more angry period in my multicultural involvement. In a subsequent note Decore, who was somewhat of a rebel himself, acknowledged the change—"You are on the 'hyped up' road again"—which barely captured my indignation. I had put off analyzing the implementation of the policy for much too long, and the above was only an opening salvo. However, the fact remained that Fleming was as opposed as ever to the presentation of a council brief to the parliamentary committee. The Conservative Grodecki, who had already warned Fleming that the matter was above politics and that he could go public, pressed very hard, as did Decore. Not until 25 November, however, two days before the delegation from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was to appear before the same committee, did Fleming finally yield.

As president of the P & B Federation, Decore was determined that, should Fleming prevail, at least the Ukrainians would raise the appropriate issues before the parliamentary committee. There were complications with the Ukrainian delegation, however. On 12 October 1980 Stan Frolick had been narrowly defeated as the federation's candidate for the Ukrainian Canadian Committee presidency on a reform platform that I had put together with Kruhlak's help. The victor, John Nowosad, a Winnipeg businessman with a very limited grasp of the issues, turned to the federation to prepare a constitutional brief. The times being extraordinary, I could not refuse when the federation's executive asked me to chair its ad hoc constitution committee, even though (as we shall see) it had taken me months to create the conditions that had persuaded Frolick to run. The fluctuating membership of the new committee included Peter Savaryn and my son David, then officially the SUSK representative on the federation's executive.

The task was formidable, especially as the parliamentary committee's initial deadline—1 December—was short, and the large number of public presentations made scheduling uncertain. The importance of any constitution consists in the rights it bestows upon individuals or groups. I resisted the "right to culture," advanced by Savaryn, because culture, understood anthropologically as a way of life, included everything, and a right to

everything was essentially meaningless. The same, however, did not hold for the more specific, “Everyone has the right to preserve and develop their cultural and linguistic heritage,” suggested as subsection (3) under section 15, the “Non-discrimination Rights” (later the “Equality Rights”) section.

After years of experience with the permissive nature of provincial language education, I also thought that the discretionary aspect should be checked and proposed that section 23, the “Minority Language Educational Rights” section (which referred only to the English and French languages), be amended.

Not this—

Citizens of Canada whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside have the right to have their children receive their primary and secondary school instruction in that minority language if they reside in an area of the province in which the number of children of such citizens is sufficient to warrant the provision out of public funds of minority language educational facilities in that area.

but this—

Citizens of Canada shall have their children receive their primary and secondary school instruction in the language of the majority of the population of the province in which they reside and in any other language(s) in accordance with the expressed desire of parents in any area of the province in which the number of children of such citizens is sufficient to warrant the provision out of public funds of such minority language educational facilities in that area.

Not surprisingly, with the focus on language education, I wound up writing most of the brief. To me, as the extracts (quoted below) indicate, the above amendment had three main advantages:

- 1) In omitting reference to “first language learned and still understood,” all Canadian citizens outside Quebec who wish their children to learn French would have the right without being members of the “French linguistic minority population.” Under the present clause, while a non-French Canadian in western Canada, for example, could send his children to a French bilingual class, he would not have the *right* to do so.

2) In omitting reference to “the English...linguistic minority population” in Quebec, the primacy of French... is secured, without denying anyone the right to acquire a second or third language of their choice. To us, this is very important, for if anything is clear...it is that unilingual English-speaking residents in Quebec must become bilingual. Yet the proposed Constitution actually *guarantees* them the right to remain unilingual English in a province where 80 per cent of the population is of French origin.

The original clause also carries the unfortunate implication that all other ethnocultural minorities are of little consequence in Quebec. While they must certainly learn French (because of its primacy) and they should surely know English (because they live on what is essentially an English-speaking continent), they should also have the right to learn their ancestral language and become trilingual (because they live in a multicultural country which values its cultural and linguistic diversity).

3) In guaranteeing the possibility of numerous bilingual combinations without endangering English outside Quebec or French inside Quebec, a basic equality of linguistic status (though not, of course, of linguistic usage), so essential in a viable multicultural society, is ensured. Ensured also is a stronger place for the main bilingual combination—English-French—for we are utterly convinced that English-French bilingualism in most parts of Canada...can only benefit from the presence of other linguistic dualities which have a living demographic base. What is needed is an amended section 23 (1) which will ensure language rights *in education* to all groups who are prepared to take bilingual education seriously and who wish to press for opportunities which are all too often arbitrarily denied.

The brief ended on what I thought was a high note:

If Canada is to have a new constitution, we want it to be one with which we as Canadians of Ukrainian descent can also identify proudly. A new constitution is like a new house. In it there must be room for the whole family. We are part of the Canadian family and have been so for almost a century. In our new constitutional house there must not only be room for all of us, but we must enter it through the front door together—culturally equal and, at least in the provincial classrooms of the new nation, linguistically equal.

Prior to the presentation of the brief on 27 November, I met Nowosad (for the first time) in his hotel room with Orest Rudzik, a young lawyer and a junior member on the University of Toronto staff well known to me, and Tony Yaremovich, now one of the UCC vice-presidents. All had earlier received copies of the brief and none now questioned it. I was cool toward the UCC, as I did not particularly relish the situation. We agreed that Nowosad would introduce the delegation, after which I would read the brief and answer questions. The roles of Rudzik and Yaremovich were not specified, though later that evening Rudzik contributed well. At first, I read the brief very quickly (almost as if the exercise was pointless and no one's time should be wasted) until Senator Harry Hays from Alberta, the co-chair with MP Serge Joyal of Quebec, slowed me down. The questioning by Conservatives Ray Hnatyshyn and Jake Epp, NDP Laverne Lewycky and Liberal Bryce Mackasey was very polite, mostly designed to reinforce party positions. Hnatyshyn and Lewycky referred proudly to their Ukrainian backgrounds, and the latter was so taken with the ending (above) that he quoted from it in the Commons on 10 March. The most telling exchanges were with Mackasey of Montreal, who did not like the way I had criticized the unilingualism of Quebec's Anglo-Celts.

Mackasey: Statistically we are more bilingual than the French speaking Canadians of Quebec.

Lupul: Well, that may very well be, after all that is kind of their province, they can be what they want to be.

Mackasey: It is also my province, I am sorry. I am talking minority now and I am surprised that you would suggest that I have no rights as a Quebecker to my province.

Lupul: All I am saying is that anybody who is a minority should be able to speak to the majority in the majority's language. Surely.

In his Southam column two days later, Allan Fotheringham liked our "sympathetic exchanges," which, he said, "brought the whole constitutional debate to life and made for brilliant theatre."

Having paid no attention to the earlier hearings, I did not know that they were being televised. When I phoned Natalia after Yuzyk dropped me off at the hotel, she was brimming with excitement about "the performance," bolstered by several congratulatory phone calls to the house. I remembered being animated at times, and no doubt my occasional bluntness and use of colloquialisms made for a "rather forceful presentation" (as Mackasey put it), but I was none too pleased, for I did not think the brief would have any

effect. "Although we have no illusions about moving Trudeau and company to liberalize the linguistic guarantees in section 23(1) of the proposed Canada Act," I wrote Romanow on 21 November, "we shall push very hard *at least for the record*." Early in December, after Bosa had sent me his most recent remarks in the Senate, I expressed disappointment at his consistent failure to address the multicultural issue:

Great pity, for you and I both know that the only thing that can hold this entire country together is multiculturalism, defined broadly as a sharing of power and opportunity, whether it be through public office, the bureaucracy, the schools, the mass media, the corporate structure or whatever.

On 18 December it was Decore's turn to appear before the parliamentary committee, accompanied by Errol Townsend, a black from Toronto who edited the council's *Cultures Canada* newsletter—both strongly determined to get multiculturalism at least into the preamble. On language education, the council's brief termed section 23 "discriminatory" in the "different classes of citizens" it created, but the council found it "difficult" to suggest an alternative to the education clause. It did, however, offer four principles on the subject, the strongest declaring that "All Canadians should be allowed the opportunity to acquire a capacity in languages other than the official languages if they so desire." The most interesting aspect of the presentation, however, was the deft manner in which Decore warded off the aggressive Conservative Perrin Beatty. Having read into the record Scotti's leaked October memo to Fleming, Beatty was determined to show that the council and Fleming were on different wavelengths about including multiculturalism in the constitution. Decore held his ground well, repeatedly declaring that, despite earlier differences, the minister had been "very receptive" to the council's suggestions and had "encouraged us to come here" (though Decore, of course, knew that Fleming's conversion was very recent!).

On 5 January, in a letter to Fleming, I spelled out the four "classes of citizens" into which the government (and now the constitution) was dividing the Canadian people:

...the 'English' and the French, the so-called founding peoples (attended to by the Department of the Secretary of State), the others, the so-called ethnics (attended to by the Multiculturalism Directorate, with an orphan-like relationship to the latter Department), the native peoples (attended to by the cursed (to them) Department of Indian Affairs), and the people of the Third

World (who have yet to find an administrative home—or is it, in fact, the Department of Immigration and Manpower?). The idea of separate cultural and linguistic policies for each with accompanying administrative structures is mind-boggling where Canada's future as a united country is concerned.

...To me, the second-class citizenship imposed by thoughtless advocates of Anglo-conformity was bad enough; but I really will be damned if I will consciously be reduced to third-class citizenship by a government resolution [to repatriate the constitution] which pretends to guarantee non-discrimination rights while entrenching discriminatory language rights in education at the provincial level. The special status granted by the latter is to me totally repugnant... for it denies equality of opportunity—a basic tenet in a liberal democracy.

The pressure to entrench multiculturalism paid off, and Decore could inform the *Edmonton Journal* on 9 January 1981 that Canada's "multicultural heritage" would be officially recognized in the constitution. On the 12<sup>th</sup> Justice Minister Chrétien brought down several changes, among them the future section 27:

This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and development of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.

At the time I did not know who had drafted the section, as Decore and I had never discussed its origins. Much later I learned from Orest Kruhlak that Walter Tarnopolsky was mainly responsible for the wording of the clause. On the 13<sup>th</sup> a proud Fleming sent all council members (I was still officially a member) telegrams of his press release announcing the clause. Decore, too, was excited, and my lukewarm response surprised him. The clause, I told him, was certainly better than nothing, but as an interpretive section it conferred no rights, and the education clause remained unchanged. As the government had only yielded the minimum, there was no great reason to be either grateful or pleased—and there was certainly no cause for celebration.

The political Decore (and his father, who occasionally phoned) thought otherwise, and on 20 January, after calling Tarnopolsky, he insisted that the new clause was a "protective section" that accomplished "the unbelievable." Unless people like he and I "sold it," repatriation could be voted down and the opportunity "lost for decades." I agreed that the new clause was stronger than a preamble and that, combined with section 15 (as Tarnopolsky was suggesting), it might help to attain benefits or ward off the

worst. Nonetheless, the clause gave ethnocultural groups nothing definite. All remained problematic, and costly litigation would certainly be needed to realize specific benefits.

Even so, it would not do for the director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies to voice such objections publicly, so I reserved my dissent, and at the next meeting of the federation's executive (29 January) I even seconded Decore's motion to congratulate the government. Peter Savaryn, too, was careful in public. At a Conservative reception for ethnic leaders in Edmonton on 24 January, he was reported (in the *Edmonton Journal*) to have congratulated Fleming on "what you've accomplished." Privately, in a letter to Decore two days later, he declared that the section "does not go far enough, that it is only an interpretive section and not a substantive one." After his own call to Tarnopolsky, he remained unconvinced: "I still think what I think. This section may be quite a lot under the circumstances, but without the inclusion of the words 'freedom of culture' under section 2 [the "Fundamental Freedoms" section] it will not serve its purpose." Perhaps genuinely worried about a Ukrainian-led ethnic backlash against the clause, Decore, in moving the federation's congratulatory letter, also requested all clubs to follow the executive's example and congratulate the government "on the inclusion of the concept of Multiculturalism into the Charter of Rights."

### *The Fall-out of 'Victory'*

In the weeks and months that followed I found the politics of multiculturalism more and more distasteful. A blatant example of ethnic manipulation occurred in the House of Commons on 9 March 1981, when the Conservative David Kilgour (Edmonton-Strathcona) moved that Trudeau, on President Reagan's visit to Ottawa next day, should discuss the "ways in which Canada and the U.S.A. can work effectively toward achieving self-determination for all people now behind the iron curtain." In the context of the nuclear balance of power, the motion bordered on the irresponsible, yet Kilgour's letter enclosing his motion actually blamed the Liberals for denying it unanimous consent! The political grandstanding was very offensive:

I would be more impressed with such moves [I wrote Kilgour on 30 March] if the PC Opposition had a well-articulated, clear position (in writing) on the Canadian constitution, especially where multiculturalism and linguistic minority rights are concerned. The tokenistic playing with the so-called ethnics is transparent where the Liberals are concerned; it will gain the PCs nothing to enter the game on the same terms.

When Kilgour, in a quick response, asked how the Conservatives might be “specifically” helpful, I detailed the Australian approach to multiculturalism (my wife and I had just returned from Australia) and asked that he indicate “the priorities of the PC party and its leaders in the area of culture, including language.” Kilgour, however, only sent the correspondence on to Steve Paproski, the “Caucus spokesman on Multiculturalism,” where as so often happened the matter died.

To smite the trifling politicians, I decided to analyze “The Political Implementation of Multiculturalism” at a session of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association in Edmonton in mid-October. Bolstered by Ivan Jaworsky’s excellent master’s thesis, “A Case Study of the Canadian Federal Government’s Multiculturalism Policy”, I discussed the ideological and administrative factors responsible for compromising its political implementation at the federal level. The paper underlined Trudeau’s own influence in making multiculturalism a poor cousin of bilingualism from the outset:

In accepting multiculturalism as government policy, there is no reason to suppose that he felt deeply about what he was doing.... he was a stranger to western Canada, where the concept of multiculturalism was most popular and its reality most visible. He had no first-hand knowledge of the many groups who had developed that part of the country and to whom multiculturalism was a passport to equality of treatment and place without regard to history or size. All who had settled the West were founding peoples—the French and “English” no more and no less so than the rest. Most Canadian intellectuals have slid by this point; to the French, it has been totally incomprehensible. All in English-speaking Canada are English, made one through language. The variations are minor, and in any case they cannot last long....

Trudeau’s failure to put the prestige of the prime minister’s office behind multiculturalism, as he did behind bilingualism, ensured that it would have no status in cabinet, no legislative base, no commissioner in Ottawa and thus no sympathy in the bureaucracy (especially among the francophones in the Department of the Secretary of State) or in the PCO and the PMO, where such Anglo-Celts as Gordon Robertson, Michael Pitfield, Ivan Head, Jim Coutts and Keith Davey held sway.

And, of course, the policy would have little money. Nothing shows better the lop-sided relationship between the two coordinates in the federal government’s cultural prescription for national unity than the disparity in financial support for

multiculturalism and bilingualism.... Trudeau began well enough with the Official Languages Act, but when obliged to add the policy of multiculturalism, he failed to forge an alliance between French Canadians like himself and all who value bilingualism *per se*.

Had he introduced a badly needed comprehensive language clause to facilitate bilingual education in the schools of each province, the

federal invasion of provincial jurisdiction would undoubtedly have rankled most provinces, but it would also have made it easier for more people seriously interested in bilingual education to rally around the federal government and to expose the sham of permissive language legislation and tokenistic heritage policies at the provincial level. It would have been a real test of the sincerity of provincial leaders who are quick to laud cultural diversity and ethnic pluralism at 'ethnic' events but are prepared to do little to cultivate either in any meaningful way.

In the paper I also touched for the first time on multiculturalism as a social philosophy to achieve greater equity at the socio-economic level:

National institutions, both public and private, must be opened up to greater minority participation. In fact, access to effective minority language education is but one aspect of this larger participation.... minority groups have the right to jobs, contracts and access to the central institutions of Canadian life in *rough* relation to the proportion of their numbers in the population. To insist on equality of opportunity for individuals without attention to equality of participation for groups is to overlook the fact that the absence or under-representation of certain minority group members in given jobs, institutions or programmes is "*prima facie* evidence of discrimination" [as the historian Allan Smith at the University of British Columbia put it in an article in the *Canadian Journal of Political Science* in June 1981].

What was needed were not quotas but research studies by the federal government of the hiring, awarding and programming practices of national institutions.

It would, of course, be ideal if the larger minority groups [the Anglo-Celts and the French] were blind to ethnic origin when

decisions about jobs and access are taken. Such is not the case, however, and it is therefore important to ensure that socioeconomic opportunity is distributed as equally as possible among ethnic groups in Canada.

Because affirmative action by governments was gaining momentum, I was concerned about the possible exclusion of the so-called well-established ethnic groups.

At the ethnic studies conference I shared the session with Jamshed Mavalwala, a 1979 immigrant from India in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. Each of us had only fifteen minutes to summarize our papers, to which time limit Decore, as chairman, strictly adhered. The format was not conducive to an exploration of ideas or any strong dissent, and, of course, no reporters were present. To disseminate the ideas (at least within the academy), I immediately submitted the paper to the *Journal of Canadian Studies*, which, unbeknownst to me, was about to publish a special issue on “Multiculturalism: The First Decade.” As a result, the paper was quickly accepted (it appeared in the Spring 1982 issue), the editors finding its criticism of Canada’s vertical mosaic particularly valuable, since they, too, thought that Ottawa had hitherto restricted multiculturalism to “a politically harmless search for personal identity rather than social power.”

As already noted, shortly after the above conference the CCCM held its Fourth Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism in Ottawa, part of the policy’s tenth anniversary, which culminated in a gala “All for One” performance at the National Arts Centre. Charles Lynch, of course, ridiculed the observance, but in his column he quoted a passage from the official program that really stunned me:

One of our proudest achievements [the program read] has been the enrichment of the principle of multiculturalism in the proposed reform and patriation of the Canadian constitution; Section 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the right of all Canadians to preserve, enjoy and develop their cultural and linguistic heritage (*Edmonton Journal*, 27 October 1981).

The political statement was totally misleading, for such a “right” to linguistic development for “all Canadians” was precisely what section 27 did *not* guarantee. That evening I put together a critical piece for *Maclean’s*, thinking it would suit “Podium,” the magazine’s public forum on controversial issues. Although of the right length, it was refused without explanation—likely because it only criticized the implementation of multiculturalism, not multiculturalism itself. Because an immediate reaction was important,

I turned to the Southam press, which carried it as a letter to the editor in Edmonton and several other centres (Toronto included) in the next two weeks. The letter noted the interpretive value of section 27 and accused the government of misrepresenting the rights in its charter:

...one cannot help feeling disgust at the duplicity practised. It may be only foolish to celebrate a political paper tiger, but it is positively wrong to lie about human rights that do not exist.

Even before the letter was published, Decore, in casual conversation after some meeting, complained about the Conservative bankruptcy on multiculturalism and accused me of “bad-mouthing multiculturalism.” Surprised, on 20 November I denied the charge:

When I refer to it [section 27] at all, it is always in the context of minority educational language rights, and then only to underline the concept of *rights*. The multicultural section is important from the symbolic point of view, but it is passive. It has not the active status of a right and as such is inferior in power and effect to the numerous other clauses which impinge on interests which we have articulated for years.

My position was not political: “Even in the paper sent to you recently, I criticize Trudeau, not the Liberal party. Neither Clark nor the Conservative party have any policy on multiculturalism or bilingualism that I am aware of.”

It is difficult enough to live with the current exploitation of multiculturalism by all kinds of opportunistic academics and political numbskulls without having one of my best friends accuse me of depreciating a subject which has absorbed so much of my time in the last ten years. I do not need that any more than you do, and I really do not appreciate it.

Decore, in reply, agreed that Trudeau “has not given us all that we require, but I do not despair nor do I become negative and like ‘Chicken Little’ think the sky is going to fall.” Two weeks later, hurt by the barbs of political partisans (among whom he included Savaryn), Decore enclosed a copy of a Canadian Press report of my letter in the *Chronicle Herald* (Halifax) and observed: “I suggest that your remarks are so completely negative that you, perhaps, unwittingly create a backlash.” On 14 December, almost two weeks after the Commons had passed the new Canada Act, I observed:

Today I feel very alienated from my country. It would have been such a little thing for Trudeau and Chretien to accept a liberal school clause. But that was not to be. They were determined to burn their bilingual and bicultural view of Canada into the fundamental law of the land where it will count most—all the while jabbering away to us through their lesser lights about the joys of multiculturalism.

I realize that none of this is your fault—and I realize much more. Only your father and I know how hard you fought for the multiculturalism clause, and it is important. And you are right that others offered little or nothing, as always. This is why I have helped the federal Liberals and occasionally even bitten my lip until it bled at those big political circuses in Ontario, where the Grits are particularly good at courting the ethnic vote. But this does not mean that one has to keep dancing once the ball is over and the crowd has gone home....

It is not “Chicken Little” to recognize that at least the constitutional sky has fallen and we were crushed in the process. One could argue that we deserved it because we are few and poorly organized. But I would also ask what responsibility do people like Trudeau and other heavyweights I refer to in my paper have for the climate and atmosphere under which multiculturalism develops. They left it largely to people like you and me and you know how important we are.

As friends and co-workers on behalf of multiculturalism, Laurence Decore and I went back a long way. He liked the Canadian emphasis I brought to traditional Ukrainian political concerns and I appreciated his youthful vigour, political sophistication and doggedness, and his almost patrician-like Liberal party connections. There was no more danger of my breaking with him than with Savaryn, whom I equally admired for capitalizing on Conservative IOUs for cultural purposes at the provincial level. The three of us would continue to work together well into the 1980s, despite our differences.

My public letter in Toronto’s *Globe and Mail* brought a reply from Jim Fleming early in January 1982. He played down his ministry’s small budget and stressed the program’s achievements—everything from the “noble goals” of multiculturalism to the four national conferences of 1981 (the one by the ethnocultural organizations was not mentioned) to his new program to combat racism, for which \$1.5 million had been added to the directorate’s budget in June to organize the first-ever, government-sponsored “National Symposium on Race Relations and the Law” in Vancouver in 1982. He even

included the program's so-called horizontal approach, where it was perhaps the most vulnerable:

Doctor Lupul ignores the fact that funds are spent to the benefit of ethnocultural communities by federal departments and agencies such as Employment and Immigration, Secretary of State, Health and Welfare, the National Library, the National Film Board, the CBC, to name a few.

The above simply was not true, for it was the multiculturalism ministry that regularly allocated funds to the federal agencies, not the agencies themselves that provided the funds. Moreover, I knew of no federal social programs that had specifically targeted ethnocultural groups (apart from recent immigrants). On section 27, his letter declared: "Contrary to what Doctor Lupul says, Section 27 of the Charter very much carries official status. How anyone can claim otherwise escapes me." What was in dispute, however, was not official status but *linguistic rights in public education* for non-official languages—something that neither Fleming nor anyone else cared to address. Accordingly, I was about to reply when Gurbachan Paul phoned and suggested lunch. Reappointed CCCM chairman for Alberta, he came as Fleming's emissary (and possibly Decore's), requesting that I end the correspondence; Fleming would only have to reply, and the public controversy could hardly benefit multiculturalism. I reluctantly agreed, especially as the constitution was a *fait accompli*, and further change was no longer possible.

# Chapter Eleven

THE CHAIR OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
(1977–82)

As both the director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and a member of the CCCM executive, I was bound to become involved once the P & B Federation, based in Toronto in 1977-79, applied for federal funds for the establishment of a chair of Ukrainian studies at the University of Toronto. The funds were available from Ottawa's "Endowment Assistance Program," used by the minister of multiculturalism to endow ethnic chairs at Canadian universities on a "matching dollar basis"—up to \$300,000—with the ethnic community contributing at least as much. Although I was not involved in the program's creation, I was aware of it through Julius Koteles's frustrations with Hungarian efforts to establish a similar chair in Toronto's Department of History. Rebuffed, the exasperated Hungarians finally placed the chair in the Slavic department in 1978, even though Hungarian was not a Slavic language.

To understand the political controversy surrounding the establishment of the chair, one must appreciate that the institute was conceived as a national institution, largely because of its numerous scholarly programs off campus and the large role envisaged for George Luckyj's Toronto office. The big problem, as events soon showed, was to get others to see the institute in the same light, for its national, inter-university function was largely *self-assumed*, notwithstanding the blessings showered upon it by scholars in Ukrainian studies at the conference in Winnipeg in April 1974. While the institute's funds and services were certainly appreciated, it was not always easy to get others to consult it or heed its advice.

In implementing the inter-university function, no one had considered a history position at the University of Toronto. This was mainly because it was well known that Toronto's Department of History saw itself as the country's leading history department and would therefore (as in the case of the Hungarian chair) strongly resist courses on Ukraine, distinct from the Soviet Union or Russia. To succeed, much consultation and careful planning would be needed, which the newly established institute was in no position to undertake. Moreover, at York University, where both Walter Tarnopolsky (Osgoode Hall) and Jurij Darewych (Department of Physics) taught, the dean of arts was known to be very favourably disposed toward Ukrainian studies. As a result, we looked to Tarnopolsky, the president of the institute's foundation in 1976-77, and to Darewych, a prominent activist, for advice on how best to introduce courses in Ukrainian history and the social sciences in the Toronto area. Into this partial and temporary vacuum fell George

Danyliw, who became president of the federation in May 1977 and would soon discover the federal government's "Endowment Assistance Program."

The great difficulty with community matching grants was their potential conflict with the initial \$500,000 fund-raising campaign launched by the foundation in February 1977 to publish the multi-volume, English-language, alphabetical encyclopedia of Ukraine. The intent was to use the institute's research grants and a team of international scholars, co-ordinated by editors on two continents, headed by George Luckyj in Toronto and Volodymyr Kubijovyč in Sarcelles, France, to prepare the work. The encyclopedia was thus a joint venture of the mainly Canadian-born Ukrainians who had founded both the institute and its foundation and the European-based, largely émigré-led Shevchenko Scientific Society, whose president since 1952 had been Kubijovyč in Sarcelles, some twenty kilometres north of Paris. Since the resources of a nation-state were lacking, the large project was an ambitious undertaking for a young institute and an ethnic community that drew primarily on Canadian financial resources.

The encyclopedia was especially important to émigrés like Peter Savaryn. It would establish the Ukrainian fact in the eyes of the world and "answer" similar Soviet works, as Kubijovyč's plan promised. Personally, I was always convinced that such federal funds as might be available should support significant projects of lasting value that benefited the entire Ukrainian community (and others, if possible) in Canada and elsewhere, thereby helping to institutionalize multiculturalism at home and give it additional credence abroad. The encyclopedia was certainly that kind of project. Thus, for the foundation to be obliged immediately to earmark \$300,000 in matching funds for a Toronto project was to endanger the larger work. Moreover, for it to do so while simultaneously engaged in a national campaign for the encyclopedia was to hazard raised eyebrows in other centres and possibly even encourage local foundations for Ukrainian studies elsewhere, bringing on the very duplication that the institute was pledged to discourage. The federation invoked the federal matching formula at a very bad time, with terrible results all round.



Signing of contract between the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe to prepare the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Edmonton, December 1976. (Left to right, seated) George Luckyj; Volodymyr Kubijovyč; the author; (standing) Peter Savaryn; Atanas Figol; Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky.

I was introduced to federation president George Danyliw, a lawyer, by Ihor Bardyn, the Toronto club president, on 20 May 1977 in the hospitality suite of the federation's convention in Toronto. Most members in Edmonton had expected Bardyn to succeed John Karasevich as the federation president, but Danyliw had apparently been very helpful in organizing the convention, and Bardyn found it hard to refuse him the presidency he coveted. Danyliw was a postwar émigré, while the tendency since 1971 had been to have the federation speak through the Canadian-born as much as possible. Bardyn, however, was confident that the very eager Danyliw could do the job. For me personally, it was very difficult to stand up to Bardyn because two of his elderly clients were about to bequeath the foundation \$200,000 for postdoctoral fellowships in Ukrainian studies, and a row now was out of the question.

In September 1977, after the institute's first Ukrainian-Canadian conference in Edmonton, I invited Danyliw (who had attended the conference) to dinner at our home. He was full of ideas—a P & B trip to China, a European-like *gymnasium* to develop Ukrainian-Canadian leaders, a Ukrainian office in Ottawa, etc. But in view of the federation's just-completed moribund period in Winnipeg, I kept returning to the institute's foundation, especially its role as a donors' outlet for P & B members. To me, Danyliw's two most important tasks were to revitalize the clubs outside Toronto, Winnipeg and Edmonton and to assist the institute's foundation (also the federation's, as its executive in Edmonton had founded it) to complete the large fund-raising campaign launched by Tarnopolsky for the encyclopedia. Edmonton, I said, had begun to identify the federation's clubs with Ukrainian studies, and their fund-raising potential for such studies had still to be tapped. If Danyliw delivered nothing else, such revitalization and fund-raising would more than fulfill his mandate. He had attended Tarnopolsky's first fund-raising meeting in Toronto in April and he had also heard Tarnopolsky's report on the foundation at the convention last May. He thus knew what was afoot and had no doubts about the significance of the encyclopedia. I thought a good understanding had been reached and was really surprised by the subsequent turn of events.

I do not know when Danyliw first learned of Ottawa's endowment program. He had, however, visited Ottawa several times in the fall of 1977, and among the items on the executive's agenda on 5 December was the "Chair of Ukrainian Studies." Luckyj, the foundation's secretary since May 1977, had occasionally jokingly referred to the federation's chair-idea in passing, but I did not hear from Danyliw himself until 16 February 1978, when he invited me to join his "All-Canada" chair committee. I questioned the "All-Canada" designation, as it suggested a national project even though the chair was clearly intended for a university in Ontario. While a history

position was certainly needed, its immediate pursuit, I said, was a matter for academics—the institute working with such Ontario members of its Council of Associates as Luckyj, Tarnopolsky, Bociurkiw, Peter Potichnyj of McMaster University (Hamilton) and others, who were best qualified to clarify its numerous issues and plan strategy.

Among the issues, for example, was the very meaning of “Ukrainian Studies.” A chair had to be discipline-based and if that base were history, I said, departments of history could be very sticky about accommodating ethnic interests. From Alberta’s experience it was best to settle first upon a candidate who was so well qualified as to defy rejection—perhaps someone like Roman Szporluk, a senior historian at the University of Michigan, but there were others. Then, there was also the foundation’s existing campaign and the danger of creating another foundation. Danyliw denied any such intention: matching funds for the chair would be collected through a special fund *within* the institute’s foundation. That was a strange way, I said, to meet the foundation’s main goal—the publication of the multi-volume encyclopedia. What would happen, I asked, if other major centres took the same approach? The chair project, I insisted, was premature; it would only confuse the public and endanger the campaign already under way. Danyliw thought I was much too pessimistic: with a chair as the goal many times the \$200,000 that was the Toronto club’s encyclopedia quota would be raised. A million dollars from Toronto could be expected—even more! He was determined, and in the end the long, unpleasant phone call resolved nothing.

That same evening, according to the federation’s minutes, Luckyj and Orest Rudzik, who had succeeded Tarnopolsky as the foundation president in May 1977, attended a meeting, where Rudzik also threw cold water on Danyliw’s plans. Luckyj preferred not to side “with anyone,” though his personal views had been “communicated privately to Prof. M. Lupul.” By this time Danyliw had seen John Evans, president of the University of Toronto, and Arthur Kruger, dean of arts and science, and their friendly reception had convinced him that Toronto, rather than York or McMaster, was the best site for the chair. Ostap Wynnyckyj, a real estate developer and prominent benefactor, stated the case for the chair at the University of Toronto:

...the sources of funds for the Foundation have now been virtually exhausted [by 30 September 1977, \$26,650 had been raised in Toronto] and there is little likelihood of raising additional substantial amounts since the people in Toronto have a difficulty in identifying with the Institute and, most importantly, it is not very visible in the community. On the other hand, he felt that a Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the U of T would be easily identifiable and not as remote and consequently very substantial

funds could be raised. He envisioned that the \$500/600 thousand required would be easily surpassed....

Two weeks later, a large public meeting at the Royal York Hotel endorsed Danyliw's plans and Wynnycykj was elected chairman of a fund-raising committee within the institute's foundation.

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Unknown to Toronto (and to the institute), in January 1978 St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg had also applied to Ottawa for a matching grant to establish a chair of "Canadian Ukrainian Studies" at the University of Manitoba. At a special meeting of the foundation's Board of Directors at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Toronto on 4 March, Judge John Solomon indicated that the Winnipeg project was budgeted at \$400,000, with the federal government expected to contribute half. The Hyatt Regency meeting was a strange affair. Besides Bociurkiw, Darewych and Danyliw, "guests" included Solomon (but none of the three Manitoba board members) and several others "fund raising for the Chair of Ukrainian Studies," whom Rudzik had to disperse to occasional populist outbursts. Once the affable Solomon, playing the innocent rustic, presented Manitoba's case, Danyliw again stressed that fund-raising for the chair would be pursued through a separate special fund created within the foundation. Moreover, none of the funds already collected in Toronto would be used for the chair. I expressed regret that neither Toronto nor Winnipeg had first consulted the institute, "intended as a forum for such exchange of information," and Rudzik read a letter (17 February) from an absent Tarnopolsky, who strongly opposed both initiatives:

...since all his previous efforts [the foundation's minutes read] have been directed towards convincing government officials that raising funds for the CIUS Foundation is the primary objective of the Ukrainian community, and since not even one-third of the initial target of \$500,000 had been raised, he cannot consider any other project as having primary importance at this time.

The sense of betrayal proved momentarily embarrassing and over lunch Savaryn set about to repair the damage. Although both Toronto and Winnipeg had behaved badly, he said, the former, unlike other centres, was at least eager to collect funds and should therefore be encouraged. As there really was no way to stop Toronto, I bowed to the inevitable, especially as the large federal sums made it very difficult to insist upon a disciplined, institute-led approach. Still, I agreed with Frolick that the application from Winnipeg

was too serious to be ignored. Accordingly, we moved that not only should future foundation-federation discussions take St. Andrew's into account, but that any federation negotiations with the federal government "comprehend both initiatives." As unfortunate as was the Winnipeg application, I could not see the equally furtive Toronto carry the day. At the same time it was now abundantly clear that whatever motivated either centre—local loyalties, the easy federal funds, personal ambitions, jealousy of Edmonton—both initiatives had dashed the institute's hopes for a carefully planned, rational evolution of Ukrainian studies in Canada.

The Hyatt Regency agreement began to unravel almost immediately, as the federation, in its application to the government, made no mention of Winnipeg's interest. According to Danyliw's original draft brochure, the federation's academic goal was "a visiting interdisciplinary Chair of Ukrainian Studies, for an initial period...staffed by eminent scholars from a particular discipline, selected by an Academic Advisory Committee" on which the federation would hopefully have a voice. What Danyliw was anticipating was public input into the very important selection process. The chair's advisory committee was to consist of "our professors, members of the Executive of the Federation, and the members of the Committee in cooperation with the University." On Luckyj's advice, the latter was dropped because universities generally dislike direct community input into academic appointments. The federation's financial goal was an endowment of one million dollars, with Ottawa contributing half. As for Winnipeg, after a meeting in Ottawa on 28 March, Danyliw informed Kruhlak that

By no means is our Federation indifferent to the establishment of similar chairs at Manitoba, Alberta or any other university in Canada, but at present the project shall be started where it would be easiest to realize same.

Besides this, on March 4, 1978, we were informed that St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg is already receiving \$85,000 annually.

The latter was at best questionable and the rest mere bluster.

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With two applications for a single chair before the minister (Norman Cafik), Kruhlak asked that I assist him with the difficult situation. Once the national Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which had supported both applications (!), bowed out, Kruhlak convened a meeting in Ottawa on 17 April with Cafik, Danyliw, Solomon and Tarnopolsky, which I chaired. The

resulting agreement committed the federation to raise \$400,000 through the institute's foundation—\$300,000 to match the federal grant and \$100,000 to St. Andrew's for withdrawing its application. Danyliw, anxious to pursue the chair project, willingly accepted the arrangement—so certain was he that such amounts were readily available. Once the foundation's directors approved the terms by mail, the release of federal funds was guaranteed, and Danyliw quickly organized a grand banquet on 26 May to launch the official campaign for the chair. As relations between the institute (and its foundation) and Danyliw were now badly strained, Rudzik was not invited, and Luckyj and I brought greetings to keep up appearances. With Cafik the guest speaker it would have been impolitic for me as a vice-chairman of the CCCM to stay away.

I do not know exactly when the decision to form a separate foundation for the chair was taken. What is clear is that letters patent were issued on 8 August 1978, and by 17 November the chair was a corporate reality, with power to collect and borrow funds. Meanwhile neither fund-raising campaign was going well, as the annual meetings in Toronto of both the institute's (i.e., the national) foundation and the federation's Executive Council revealed on 14 October. In 1977 the national foundation had received \$53,500 from Toronto; next year the amount was only \$3,640, though another \$22,930 had been donated specifically for the chair. At the foundation's afternoon session Danyliw indicated that his Toronto committee had \$87,000 in deposited and post-dated cheques and another \$120,000 in pledges. (At the Executive Council's morning session the treasurer had reported \$55,180 in deposits, \$13,650 in post-dated cheques and \$88,260 in pledges.) But whatever the exact amount, it was clear that little of the chair's money was actually finding its way into the national foundation's special chair account, as the Hyatt Regency agreement required.

Even worse, the national foundation had already issued tax-deductible receipts for the \$22,930, yet the funds were in an account for which only the federation's campaign committee had signing authority. To whom, then, did the funds actually belong? And might not the foundation be culpable for issuing receipts for funds that it did not possess? When the Edmonton P & B president, who had attended the Executive Council's morning meeting and then accompanied Danyliw and Bardyn to the foundation's afternoon session, revealed that the federation's executive had applied to incorporate the chair, the foundation's directors expressed "great surprise" (according to the minutes), obliging Danyliw and Bardyn to provide hurried explanations. Incorporation was necessary, Bardyn said, "so that there would be a permanent body responsible for the funds for the Chair." However, Danyliw had earlier indicated that "both the Foundation and the Chair are projects of the Federation, and that the Foundation is accountable to the Federation." If

the foundation was already accountable, why was the chair's incorporation needed? And why did the executive also incorporate the federation?

At bottom, the issue was the precise relationship between the federation, the foundation and the institute (and especially the first two), which I now clarified. In the draft guidelines, "Jurisdiction in Academic Matters," submitted to the foundation's Board of Directors that morning, the power of the federation's executive to initiate projects remained, but the board would only consider projects after "a recommendation from the Institute's directorate, in writing." The foundation, too, would remain the institute's financial arm, directly accountable to the federation's membership at its biennial conventions. So much, I thought, had always been clear. What Luckyj, Savaryn and I had not anticipated was an academic project initiated by the federation's executive without first consulting either the institute or the foundation. In the original draft of the chair's brochure Danyliw had also indicated that he wished "to strengthen the Institute's eastern arm at the University of Toronto by elevating it to a Chair with all that that implies." The passage was dropped in the final draft, but its existence suggests that Danyliw did not understand the nature of the institute's "eastern arm," for Luckyj, with a tenured position, clearly did not need a chair. And in the end the entire chair-concept was so poorly thought out that it brought out the worst in everybody.

At the above meeting of the national foundation Savaryn, carried away by Danyliw's figures and eager to effect a *rapprochement*, pressed me to congratulate the chair committee, after which the judicial Solomon, now a member of the board and "up to speed" on developments, tried to "lay down the law." First, the about-to-be-incorporated chair committee had to have its incorporation documents approved by the foundation; second, all funds collected by it in the foundation's name had to be transferred to the foundation's special chair account. Moreover, before the federation's next convention "and no later than the first week of March 1979," a joint meeting of the foundation and federation executives had to review their respective operational policies during the past two years. Although these resolutions were adopted in the presence of Danyliw and Bardyn, neither heeded them, and the break between the foundation and the federation's executive (largely also the chair's campaign committee) was soon complete.

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Having stirred up Toronto, Danyliw, in mid-December 1978, began negotiations with Attorney General Roy Romanow of Saskatchewan for a chair of Ukrainian studies at the University of Saskatchewan, endowed by the provincial government for no less than three million dollars! About the

same time his “Memo to file” also indicated that the university authorities in Toronto had their own ideas about the proposed chair—ideas that displeased him. Instead of courses in Ukrainian history, the Department of History, to avoid “duplication,” would only accommodate “Kiyevan [*sic*] Rus’ and the Byzantine period” and “the history of Orthodox Christianity (?)” while the Department of Political Economy would “allocate some time to the economic history of Ukraine.”

St. Andrew’s College, too, was becoming a serious problem. Early in the New Year, with the Toronto campaign nowhere near \$400,000, the federation borrowed the deficit, and Danyliw began to press Kruhlak for the government’s matching grant: “...it was clearly understood by all at the meeting in your office on April 17, 1978 that the first \$300,000 to be raised by the Toronto Chair of Ukrainian Studies Committee will be applied towards matching the grant from the Federal government and the next \$100,000 collected be turned over to St. Andrew’s College in Winnipeg.” Surprised by Danyliw’s interpretation, Kruhlak contacted Winnipeg. The result was another meeting in Toronto on 6 February of Danyliw, Solomon, Kruhlak and Peter Kondra (a pillar at St. Andrew’s), where the federation’s chair committee agreed to pay St. Andrew’s \$100,000 within a year, on condition that the college “use its best efforts” to collect an equivalent sum from the Ukrainian community “in Canada.” With Winnipeg now to join Toronto in country-wide fund-raising for Ukrainian studies, the national foundation’s campaign was practically dead in the water. On 9 February the federation’s executive, alarmed that St. Andrew’s was considering a letter of credit for its \$100,000, empowered Danyliw and Bardyn to deal with the “critical situation.” The upshot was a proposal that Toronto’s matching funds be further contingent upon the University of Manitoba’s acceptance of a Ukrainian-Canadian studies centre, then pending.

With St. Andrew’s now bent upon a letter of credit, Cafik called Danyliw, Bardyn, Kondra and Isydore Hlynka to still another meeting in Ottawa on 1 March, where Toronto agreed to two letters of credit (\$50,000 each), the first due within a year and the second within two, *provided* St. Andrew’s first matched the initial \$50,000. This cleared the way for the main agreement on 23 March between the chair committee and the University of Toronto. In exchange for an endowment of \$600,000 the university promised to establish a chair to “advance studies of the history, culture and political economy of the Ukrainian Nation and Ukrainian Canadians.” Even though the chair’s corporation had had other ideas, only the university would control the endowment fund, though the corporation was free to make recommendations regarding investment. It would also have two members on the chair’s four-man advisory committee, chaired by the dean of arts and science. Six days later, at a gala ceremony in historic Hart House, university

president James Ham, Cafik and Danyliw signed formal agreements in the presence of community representatives. Stan Frolick did not attend, nor did a vacationing Bardyn. Of Ukrainian-Canadian academics, Yury Boshyk, the master of ceremonies, and Peter Woroby, an economics professor at the University of Regina, participated—Woroby being the federation's vice-president for Saskatchewan and Danyliw's point man on the Saskatchewan chair. Advertisements followed in April 1979, soliciting applications for an appointment in the Department of Political Economy, "with the possibility of cross-appointment in the Department of History, depending on research and teaching interests of the candidate." Besides teaching and research in "the economic and social history of the [*sic*] Ukraine," preference would be given to candidates "able to offer courses in the history of Kievan Rus [*sic*] and modern Ukraine." The broad description reflected the political jockeying behind the scenes, but most of that had still to manifest itself.

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Although Danyliw sent the institute numerous documents, I said nothing until late in January 1979, when I termed his three-million-dollar proposal to Saskatchewan "outlandish" and the inclusion of "every" P & B club member as a chair supporter in the letters patent for incorporation a product of "loose thinking," intimating as it did that the chair was a "national chair (whatever that means)." I attributed his difficulties with the university to the absence of "*academic* peers" and the problems with St. Andrew's to different understandings of the amount needed (\$400,000) to collect the government grant. If Toronto could borrow \$300,000, it could borrow the agreed-upon \$400,000, which debt, "in view of the enthusiasm which the project has generated in Toronto particularly, should not be difficult to dispose of, or so at least Peter Savaryn and I were given to understand about the same time last year." Nothing in Danyliw's angry, defensive reply surprised me, though it did little to improve relations. With the federation's next convention on the horizon, "All that can save him [Danyliw] from a severe roasting in Edmonton in May," I wrote Rudzik, "is that he deliver the goods where the Toronto chair is concerned."

Danyliw came to Edmonton well prepared. His seventeen-page printed president's report (with five appendices) detailed the steps taken on behalf of chairs in Toronto and Saskatchewan. Bardyn, in turn, produced a printed *Panorama*, the federation's newsletter, with the chair's logo prominent on the cover and additional material inside, liberally illustrated with pictures of committee members and signing ceremonies. In his report Danyliw declared that "the Toronto Club completely fulfilled its obligation towards the [national] Foundation, by raising \$250,000 for the Foundation, and that

Ontario fulfilled its plan by financing the Chair." At the time Toronto had only donated some \$60,000 to the above foundation, and Danyliw and eleven others had had to borrow approximately \$300,000 to access the federal funds. However, the report was not questioned, as the overwhelming desire was to maintain unity at all costs. In my ten-minute presentation next day I distributed a mimeographed chart that spelled out the relationships of the federation, the foundation, the institute and the chair. Although the latter had "no formal relationship," I diplomatically declared it "a welcome addition as part of the Institute's programme development function." In a separate table I showed the national dimensions of the institute (and the foundation) by itemizing the off-campus expenditures of both, projected at \$193,800 in 1979-80.

The federation's executive in Toronto had created precisely what Luckyj and I had dreaded most—another foundation for Ukrainian studies. Although limited to Ontario (mainly Toronto), the new foundation set a precedent for Ukrainian studies that Winnipeg, Montreal and Ottawa soon followed. In 1980 the Montreal club, for example, formed its own "Quebec Foundation" to support "researchers," "maintain archives and libraries" and "promote Ukrainian language, literature and art in general," with the foundation to have "no impact and no splintering of achievements" with the national foundation (whatever that meant). This happened, moreover, even after Gordon Panchuk of Montreal, Quebec's new representative on the foundation board, had the latter delete "Institute" from its name at a board meeting in Edmonton in May 1979. Although Savaryn and I opposed the move, Panchuk and others argued for a clearer national identity, and "Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies" was voted in. In the end I yielded gracefully, for with the simultaneous adoption of the institute's guidelines ("Jurisdiction in Academic Matters," submitted the previous October), the change was largely symbolic. Not only would the institute's "directorship" continue to assess all projects (with any commitments over \$50,000 requiring the approval of 75 per cent of the entire board "in writing"), but the foundation's "primary objective" remained the publication of the encyclopedia. What was significant, however, was that now the national foundation had four fund-raising rivals, and 'Ukrainian' Canada had shown that it would not accept the institute's leadership in Ukrainian studies outside Alberta.

After May 1979 the federation, now again headquartered in Edmonton, had little to do with the appointment of the Toronto chair's occupant and the retirement of the debt incurred by the chair's principal sponsors. In all this, Danyliw, too, was no longer a factor. He proved to be a "flash in the pan," Frolick observed after the federation's convention. "He emerged from obscurity and returned to it.... However, he [Bardyn, the new president of

the incorporated chair] faces all those whom Danyliw talked into signing bank promissory notes for \$25,000 each." Disposing of the debt, however, proved far less traumatic than finding a suitable candidate for the new chair—the resulting turmoil illustrating well the politics of multiculturalism within the more staid parts of the Canadian academy.

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On the chair's search committee the lone member in Ukrainian studies was George Luckyj, who wrote his dean on 22 January 1979 and suggested an "interdisciplinary" chair in history, politics and economics. A chair in economics alone was inadvisable, because Ukraine's economy did not differ from the overall Soviet one and Ukrainian economic history as a discipline, unlike political history, had no well-known scholars. Unfortunately, the university did not heed Luckyj's advice, as it set about to hire an economist to suit the future chair's primary department—political economy. By the end of July, with the applicants mainly historians, the search committee was still without a visiting professor for 1979-80, and by 14 November the situation had so deteriorated that Luckyj resigned from the search committee. In doing so, he read a long statement into the record, extracts from which appear below, illustrating something of the political problems that ethnic studies faced in some Canadian universities in the 1970s:

In my twenty-seven years at this university I have sat on many committees and have seen much debate and even wrangling. I have never seen a worse case of bias, hostility and outright cabal by the representative of two departments to thwart and twist the purpose for which this committee was established.... Negotiations to accommodate the chair in the Department of Political Economy (2/3) and History (1/3) lasted over a year and ended in a compromise between the two departments, each of which alone was reluctant to accept the chair.... I often made the point, orally and in writing, that the obvious combination of subjects for the holder of such a chair would be history and political science, the latter, as we all know, being a part of the Department of Political Economy. The demand for courses in Ukrainian history and political science has often been voiced by students....

When, in the summer, I proposed that Prof. [Orest] Subtelny [Hamilton College, Clinton, New York] be appointed to the visiting post, my position was voted down and when the Dean was ready to cross-appoint Dr. Subtelny between History and the Slavic Dept., the historians blocked it, saying that, despite

an excellent record and recommendations, he was “mediocre.” The committee went all out to search for an economist and at one time we were about to consider Dr. [Bohdan] Hawrylyshyn [Centre d’Études Industrielles, Geneva], who has not done any work in Ukrainian economics, but who happens to be Ukrainian. On the same premise, Dr. George Ignatieff could be appointed to the Slavic Dept. since, although he is not a specialist in Russian literature, he is, after all, a Russian. Statements were made around this table that the university is doing a favour to the Ukrainian community if it allows a half-course in Soviet economic history to be taught by a Soviet economist; that Ukrainian studies by trying to develop their specialities, have acquired a bad reputation. From time to time, each department tried to push the chair into the other’s territory.... There have even been suggestions that the chair should go to the Slavic Department...which, incidentally, has no intention of becoming an Ethnic ghetto for all those whom other departments are unwilling to accept. A desperate attempt has been made by the Department of Political Economy to persuade some of the historians applying for the position to teach economics. Letters have been sent telling them that the chair holders “will also be expected to teach one course in the core area of economics.” Since when is a course in economics a *sine qua non* for the Ukrainian chair?

Luckyj then offered the “real reasons” for the impasse:

1. Both the Russian and East European historians and political scientists are convinced that the field of Ukrainian history and politics is not a separate discipline deserving serious study. The historians, who rejected the Hungarian chair, arguing that there is no such thing as a national history of Hungary, maintain that Ukrainian history can be and indeed is now studied in their department as a tiny segment of Russian and East European history. They view with horror the establishment several years ago of a chair of Ukrainian history at Harvard and they wish to preserve their “integrated program” in a truly English and Russian imperialist tradition. They brand the views of Ukrainian historians from Harvard as “awfully biased.”... The same hostile attitudes can, alas, be seen among political scientists who have claimed here openly that Ukraine is “covered” in courses

on the Soviet Union (although no course exists on the Soviet nationalities).

2. Both privately and openly historians and political scientists have admitted that Ukrainian courses would draw away students from existing courses. Similar fears were expressed in our department when we introduced Ukrainian in addition to Russian. They have proved unjustified.

3. Contrary to the views of the university administration, which realized the importance of good relations with the cosmopolitan community of today's Toronto, the representatives of the two departments secretly despise the ethnics. As one historian once said to me, "Why do the Ukrainians want to come to Toronto? Let them go to Manitoba."

The blame, Luckyj concluded, lay squarely with the faculty: "For behind a façade of academic freedom and high-flown talk of standards and departmental prerogatives there hides the ugly face of discrimination."

I have had little chance to contribute much to this committee. My advice and my opinions (e.g. that there are no good Ukrainian economic historians and that the search should not center on an economist) have been ignored. I have been accused of "pushing" my friends for this post. Perhaps it would be better if a "token Ukrainian" were no longer with you, so that you can "push" the chair in any direction you wish and face the consequences.

By this time the students, too, were up in arms, demanding a position in history or political science at a public meeting at the university on 4 November, ironically also "Ukrainian Day" on campus. Four days later an "extraordinary meeting," called by the SUSK president (Michael Maryn), saw Bardyn and other chair sponsors insisting that the chair be in history. "This area of Ukrainian studies has not been adequately covered in the universities in Canada," Bardyn declared. On 29 November Luckyj refused the dean's request to reconsider his resignation and suggested that the librarian Bohdan Budorowycz replace him (Budorowycz had a Ph.D. in East European history). He also strongly objected to the search committee chairman (economist Scott Eddie) approaching Bardyn to comment on the applicants, something that Bardyn (to his credit) refused to do. By then a new candidate—the eventual appointee—was also on the scene.

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Paul Robert Magocsi, a second-generation American whose parents hailed from Transcarpathia, had a Ph.D. in history from Princeton University (1972), his dissertation, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948*, having been published by the prestigious Harvard University Press in 1978. Magocsi belonged to a small group of Ukrainian Americans who saw Transcarpathia (also known as Subcarpathia or Carpatho-Rus') as a separate nation. Thus Magocsi's approach to the historic "Ukrainian Question" differed markedly from that of most scholars of Ukrainian background, who saw Transcarpathia as an integral part of Ukraine. Not surprisingly, once he was chosen to occupy the chair on 14 March 1980, the protests on campus largely destroyed the incorporated chair's fund-raising efforts. Although Magocsi's teaching experience was limited—he had only shared a graduate seminar with a senior scholar at Harvard—he otherwise held a strong 'political' hand and insisted upon (and received) immediate tenure, which some on and off campus found unusual.

On 5 March, anticipating Magocsi's appointment, Luckyj not only drew up a brief that detailed "irregularities in the procedures and decisions" of the search committee but requested that the institute write the university provost (Donald Chant), protesting Magocsi's imminent selection. Five days later twelve campus academics of Ukrainian background (Luckyj included) signed a strong letter to President Ham, objecting to Magocsi's "credentials," which, they said, rendered him unfit to "maintain a linkage between the chair and the community of Canadians of Ukrainian origin," as promised in the letter of intent (12 February 1979). Luckyj now also urged that I write the minister of immigration (Lloyd Axworthy), requesting that he deny Magocsi the necessary papers.

The irony was superb: an institute to which many in Toronto's Ukrainian community were at best indifferent, was now being asked to rescue it from a candidate who, as Luckyj's earlier brief put it, "makes no secret of his 'anti-Ukrainianism.'" On 11 March I wrote to Axworthy and Chant and quickly received a sharp reply from the latter, accusing the institute of "external meddling" (as expected) and terming my letter "thoroughly unprofessional and unbecoming of an academic" (as was not expected). A month later Axworthy's office refused to intervene (again as expected): "As long as the advertising requirement is met, the university is free to select whomever it feels is the best qualified."

In the meantime Magocsi, after lunching with Ham and Bardyn, met Luckyj in the latter's office. An articulate thirty-five-year-old who could be quite charming, Magocsi impressed Bardyn, who gave up all thought of suing the university for breach of contract. Luckyj, on the other hand,

pointed to the strong feelings on campus and in the Ukrainian community and advised Magocsi to “think it over.” Undeterred, Magocsi (according to Luckyj) attributed the feelings to “emotional factors” and, insisting that his scholarship merited tenure, thought he could handle the students and “survive.” However, he took strong exception to Luckyj’s describing him as anti-Ukrainian, and under pressure from the president’s office Luckyj sent Magocsi a written apology (18 March) to avoid being charged with defamation before the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Ironically, Luckyj himself was considering a suit before the same commission against the search committee for calling him “a Ukrainian patriot”!

In all this the university authorities held a solid front. While Ham and Kruger were the most prominent spokesmen, Michael G. Finlayson, president of the university’s Faculty Association, and Bennet Kovrig and William J. Callahan, chairmen of the political economy and history departments, respectively, provided strong support. History professors John Keep, Kenneth McNaught and Peter Brock and political scientist H. Gordon Skilling also furnished supportive letters to the press. On the Ukrainian side, Luckyj, of course, did the most useful work, strongly supported by the linguist Edward Burstynsky and by Ralph Lindheim (Luckyj’s closest colleague in the Slavic department), both of whom critically dissected Magocsi’s curriculum vitae, which Kruger then rebutted point by point on 31 March.

Such was the situation when Bociurkiw, Omeljan Pritsak and I came to Toronto on 11 April to discuss “The State of Ukrainian Studies in North America: Future Perspectives.” Our panel was the last of a seven-lecture series by visiting scholars suggested by the university to the chair’s sponsors in 1979, once it was clear that more time was needed to fill the new position. Assisted by institute staff members Bohdan Krawchenko and Roman Petryshyn, I put together a thoughtful paper, but as Bociurkiw later observed, “no one in the audience came to listen to our presentations or to learn about anything else than the Toronto ‘chair.’” The meeting room in Sidney Smith Hall was packed and the Ukrainians present were in an angry mood. It was rumoured that Pritsak had strongly recommended Magocsi. (His letter of 11 February was favourable but balanced: it praised Magocsi’s publications record and termed teaching his “Achilles’ heel,” even suggesting a one-year preparatory sabbatical.) It was also said that Pritsak, in defending the university’s academic freedom, had dismissed the Ukrainian community as *vulytsia* (the street). Pritsak was therefore vulnerable, and when Frolick got him to confirm his earlier remarks, loud boos followed.

In my half-hour presentation I left the chair controversy to a separate statement at the end. In it I expressed confidence that “all parties concerned could have learned much” from Edmonton’s experience in establishing the institute—consultation would have avoided “the terribly tangled situation

that has emerged." I also denied that Ukrainians were either desirous of infringing the university's autonomy or dishonouring "the valid and treasured concept of academic freedom":

Few people in Canada have a higher regard for higher learning and its rights and privileges than do Ukrainians, because they know well what it means to live in societies where such rights and privileges do not exist or are violated. Many are refugees from such societies. It is therefore most unfortunate that innocent people are being criticized just because they oppose the antics of unhappy academics bent on mischief.

Toward the end of a long discussion period, full of finger-pointing and irate accusations, I was suddenly asked by one George Bolotenko, a history lecturer at the Ryerson Polytechnic Institute in Toronto, whether the institute had indeed asked Ottawa to block Magocsi's immigration to Canada. Although taken aback, I confirmed the letter, bringing a very indignant University of Toronto historian (Harvey Dyck) to detail my sins and accuse me of bringing "great discredit" upon my institution and myself. In defence, my voice rising, I pointed to the university's sad experience with the chair of Hungarian studies and its resistance to multiculturalism and ethnic studies generally. With the heckling growing louder, I finally cried out: "Well, somebody has to stand up for Ukrainian studies in Canada!" as shouts and tumultuous applause overwhelmed the meeting and caused Luckyj (in the chair) to close it abruptly. Bociurkiw, two days later, thought that the event was "mismanaged by our Toronto friends with the HURI director playing his own game." The institute was "drawn into the cross fire when the positions on both sides had already hardened enough to prevent any reasonable and honorable compromise."

Perhaps I should have ignored Chant's letter, but it really bothered me, and on 26 May I returned the compliment:

If it is "thoroughly unprofessional and unbecoming of an academic" to object to the appointment of a scholar to a chair of Ukrainian studies who has never taught a single course on the history of Ukraine at the university level and who in his own c.v. admits to being qualified to teach only "Modern history of the Danubian Basin," "Modern Nationalism," and "Slavic and East European Immigration to the United States," then I am "thoroughly unprofessional," and my conduct is "unbecoming of an academic" (and I wear both strictures proudly). All the more so, as it is the professionals and those whose conduct is presumably impeccably academic who have even given the same scholar tenure!

As Kruger had been copied in March, he was copied again. Months later, with the spat already history, the miffed dean threatened to end the institute's relationship with Toronto as of 30 June 1981. What prompted the letter is not clear, but Kruger headed the chair's Advisory Committee, and in light of his earlier role he had every reason to take a special interest in Magocsi, who would certainly have disliked my letter. With Luckyj's office paying no attention to the chair's presence, the temptation to both discipline Luckyj and embarrass the institute was likely too great to resist. Ending the Toronto connection, however, would have created great hardships for the encyclopedia of Ukraine project.

Accordingly, even though Luckyj liked my letter, he was now truly alarmed, and there really was no alternative but to eat crow. In my reply to Kruger, I detailed the institute's record in Toronto, noted the additional "bad feelings" that its perceived ouster by the chair would likely arouse and indicated the institute's desire "to forget the chair controversy as soon as possible." On 10 February 1982 Luckyj met Kruger, who aired Magocsi's complaints about "being isolated," and a meeting for 17 March was arranged, at which Luckyj and I admitted that the institute had no official connection with Toronto and agreed to remove all visible symbols—letterheads, telephone listings, etc. In return, the encyclopedia project and the institute's *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* were allowed to remain, with Luckyj even volunteering (unnecessarily, I thought) a nominal annual sum of five hundred dollars to the Slavic department in lieu of rent.

Shortly after Magocsi's official appointment late in April 1980, the Ukrainian Students' Club decided to boycott his fall classes and, in preparation, issued a special number of *New Perspectives* (28 June), the English-language section of *Novyi shliakh* (The New Pathway, Toronto), in which Magocsi, Bardyn, Kruger, Luckyj, Maryn and I were interviewed. Luckyj and I discouraged a boycott and I again emphasized the unfortunate absence of earlier consultation by Danyliw. The controversy's possible fall-out on both the federation and the Ukrainian academy was most regrettable: "It could lead people to conclude that the groups...cannot be depended upon to lead adequately.... And once people get the feeling that the best-educated, most influential people can botch things, what is the community left with in the way of leadership potential?" It was also senseless for Ukrainians to engage in the kind of east-west conflict that characterized the wider Canadian society: "We have to avoid it because we cannot afford it." With a population of barely 600,000 scattered over a very large area—of which perhaps only 10 per cent were members of the organized community—"we mustn't carry on in any part of the country as if we had an army behind us."

That fall, even though the president of the Students' Administrative Council questioned the granting of tenure, it was young Maryn, not the council itself, who had to outline the "irregularities" for the university ombudsman, urging a recommendation against tenure. "It would then be left up to Dr. Magocsi," Maryn declared, "to prove to the University and the students alike that he is deserving of tenure." However, on 6 October 1980 the ombudsman, Eric A. McKee, dismissed Maryn's complaints, finding "*no misrepresentations*" (emphasis in original) in Magocsi's curriculum vitae and concluding that the Students' Club owed Magocsi an apology. The polarized Ukrainians were powerless against the unified university, as the ombudsman's "whitewash" (Luckyj's term) again showed. Thus after three years—including one of very intense controversy—the case was effectively closed. Magocsi's first history course, "Ukrainian National Revival" (he also taught "Ukraine: Economy, Society and Politics," a course offered jointly by the departments of political economy and history) enrolled twenty students, amid threats of a boycott that never materialized. On 22 October the chair was officially inaugurated in grand style. The organizing committee was co-chaired by Gloria Frolick (Stan's wife), Luckyj did not attend and the institute sent perfunctory greetings at Bardyn's request.

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However, a very important piece of unfinished business remained. Danyliw and several others held promissory notes, yet the chair foundation and the local P & B Club were not on speaking terms, and fund-raising in Toronto had practically dried up. Into the breach moved Stan Frolick, though himself not one of the note holders. "I have resorted to some 'quiet diplomacy,'" Frolick wrote on 31 October 1980, "with the view of getting financing for the Toronto chair from the Ontario government. If I can pull it off single-handedly—that would be quite a feather for my hat." He was successful and on 15 February he informed Edmonton of a grant for \$300,000 in Wintario lottery funds. Although the foundation had again to match Ontario's monies and the entire \$600,000 had to be spent in Ontario, "elasticity in interpretation" of Wintario criteria, Frolick indicated, gave the foundation "up to five (5) years" to come up with the matching \$300,000. Moreover, funds expended in the preparation and printing of the encyclopedia could be included. "I expect Peter [Savaryn, the foundation's president since May 1979] to take his hat off as he promised to do." Even though Luckyj had cautioned against a matching grant, when I examined the government's conditions it was clear that expenditures on the encyclopedia by both the foundation and the institute would more than match the \$300,000 by 1986. Of greater concern was the minister's letter to Frolick,

which required that initiatives under the grant be completed “within the calendar year commencing May 1, 1981,” though Frolick kept assuring the foundation that the statement was only there for bureaucratic purposes.

On 7 March Premier Bill Davis announced the grant at another huge banquet (six hundred persons, according to Frolick) at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre on Christie Street, with Frolick and his close Conservative friend, Yuri Shymko, doing the honours. Three days later Frolick and Rudzik met with representatives of the chair foundation, including its new president, Eugene Zaraska (but not Bardyn or Danyliw). Frolick turned the cheque over to the chair foundation’s treasurer, who deposited it in a separate term account in the same Royal Bank branch where the chair foundation did its banking. Frolick’s letter to the national foundation on the 13<sup>th</sup> revealed that the chair foundation’s indebtedness was \$290,500 (plus \$9,520 in interest). As a result, the entire \$300,000 would be needed to retire the debt. Frolick had supposed that its liquidation would result in the chair foundation’s disappearance. That, however, would create problems with “testamentary bequests” and “legal obligations” entered into with the University of Toronto. Nonetheless, it was, Frolick now said, “the spirit that is important, i.e., to restore unity and harmony” and to do away with working at “cross purposes.” On that there was “total agreement, at least as expressed by those present.”

The amity, however, was short-lived. In mid-April, when the thirty-day term expired, the treasurer, on instructions from a special meeting of the chair foundation, simply transferred the \$300,000 to the latter’s regular account. On 4 May a very irate Frolick threatened court action if the bank manager did not restore the deposit. Such was the situation when the national foundation’s Board of Directors met in Ottawa on the 17<sup>th</sup>. Frolick, basking in his achievement, oscillated between ‘hanging’ the rival foundation’s executive and retiring its debt. Shymko, invited by Frolick to bolster his credibility, underlined the obvious: the government of Ontario was puzzled by developments, and if not resolved satisfactorily, relations could be “jeopardized for years.” In the end Frolick’s threats were dispelled in a hurried phone call to the bank manager, who agreed to issue the chair foundation an overdraft for \$300,000 to pay the national foundation, which then issued a cheque to the chair foundation to repay its overdraft. Nothing really had changed, but all the worst legal and political scenarios were quietly avoided—all again in the name of an organizational harmony that no longer existed (and perhaps never did exist). The farce was compounded when the Savaryns, on a visit to Toronto late in September, stayed at the Zaraskas (their wives were cousins), where the idea of a “Founders’ Dinner” was born—another gala affair, this time to celebrate the triumphs of both foundations!

The supposedly discredited Danyliw moved into action immediately: banquet committees were formed and Premier Davis was again invited (this

time by Danyliw!)—all without consulting Frolick, who naturally was livid, and in a strong letter to the national foundation’s board accused Savaryn of failing “to set the record straight and enlighten our community as to which Foundation received the grant.” With Toronto’s Ukrainian leaders riled up again, Savaryn asked me to persuade Frolick not to boycott the banquet, and on 30 October I urged reconciliation. Although Danyliw was “as raw as he is brazen,” Frolick’s staying away would create a vacuum, and Danyliw had “a nose for filling vacuums.”

In short order I also heard from Laurence Decore. His mother and Frolick’s wife were cousins, and he disliked the manner in which Frolick was being treated. “My argument in Ottawa was that those fellows should have been publicly disgraced.” There was, I replied, little that anyone could do: “... having no face to disgrace, they do not disgrace easily. They are gut fighters (as is to some extent Stan Frolick), very thin-skinned and immensely proud.” One could have disciplined them in Edmonton in May 1979, but that “would have meant more division and possibly even the end of the Federation.”

The truth of the matter is that the ways of the first generation are not our ways. Moreover, they live their lives in Canada but their interests are really elsewhere. They like our influence and authority as long as they can benefit from it. But as soon as we try to discipline them, they see in us the same alien force they see in mainstream society. What do we know about the best interests of the *Ukrainian* community in Canada—we are not Ukrainians, they are. And can one really quarrel with that?

The banquet was held on 13 November, and Frolick not only attended but later admitted that his fears were “unfounded,” thanks largely to the “fair, factual and extremely effective” addresses by both Zaraska and Savaryn. Even so, no number of after-dinner speeches could hide the chasm that the chair controversy had created in the Toronto community.

As a result, in the summer of 1980 the Ontario Council of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee quietly approached the institute to help provide a history alternative at York University, with the American Orest Subtelny the preferred candidate. Before applying for the chair, Subtelny had acquired landed-immigrant status in Canada, which he hoped would assist his candidacy. The thirty-eight-year-old Subtelny had a doctorate in Ukrainian history from Harvard (1973) and since 1975 had been teaching East European history in the United States. The UCC’s negotiations with York were successful, and in April 1982 its search committee offered Subtelny a three-year probationary appointment. The Department of History provided one-half the funding, the institute furnished a third (\$12,500) and the UCC

the rest. Two years later Subtelny was granted tenure, supported in part by a University Endowment Fund of \$100,000 raised by the UCC (\$50,000), the institute and the national foundation (\$25,000 each). To York, Subtelny brought graduate specialization in "Middle Eastern Studies," as well as Eastern Europe; to Toronto's Ukrainians, he brought the "orthodox" view of Ukrainian history, where ethnographic groups like the Carpatho-Ukrainians, Galicians and Bukovynians were all part of one Ukrainian nation.

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An aspect of the Toronto chair controversy that upset Frolick sufficiently by February 1983 for him to resign from the foundation's Board of Directors was Wintario's matching provision. As we have seen, he had always approached the matching time line in very flexible terms, minimizing its importance (even questioning its necessity) and advising only brief reports, especially as Myroslav (Morris) Diakowsky, an official in the department (well known to both of us), knew the circumstances of the grant and would look after the matter personally. In December 1982 the director of the Citizenship Development Branch in the ministry made it clear that matching was far from the casual affair Frolick had led the foundation to believe. Subsequently, Frolick regularly received annoying reminders for which he blamed me, even though in my brief reports I was only following his advice. My real mistake, of course, was not to have had him draft the reports himself, but the institute had always looked after the foundation's academic correspondence, and I accepted the reports as part of my usual responsibility. In the end the foundation more than matched the \$300,000 by the time the first volume of the encyclopedia appeared in October 1984, but Frolick's resignation was typical of the kind of grandstanding that even the best-intentioned of Ontario's leaders was capable of.

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The unfortunate political fall-out from the chair controversy was considerable: four competing foundations for Ukrainian studies, with others a possibility; a year of futile protests and other tensions on the Toronto campus; a polarized Ukrainian community in Toronto and dismay and disbelief in Edmonton; a badly hobbled federation; and a lowered profile for the institute on the Toronto campus. The institute could certainly have saved itself a lot of grief had it concentrated on creating teaching positions and meeting other local needs. That might also have made fund-raising by the national foundation a lot easier. It would, however, have meant scrapping the publication of an encyclopedia that met general needs world-wide. As for

the Toronto chair and the Winnipeg Ukrainian-Canadian centre, the federal government's endowment program did not need to be tapped immediately. There were no federal deadlines for applications. The problem, however, lay elsewhere. Had either Toronto or Winnipeg recognized the *legitimacy* of the institute's national inter-university function, the government's endowment program could have been raised with the institute or the foundation in countless ways and places and a suitable national plan developed. Such an approach, however, would have required understanding and co-operation (and patience), qualities that neither Toronto nor Winnipeg possessed, and the strewn results were there for all to see.

# Chapter Twelve

## THE MOVEMENT FOR UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY REFORM (1977–82)

### *The Beginnings of the Ukrainian Bilingual Program in Manitoba*

After 1980, with the earlier criticism of the federal government, my national role in the multicultural movement was largely that of an academic adversary. While politicians like Laverne Lewycky, the NDP multiculturalism critic, sought my advice, the Conservatives generally respected me from a distance, while to the Liberals I was an academic pest, not to be provoked. I had become a kind of verbal gunslinger, an informed insider turned outspoken outsider, and being the head of an academic institute did not hurt. With a reputation and an attitude on identity politics, I was much less amenable to political influence, except from close friends like Decore and Savaryn. And it was they who eventually persuaded me to resume 'ethnic politicking' through what came to be known as the Ukrainian Community Development Committee. Even so, the resumption was very tentative, mainly because the earlier efforts at community reform had achieved so little, culminating in the defeat in Winnipeg on 12 October 1980 of Stan Frolick's candidacy for president of the national Ukrainian Canadian Committee. However, to appreciate the latter, it is important to understand my overall approach to the organized Ukrainian community in Canada.

As indicated, the Ukrainian bilingual classes, the ethnic history courses and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies—all in charge of professionals—were important steps in institutionalizing Canadian multiculturalism. The same professionalism, I thought, was also important in Ukrainian-Canadian organizations. While amateur volunteers had their place, *program* development, at least within the umbrella community organizations, was best left to professionals, paid as well as the available funds allowed. In a society officially multicultural, state funds were (or should be) available to ethnocultural groups willing to strive for professional standards. Under Multiculturalism Minister Munro, the call went out for significant (hopefully) professionally developed projects submitted through umbrella organizations capable of co-ordinating the funding. While the myriad of small government grants certainly had their political advantage, Munro did recognize that the government was vulnerable to media charges of maintaining a political "slush fund for ethnics." Moreover, without effective umbrella organizations, the government could be accused of attempting to create a multicultural society instead of meeting the needs of one led by responsible ethnocultural leaders.

Unfortunately, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was not particularly adept at meeting community needs. Yet Ukrainians, the long-time leaders of the multicultural movement, were seen as models of effective group organization by many within the newly emerging South Asian, East Asian, Caribbean, Portuguese, Lebanese and even Italian communities. What was most needed was reform-minded personnel in key UCC positions, for the national organization was still without a capable executive director (a professional administrator familiar with the levers of power), nor had it accepted the constitutional amendments in 1977. Good leadership would have involved the institute (and government funds) in a professional study of the community; it would have revamped the UCC's infrastructure with federal multicultural funds; it would have maintained strong contacts with other ethnocultural umbrella organizations; and it would have involved the young, especially by popularizing the Ukrainian bilingual classes.

By the late 1970s "the young"—adults in their twenties and early thirties (especially in the larger centres)—were strongly drawn to such ideas, and in Winnipeg the introduction of the English-Ukrainian bilingual program in September 1979 provided additional impetus. As we have seen, expansion of the program had been a major concern of the federation's executive in Edmonton after 1974, but not until the fall of 1977, with a Progressive Conservative government under Sterling Lyon in power in Manitoba, were political conditions right for possible expansion eastward. As president of the Conservative Party in Alberta, Peter Savaryn was in a good position to approach the new premier, and early in November I wrote to Lyon on PC stationery under Savaryn's signature, copying Joe Slogan and Louis Melosky (an orthodontist), both prominent local PCs well known to the premier. What followed was extremely important for Ukrainian community development and the politics of multiculturalism in the Prairies.

When Melosky's very bleak economic picture held out little hope for government initiatives that required additional expenditures, Lyon had to be shown that the cost of introducing bilingual education would be minimal. Alongside Alberta's teaching materials, others could be produced through an interprovincial division of labour in the Prairies. Accordingly, on 26 February, the day before our meeting with the premier, the institute held a one-day "Inter-Provincial Meeting on Bilingual Education" in Winnipeg with the "professional personnel of Ukrainian background closest to the subject in the three provinces." I personally saw Manitoba as the eastern end of a possible pincer that just might move the recalcitrant Saskatchewan leaders in the direction of Ukrainian bilingual education. While Stephania Yurkiwsky, a part-time appointee in the Manitoba Department of Education, welcomed the initiative and the university-based Roma Franko and Sonia Cipywnyk from Saskatchewan agreed to attend without comment, George Zerebecky

and Anna Eliuk, employees respectively of departments of education in Saskatchewan and Alberta, suddenly found themselves in difficulty. Sacred in the canon of provincial rights is local autonomy in education, with external initiatives extremely suspect, especially those originating outside government. As a result, Zerebecky's favourable response was long delayed, and Eliuk, according to Gene Torgunrud (who actually consulted Koziak!), only attended in a private capacity, with future meetings contingent upon "agreements arranged between the two provinces."

Nor was this the only difficulty. Both Savaryn and I saw the P & B Club in Winnipeg as the logical organization to spearhead recruitment, yet at the club's special executive meeting on the 25<sup>th</sup>, strong differences emerged after we explained our mission. Melosky, perhaps resenting the invasion of his political turf, was especially critical. He could not fathom why we had to see Lyon or to be so "pushy" about bilingual education. Nor was multiculturalism all that important; neither would stem the tide of assimilation. Should the club decide to join the delegation, he would not be part of it.

The national UCC, however, had no such doubts about the mission. In fact, on 29 December its executive director (Jaroslav Kalba) even proposed that the UCC (i.e., he and Serge Radchuk, the president) lead the delegation! In the interim they would even try to see Lyon and pave the way. And so insistent was Kalba that Savaryn had to warn him to do no more than touch on our scheduled meeting in any prior representations. When Kalba requested details of the institute's interprovincial meeting for UCC approval and possible sponsorship, I stressed its professional nature and relieved the UCC of all responsibility. Even though in the end the institute's meeting accomplished little, Lyon accepted its interprovincial nature as the "first step" toward further co-operation in lowering costs.

The meeting with the premier exceeded all expectations. Slogan and (surprisingly) Melosky came, as did the P & B president (Ernest Cicierski). Having failed to meet Lyon earlier, the politically tactless Radchuk and Kalba brought an omnibus brief of their own, which they wished, they said, "only to leave" with the premier. The premier invited Savaryn to sit on his immediate left, facing the delegation and across from a coffee table where I sat with the Alberta materials and our short brief. Its first sentence announced our purpose: "to urge the Government of Manitoba to amend the school law at the next legislative session to permit instruction in the public schools in languages other than English and French." The Alberta and Saskatchewan precedents were cited and the "minimal" or "modest" nature of potential costs was emphasized. With the minister of education, Keith A. Cosins, flanking the premier on his right, the questioning, though pointed, was not hostile, with Savaryn's position in the Conservative Party prominent in the

bantering that frequently ensued. While nothing was promised, neither the premier nor the minister objected to changing the law. That same evening, with uncharacteristic vision, the UCC organized a well-attended community meeting, where Savaryn, Yurkiwsky and I reviewed the day's developments and indicated in Cicierski's presence that the P & B Club was prepared to lead, once the law was changed.

The government's throne speech announced a "pilot program" for non-official languages as languages of instruction, and on 20 July the school legislation was amended. Cicierski became chairman of the English-Ukrainian Program Steering Committee (Melosky was also a member), and the first classes opened in September 1979. Meanwhile, in an interesting aside, politics were injected from a totally unexpected source. On 21 February 1979 Ben Hanuschak, the former minister of education (now in opposition), criticized the government's new educational initiative on financial and linguistic grounds in the legislature. Not only was the Ukrainian community "not asking for this program," but the government, without "sufficient funds to meet all the needs of the school divisions," would in fact be criticized by the same community. Moreover, how would the development of fluency in a non-official language "make our younger generation better Canadians"? And might not students in such a program encounter "handicaps, stumbling blocks" when transferring later to an Anglophone or Francophone program? Earlier, I had often heard Hanuschak publicly extol the glories of Ukrainian culture and the virtues of learning its "beautiful" language, and the hypocrisy now amazed me.

When the program finally took off (considerably assisted by the absence of Catholic separate schools), it enrolled 120 children in one kindergarten and five grade one classes. In July 1980 the P & B Steering Committee was replaced by the Manitoba Parents for Ukrainian Education, with Taras (Terry) Prychitko as president. In the next three years Prychitko took the Manitoba program to such a level that, by 1983, Yurkiwsky could tout it as a "model" for other provinces, Alberta included. Prychitko was a chartered accountant, very hard-working, personable and street-smart. He was assisted by two of the very best former student activists: Myron Spolsky, the SUSK president in 1973-74 and the UCC's assistant executive director from March 1977 to June 1978; and Bill (Vasyl) Balan in the Winnipeg Secretary of State office, familiar with the various federal cultural programs and how to access them. In 1980 Yurkiwsky became a full-time language consultant in Manitoba, and in January 1981 the Manitoba Parents organization, with government and community support, hired Spolsky as its executive director.

In subsequent months the Prychitko-Spolsky-Balan-Yurkiwsky quartet quickly accessed federal and provincial funds for a host of language projects: twenty booklets (*kazky*) as supplementary readers to reinforce the

social studies; an animator to spur enrollment; an “educational resource development coordinator” to help Yurkiwsky prepare the booklets; and special classes for parents to learn Ukrainian. In May 1981 the provincial government, strongly influenced by Spolsky and Prychitko, held a conference to encourage others to establish bilingual programs (only the Jews and Hutterites did so). Also organized were the Manitoba Association for the Promotion of Ancestral Languages and the Manitoba Intercultural Council. In time the new Osvita Foundation’s annual fund-raising banquets honoured prominent Ukrainians. Dzvin Publishers was also organized to market Yurkiwsky’s booklets (by 31 March 1984 Dzvin had assets of \$20,180, including an inventory valued at \$13,250, and the Osvita Foundation fund stood at \$56,179). Finally, a large office was rented to co-ordinate the numerous activities of the Manitoba Parents. By the spring of 1982 it was also Balan, Prychitko and Spolsky who were the main catalysts in the formation of the Ukrainian Community Development Committee in the Prairies.

### *The Institute’s Community Reform Package*

Edmonton, too, had a young cohort strongly in favour of community reform. With the SUSK executive in the city between 1977 and 1980, both Andrij Makuch, its president in 1977-78, and my son David, its vice-president responsible for multiculturalism, brought considerable pressure to have the federation (or someone) organize a “think tank” on all that ailed the Ukrainian-Canadian community. In January 1978 I got Orest Kruhlak to consider a request from the federation, but the latter’s pursuit of the Toronto chair soon made that impossible. Between 1978 and 1980 Dmytro (Jim) Jacuta, Makuch’s successor, continued the pressure, as did *Student*, the SUSK newspaper edited by Nestor Makuch (Andrij’s brother), by now easily the best English-language Ukrainian monthly in Canada, closely monitored in Ottawa for the dominant concerns within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. By May 1979 Edmonton, with its employment opportunities through the institute, the bilingual program, the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village and other institutions, drew Ukrainian-Canadian youth from all parts of the country. For some the “Volodymyr Koskovych” residence, founded by the Makuch brothers on 91 Street and 112 Avenue (part of the city’s old Ukrainian district), became the place to live. David became one of its denizens and regularly contributed thoughtful articles to *Student* on the politics of multiculturalism and on minority rights and the Canadian constitution.

In fact it could even be said that by May 1979 Edmonton had become the major Ukrainian political centre in Canada. In Toronto the politicking on behalf of the chair had bankrupted the local P & B Club and split the

community, and among the UCC leaders in Winnipeg (the Ukrainian headquarters for well over three decades), many were not only tired but well past their prime. As a result, when the equally bankrupt P & B Federation left Toronto for Edmonton in May 1979, there was very little to keep Laurence Decore's new executive from taking such national initiatives as it saw fit, especially after April 1980 when Decore also became the CCCM chairman. With the executive of the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies also in Edmonton after May 1979, the foundation, the federation, the institute and the SUSK were all in one city for the first time. As a result, Decore, Savaryn (the foundation's new president) and I met regularly at federation and foundation executive meetings (often at the institute), and Jacuta, a law student with a passion for politics, joined us at the federation's meetings in September.

As usual, however, the federation was in very poor financial shape to lead the charge for community reform. It had received an empty treasury from Toronto and owed the UCC \$2,800 in past dues, with those for 1979-80 also still outstanding. Even though the 1979 convention had raised membership fees from five to ten dollars, these brought in only \$8,745 in 1979 and \$7,985 in 1980. In Ontario only four of the smaller clubs contributed, and then only in 1979. By 1980 the chair controversy had so enervated the Ontario clubs that contributions ceased, and even the one-thousand-dollar cheque brought by the three Toronto delegates to the federation's Executive Council meeting in Winnipeg in October bounced! After paying the UCC dues and publishing the *Panorama* newsletter and the *Review*, there was little left, and even Decore had eventually to donate his travel expenses (almost a thousand dollars) to the federation.

In the circumstances the immediate stimulus for reform came not from Edmonton but from young federal bureaucrats of Ukrainian background in Ottawa and Winnipeg, brought on by a very badly prepared application from the national UCC, rejected by the Multiculturalism Directorate in July 1979. At Kruhlyak's request Balan met with Radchuk, who (according to Balan) agreed to a three- or four-day meeting in February-March 1980 of "the top people within the community (not necessarily the organization people)" to produce "a priorities and strategic blueprint" for the future. I was seen as "a good choice" to chair an organizing committee, and Kruhlyak even promised \$10,000 toward a projected budget of \$18-20,000. Although certainly interested, I did not really think that the UCC would approve such a project, especially as Radchuk had neither the political or moral authority to influence the outcome. Moreover, the proposal—a conference of 250-300 individuals ("50 leading specialists" in each of five or six broad program areas) and a "blueprint for action" by the next UCC congress in October 1980—appeared much too ambitious. Balan was even contemplating a parallel organization should the UCC reject the blueprint, a move I knew

Savaryn would strongly oppose. Accordingly, I requested a written proposal and awaited further developments, which were not long in coming.

Late in August Paul Migus, pinch-hitting for Multiculturalism Minister Paproski at the annual SUSK congress in Montreal, vented his bureaucratic frustrations in relating how Ukrainian-Canadian interests were being compromised in Ottawa because of the community's own weakness as an organized pressure group. To illustrate the possibilities he had the activist within him wonder:

Why does the Government of Canada encourage the development of only some strong national *political* (not cultural) organizations such as the Fédération des francophones hors Québec, the National Indian Brotherhood or the Native Council of Canada, by giving them hundreds of thousands of dollars to hire executive directors, animators, communications experts and to pay for media relations, offices, and equipment not to mention the operation of their regional and local organizations and community centres.... Then this same bureaucracy says wait a minute. This type of funding is not possible for all the ethnic groups. We can't give KYK [the UCC] or any national Ukrainian organization even \$20,000 for operations. We don't want to Balkanize the country by giving in to the demands of the ethnocultural groups.

In mid-October 1979 I received the requested proposal from Balan and Spolsky in Winnipeg. In Ottawa, Kruhlak and Migus then confirmed their support, and under pressure Kruhlak even agreed to furnish about \$100,000 annually for five years for UCC organizational purposes. Ottawa would also meet the entire cost of the projected conference or think tank. The Multicultural Committee in Edmonton, however, thought that a new UCC executive director should be acquired first to do the organizing. Accordingly, at the first meeting of the new Conservative CCCM in Toronto, a somewhat reluctant Kruhlak agreed to provide \$25-40,000 for the salary of the "right kind" of director. The funds, I informed Balan in mid-December, would be "cut off completely if the [new] director resigned because of difficulties with the [UCC] executive."

Efforts were then made in Edmonton to soften up the UCC. First, Pidruchney arranged a meeting with Leo Faryna, the president of the (Orthodox) Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, thought to be more liberal than most other Ukrainian leaders. Over lunch we strongly emphasized Ottawa's unhappiness with the UCC and the need for reform, especially the abolition of the "Big Six" veto. Once the Self-Reliance League yielded, we believed others would follow and the decades-old constitutional logjam preventing

reform would be broken. Next, Decore, in his “message” to the federation’s membership in the *Panorama* (December), contrasted the “extraordinary strides” of the Indo- and Italian-Canadian umbrella organizations with the inflexibility of the UCC’s main component groups. Although not “thoroughly versed” in the dynamics of the Ukrainian-Canadian community, he nonetheless had a “terrible feeling that some of the larger groups...are primarily concerned about themselves and enjoy the effect of that posture—namely, that the UCC is kept weak and under control.”

From Winnipeg, Balan, disappointed with Edmonton’s rejection of the think-tank idea, insisted that an “honest evaluation” of the community was still badly needed—one similar to *The Heirs of Lord Durham: Manifesto of a Vanishing People*, a study published in April 1977 by the Fédération des francophones hors Québec that predicted the demise of the French if the forces of assimilation were not checked. Equally miffed was Dmytro Jacuta. At a meeting in my office in February he expressed disgust at the spectacle of a federation executive “acting like big boys and not delivering.” Within the institute Roman Petryshyn’s memo even proposed that Savaryn run for the UCC presidency, backed by an executive committee in Edmonton (comparable to the Multicultural Committee) and supported by a “coalition of individuals,” the nucleus of a possible think tank. Winnipeg would be left undisturbed while Savaryn and the committee, with federal and provincial assistance, addressed the community’s problems during the next five years.

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At this point the seemingly interminable discussions were suddenly jolted by the unexpected retirement of the sixty-eight-year-old Kalba. The news energized the federation’s executive, which after almost a year still had little to show for its efforts. A special think-tank committee was struck, but its first meeting on 3 April resolved nothing. Shortly thereafter, I left for Chicago to address a conference on language, culture and identity, where I met Myron Kuropas, the principal of a junior high school in DeKalb, Illinois (near Chicago). As vice-president of the Ukrainian National Association in the United States, Kuropas’s name had occasionally surfaced among the reform-minded in Toronto. Over dinner I got the distinct impression that under the right circumstances Kuropas could be persuaded to become the UCC’s executive director. At forty-seven he was the right age, had a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and was American-born and experienced in ethnic politics, having served earlier as President Ford’s advisor on “ethnic affairs.” Asked by the think-tank committee to sound him out, I stressed the federal funds that would supplement the UCC’s operating budget (then \$95,000 annually) and permit the appointment of a well-qualified director at

a salary of \$25-30,000, roughly double the usual amount. Even after Kuropas declined, citing his "limited" ability to write Ukrainian and his being an "outsider," I continued to believe that a strong presidential candidate might sway him.

Once Decore became chairman of the CCCM, vice-president Andrij Semotiuk, a young lawyer (chairman of the think-tank committee), assumed the federation's day-to-day operations. On 23 June 1980 we decided to approach Stan Frolick to seek the UCC presidency as the federation's candidate at the next congress in October. In my letter I stressed the federal interest, the possibility of Kuropas and Edmonton's willingness to assist, believing that Frolick would win "hands down." Agreeing to stand in mid-July, he soon reneged, as the Conservatives were apparently urging him to run in the next provincial election. Why the latter fell through is not clear, but when I called him again in mid-September he agreed to advance the "reform package" below:

- 1) federal funding;
- 2) Kuropas (possibly) as the executive director; and
- 3) the services of the institute's Roman Petryshyn for a year to prepare several research papers on the UCC's problems.

A letter (drafted by me) to the P & B clubs and another by Savaryn (in Ukrainian) to the UCC organizations (both under Decore's signature), then announced Frolick's candidacy and urged the clubs to send delegates and the other organizations to support him.

As I saw it, Petryshyn would prepare a research proposal, which the Multiculturalism Directorate would fund after a national research committee from the UCC had vetted it. Frolick's first two tasks, I explained on 24 September, were to hire an executive director and get the UCC executive to accept Petryshyn's research proposal in principle. The research interval (up to one year) would not only acquaint the new director with the UCC's operation but delay changes that might "unduly alarm harbingers of the status quo." Meanwhile Frolick and the new director would be given time to "create that *climate* for change without which no recommendations can succeed."

...should the community reject the initiatives which will be placed before it through you, the Federation's future role in the UCC will be seriously tested and I, for one, will recommend withdrawal from the UCC—or, if necessary, withdraw myself. The Institute's work is very demanding and there is no time to pursue the community's organizational problems indefinitely. It is important for the Institute to assist the community in times of crisis. This is certainly

such a time. But the Institute cannot nurse a sick community that does not wish to get well.

Unfortunately, the above plans began to unravel even before the federation's executive reached Winnipeg. To obtain complimentary meeting rooms for the federation's Executive Council and the foundation's Board of Directors, the Brittany Motor Inn (owned by some P & B members) was chosen on the recommendation of the Winnipeg club's executive. While the distance between the Brittany Inn and the Winnipeg Inn, the site of the UCC congress, was not great, it became a logistical handicap once the on-the-spot lobbying of delegates began. Moreover, Savaryn's letter to the Ukrainian organizations failed to specify the inn in which a 10:00 p.m. meeting with Frolick was to take place on 10 October. That afternoon (unlike 1974) I had a hard time reaching the presidents of the other "Big Six" organizations, some of whom would not return my calls. The head of the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood was particularly coy, refusing even to indicate whether his organization intended to field a candidate.

To make matters worse Leo Faryna, who had promised Decore and me to line up Orthodox support, took ill at our earlier lunch in Edmonton (I drove him to the doctor's office) and did not attend the congress (he died shortly thereafter). Although Judge Solomon of Winnipeg promised to help, he was (as he said over lunch) much too removed from the Self-Reliance League's day-to-day operations to be very effective. Failure to hold the ten-o'clock meeting with the UCC's largest organizations became critical, for my attendance at the all-day meeting of the foundation's Board of Directors, the lunch with Solomon and a session (at their request) with the leaders of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation—the Banderites (see below), who strongly supported Frolick—left me with little time for buttonholing others.

To my great surprise, among those "others" were suddenly the twenty-odd delegates from the SUSK, whose support I had taken for granted. In August the executive had moved to Toronto under a new president, Michael Maryn (whom I had not met), and the executive had decided to run Borys Wrzesnewskyj, a student at the University of Toronto, on a reform platform that reflected the federation's concerns. When the SUSK insisted that Frolick meet its delegates, I requested that it drop its candidate, and when Maryn refused, no meeting followed. That was a serious tactical mistake, for the students then refused to talk up Frolick's candidacy among the delegates. Once the election was moved from Monday morning to late Sunday afternoon (near the dinner hour and just before a grand symphony concert in the Winnipeg Centennial Hall), the voting was rushed, and some delegates left early. While their support was problematic, the federation, with only twenty registered delegates out of a possible one hundred, required every possible vote.

Presiding over the election was Peter Savaryn, who chaired all plenary sessions and was thus unavailable for lobbying. Frolick, a non-practising Catholic, was opposed by two others besides the young Wrzesnewskyj: John Nowosad, a Winnipeg businessman and the Catholic Brotherhood's candidate, and the Orthodox Gordon B. Panchuk, a retired school teacher from Montreal whose prominence in the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association assured him the veterans' vote. Of the three, Frolick cut the finer figure and was the better speaker. The Catholics, however, supported Nowosad, as did the Ukrainian National Federation—the Melnykites, the followers in Europe of the more moderate nationalist Andrii Melnyk and the bitter enemies of the Banderites (the very nationalistic followers of Stepan Bandera, also based in Europe), whose Canadian newspaper, *Homin Ukraïny* (Echo of Ukraine), the young Frolick had helped found and briefly edited in 1948. When I met Frolick in 1970, he no longer identified with the Banderites, and they were seldom mentioned in our conversations. In introducing him, I noted *Homin Ukraïny* but emphasized his family connections, his political experience and his work on behalf of the UCC, the federation and the postwar Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau, which had helped to bring the third immigration to Canada. I did so primarily in English, which did not help, but before an audience that spoke very good Ukrainian, I suddenly (and for the first time) found my kitchen vernacular very inadequate. Frolick's Ukrainian was, of course, flawless as he touted the reform package arranged for him.

On the first ballot Nowosad led Frolick 186 to 176, with Panchuk garnering 82 votes (mainly the Orthodox and the veterans, Frolick thought) and Wrzesnewskyj 12. On the second ballot Frolick lost to Nowosad by four votes, 223-219. Needless to say I was mortified to see him defeated by such a narrow margin. Nowosad's Catholic support, it was soon rumoured, had the imprimatur of the Winnipeg-based metropolitan, Maxim Hermaniuk. Frolick, in a bitter letter on 31 October, thought that the archbishop still resented Frolick's baptizing his children in the Orthodox Church to please his wife. In his letter to the federation he attributed his loss to the poor turnout of federation delegates, to his Toronto residency and to a split in the Orthodox vote after Panchuk's withdrawal.

That evening at dinner with Frolick, Decore, Balan, Kuropas (who had come up from Chicago and witnessed the debacle) and several others, there was much soul-searching, with blame generously assigned, including the largely invisible federation. To me, the federation was somewhat analogous to the land excursions off large cruise ships: the trips were nice diversions, but most club members always returned to the ocean liner, their home base. Thus one was first a member of the Catholic Brotherhood, the Self-Reliance League, the League for Ukraine's Liberation, the National Federation,

even the Veterans' Association, and seldom solely a member of the P & B Federation. And in a pinch one voted accordingly. Frolick's candidacy was certainly such a pinch, pitting the Catholic Brotherhood against the equally strong Liberation League (the Banderites), with neither powerful enough to overwhelm the other—hence the split vote. The federation was therefore a poor vehicle for community reform, and future initiatives would have to come from either the UCC executive or one of its larger core organizations. Needless to say I was very annoyed with the SUSK, and upon David's return from Winnipeg there were words, for I could not see what the students had to gain by running their own candidate, and they were certainly missed as emissaries for Frolick.

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In one respect, however, I was (as I put it to George Luckyj) "more relieved than disappointed" by Frolick's defeat, for victory would have immersed the institute in community affairs on an unprecedented scale. Through Petryshyn I had committed it to backstop the Frolick presidency, and with Frolick in Toronto, Petryshyn in Edmonton and the UCC headquarters in Winnipeg, the logistical difficulties alone would have been enormous. Nonetheless, the defeat was a terrible blow, and I had made up my mind: "...no one," I wrote Luckyj, "will ever again get me involved in UCC affairs on any terms. There is simply too much to do to dissipate one's energies with fools who have no vision and are determined to have you operate on their terms." It is against this background that my angry remarks at the CCCM national meeting in Edmonton two weeks later have to be seen. With the minister (Fleming) unwilling to recognize multiculturalism in the Canadian constitution, with Susan Scotti supporting him, with Orest Kruhlak planning to leave and with Decore himself contemplating resignation, one felt foolish to be up against obstacles emanating from political and community quarters that ostensibly had the good of multiculturalism at heart.

Thereafter I found the politics of multiculturalism increasingly unpalatable, and said so in a letter to Decore on 29 October. Since at least April 1979, when the institute became an integral part of the university, I had wished, I said, to place the community's political and organizational aspects on such a level "as to preclude the need of further major involvement."

It was in disbelief that I saw Stan Frolick go down to defeat. The organizational malaise is so deep and the political ineptitude of our community before the great issues which are before us is so profound that I *really* believed that if the second, third and subsequent generations put their best foot forward we could not

fail. We all know the results and I have not the patience even if I had the time to pick up the pieces.

Moreover, there is also a question of will. I like to be involved in important issues, problems which have national implications. Such was the debate over Canada's national identity and our place in it. Intertwined are matters of culture and, of course, language, which must eventually meet the bedrock of education, whether the latter takes place in the schools, on television or in the public forum. I have some expertise where the schools are concerned and it is not my nature to let others carry the ball where such opportunities as Book IV opened up are before us. So I got involved—seriously. Today after ten hard years I am fed up with the political duplicity which I spelled out [before the CCCM] on 25 October.

Although the government was then offering the Ukrainians nothing in *education* in its proposed constitution, it was not Decore's fault:

I am not suggesting that you approve the government's actions—I know better. I just want you to understand why I can no longer suffer the situation calmly, dispassionately, tactfully, etc. I have worked hard to postpone what is now upon us and I have a right to my vital indignation—in this area that is the only right left....

And where does the blame lie—at the feet of the French and at our own. It is not to be anti-French to note how well they have been treated and how little they have been prepared to share with us. And it is not to be anti-Ukrainian to curse one's own people for their infernal obtuseness and mindless divisiveness in the face of the most dire adversity.

Nor will a [constitutional] preamble please me. I am always interested in substance not form. If the federal government can invade provincial jurisdiction in education on behalf of the French language, it can do so on behalf of anyone who truly values bilingualism....

I could with little difficulty draw up an educational clause which would take nothing away from anyone but what would be the point: we have not the power to press it upon anyone.

Decore, in reply, also addressed the whole situation, concentrating on a divided Toronto (because of the chair controversy), a foolish Fleming and a disappointing Scotti: "I almost resigned on Saturday [24 October] because of the nonsense that went on." However, in the upbeat fashion of most

politicians, he refused to give up and was determined to take me along, admitting that “No other person has motivated me more than you and I suppose no other will in the future.” In the circumstances it was inevitable that I should continue assisting him as long as the federation’s executive was in Edmonton. Although occasionally impulsive, he was head and shoulders above others in the younger third generation, the closest thing to a Ukrainian aristocrat I ever met. We respected each other, and after Winnipeg only he could have persuaded me to chair the federation’s constitution committee and join the Nowosad-led UCC delegation to Ottawa late in November.

At bottom, however, as Decore pointed out, “A malaise exists in KYK [the UCC], but it exists to some extent in the Federation.” Revived with such high hopes in the early 1970s, time had exposed the true colours of most clubs, especially those outside Edmonton. Toronto was bankrupt and in disarray and Winnipeg was bleeding numbers, ostensibly on account of fund-raising for the national Ukrainian studies (encyclopedia) foundation. Accordingly, I used my prerogative as editor of the federation’s *Panorama* to decry for the first time the manner in which “we as professional and business people” had approached Ukrainian life in Canada. “We are in favour of ethnicity and are even willing to give it an organizational base—on the cheap.” From my years on P & B executives, “We spend most of our time discussing money—mainly its absence,” even though “most of us are well-off, some are even wealthy and all are comfortable.” A long list of “nickel-and-dime” items have kept the clubs and the federation from dealing with numerous “vital” policy issues affecting organizational, political, educational, religious, cultural and immigration matters. Federation delegates at the last UCC congress were few, and the discussions over fees were as never-ending as was the reluctance of members (outside Edmonton) to embrace the federation’s national foundation. How many, I wondered, had purchased even a single institute publication? “Has the Club cost you even \$100 in 1980? How much more? What percentage would that be of your gross income?” In the next *Panorama*, I said, “Letters to the editor would be most welcome”; needless to say none came.

The year 1981 was definitely the most depressing and bitter I ever spent. From Decore I soon learned that the well-intentioned Nowosad was more inept than ever. Even with Decore’s coaching, he was unable (with Kalba gone) to complete an application to the Multiculturalism Directorate for a UCC operating grant. Tony Yaremovich, a fixture on the presidium from the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans’ Association, became the new executive director on 1 May, but steeped in the modus operandi of the old regime he made little difference. As for the federation itself, its convention in Ottawa that same May was so badly planned that not one but two politicians—the federal minister of agriculture, Eugene Whalen, and the attorney general of

Saskatchewan, Roy Romanow—gave the banquet address! Moreover, the convention's business sessions were so poorly organized (and attended) that the foundation's Board of Directors had actually to adjourn its annual meeting to prevent the conference from disintegrating completely. During the board meeting I took in the spectacle of the 'stolen funds' that the foundations' tug-of-war in Toronto had precipitated. I thought it reflected well the unprofessional and unbusinesslike manner in which the Ukrainian-Canadian professional and business sectors generally conducted voluntary work for the organized community. Even though it was Winnipeg's turn to host the federation's convention and to assume the presidency in 1981, it had shown no interest in doing either. As a result, after several visits to eastern Canada, Decore persuaded Ottawa to take on the convention and, with Frolick's help, an executive was somehow pieced together mainly from Ontario's so-called Golden Horseshoe, the clubs in the environs of Toronto.

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That summer, in the midst of the constitutional crisis, I had, as we have seen, criticized the implementation of multiculturalism by the federal government in a paper that I knew even then told only half the story. Accordingly, during the winter of 1981-82 I produced another, "The Tragedy of Canada's White Ethnics: A Constitutional Post-Mortem," in which I analyzed the Ukrainian situation for an institute seminar on 19 February. Setting the "first peoples" aside as a special category, I divided the rest of Canada's population into four groups or "constituencies":

- "the non-ethnics"—the Anglo-Celts and the *ancien* French (mainly from Normandy and Brittany), who, though ethnic, *feel* no ethnicity and are therefore uninterested in, and even hostile toward, multiculturalism rooted in ethnicity;
- "the disappearing white ethnics"—the Dutch, Belgians, Scandinavians and Germans, whose period as white ethnics is generally short (usually no more than the first immigrant generation), as they willingly join the assimilation-oriented non-ethnics;
- "the visible ethnics"—the Chinese, Japanese, blacks and numerous others from the Third World, whose colour and facial features make them too conspicuous to disappear; and
- "the white ethnics"—the once non-preferred peoples from Southern, Central and Eastern Europe, "with their strange, unpronounceable names, derived from what are perceived to be a multitude of impossible languages."

With the first two groups constituting approximately 85 per cent of Canada's population, the sentiment in favour of ethnically based multiculturalism was thus decidedly small. This placed the most ethnically conscious white ethnics (mainly the Ukrainians and the Balts, because of their overseas predicaments) at a great disadvantage in pressing for the political implementation of their agendas. In the circumstances it was "very foolish" of the Ukrainians, as the acknowledged leaders of the multicultural movement, to swell the ethnic numbers to one-third of Canada's population with references to a "third force."

The numbers simply do not add up, and in politics that is the bottom line—unless you are first peoples, with the special feelings that can be aroused because of original occupancy, or visible peoples, obliged to ward off the never-ending barbs of racism. The white ethnics did not make the bottom line because all too frequently they invoked census figures that did not reflect the real Canadian world.

What the white ethnics had to realize was that the "Non-ethnics will not support meaningful ethnicity for fear that their own status will become compromised by something they cannot feel or that their own power may even be diluted by having to share it with white ethnics, not to mention the deadly serious 'first peoples' and the aggressive visible minorities." As a result, the constitution was bound to deny a linguistic underpinning for their cultures.

The rest of the paper debunked the prevalent view that the organized Ukrainian community was either organized or even a community:

...the Ukrainian group is far from homogeneous. There is much reference to "nasha hromada" [our community] as if it were really an objective reality unaffected by the severe fragmentation of three major immigrations, several generations, the normal social-class structure, and a multitude of organizations. Ukrainians are at best a community of communities, a rich diversity that they do not know, because they do not want to know its true nature and dimensions. Ukrainians are disturbed—even angered—by it, because they know it enfeebles them.... [Yet] Ukrainians simply will not submerge their differences.... As a result, one cannot say that Ukrainians care much to develop strategies that would make them a force in Canada.

Even so, in the 1960s they had entered “the big league of the Canadian political process...[determined] to affect *national* policy—to affect policy that would change the very way in which Canada was viewed.” For the first time they stepped out of their diverse community ghettos onto the national stage, “speaking as if with one voice and as if all were equally interested and enthusiastic.” With the introduction of the policy of multiculturalism in October 1971, they failed to realize that they had moved out of the era of “political advocacy (at which they were very good)” into a new era of “sustained political-power politics (at which they have shown themselves to be woefully inadequate).”

The frustration of seeing non-ethnic politicians compromise the implementation of multiculturalism had been great. Yet, why should such politicians behave differently? “Is there anyone or anything ethnic, let alone Ukrainian, big enough to make the governments act differently? Non-ethnics are not charitable to ethnics—especially to white ethnics who really ought to know better than to parade their ethnicity to the nth generation.” Ukrainians, though increasingly adept at realizing artistic goals, did not carry “the same interest and enthusiasm and the same sense of sophistication into making organizations that had *political* as well as cultural goals” more efficient in Canada. And the same inefficiency had dogged the P & B Federation, with its weak membership, poor finances and lukewarm commitment.

The incessant backbiting and tensions between Toronto, Winnipeg and Edmonton, and now between east and west, are perhaps normal in the Canadian circumstances, but *Ukrainians cannot afford the luxury of behaving like normal Canadians*. Their predicament makes them abnormal. But sadly, only the last immigration seems capable of appreciating that predicament, and they are the most divided of all!

The blunt talk overwhelmed the small Edmonton audience and the discussion was not memorable. In Toronto the probing questioning at the P & B Club’s well-attended public meeting early in March was occasionally punctuated with angry barbs. In the audience was Bob Magocsi, whose chair then sponsored “Multiculturalism and Canada’s White Ethnics,” a third paper presented as a public lecture at the University of Toronto in mid-November. In it the earlier constituencies were explored more fully, and the two most interested in multiculturalism—“the real white ethnics” (the Ukrainians and the Balts) and what Munro had once termed “the real minorities” (the more visible groups)—were compared and contrasted. To the visible minorities, multiculturalism was

primarily a base for affirmative action where housing, employment and overall participation and portrayal in Canadian society are concerned. Because of this, white ethnics do not reach out to them. As 'whites,' they have imbibed well the prejudices of non-ethnic 'whites.' And the Ukrainians are no exception. Despite the earlier opprobrium and discrimination heaped upon the hapless Galician and the garlic-smelling Bohunk, the vast majority of Ukrainian Canadians—yesterday's untouchables—are not interested in coalition-building with the visible minorities—today's pariahs. Affirmative action, which offends the majority of Canadians, is utterly foreign to the descendants of Ukrainian pioneers who had to fend for themselves with meagre resources. To their conservative minds, state intervention on behalf of linguistic and cultural rights is one thing; it is something else again on behalf of human rights, unless the human rights be in Ukraine itself!

But apart from the above two groups, multiculturalism after more than a decade was "not being taken seriously by anyone who is anyone."

In the academy, it is the preserve primarily of sociologists, anthropologists and professors of education—all latecomers and even today still largely on the academic margin. In the professions, some teachers—on the margin too as professionals go—have become involved. In the mass media there is almost nothing on television and very little more on radio.

The ethnocultural constituencies had "neatly *checkmated*" each other, and the base for further political action had "largely disappeared."

As with the two previous papers, the above was soon published, along with a rebuttal by sociologist Wsevolod Isajiw in the summer 1983 issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. However, his *sociological* ascription of ethnic origins to all Canadians was pointless for my purposes if that ethnicity did not translate into the implementation of multiculturalism at the *political* level.

Isajiw's position is essentially academic [I replied briefly in 1984] and like so much that is academic, it is of little assistance to the political activist. The latter requires individuals who are involved or engaged, and the ethnic as an academic category is not someone who is likely to be much concerned about the fate of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism rooted in ethnicity will not thrive through sociologically designated ethnics.

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Despite my earlier vows to stay clear of community reform, I had not counted on the tenacity of Vasyl Balan in Manitoba. At the national conference on multicultural education in Winnipeg in mid-November 1981, he kept insisting that the Ukrainian-Canadian situation could be saved with a study comparable to *The Heirs of Lord Durham*. I remained an agnostic, for such a study would require the UCC's co-operation, and I was utterly convinced that Nowosad's status, like Radchuk's, was insufficient to carry the executive, even if he himself should come to favour community reform. I checked Balan's community idealism at every turn, maintaining that the UCC was beyond redemption. It was only a co-ordinative body in which the Orthodox minority saw the constitutional veto as its sole guarantee against a Catholic majority whose faith it regarded as an unfortunate mistake. As for the Banderites, conventional wisdom had it that they would rather destroy than live with whatever they could not control. In the circumstances the idea of transforming the UCC into a strong and effective political voice was a pipe dream.

Not that I took Balan lightly. He was, as we have seen, part of the team that had given the Ukrainian bilingual program in Manitoba its strong, solid foundations. Moreover, after receiving my critique of the political implementation of multiculturalism federally, he reinforced it with several telling examples of his own:

You mention "layers of francophone senior managers." The point is that they are usually inaccessible to ethnic organizations. [Jean-Paul] Lefebvre [the assistant undersecretary] spent 2 weeks in Manitoba prior to the Quebec referendum meeting with francophones in every minor rural hamlet. At the same time the Manitoba Parents for Ukrainian Education proposed animator project was being attacked by the senior people in Ottawa. We tried to get him to meet with the Parents—His response was—no!

In a subsequent visit of the new Under Secretary H[uguette] Labelle to Wpg. she spent the day only with the francophone groups. The fact is the senior management treat the ethnocultural groups with contempt and they are secure in their approach because, of all the main groups, only the Jews have a respectable centralized lobby capable of at least arranging a *meeting* with senior officials.

After outlining the Secretary of State's consultative process for its various programs (women, natives, human rights, Francophones, etc.), he declared:

In Multiculturalism neither the principle nor the practice of consultation is even considered. The 'Department' through the program determines what the priorities are, allocates budgets accordingly and these plans are *imposed* on the communities....  
 (PS. The Minister & the Dept. refer to the CCCM as the vehicle for consultation—We all know how real and effective the CCCM is!)

As a result, when Balan phoned on 11 February 1982 and strongly pressed me to chair a future community development committee for the UCC, I listened, though still very skeptical about the possibility of reform. The Nowosad-Yaremovich duo had finally realized that they were in well over their heads and had accepted Balan's suggestion that a federally funded coalition of prairie leaders (external to the UCC) be formed to launch a study—through the institute, if possible. The goal was a blueprint report (modelled on *The Heirs of Lord Durham*) on community development, confined at first to the three Prairie provinces. Balan had discussed the idea with his regional director, Roger Colet, who was prepared, if necessary, to confront his departmental colleagues in Ottawa for funds. Envisioned were paid UCC employees in Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Edmonton to assist with both the projected study and the community conferences needed to impress the federal and local politicians. Decore, Balan indicated, had discussed the situation with Nowosad and was prepared to use his CCCM connections to help spring the necessary funds. Nowosad, Decore and Balan were thus on the same wavelength, with Balan certain that Nowosad could get the UCC executive to accept the community-development idea.

In Balan's view, Ottawa had to do much more than just cover the executive director's salary. Also needed were skill-development workshops to teach UCC members to run meetings, write constitutions, plan programs, delegate responsibilities and raise funds. Language animators who could expand the bilingual program and improve the *ridna-shkola* network by amalgamating the religious and Saturday schools and arranging teacher-training workshops were also needed, as were new UCC branches in the Prairies. Balan proposed a planning coalition of fifteen (five from each prairie province), assisted by civil servants of Ukrainian background from both the federal and provincial departments of culture.

As I listened, I kept thinking of my just-completed paper on Ukrainians as the tragic white ethnics, and I drew on it often in resisting Balan. Days later, I was still weighing the situation, but the fence-sitting could not be long, for the institute was seen as the research component in Balan's "reform package." Decore, too, was soon on the line, relating the difficulties he had had in Ottawa to obtain the initial \$45,000 for the UCC. When Savaryn also began to call, I agreed in mid-March to attend the first meeting in Winnipeg

later that month. Still a doubting Thomas, I had to be shown that anything positive could come from more meetings. As background, Balan had the UCC distribute several documents, among them copies of *The Heirs of Lord Durham* and my paper on "The Tragedy of Canada's White Ethnicities."

# Chapter Thirteen

OTTAWA AND UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (1982–86)

## *The Ukrainian Community Development Committee*

The list of participants at the first meeting in Winnipeg of what came to be known as the Ukrainian Community Development Committee (UCDC) was drawn up by Balan, Spolsky and Prychitko, and there were few surprises. Initially, only Manitoba's five-man contingent attended: Spolsky and Prychitko, of course, and Louis Melosky, John Petryshyn (a lawyer) and Wasyl (Bill) Werbeniuk (a well-placed administrator of Manitoba's social services), complemented by Cecil Semchyshyn and Balan from the provincial and federal cultural departments, respectively. From Saskatchewan, Dmytro Cipywnyk, medical director of the Saskatchewan Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission and president of the UCC provincial council (with its first-rate UCC office in Saskatoon) was present, as was Charles (Chuck) Sutyla, responsible for multiculturalism in the Cultural Activities Branch, Department of Culture and Youth in Regina. Decore, Savaryn and I came from Alberta, accompanied by Roman Petryshyn and Gerald Kretzel, the latter Balan's federal counterpart in the Edmonton office. Ostensibly non-political consultants, the five civil servants (all of Ukrainian background) understood the need for community reform and not only explained cultural programs but occasionally contributed to political strategy. Also at the table were Nowosad and Yaremovich, the former, like the schoolteacher he once was, handing out Dale Carnegie-like brochures: "Developing a positive pleasing personality," "How to organize your time" (written by him for those with ostensibly no time for organizational work), "Reaching the unreached," etc.—all part of "Operation Outreach," a project he had announced at a UCC meeting in Edmonton in November 1981.

After preliminaries by Nowosad and Roman Petryshyn, I agreed to chair a three-part agenda. Nowosad briefly outlined Operation Outreach, followed by comprehensive reports from the civil servants on regional program funding (supplemented by Decore's review of the federal scene) and Balan's lengthy exposition of the community animation process and the reform strategy, culminating hopefully in the Ukrainian equivalent of the frequently mentioned *Heirs of Lord Durham*. The two immediate needs were federally funded field workers to mobilize the community and animators (like Manitoba's) for bilingual education in Alberta and Saskatchewan, part of the process (complete with questionnaires and prairie conferences) required to validate the ultimate blueprint document.

With the *Fédération des francophones hors Québec* already receiving some \$17,000,000 annually, it was left to Decore and Balan's boss, Roger Colet, to persuade Ottawa to furnish special-project funds for Ukrainians to establish their future priorities. Through the government-funded Outreach budget (\$45,000), Nowosad and Yaremovich hoped to revitalize the UCC by making it more attractive to such unaffiliated organizations as the bilingual parent societies, the social service associations and the mushrooming dance and other arts groups. For now, however, the most crucial organizational problem—the veto of the “Big Six”—was not on the agenda. Once the idea of reform caught on, democratization, it was assumed, would naturally follow. In any case confrontation was out of the question: Nowosad had agreed to bring the reform-minded to the table and Balan, Spolsky and Prychitko were prepared to help him carry his executive. In the meantime Melosky, Cipywnyk and I would chair the three UCDC equivalents in our respective provinces and draw up the terms of reference for the larger, interprovincial body.

On 5 April the Manitoba trio, after a long and often difficult session, persuaded the UCC to accept the UCDC and to allocate \$16,500 to it out of the Outreach budget, pending receipt of the terms of reference. As Balan's memo of the 7<sup>th</sup> indicated, the UCC was mainly concerned that the cultural field workers “consult with existing people working in the field, particularly priests, parish boards and organization executives etc.” Meanwhile I had drafted the terms of reference to reflect the autonomy that Balan, Decore and Nowosad had indicated the reformers would have. To me, the promised arm's-length relationship with the UCC was just as important as the two additional language animators, and my draft strongly emphasized the independent status of the UCDC. Vetted by Melosky and Cipywnyk and by Savaryn, Decore and the two new Alberta members, Bill Pidruchney and Ihor Broda, the terms of reference stipulated that:

- the UCDC would speak for the UCC before political and administrative authorities “at various levels” in matters affecting language, culture and education;
- the UCDC would choose its own members, with the national and provincial UCC presidents to attend only ex-officio;
- the UCC would fund all UCDC meetings (three each year);
- the cultural field workers, though UCC employees, would be hired by the UCDC and serve at its pleasure; and
- the UCDC programs would be developed “in cooperation with existing community institutions, including the churches.”

Subsequent negotiations with the unhappy UCC executive brought only one major change: the UCC would have to approve the UCDC membership

and hire and dismiss the UCDC field workers “upon the recommendation of the provincial section.” Inexplicably, the reference to churches in program development was dropped.

The next UCDC meeting in Saskatoon in July introduced the full contingent of Saskatchewan members: Cipywnyk, Tony Harras (Regina), Matt Kireliuk (Yorkton), Betty Ann Bodnar (Saskatoon, replaced in October by Christine Devrome, *née* Baran) and Leo Wowk, their full-time UCC executive director. Within days Decore (holidaying and absent in Saskatoon) informed the Alberta contingent that “the feds” had “frozen” expenditures, causing the Multiculturalism Directorate to hold up the applications for the UCC field workers and language animators (I had drawn up the Alberta application shortly after the meeting in March). According to Balan and Kretzel, the minister (Jim Fleming) would only support “race relations and priority-oriented” items, and neither group development nor language animators qualified; even the UCC could only count on \$25,000 for its “scaled-down” Outreach project in 1982-83. It appeared that the UCDC was about to be cut off at the knees.

The situation was saved by Lloyd Axworthy, minister of employment and immigration and, as one of only two Liberal members from the west, a power in cabinet from Winnipeg. He and John Petryshyn, a strong Liberal well known to Axworthy, helped pave the way for a grant of \$99,000 from the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission for the three field workers. Through Decore, Petryshyn and Axworthy, funds from the directorate were also sprung for the animators. As a result, advertisements went out in Alberta in December for a “social development officer” for the community and a “program development officer” for the bilingual classes, the program development terminology reflecting Ottawa’s neurosis about supporting any form of bilingualism that was not official. Both positions carried respectable salaries (up to \$26,000), and Anne Biscoe (*née* Mazuryk) filled the bilingual one in February 1983. Biscoe had a B.A. in political science from the University of Alberta and was Krawchenko’s graduate student. Headquartered in the Braemar Public School, she worked primarily in Edmonton, though her job description took in the whole province.

Because funds from the Employment Commission did not arrive until mid-April 1983, Daria Ivanochko, the social development officer, did not begin work until June. Ivanochko, a second-generation Canadian from Toronto in her mid-twenties with a B.A. in psychology from York University, had a good knowledge of Ukrainian-Canadian organizations, having worked for some in Toronto. Both women were intelligent and tactful, and functioned well as the main liaison between the reform-minded and the UCC organizations in Alberta. In Saskatchewan a young Bohdan Zerebecky became the language animator, though his efforts did little to increase

bilingual enrollments in Saskatchewan, a fact that the UCDC members from that province were hard pressed to explain.

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Ivanochko's coming to Alberta necessitated an office, whose establishment in Edmonton by the UCC provincial council created no end of difficulties. The reform-idea was as strange to the Alberta UCC as it was to the national body, and some of the friction that dogged the UCDC-UCC relationship in Winnipeg was soon evident in Edmonton. The Alberta UCC was just as accustomed to financial self-reliance and just as suspicious of government funding; it was just as wedded to autonomy and just as wary of elected politicians and government officials. It was also in the main Ukrainian-speaking, while English dominated UCDC communications. The UCC was largely émigré-led and reactive, whereas the reformers were mainly Canadian-born and proactive. Leadership within the UCC was largely voluntary and self-selective, while the reformers chose their membership, based on merit. The UCC knew mainly private programs, whereas the reformers pursued public ones; structurally, the UCC favoured decentralization, while the reformers encouraged centralization. The UCC tended to emphasize cultural retention and preservation, while the reformers also encouraged outreach, growth and development. Finally, partisan political and religious ideologies permeated the UCC, while the reformers concentrated on the more cosmopolitan multiculturalism. The contrast had all the makings of a liberal-conservative split (the "young Turks" vs. the "old guard"), which in fact materialized in Edmonton at the fifth UCDC regional meeting in mid-June 1983.

Three weeks before the above meeting I had invited the UCC president in Alberta (Mykola Suchowersky) and the president of the Edmonton UCC branch (Melety Snihurowych, also an émigré) to a meeting at the institute. In outlining the UCDC goals, the establishment of a UCC office was discussed and a subcommittee (Krawchenko, Petryshyn, Broda, Suchowersky, Snihurowych) was struck to supervise Ivanochko's work. At the meeting in Edmonton in mid-June—with the Alberta UCDC contingent considerably enlarged by uninvited 'interested observers' (word of the meeting having got round!)—the proceedings quickly degenerated into a discordant quasi-public gathering once the subject of questionnaires for the projected conferences was introduced. Earlier, the UCDC had excluded contentious questions about religion and Ukrainian candidates in Canadian politics (especially "Ukrainian politics in Canada vis-à-vis Ukraine"). In Edmonton, however, after a long, heated discussion, motions favouring their inclusion were passed, even though the reformers would continue to dismiss them as immediate priorities.

In subsequent months UCDC-UCC tensions in Alberta revolved mainly around the terms of reference and funding for the office. In drawing up the terms, I was again faced with the difficulty of working with the UCC without being controlled by it. Tricky enough at the national level with a co-operative Nowosad, in Alberta the reformers were seen as outright interlopers that the circumspect Suchowersky appeared to favour at the regional level (he attended all meetings ex-officio after the first) but quietly resisted locally. To get around poorly informed delegations to government, I had proposed that only the UCDC—as the programmatic arm of the UCC for language, culture and education—deal with officialdom at all government levels. The UCC, however, insisted that both bodies brief governments, with the UCDC chair and the UCC president participating in each other's delegations. The UCC also refused to supervise UCDC office personnel that it did not hire.

Even more contentious was the issue of funding an office. Like most Ukrainian-Canadian organizations, the provincial UCC operated on a very modest annual budget—seldom more than \$10,000, and often considerably less. As a result, almost everything soon became a bone of contention—office furnishings, secretarial help, supplies and stationery, postage, the rental of premises, telephones, typewriters—especially before government funding was stabilized. To make matters worse Roman Petryshyn, having experienced great difficulty in housing the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services Association since its inception in March 1977, quickly attached it to the new office. Ivanochko (and others) were encouraged to use “Ukrainian (Community) Information Office,” not “Ukrainian Canadian Committee,” when answering the phone—all on the reasonable assumption that organizations like Biscoe's Alberta Parents for Ukrainian Education and Petryshyn's own Ukrainian Arts Council, both then on the drawing boards, would soon share the same premises. Only by meeting the needs of such beneficiaries would they see the value of the UCC, and hopefully join it. Some of the stress might have been alleviated had the seventy-year-old Suchowersky stepped down for a younger, Canadian-born replacement that the reform-minded could easily have found. However, not until the fall of 1984 would Andrij Semotiuk become the new president.

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According to Balan, government funding for the UCDC-UCC operation was to come from three main sources: Ottawa's budget for multiculturalism, the decentralized multiculturalism funds in the Secretary of State's prairie offices and local provincial sources. The first two, being more attuned to community development, were to provide the bulk, but, as we shall see, delivery was always uncertain, and the institute occasionally had to bail out the Alberta

reformers with loans from the federal directorate's \$30,000 research grant for the final blueprint document. Assistance from the Secretary of State office in Edmonton was never large—about \$50-60,000 per year—while grants from the Alberta Cultural Heritage Foundation were about \$100,000 in 1985 and again in 1986. Although long-term funding was ultimately the responsibility of the Ukrainian community, no efforts were made to establish a foundation, even though all appreciated that, without some form of endowed assistance government grants would not indefinitely sustain regional budgets of at least \$200,000 per annum. The grants, the reformers made clear, were “seed money” to spur community funding once the benefits of the new approach were appreciated, but unfortunately the UCC could not be persuaded to lay the ground for future community-based funding.

With funding from Ottawa by far the most important, early in 1983 Balan and Spolsky mapped out a political strategy to sensitize the Multiculturalism Directorate, where Kerry Johnston had replaced Kruhlak in the fall of 1981. Johnston was a New Zealander, partly educated in Montreal, who had directed several community development projects as a schoolteacher among Third World immigrants in that city. He impressed Fleming, who was about to establish a Race Relations Unit within the directorate to combat the racial discrimination aggravated by the weak economy of the early 1980s. Johnston's intercultural/cross-cultural orientation meshed well with one of the original basic objectives of the multiculturalism policy—the promotion of “creative encounters and interchange” among ethnocultural groups—an aspect that had in fact dominated the funding of multiculturalism from the outset. In 1981-82, for example, out of the directorate's project-funding budget (\$8,285,062), multicultural (or more-than-one-group) projects received \$4,188,674 or 51 per cent of the grants (in that year Ukrainians across Canada received \$316,909 in non-UCDC grants).

Because Balan had heard much about the greater importance of cross-cultural activities, he and Spolsky decided to challenge the directorate's priorities through a UCDC meeting with Johnston and Manuel da Costa, head of the directorate's group development division, whom I knew well from his years on the CCCM secretariat. In Balan's political strategy I was to be very firm and unbending in outlining our immediate needs (totalling well over \$300,000) at a meeting in Edmonton on 21 January 1983. Both bureaucrats had to appreciate that their boss, Undersecretary of State Huguette Labelle, would hear of the meeting from Decore. According to plan, each provincial section would also meet with its respective regional director, who would then alert Marc Rochon, the assistant undersecretary of state for regional operations—all in advance of a UCC-led delegation to Ottawa to meet with Rochon, Jean-Paul Lefebvre and Labelle. Ideally, opposition MPs like

Laverne Lewycky and Jake Epp would also be primed to ask questions in the Commons, and each UCDC section would get its provincial minister of culture to address Ottawa's multicultural priorities in a strong letter. It goes without saying that, apart from the meeting in Edmonton, little of the above actually took place.

Because a big snowstorm made driving too hazardous for the Saskatchewan contingent, and Decore, too, had to be absent until midafternoon, only Spolsky, both Petryshyns, Savaryn, Myroslaw Kohut (a member of the Alberta UCDC by virtue of his representing the UCC on the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council) and I confronted Johnston and da Costa at the "we-mean-business" meeting. The UCDC, I stressed in a follow-up letter to Johnston, consisted of "knowledgeable, busy people who are prepared to give their time and to do their best, but they do not have the time to attend endless meetings that lead nowhere. Nor can they be badgering and pressuring politicians and bureaucrats endlessly." The following budgeted items (in addition, of course, to the separately funded field workers) were on the table:

UCC operating grant	\$50,000
CIUS community study document	30,000
3 provincial conferences	30,000
Level II UCC language materials	15,000
National Ukrainian bilingual association	15,000
3 provincial language animators	90,000
3 provincial resource centres	60,000
Communications network feasibility study	<u>30,000</u>
Total	\$320,000

Of the above amount, the directorate was expected to provide \$140,000 and each federal office in the Prairies \$60,000. My letter noted the several "constituencies" served under multiculturalism (festivals, race relations, ethnic studies, multicultural education, museums, immigrant women, community development, etc.) and indicated that the "best way to worsen relations" was to pit the constituencies against one another.

In mid-March 1983, when the federal government bolstered multicultural funding, the main beneficiaries were immigrant women, race relations, multicultural education and supplementary ethnic schools. "Ethnic funding doubles," read the *Edmonton Journal* headline, but group development was nowhere in sight. As a result, with the secretary of state (Serge Joyal) in Winnipeg, Balan and Rochon arranged for a Nowosad-led delegation to meet him at the Winnipeg airport. I was in Winnipeg to address the

Manitoba government's Heritage Languages Seminar and was included, but the gracious Joyal made no promises, and by the beginning of June the UCDC's financial situation was extremely tight.

For the UCDC federal support of other beneficiaries was never a problem. The great difficulty lay in the federal allocation of financial resources among multiculturalism's ever-growing constituencies without prior warning or consultation, or any increase in the available funds. Changes were made internally and arbitrarily, which naturally displeased the Ukrainians, whose own agenda had, after all, given rise to the multicultural movement in the first place.

Nor did the Ukrainians resent the Third World immigrants or the growing preoccupation with race relations. If anything, they envied the large numbers who immigrated with such apparent ease, considering that Ukrainians overseas were virtually imprisoned behind the high hermetically sealed Soviet border. All that Ukrainian Canadians could do was protest the treatment of dissidents and monitor the dreadful fate of political prisoners and missing persons in the Soviet GULAG. It was easy to empathize with the plight of immigrant women (mainly recent Vietnamese) and the need to improve race relations, though affirmative action—and even coalition-building—could be a problem for some, and neither the UCC (to my knowledge) nor the reformers themselves adopted official policies on either issue. Leaving aside the occasional "Paki" jokes among the less well educated, the newcomers were generally well regarded and recognized by the great majority of Ukrainians (and others) as essential because of Canada's very low birth rate and the country's growing need for lower-priced labour. In short, the reformers did not see the improvement of race relations as an agenda item competing for multicultural funds until the governments themselves began to play off one constituency against another in the early 1980s. Resentments naturally followed, but it was the politicians, not the newcomers, who were at fault.

### Rapprochement *with the French*

To help spring federal funds I heeded Decore and early in June participated on a panel, "Multiculturalism and Official Languages: Friends or Foes," at the annual CCCM conference in Vancouver. The moment was auspicious. Since the repatriation of the constitution in April 1982, Max Yalden, the commissioner of official languages, had come to see that the Canada Act had not dealt fairly with the non-official languages. Pressed by the CCCM and by Decore himself, Yalden had written to Fleming about the matter as early as March 1982, suggesting a more positive approach to language learning, perhaps through section 38 of the Official

Languages Act. In Ukrainian circles, section 38 had long been known as the “nothing clause”: “Nothing in this Act shall be construed as derogating from or diminishing in any way any legal or customary right or privilege acquired or enjoyed...with respect to any language that is not an official language.” Since no language other than French had any customary right or privilege, the act protected nothing. After Yalden’s appearance before the joint parliamentary committee on the Official Languages Act, the following change was proposed: “Nothing in this Act shall be interpreted so as to affect adversely the use, preservation and enhancement of any other language in use by Canadians” (the debt to section 27 being obvious). The change was insignificant, but Decore, Peter Bosa and David Kilgour, a Conservative committee member, strongly urged support, which I did in a letter early in March 1983 to Jean-Robert Gauthier, the committee’s co-chair: “However symbolic,” I termed the revised version “very much better than the present left-handed and negative acknowledgement in section 38 that there are people in Canada, especially in the West, who have been speaking and educating their children in languages other than English and French for over a hundred years.” In Decore’s eyes Yalden’s effort was the kind of *rapprochement* between bilingualism and multiculturalism (and the French and “the others”) that should be encouraged.

As a result, in Vancouver, in Fleming’s presence, I chose my words carefully. I had never (I said) been a foe of official bilingualism at the federal level; all I ever wanted was a more liberal approach to bilingualism *in education at the provincial level* to help develop the kind of bicultural individuals who had given rise to multiculturalism in the first place. Freedom of language choice was still essential for the survival of serious ethnocultural minorities. But with section 23, the “Minority Language Educational Rights” section, now a constitutional reality, I was prepared to “make a deal.” I would become “a sincere and earnest advocate for the development of trilingual individuals (and recommend official bilingualism in a trilingual setting to everyone, everywhere and always) provided I would no longer need to beg for funds to teach other languages like Ukrainian, German, Hebrew, Cree, Mandarin Chinese, Arabic, etc.” In short, to be friends there should be no more letters like the one from Fleming (12 November 1982), indicating that the grant for the Ukrainian animator in Alberta was for only one year. Although the other panelists—Jim Cummins of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, André Piolat, a CCCM member from Vancouver, Gillis Lalande, Yalden’s deputy, and even William Johnson of the *Globe and Mail*—liked my “deal,” Fleming did not, and we saw very little of each other that weekend.

As a result, at the discordant UCDC meeting in Edmonton two weeks later, I agreed (as the outgoing prairie chairman) to sign a letter in French (dated 23 juin) to Léo Robert, president of the Société française manitobaine

(SFM), which Balan, Spolsky and Colet had drafted. In it the *société*, the French-Canadian community and the NDP government of Manitoba were all congratulated for having recently re-established Manitoba as an officially bilingual province.

It is our firm belief [the English original read] that all Canadians must recognize the officially bilingual nature of Canada, if its multicultural nature is also to flourish. Inherent in our support of official bilingualism is support for the cultural, economic and social dimensions of the French-Canadian community. Nor can one discuss multiculturalism meaningfully without attention to similar needs in the Ukrainian community, albeit, of course, in a different context from those of Canada's two major linguistic communities.

We believe that the rights of the above two communities are indivisible and that to deny the rights of one is to weaken the rights of all communities. We are therefore very pleased with the encouraging commitment accorded to the French-Canadian community in Manitoba by the Government of Manitoba and look forward to the possibility of greater co-operation among all communities in Manitoba, and especially to the most cordial relations between the French and the Ukrainian communities in Canada.

The letter was prompted by a recent Canadian Supreme Court decision that Manitoba's abolition in 1890 of French as an official language had violated section 23 of the Manitoba Act of 1870—the federal legislation that had established Manitoba as a bilingual province. With the letter Spolsky, Balan and Prychitko hoped to establish a *quid pro quo*: the Ukrainians would assist the French to recover their rights in Manitoba in exchange for French support of UCDC projects in Ottawa (and Manitoba). Although the strategy was risky, the prospect of accessing badly needed funds appeared to make it worthwhile. Four months earlier (in February) the Manitoba trio had taken the first step at a joint press conference with the *B'nai B'rith* Society and the SFM, which strongly condemned what appeared to be an act of vandalism in the fire that had destroyed the *société's* building in St. Boniface. A French-Ukrainian *rapprochement* might go a long way toward reconciling official bilingualism and multiculturalism and perhaps temper (or even end) the almost two decades of sniping between the French view of the country (strongest in eastern Canada) and that of the so-called others (strongest in the west). Since 1980-81 the Balan-Colet and Spolsky-NDP connections (Spolsky was a strong NDP activist) had used the Manitoba

Parents for Ukrainian Education to reach out to numerous ethnocultural groups in the province, and the move toward the French was now part of the same pattern.

Copies of the letter were sent to Trudeau, Joyal, Fleming and Axworthy in Ottawa and to Premier Howard Pawley, Attorney General Roland Penner and Cultural Affairs Minister Eugene Kostyra in Manitoba. Through the NDP grapevine Spolsky learned that Pawley liked it and that Kostyra (whom Spolsky knew best) was prepared to lobby Ottawa on behalf of the UCDC. It was a golden opportunity, the trio thought, for the Ukrainians to ingratiate themselves with both governments. Through the French they might even reinstate the pre-World War I legal basis for Ukrainian bilingual classes, part of the Manitoba public school system under the historic 1897 Laurier-Greenway Agreement abolished by the Manitoba government in 1916.

With its June letter the UCDC became involved in a language controversy that soon engulfed the whole nation, for the Sterling Lyon-led Conservatives, now in opposition, strongly objected to the NDP government's restoration of official bilingualism. The *société*, after meeting the hostile Conservative caucus on 23 June, turned to the Secretary of State office in Winnipeg, where Colet and Balan proposed a UCDC-SFM common front on the strength of the recent letter and the earlier St. Boniface press conference. As a result, on the 27<sup>th</sup> Léo Robert and Rémi Smith, the *société's* chief political negotiator, met with Melosky, Prychitko, Spolsky, Petryshyn, Colet and Balan and struck an agreement. The UCDC would issue a second pro-French letter to the press and provide a statement for use at the public meeting planned by the government on 14 July. In turn, the *société* and its national umbrella, the *Fédération des francophones hors Québec*, would issue separate statements supporting the link between official bilingualism and multiculturalism. Both French organizations would also use their influence in Ottawa to obtain several UCDC field workers to sell French entrenchment and the linkage between bilingualism and multiculturalism within the French- and Ukrainian-speaking communities in the southern half of Manitoba, while simultaneously pursuing the reformers' organizational goals.

On 4 July (the day Pawley introduced French entrenchment—section 23—in the legislature), the Manitoba UCDC disclosed the agreement to the national UCC, which had not been consulted and now reluctantly approved the recent letters, strongly stipulating that prior consultation precede similar moves in the future. A week later the UCC also approved the UCDC statement signed by Melosky (as Manitoba's UCDC chairman) for release at the public meeting on the 14<sup>th</sup>. In backing the government the statement admitted that, despite similar aspirations, earlier relations between the Franco-Manitoban and Ukrainian communities had been "poorly defined"

for lack of communication on “central issues.” Still, the interests of the French and the other ethnocultural communities being “indivisible,” the continued denial of Franco-Manitoban rights was a “barrier” to all minorities “being treated equitably by our society.”

The release of Melosky’s statement was preceded by a Prychitko interview in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, supported by Métis, Portuguese, Chinese, Jewish, Italian and Mennonite officials. This was the first public indication that the traditional discourse on language and culture was changing, at least in Manitoba. The ethnic role reversal would now make it more difficult for the Anglo-dominated mass media and the political opposition to invoke multiculturalism when beating back the movement for French rights. Through the Manitoba Parents for Ukrainian Education the Prychitko-Spolsky-Balan trio had worked with other groups to create several provincially supported bodies (e.g., the about-to-be-established Manitoba Intercultural Council), and their work made it easier now to win support for the UCDC-SFM position.

By 30 August the Manitoba Association for Bilingual Education—hastily formed by Spolsky and backed by leaders from the Hebrew and German bilingual programs—morphed into Manitoba 23, a much larger coalition of minorities supporting section 23, chaired by Neil McDonald (my former student now on staff at the University of Manitoba) with Spolsky the treasurer. Manitoba 23’s impressive press conference on the steps of the Legislative Building added to the headlines and to the letters to the editor that the eastern press now regularly carried. Because the UCC did not always appreciate Spolsky’s newspaper publicity, the national executive upbraided him on 8 August, and largely meaningless *mea culpas* were duly forthcoming. As for the French, *La Liberté*, the société’s organ, carried the UCDC’s June letter in mid-July, Trudeau’s office gratefully acknowledged it on 30 June and Joyal and Fleming sent longer letters of appreciation. In Manitoba only Kostyra sent a brief acknowledgement, approving the move.

Besides orchestrating the wider publicity, the Manitoba trio also participated in numerous private meetings. The most pivotal was on 18 July with Undersecretary of State Labelle, who came to Winnipeg, at Colet’s request, to catch up on developments and to vet the Spolsky-Balan “Pilot Project for Promoting Official Languages in An Ethnic Community,” part of the earlier UCDC-SFM agreement. Costed out at slightly more than one million dollars for three and one-half years (beginning in September 1983), the project provided for an executive director (Spolsky), an office (executive secretary, clerk/typist, bookkeeper) and five field workers/animators in five specific areas. Besides furnishing “information and support services” to Ukrainian organizations, Spolsky’s office promised to advance French entrenchment among Ukrainians and to have pro-French resolutions passed

at the forthcoming UCC national congress in Winnipeg in October and at the UCDC conference in Manitoba, projected for the spring of 1984. I did not think that the project rationale was strong enough to win such large sums, but the optimistic Spolsky, in a report to the UCDC in mid-September 1983, believed that "the first cheque should be with us at any time," with the project off the ground early in October.

By mid-August, with section 23 clearly headed for hearings before a legislative committee, the inclusion of amendments to benefit ethnocultural groups other than the French became the main concern. On 23 August Spolsky asked Penner to include both section 27 and an education clause based on section 22 (the "nothing clause," now also part of the federal Charter of Rights and Freedoms). Two days later, at the long-promised meeting between Manitoba's reformers and the national Fédération des francophones hors Québec, the very accommodating federation promised to work on the Manitoba government to include multicultural amendments in section 23. It also agreed to issue a linkage statement and to support the Spolsky-Balan UCDC pilot project before the federal government. In fact, according to Spolsky's mid-September report to the UCDC, the federation was prepared to "push for the inclusion of clauses in Section 23 of the Manitoba Act to extend our rights in education in addition to Sections 22 and 27 amendments."

I do not know what action (if any) the French federation took. On the other hand, Prychitko's UCDC "submission" to the legislative committee on 6 September supported the government's position on French in requesting that the Manitoba Act be "interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canada." It also included the following education clause:

Citizens of Manitoba shall have their children receive their primary and secondary education in English and French and in any other language(s) in accordance with the expressed desire of parents in any area of the province in which the number of children of such citizens is sufficient to warrant provision out of public funds of minority educational facilities and transportation in that school division.

Except for the reference to transportation, the above was substantially the clause I had submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution in November 1980, which had recently become prominent in discussions conducted by the Manitoba trio.

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Within the Ukrainian community the reformers' apparent usurpation of the UCC's traditional role as political spokesman aroused considerable negative feeling, especially among individuals hostile to the UCDC from the outset. Among the more disturbed was Joe Slogan, president of the P & B Federation, based in Winnipeg since May 1983. A strong Conservative, Slogan especially disliked Spolsky's mobilization of the ethnocultural communities in support of the NDP and its French-language position. Accordingly, he enlisted the local German, Polish and Ukrainian P & B clubs in a joint brief to the legislative committee on 21 September. In it Canada was described as a "multilingual country with two official languages"—Slogan's usual position—and concern was expressed that the extension of French-language services should not infringe "the equal opportunity in employment of civil servants." Moreover, candidates able to serve local communities better in a heritage language should be extended "the same privilege of preference as that for French communities." Unlike Prychitko's brief, Slogan's did not recognize French as an official language at the provincial level, though it did request that the use of heritage languages in education be "equally entrenched." The brief exuded resentment and was not one to cheer either the UCDC or the SFM.

At the UCC congress on 10 October, the reformers' pro-French position (advanced by the SUSK) was trumped by Slogan's federation, and the resulting resolution recognized official bilingualism only at the federal level—the UCC's usual position. Invoking section 27, the resolution also declared official bilingualism and multiculturalism to be "inseparably linked" and (in a very loosely worded passage) requested the provincial *and* federal governments "to recognize and entrench the rights of Canadian ethno-cultural minorities to education in their heritage language in addition to English or French where sufficient numbers and demand exist in the public or separate school systems." On 16 October the SFM finally released its supportive statement over Robert's signature. It failed, however, to link official bilingualism and multiculturalism and endorsed the reformers' position on heritage language education only in the most general terms:

In a province such as Manitoba where French and English are the two official languages of communication with the provincial government, it is important that all ethnocultural communities be able to strengthen their institutions...[through] a constitutional and legislative framework in the province supporting the development of these institutions.

With approximately 55 per cent of Manitobans opposed to entrenching French, the Conservative opposition's stalling tactics forced the government to prorogue the legislature without passing its language package. Although on a collision course with their federal counterparts, the local Conservatives paid no heed—and this even after Brian Mulroney chastised them (amidst heckling) at a party function in Winnipeg late in March. "The great challenge facing Manitoba and Canada," Mulroney declared, "is to reconcile two different views of history—one which sees Canada as a compact between English and French, a duality; the other which sees Canada as a cultural mosaic, a land of diversity." His own resolution echoed Trudeau's: the English minority in Quebec and the French minorities outside Quebec had to be assured that they "can be themselves, that they can live their lives, communicate with their governments and with each other in one or the other of Canada's two official languages." As for multiculturalism, Mulroney saw it as "the passport to equality of treatment without regard to history or size of population." However, apart from noting the importance of "concrete measures which recognize our multicultural heritage" and of programs that "bind us together in our diversity and do not drive us apart in our differences," he offered nothing specific and pointedly stayed clear of ancestral languages.

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By early December 1983 it was increasingly clear that the large budgets envisioned by the Manitoba trio were not going to materialize. The British-born David Collenette, who took over from Fleming in mid-August, was even less convinced that older groups like the Ukrainians needed the kind of community development funds being requested. Despite numerous political contacts during Manitoba's 'hot' summer, neither the UCDC nor the UCC had anything *in writing* that bound either Ottawa or Manitoba to furnish the funds discussed earlier. Of the amount (\$157,701) requested of Labelle by the UCDC in 22 August 1983, only \$100,000 had been received from the Official Languages Program by mid-November—the sole payment for the next year and a half. According to Balan, funding was being held up by Kerry Johnston, now secure in the knowledge that Collenette was also resisting it. Even as the Liberal throne speech (7 December) finally signalled statutory recognition for multiculturalism, Collenette made it clear in Toronto on the 16<sup>th</sup> that he personally did not favour federal-provincial financial agreements for "bilingual schools in Ukrainian or German and English." Animators were fine: "We can bring people to the brink...of increasing bilingual education (English or French and other languages). But beyond the brink, it's up to the provinces to bankroll that." In mid-February 1984 I urged Collenette to

furnish the \$30,000 needed to renew the animator's position in Alberta, but as of 7 June the funds were still "being processed."

With the UCDC on the verge of bankruptcy, the UCC descended upon Collenette on 23 February. It was, I wrote Spolsky, a "weak" delegation to press for items totalling over \$800,000: "Nowosad (I suppose he had to be included symbolically)...[but] Kondra(?), Wowk(?)—no wonder no one is taking us seriously these days. Where were [John] Petryshyn, Melosky, Prychitko, Cipywnyk?" Spolsky, however, thought that he had had a very good meeting with Doug Bowie, the new assistant undersecretary of state in the Citizenship and Official Languages section. A former vice-president of corporate services for Petro-Canada, Bowie, a Mormon from Alberta, was Johnson's immediate supervisor, unimpressed, according to Spolsky, by the growing emphasis on race relations and "extremely supportive" of "our actions and activities...and the philosophical outlook which we have on multiculturalism." Thereafter, as lobbying intensified, Bowie was often willing enough, but the crucial influence was always Axworthy's, for whom the UCC held a wine-and-cheese reception in Winnipeg on 24 February. Also helpful was Joyal's continued interest in the Ukrainian-French dialogue and in the western regional directors making greater room for the reformers' projects in their discretionary budgets. At one point, late in April, with Labelle in Winnipeg, Bowie even called to say that "no one in Ottawa understood what was to happen in 1984-85" with the Spolsky-Balan pilot project. Although puzzled and disappointed, I did not let on: while no one expected the government to treat us like the French, "the east must also realize that we did not just get off the boat!"

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In the midst of the financial standoff the University of Alberta hosted an invitation-only colloquium in mid-May on "Official Languages: A Western Perspective," organized by Max Yalden's office. Against the background of the Manitoba crisis, the French-UCDC *rapprochement* and Yalden's own interest in ameliorating the language situation of the non-French minorities, the colloquium offered a golden opportunity for a major statement (with facts and figures) on the difficulties bedeviling the reformers. The opportunity, however, was not to be. The conference committee invited the P & B Federation for the panel on "Linguistic Minorities in the West," and Joe Slogan, the president, was not the type to seek specialized help on the subject.

Slogan, a self-confessed Diefenbaker Conservative, espoused a cultural *mélange* that included his mentor's "One Canada," unhyphenated Canadianism, multilingualism and, of course, multiculturalism. "My Canada makes me proud to be a Canadian first, unhyphenated and unfettered," he

confided at the end of a paper that inexplicably concentrated on the past—the early days in Canada, the founding of Manitoba, the legacy of 1890, the waves of immigration—and ignored the relationship between bilingualism and multiculturalism and the financial issues dogging the large UCDC-UCC project. I do not think it immodest to say that mine would have been a better vantage point from which to meet the important assignment, but in light of our (by now) long-standing differences, it would have taken high statesmanship for Slogan to defer to me. With many of the one-hundred-odd participants very close to Canada's language-and-culture debate, it was not easy to gain the floor. However, after Slogan's session I was given ten minutes to declare that peace on the language front would require sufficient financial support to enable ethnocultural leaders to dissuade the opponents of French within their own ranks—remarks that especially pleased the French from the west.

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By mid-July 1984 political developments at the federal level finally ameliorated the reformers' financial crisis. With Trudeau's resignation on 29 February, John Turner won the Liberal leadership and an election followed on 4 September. In the fluid political situation, in July a UCDC delegation on which I represented Alberta pressed Bowie hard in Winnipeg, but he could do little in the apparent absence of the all-important "political will" responsible for the impasse. Accordingly, two members of the delegation, Prychitko and Judge Michael Baryluk from Winnipeg (an addition to the UCDC from the UCC executive), met Collette in Ottawa late in July. A \$250,000 package from both the Official Languages and Multiculturalism budgets was agreed upon, though only \$75,000 (all from Multiculturalism) was actually received by March 1985. Collette likely yielded because of the Liberals' extremely difficult electoral outlook.

On multiculturalism, for example, the Conservatives and the New Democrats (the latter under Laverne Lewycky's influence) were busily waving policies that upstaged the Liberals at every turn. Even the Liberals' multiculturalism bill, finally introduced on 21 June, remained stuck in the legislative hopper. A weak offering with little commitment, the many things that the Canadian Multiculturalism Council was empowered to do contrasted sharply with what the minister only might do. Turner was so reluctant to address multiculturalism that Decore, in a report in *New Perspectives* (published by the Ukrainian National Youth Federation in Toronto), called upon "Ukrainian Liberals" at a leadership reception in Toronto to ask policy questions on education, culture and "power sharing," because, he said, "the 'others' [had] gotten only 7-10 per cent of federal appointments."

In contrast, the Conservatives pulled out all the stops. On 2 June a Liberal-like multicultural conference was held at the Sheraton Centre in Toronto, complete with a banquet for one thousand and prominent workshops by Senator Yuzyk and the Manitoba MP Jack Murta, the PC critic on multiculturalism with an eye on the portfolio. In a rousing banquet address Mulroney termed multicultural diversity "the essence of our society." His "5 personal goals to create a genuine multicultural society" emphasized political equality, equality of economic opportunity, equal access to government services, equal educational opportunities (including the retention of heritage languages) and putting an end to racism. However, unlike Murta, who later promised a "full-fledged ministry" in an interview in *The Prairie Link* (an Indo-Canadian newspaper in Edmonton), Mulroney would only "review" the ministry of state "to ensure your views are properly represented at the cabinet table." In *The Ukrainian Weekly* (1 July) Murta was even quoted to say he would "automatically" increase the twenty-million-dollar budget for multiculturalism by 50 per cent.

During the election the Fédération des francophones hors Québec submitted several questions to the political parties, including "In what way or ways can the Federal government harmonize its policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism?" The Conservatives pointed to Mulroney's earlier remarks on the subject in Winnipeg in March, repeated by him in Toronto in June. The New Democrats, reflecting something of my correspondence with Lewycky since the fall of 1982, declared that official bilingualism and multiculturalism were "not...mutually exclusive...[and] adequate funding for all groups and language-training must be provided so as to ensure that bilingualism is not seen as a threat to third-language teaching and vice-versa." The Liberals repeated their usual mantra about official languages not implying official cultures and added the following (in the French version only): "...English and French are the languages of public life in Canada, as well as the vehicles of culture for the two main linguistic groups. While pursuing their original cultural traits, ethnic groups may opt for English or French to participate in Canadian public life and ease their apprenticeship."

At the time I also discussed the relationship between official bilingualism and multiculturalism with SFM president Gilberte Proteau, Robert's successor, on a panel at the SUSK annual congress in Vancouver on 25 August. After noting the trilingual classes that by now were an integral part of the Ukrainian bilingual programs in the Prairies and indicating the reasons why Ukrainian Canadians could not substitute French for Ukrainian culture, I reiterated the position I had taken at Yalden's conference in May. To reconcile multiculturalism and bilingualism, the latter had to be advanced within a wider context, and politicians, bureaucrats and French Canadians had to assist Ukrainian-Canadian leaders to secure the funds needed for

effective community development. Advocates of official bilingualism who did so "should never want for sympathy and understanding among Ukrainian Canadians." Official bilingualism, in turn, would be easier for their leaders to promote "for it will be less threatening to the people they lead." Proteau, after a long detour through the history of the Manitoba school question, called for greater co-operation but made no promises. However, in private over lunch, she insisted that the French were an "official minority group" removed from other ethnic groups, and in fact not an ethnic group at all. Nor was she keen to help Ukrainian Canadians access funds from the public purse. In the end the gap was as wide as ever, despite the earlier co-operation in Manitoba. Still, at bottom, the fault lay less with the Proteaus than with political models like Trudeau, who upon joining a Montreal law firm in mid-September compared the "young and dynamic" firm to the "bilingual and bicultural nature of this city and this country."

*Community Development under Attack by the  
Ukrainian Canadian Committee*

Although it was Joe Slogan's federation that had first challenged the reformers' politicking, it was the (Orthodox) Ukrainian Self-Reliance League that eventually raised the strongest objections. The first rebuke came from its venerable leader, Peter Kondra, a former UCC president and now its first vice-president. In a carefully worded passage in his address to the UCC congress in October 1983 on "The Basic Principles of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee" (later carried in the UCC newsletter), Kondra rapped the reformers' recent tactics:

Some Ukrainians and individuals of other ethnic groups, who tried to force the issue [of French entrenchment] without consultation with their community, created disharmony in their community and lost its confidence. This is not a reference to their ultimate objective but only to their undemocratic procedure. This confirms that all public pronouncements by Ukrainians should be approved by their designated representative body.

There was thus considerable latent resentment of the reformers. What brought it to the fore in the spring of 1984 were the UCDC's invasive questionnaires. Essential to the three provincial conferences that would hopefully lay the basis for future community development, the questionnaires were also a key element in the needs-assessment study that the institute was conducting with the \$30,000 research grant from the Multiculturalism Directorate. Besides furnishing data, the questionnaires would hopefully spur organizational

and institutional stocktaking, as well as reflection upon the best activities to attract the uninvolved. The research was part of the much-touted "outreach"—the mutual sensitization of the UCC to the unorganized and the newly organized, and of the latter to the UCC. While the field workers were to administer the questionnaires, they were piloted in Manitoba and vetted by the UCDC before general distribution.

Shortly after the first questionnaires appeared, and one month before the Self-Reliance League held a major conference in Edmonton, the Reverend Tymofii Minenko, the editor of *Visnyk* (Herald), the organ in Winnipeg of the Orthodox Church, criticized questions of a "political character" in an editorial (1 April 1984) and in the league's *Ukrains'kyi holos* (9 April). Singled out was the participation of non-Ukrainians in Ukrainian-Canadian organizations and other items ("more negative than positive") that touched on the use of Ukrainian in the same organizations (e.g., "Does your organization believe that knowledge of Ukrainian culture can be adequately transmitted through the use of the English language? Yes/No"). What, moreover, did the UCDC have in mind when it asked whether discussion of "things Ukrainian" was increasing or decreasing within an organization? And what about questions regarding finances—as "secret" for organizations as for individuals—and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union, regularly condemned at UCC congresses? And what really was the UCDC anyway, since neither the Self-Reliance League nor its female or youth sections knew anything about it? Not only did the questionnaires need to be withdrawn, but the UCC had to remember that it was only the organizational superstructure for its constituent organizations, not an organization in its own right, free to take initiatives without prior consultation.

In its defence the UCC sent the Orthodox Dmytro Cipywnyk, who had earlier outlined the nature and purposes of the UCDC at the UCC congress in October. To Cipywnyk's surprise, the irate Minenko was supported by others, who questioned the extent of UCC control of the UCDC. Whether the UCC executive and its much larger presidium understood the workings of the UCDC was always problematic, especially as the UCC's lines of communication were never particularly good. Moreover, establishing the Edmonton office had strained relations, and Minenko's editorials offered the alienated a fine opportunity to vent personal frustrations. But once Minenko asserted (giving Yaremovich as his source) that the UCC had not approved the UCDC's terms of reference, an angry Cipywnyk wrote *Nowosad* on 10 May requesting an explanation, a letter I was only too pleased to support (at his request). In the end the questionnaires were not withdrawn, but the tempest contributed much to the growing internal criticism of the UCDC's alleged irresponsibility.

By midsummer the tensions between the UCC and the reformers resulted in an in-depth review of the relationship during the difficult financial discussions with Bowie in Winnipeg. In the end the terms of reference were reaffirmed, and the UCC even agreed to issue a major press release on the mandate of the UCDC, its needs-assessment study, its questionnaires and the conferences; the reformers, in turn, promised not to undertake “new forms of activities” without explicit UCC approval and to help the UCC organize new provincial branches. Unfortunately, the community newspapers botched the press release. Instead of focusing on the UCDC and its good relationship with the UCC, they featured Christine Devrome, who had just become the new UCDC chair. The nature, achievements and future plans of the UCDC were presented separately in a long, dry summary without emphasis or comment, defeating the whole purpose of the exercise. Devrome, too, was soon experiencing unexpected difficulties. Obligated now to report at every UCC executive meeting, her first in Winnipeg on 21 September went so badly that, in her phone call, she wondered about attending others. Some executive members saw the reformers as “radicals” unnecessarily duplicating the functions of the UCC, while her own explanations raised doubts among some about her even being at the same table. Dismayed by such hostility and ignorance, Devrome surmised that the executive was either dismissing the Nowosad-Yaremovich reports about the UCDC or was being deliberately kept in the dark about its meetings.

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Meanwhile preparations for the provincial conferences, projected for the fall of 1984, continued apace. In Edmonton, late in March, individuals enlisted by Ivanochko were assigned various responsibilities, mine being to solicit position papers in each of nine activity sectors (the arts, education, media, etc.). Each five-page paper—the basis also of future conference workshops—had to include the salient events in the evolution of the sector, the contemporary trends (statistically based, wherever possible) and the short- and long-term needs, with specific recommendations for the future (it being understood that all writers would also moderate their workshops). The papers, of course, varied in quality, but after editing all were coherent, though the workshops themselves were much too short to do justice to the issues raised.

For the conference committee the choice of speakers posed a minor political problem. In April 1984, at the committee’s request, I had invited Laurence Decore, by now mayor of Edmonton, to give the dinner address. In September, after the Conservatives replaced the Liberals in Ottawa, it was thought best to give a political platform to Jack Murta, the new

minister of multiculturalism. Accordingly, Decore became the luncheon speaker, a change he welcomed, for he found the large conference theme, "Twenty-First Century Ukrainians in Alberta: Their Needs, Goals and Directions," somewhat daunting. For the keynote speaker the committee wished someone familiar with immigration and the Ukrainian-Canadian experience, and in mid-August Decore was again suggested. Not until 2 October (ten days before the conference) did Roman Petryshyn finally move that I give the keynote address. The difficulties in establishing the local UCC office, the controversy over the questionnaires and the unhappiness of some community leaders with the quasi-independence of the reform-minded constituted the subtext for the committee's delay.

Although the time to prepare the address was short, once I learned that Mary LeMessurier, Alberta's minister of culture, and Beth Bryant, her departmental assistant for multiculturalism, would be in the audience, the direction was clear. Provincial support for community development was tied to the Ukrainian bilingual program, whose children would need "an organizational home" for their bicultural identity once they graduated. Legislation at the provincial level was also needed to make the publicly funded bilingual and bicultural Ukrainian classes less susceptible to the whims of school board members. The importance of community infrastructure was underlined, as was "core funding" to "increase the professional support base" and ensure attractive activities and supportive services. As for the UCC itself,

It is easy to predict that long before the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is upon us, the central umbrella Ukrainian community organization in Alberta will lose all relevance if a working relationship is not established between itself and the leaders in the community's main activity sectors.... *The greatest weakness in the community today is that the political function is divorced from the cultural function.* The two must become one through the Ukrainian Community Development Committee or some equivalent mechanism to ensure that what is most worth funding is properly funded. But all the oneness, coordination and good will in the world will not help without the necessary staff—without the necessary infrastructure—to execute and monitor the decisions of busy, lay volunteers who make up either the umbrella organization or any of its numerous committees.

Pointing to the fine French-Canadian model of government-supported community renewal, I indicated the advantages to government of similar support to Ukrainian Canadians over "a fixed period of time (let us say,

five years)” to enable them to experience the benefits of a well-funded infrastructure.

On their conference evaluation forms the three-hundred-odd delegates from more than seventy organizations and institutions gave the speakers an 81 per cent approval rating, compared to 39 per cent for the workshops. To the organizing committee, the financial aspect was initially the most worrisome, but with federal and provincial grants and conference registrations, the event came in well under budget—\$25,889 out of a projected \$30,000 as of 29 October. The conference, however, had its incidents. At the luncheon Decore hit a religious nerve when he urged that the “Big Six” veto be abolished to attract the young:

That’s a change that’s desperately needed. And I put into that same category a request that the churches just fall back a bit from their involvement in KYK [the UCC], because they’ve been part of that “Big Six” and pushing that “Big Six” idea too strongly.

The *Ukrains’ki visti*, the Catholic bishop’s organ in Edmonton, took strong exception, and not until Nestor Makuch and eventually Decore himself sent in explanatory letters was the issue finally put to rest by year’s end. Even so, anyone even remotely familiar with Ukrainian organizational life knew the strong clerical influence that permeated both the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood and the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, and Decore was definitely right to appeal for restraint. Despite the grumbling, his own reputation with the younger, Canadian-born generations was only enhanced, for very few cared to brave the wrath of church and clergy. Very different from most politicians, Decore—more open, more honest and less hypocritical—loved playing the political maverick. To him, politics was a great game—even grand theatre, if done well—and he liked the give and take, even if damage control was occasionally necessary.

In the education workshop dissatisfaction was publicly expressed for the first time with the Ukrainian bilingual classes. Aware that they had of necessity to slight the cultural dimension, Xenia Turko criticized the weakness without drawing the appropriate conclusion: that the private *ridni shkoly* had to provide a cultural supplement, rather than compete with the literacy education of the bilingual classrooms. Although present, I said nothing, especially as only a small coterie of greying heads in Turko’s immediate vicinity appeared to agree.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the conference was the rough treatment meted out to Murta, the new Conservative minister, by Bill Pidruchney, the Conservative master of ceremonies at the closing banquet. Pidruchney, like many in the large audience, had seen multiculturalism

ministers come and go and was no longer willing to be patronized. With a bluntness that at times bordered on welcome rudeness, he made it clear that Ukrainian Canadians saw through the political clichés and would not hesitate to have Murta join his departed predecessors if things did not improve under the recently elected federal Conservatives. Murta, formally briefed on the reformers' plans and the weekend's significance at a friendly reception earlier, was taken aback and moved carefully through his prepared remarks, which, as a result, were considerably shorter than usual.

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Despite Murta's promise at the above conference and elsewhere to provide "a completely different course," very little changed in the implementation of multiculturalism under Mulroney's Conservatives. Murta, a forty-four-year-old farmer from Manitoba, understood little of Canada's pluralistic society, and as one of the five Manitoba MPs who had refused in 1983-84 to follow Mulroney's pro-French stand, he quickly found himself enmeshed in the embarrassing controversy over French. In January 1985 he appointed Doug Bowie as the first assistant undersecretary of state responsible *solely* for multiculturalism, and in mid-May in Winnipeg he held the first federal-provincial conference of Canadian ministers responsible for multiculturalism. The impact of Bowie was not marked. Like Johnston, he was quite comfortable with the growing cross-cultural/integrationist emphasis within the Multiculturalism Directorate, and his presence did little to raise the profile of multiculturalism among his senior colleagues within government. As for the federal-provincial closed-door conference, the important precedent accomplished little. A follow-up meeting projected for 1986 was never held, a good indication that the situation, in Murta's words, was not only "more complex than I ever thought" but now beyond co-ordination from the centre. Just as inconsequential was Murta's boast to replace the Liberals' aborted multiculturalism bill with something more substantial. Projected for December 1984, it was delayed in February and eventually succumbed to a long consultative process, including hearings before the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Multiculturalism created in July 1985 (discussed later). Much had also been expected from Louis Melosky's appointment as chairman of the Canadian Multiculturalism Council, but for reasons not entirely clear the enlarged council (doubled to sixty-four members by Murta) quickly took a back seat to the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, which gradually eclipsed it.

The financial difficulties of the reformers continued under Murta, though at fault was the national UCC itself, which failed to account for the funds already received. The mess at the centre became evident at the UCDC

meeting in Edmonton late in November 1984, when budgetary updates indicated that monies were either being lapsed or held up by Ottawa for lack of reports. Responsible was Yaremovich, who had no aptitude for bookkeeping, but Nowosad's managerial skills were also questionable. Of the \$63,000 UCC grant for 1983-84, \$13,000 had lapsed because the earlier \$50,000 had still to be accounted for. Of the \$100,000 approved for 1984-85, \$50,000 was still outstanding because no report for the first half had been submitted. The poor accounting was also playing havoc with the \$100,000 earmarked in 1984-85 from the Official Languages Program for the Spolsky-Balan pilot project. From the UCC, Kondra (Nowosad and Yaremovich being absent) admitted that the untidy books made a true reading impossible.

To regain financial credibility the UCC removed Yaremovich and early in 1985 solicited applications for a replacement. With the assistance of Balan and Spolsky, the required reports were somehow submitted, and on 23 March at a UCC banquet in Winnipeg, Murta even presented cheques of \$100,000 to the UCDC and \$63,000 to the UCC. By the end of June Yuri Weretelnyk, a thirty-eight-year-old from Toronto, replaced Yaremovich. Compared to Spolsky, who had also applied, Weretelnyk was poorly informed about recent developments, but when Wasył Werbeniuk replaced him eighteen months later, Spolsky was again overlooked. The latter's very political and venturesome activities made him unacceptable to the UCC, and the recent, separate UCDC cheque (above) was proof positive of his freewheeling ways.

As a result, the UCDC was the subject of long discussions at the UCC meeting in mid-March 1985, and not surprisingly no fewer than seven UCC representatives attended the UCDC meeting in Winnipeg in June, where (with Kondra in the lead) "tighter guidelines" were proposed to govern the UCDC-UCC relationship. A special ad hoc committee—Spolsky, Kondra and I—revised the terms of reference: all relations with government were returned to the UCC and the UCDC had to submit "an annual work plan" for "consolidation" with that of the national executive. An unhappy Kondra wanted the executive to control "all phases" of the UCDC, but no one supported him. Undeterred, he pursued the issue at the next meeting in October, and in my absence and with Spolsky the sole member from Manitoba, another ad hoc committee reduced the UCDC to a subcommittee of the UCC. The latter had now to approve the "composition" of the UCDC, which had to report on its activities after every meeting. The original arm's-length relationship was thus completely destroyed. Moreover, so annoyed was the UCC with Spolsky's enterprising ways that in November, having re-established control of government funding, the UCC closed the large UCDC office and dismissed its entire staff, Spolsky included. (He immediately became the UCC's executive director in Alberta.) By the next UCDC meeting

in April 1986, I was already much too busy with the blueprint document (and too close to retirement from the institute and too near a sabbatical) to revive the issue of control, especially as the reformers' grapevine also had it that the very capable Cipywnyk was eager to succeed Nowosad. (From the same grapevine, one also learned that the ostensibly neutral Catholic metropolitan, Maxim Hermaniuk, was not entirely pleased.)

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The UCDC document, *Building the Future. Ukrainian Canadians in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Blueprint for Action*—referred to for months in the UCDC minutes as the “Heirs of the Sons of the Soil” study—was the work of a small committee chaired by me, to which Krawchenko, Roman Petryshyn, Spolsky and Balan contributed the most. Its writing was much complicated by the many recommendations from the position papers, workshops and conference plenaries in the three provinces (forty-five from Alberta alone). In the actual division of labour I contributed the historical and educational sections, Krawchenko presented the ideology of multiculturalism, Petryshyn supplied the sociological data and Balan provided the sections on the “future” and the “Blueprint for Action.”

Krawchenko's task was much complicated by the zigzags in federal multicultural policy under Otto Jelinek, who succeeded Murta in August 1985. Jelinek, a Czech who had emigrated with his parents at the age of eleven, became an accomplished figure skater—he and his sister had won the Pairs title at the World Figure Skating Championships in 1962. Inducted into Canada's Sports Hall of Fame, he did well as a small businessman, entered politics and eventually became Mulroney's minister of fitness and amateur sport, to which in time multiculturalism was added. In addressing the latter Jelinek quickly tired of the usual diversity themes and began to link multiculturalism to the economy. Before long “Multiculturalism Means Business!” became the byword of speeches and press releases, and the subject also of a major conference in Toronto in mid-April, sponsored jointly with the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Chaired by Jelinek's Austrian-born friend, Frank Stronach of Magna International Inc., the conference featured an address by Mulroney to more than four hundred representatives from the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, the Business Council on National Issues and the Canadian Organization for Small Business. Under Jelinek, multiculturalism was tied to the utilitarianism of commerce—to doing business in cross-cultural settings, to success stories rooted in international markets and resources, to new opportunities for tourism and hospitality and to the impact of Canada's cultural diversity on communications and high technology. Even

racism and immigrant women were suddenly on the back burner, and ethnocultural community development was nowhere in sight.



"Multiculturalism Means Business" conference, Toronto, April 1986. (Left to right) Louis Melosky, chairman, Canadian Multiculturalism Council; Roger Hamel, president, Canadian Chamber of Commerce; Otto Jelinek, minister of state (multiculturalism); Frank Stronach, CEO Magna International Inc.; John Bulloch, president, Canadian Federation of Independent Business.

To make matters worse Deputy Prime Minister Eric Nielsen's task force on government priorities reined in spending in mid-March and confined multiculturalism to the integration problems of recent immigrant groups, explicitly excluding support to older groups interested in linguistic and cultural retention. Krawchenko immediately denounced the task force in a press release, some of which later appeared in the UCDC document. Before long he was also in Ottawa, sent by a worried UCC to brief the government's Standing Committee on Multiculturalism. To counterpose cultural retention to integration, he argued, was not the best way to improve human relations: "Such tactics establish false dichotomies which threaten to divide ethnocultural groups." To mend political fences Jelinek visited Edmonton on 24-25 May, and at a photo-op at the institute hosted by Krawchenko (I was away at an institute conference at Trent University at the time) he brought the Alberta UCC a cheque for \$30,000. The gesture was so unexpected that "We are not sure," I wrote Frolick, "whether it is part of last year's unfulfilled requests or this year's." Thus, long before the UCDC document was finished, it was clear that under the Conservatives the politics of multiculturalism would differ little from that of the Liberals. The same manipulation would prevail, with minister succeeding minister

(David Crombie replaced Jelinek on 30 June 1986) to the ring of familiar (and at times not so familiar) clichés.

In preparing *Building the Future*, the reformers knew that the document was a non-binding report. No group or organization, not even the UCC executive, was expected to vote on it. In concentrating on communications, the arts, and education, it had of necessity to omit much, the reformers having bitten off far more than could be included within the self-imposed constraints of a document in three languages (English, Ukrainian and French) slated for a UCC congress in mid-October 1986. In the area of my own special interest—language education—Balan's recommendations were rather on the surrealistic side:

- an enrollment of five thousand students in the three Prairie provinces by 1991, together with supportive government policies, legislation and resources;
- *ridni shkoly* that de-emphasized literacy and supplemented the cultural activities of the bilingual classes, all initiated by the provincial UCC councils, assisted by prairie governments and the organizers of summer camps;
- teachers' skills upgraded through a "Regional Ukrainian Language Resource Centre" in western Canada, working jointly with the universities and Ukrainian "publishing organizations"; and
- Ukrainian-language child-care centres (nursery, play school, daycare) established by provincial UCC councils, jointly with bilingual parental associations, prairie governments and the above language resource centre.

By the time the UCC congress reviewed the document in Winnipeg on the Thanksgiving weekend, I was away on study leave in Greece. In mid-October I did learn of its favourable reception from Krawchenko at the international conference on German-Ukrainian relations in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, part of an institute-sponsored series on Ukraine's neighbours. No one, to my knowledge, has since made a study of how well the objectives and goals of the report have been realized. But even with the most able and dedicated leadership, the UCC—the powerless co-ordinating umbrella of its self-centred umbrella organizations—would have found it very difficult to set the many reforms in motion. Only in the arts, especially in Ukrainian dance, could the UCC point to a virtual renaissance of activity. And to anticipate a little, with Ukraine's independence in August 1991, the focus of attention switched dramatically and understandably to the situation overseas, where 'real' community development was suddenly the order of the day.

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Of a very different nature, but still most significant for the politics of multiculturalism in Canada, was an issue that suddenly erupted in the midst of the movement for community reform. In March 1980 Robert Caplan became Canada's first solicitor general of Jewish background and, as an MP whose constituency contained many Holocaust survivors, vowed to address the "Jewish Question" by prosecuting Nazi collaborators among former Displaced Persons in Canada, especially from Central and Eastern Europe. For Ukrainian Canadians, especially those of the last immigration, Caplan's announcement on the CBC television program *the fifth estate* was equivalent to throwing a lighted match into kerosene.

Historically, Jewish-Ukrainian relations in Eastern Europe were anything but good. Ukrainians considered that Jewish small businessmen and Jewish agents for the powerful had exploited them for centuries; Jews regarded Ukrainians as inherently anti-Semitic, given the pogroms in Ukraine. Two items of recent history increased the tension. During the Second World War some Ukrainians, either as prisoners of war or as forced labourers, had served as auxiliaries in Nazi camps that exterminated Jews and others considered "undesirables." Also, after the German defeat at Stalingrad, some Ukrainians had eagerly joined the Waffen-SS Division Galizien (Galicia), formed by the Germans in April 1943 to resist the advancing Soviet armies. To the Jews, this was collaboration with an enemy that even then was perpetrating the dreadful Holocaust; to the Ukrainians, the Division Galizien offered a great opportunity to strike at the Russian-dominated Soviet state that had denied Ukraine its independence in 1918 and later perpetrated the dreadful Great Famine of 1932-33. In Canada official Jewish efforts in 1950 to prevent members of the division from immigrating had failed. British screening, first in Rimini, Italy (where the division was interned after having surrendered to British forces in May 1945), and then in Britain (prior to emigration), had cleared the division of criminal behaviour during the war—a war that had devastated Ukraine and killed millions of Ukrainians, some of whom perished at the hands of Soviet Russian Communists. Thus, to the Ukrainians, anyone seriously intent on prosecuting war criminals had to prosecute them all, Soviets as well as Nazis. Moreover, because members of the anti-Soviet division were clearly vulnerable, Soviet evidence against alleged Ukrainian war criminals had to be avoided in order to ensure justice.

By March 1983 the issue had advanced sufficiently for Caplan to declare publicly that there were more than one thousand former Nazis and collaborators in Canada, eight to nine hundred of whom had come from East European countries. Fearing the worst, on 30 September 1981 the Montreal P & B Club had presented Caplan with several cautionary resolutions at a

closed meeting. Also concerned was Walter Tarnopolsky, a close academic friend of the Jewish Irwin Cotler (later Canada's minister of justice) at McGill University, who, like Tarnopolsky, was a constitutional expert and human-rights activist (and just as Liberal). Believing that an informal private meeting between Jewish and Ukrainian leaders might be useful, they organized one at the Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto on 13 February 1983. Present were Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut, who had fled his native Germany after the Nazis took power in the 1930s, three other Jewish colleagues, Bociurkiw, Savaryn, John Tutecky of St. Catharines (who had succeeded Decore as federation president) and I. All quickly agreed that war criminals had to be prosecuted; differences arose over the use of Soviet evidence and the possible extradition of the indicted, with 'our side' insisting that all trials had to take place in Canada so as to avoid Soviet officialdom, hostile to Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalists" and well-known for its use of tainted evidence. Even when Savaryn and Tutecky questioned the need to reopen old wounds, the exchanges were friendly, though I cannot say that they accomplished much.



The author presents Walter Tarnopolsky for a Doctor of Laws degree (*honoris causa*), University of Alberta convocation, Edmonton, June 1986. In background (left to right) John Schlosser, chairman, Board of Governors; Peter Savaryn, university chancellor; Myer Horowitz, university president.

On 7 April the broadcaster Barbara Frum aired the issue on CBC TV's very popular newsmagazine, *The Journal*, specifically singling out members of the Division Galizien as possible war criminals. At the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Myroslav Yurkevich, a research associate in history, and geographer Lubomyr Luciuk (a recent graduate student, then working on the institute's Ukrainian-Canadian oral history project) immediately prepared a scholarly reply that most Ukrainian newspapers did not carry because of its length. (Some editors may also have believed that if they downplayed the issue, it would go away.) In July a new protagonist—Sol Littman, a semi-retired journalist and the Canadian representative of the Los Angeles branch of the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies in Vienna—entered the fray. He had just published a long article in *Saturday Night* on Helmut Rauca, a Lithuanian accused of collaboration with the Nazis and a Canadian citizen since 1956 who in June 1982 was arraigned in Toronto on Soviet evidence for the murder in 1941 of 10,500 Jews in Kaunas, Lithuania. One-third of the six million Jewish Holocaust victims, Littman declared, had been murdered by Nazi military formations in Eastern Europe:

Ultra-nationalist Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Lithuanians and Estonians formed their own SS units. Members of the Ukrainian Halychyna SS division [i.e., the Waffen-SS Division Galizien] helped put down the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Some of those who took refuge in Canada were among the many non-Germans who volunteered as concentration-camp guards. Others were members of the punitive units and of the Einsatzkommandos that slaughtered thousands of Jews; still others were civil and state officials in puppet governments that did the Nazis' bidding. Some acted out of hatred for the Russians, some out of hatred for communism, some out of a naïve belief that the Germans would help them regain national freedom. All demonstrated an unquestioning acceptance of the centuries-old anti-Semitism endemic in their countries.

During the next eighteen months Littman conducted a sustained campaign along the above lines. In partial response the political scientists Peter Potichnyj and Howard Aster organized the institute's Jewish-Ukrainian history conference at McMaster University in October 1983, and in March 1984 I invited Potichnyj to deliver a Shevchenko Lecture on "Jews and Ukrainians: The Legacy and the Hope," which the *Edmonton Journal* ignored, as usual. By now the national UCC had also created the Civil Liberties Commission, led by John Gregorovich, an activist in Toronto, with Luciuk as its director of research, to contest the spate of allegations. Late in January

1985 the combative Littman outdid himself in alleging that the infamous Joseph Mengele might have tried to enter Canada in 1962 prior to settling in South America. To clear the air, on 2 February the Canadian government appointed a retired judge, Jules Deschênes of the Superior Court of Quebec, to a one-man commission. Four days later the *Globe and Mail* reported that Littman and Simon Wiesenthal had declared on Israeli radio that "218 former Ukrainian officers of Hitler's SS are living in Canada," with Littman singling out Alberta as "a haven for Ukrainian war criminals." In an *Edmonton Journal* interview Krawchenko and Yurkevich immediately challenged the report, and in a press release for the local UCC they showed that the Division Galizien, accused earlier of helping to suppress the Warsaw ghetto uprising (19 April-8 May 1943), did not even exist until July of that year!

Such was the background to the history conference on Ukrainians during the Second World War, hurriedly scheduled by the institute's Toronto office for 2 March 1985. With most postwar Ukrainian émigrés living in eastern Canada, the atmosphere was electric as speaker after speaker, including Yurkevich (who read Krawchenko's paper, as the latter was unable to attend, and his own), presented the Ukrainian case, though again the mainstream press paid little attention. (In 1986 the proceedings were published by the institute as *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath*, edited by Yury Boshyk.) With Deschênes's assistants considering a visit to the Soviet Union, the response of Alexander Podolin at the Soviet embassy was predictable: "We have been trying to get the Canadian side to co-operate on this matter for decades now." However, on 18 November, when the commission indicated that Soviet evidence would only be admitted under Canadian rules, with all witnesses videotaped, the Soviets balked and the commission called off the visit.

The hatred generated by the issue came to the fore on 6 April 1986, the day after the Edmonton UCC branch held an "Educational Seminar on the Deschênes Commission and the Ukrainian Experience during World War II" at the Chateau Lacombe, in which Krawchenko, Yurkevich and David Marples, a contemporary historian on the institute's staff, were prominent. That night in Edmonton, the words "Nazi lies" were painted on the monument in Sir Winston Churchill Square commemorating the millions who had died in the Great Famine in Soviet Ukraine. Krawchenko and I immediately condemned the vandalism in a statement released jointly by the UCC Alberta Provincial Council and the Jewish Federation of Edmonton. On 31 December 1986, a year after the original deadline, Deschênes finally submitted his two-part report. The 966-page public document singled out twenty Nazi war criminals for immediate prosecution; none was Ukrainian. It also exonerated members of the Division Galizien, reprimanded Littman for his "loose language and careless public statements," and avoided Soviet

evidence. It is not known whether Ukrainians figured in the 105 cases slated for “further investigation” in Deschênes’s private report to the government.

By this time the UCDC was far too involved with the conferences and the *Building the Future* document to assist the excellent work of the UCC Civil Liberties Commission, though the participation of Krawchenko, by now a UCDC member from Alberta, was strongly encouraged. For me personally, the indiscriminate Jewish vendetta, some forty years removed from the actual events, was most disturbing because the blanket accusations impugned thousands of innocent Displaced Persons who had earlier undergone untold suffering. Moreover, the aroused suspicions did much to weaken the multicultural movement, for the resulting bitterness was profound, especially among the children of the large postwar immigration. The revived animosity did nothing to dampen such dormant feelings of anti-Semitism as may still have existed among both the young and old.

# Chapter Fourteen

## IMPLEMENTING MULTICULTURALISM AT OTHER LEVELS (1976-86)

### *Implementation in Alberta*

By the mid-1970s the Alberta government's official policy of multiculturalism—"Position Paper No. 7"—was still barely off the ground. In place were an Alberta Cultural Heritage Council (ACHC), a circumscribed program within the Department of Culture, a folksy popular journal (*Heritage*) and a grab bag of grants doled out wholly at the minister's discretion. The subsequent story of multiculturalism in the province is largely one of eking out concessions from what the *Toronto Star* columnist Richard Gwyn in July 1980 termed the "Anglo-Scottish aristocracy... [whose] titular head is [Peter] Lougheed, grandson of Sir James Lougheed, law partner of Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, host to the Duke of Windsor." At 43 per cent of the population in 1981, the Anglo-Celts in Alberta were by far the largest minority, with those of German background a poor second (15 per cent), followed by the Ukrainians and the French (6 and 5 per cent respectively). Although recently outnumbered three to one by non-Anglo immigrants to the province, the "Anglo-Scottish" descendants remained culturally dominant, regularly reinforced by new arrivals from the United Kingdom and Ireland.

In this context, though the Schmids, Hohols, Hyndmans, Koziaks, Shabens, LeMessuriers and Yurkos might be part of government, it was the Lougheeds, Horsmans, Kings, Crawfords, Johnsons, Moores and Reids who set its tone and ultimately determined the cultural forms that would prevail. A dimension that all supported was, of course, Heritage Days, the two- or three-day ethnic festivals at the beginning of August, regularly played up in photos and editorials by opinion leaders like Andrew Snaddon, William Thorsell, Stephen Hume and James P. O'Callaghan of the *Edmonton Journal*. However, apart from the festivals' food and folklore, other ethnocultural aspects were best lived privately—especially the different languages, whose sole apparent purpose was to remind the French to be circumspect in their own demands. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Cultural Heritage Branch and the Heritage Council—the two main promoters of ethnocultural activity in the province—the government was itself little inclined to encourage the kind of bicultural individuals who could give multicultural policies a living base beyond the first immigrant generation.

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Because of the institute and the federal CCCM, my own contacts with the Heritage Council were few before the fall of 1979. Early in 1977, at Horst Schmid's request, I served on an Alberta Culture selection committee to replace Orest Kruhlak as director of the Cultural Heritage Branch, Kruhlak having returned to Ottawa in December. The minister was concerned that the successful candidate be acceptable to "the Ukrainians," and my participation, Savaryn assured him, vouchsafed that. Schmid's move was risky, full of legal (and certainly political) implications had any of the unsuccessful candidates complained about such outside involvement in civil-service appointments. Although my presence raised some eyebrows, neither Walter Kaasa, the assistant deputy minister, nor John Lunn from the Provincial Museum objected, and in the end Elizabeth (Beth) Bryant was the committee's unanimous choice. With a B.A. in psychology from Sir George Williams University in Montreal and earlier work experience in the YMCA (Toronto), the YWCA (Calgary) and (after 1973) at the Alberta Culture office in Calgary, Bryant reeled off the kind of programs the young branch might develop and impressed everyone. Bright and imaginative, with a real interest in improving the situation of ethnocultural minorities, the thirty-six-year-old Bryant was a strong (and covert) feminist whose equity concerns made her an eager advocate of whatever improved human relations.

In November 1977 I also participated in the council's first serious consideration of "Education and Language in an Ethno-Cultural Setting." As a member of the council's Language and Education Committee, I was to comment on the reports of seven discussion groups, reacting to a panel of government, university and school board officials. With most of the council members first-generation Canadians, interested primarily in private Saturday classes, the public-school officials made little impact. Even though the panelists frequently praised the French and Ukrainian bilingual classes in Edmonton, the group reports showed so little interest in similar classes that I was moved to scold the council gently for missing the whole point of the day's proceedings. Thereafter the council, of necessity, was on my personal back burner until 1979.

In the interim the Language and Education Committee was revitalized by chairman Don Vinge, an Edmonton Public School Board assistant superintendent and a member of the 1977 panel. Joining him were Paul Denis, executive director of the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta, and Myroslaw Kohut, the UCC representative on council. The young trio (in their mid to late thirties) was not only professionally well placed and politically conscious but very serious about implementing multiculturalism. Kohut, a partner in Resources Management Consultants, a private research

firm specializing in the management of health (mainly hospital) resources, was well known to me through his wife, Khrystyna, a member of the institute's office staff. Vinge had earlier been very helpful in implementing the Ukrainian bilingual program, and when Kohut, who had children in the program, suggested that the committee launch a major initiative on behalf of bilingual education, Vinge (and of course Denis) quickly embraced the idea. In this they were much assisted by the executive's decision to delegate future council programming to its committees, with the Language and Education Committee in charge of the agenda for February 1980.

The provincial government had spelled out its position on language and culture in an official paper, *Harmony in Diversity: A New Federalism for Canada*, released in October 1978 in advance of the constitutional changes that were always high on Prime Minister Trudeau's political agenda. On language, the government accepted the entrenchment of French as an official language at the federal level. At the provincial level it provided educational services for French where numbers warranted, in keeping with the "best efforts" approach adopted at the Premiers' Conference at St. Andrews, New Brunswick, in 1977 and confirmed by the Alberta cabinet in February 1978. Because *Harmony in Diversity* did not guarantee French schools and because heritage languages were not even mentioned, the Language and Education Committee was strongly motivated to concentrate on bilingual education. Multiculturalism, too, was not recognized in the government's paper, though culture was viewed as "a concurrent power, with provincial paramountcy" in any future constitution. Because the Canadian federation was "predicated on diversity," the government thought it "vital that our cultural diversity be recognized in the Constitution," but it did not indicate how.

On the Language and Education Committee it was soon clear that for the council to be taken seriously, even larger socio-cultural issues had to be raised. As a result, Vinge, Denis, Kohut and I became a special subcommittee to prepare the case for broader recommendations. At our meetings I soon established a very good relationship with Denis, about whom I had heard much from Roger Motut. The subcommittee's report, "Language Rights and Language Opportunities in Alberta," was an omnibus equity document that appeared at a most auspicious time. In March 1979 Horst Schmid was moved to international trade and Mary LeMessurier, also from Edmonton but with roots in eastern Canada, became the new minister of culture. The more activist council members welcomed the change, for after eight years Schmid's generally evasive, feel-good leadership was accompanied by an overly protective attitude toward a system he had created. In the long list of changes in the Language and Education Committee's report, legislation that guaranteed instruction in French *and* other languages was, of course, paramount, but other recommendations called for

- a “special research project” to identify “the degree of participation of members of Alberta’s various ethno-cultural groups in positions of power and decision-making in the political, public and private sectors in Alberta”;
- attention to the horizontal impact of multiculturalism in the departments of education, advanced education, culture, municipal affairs, and federal and intergovernmental affairs;
- a review of Position Paper No. 7 by an interdepartmental committee of deputy ministers to give it “a dynamic view of multiculturalism” not the “static ‘mosaic’ view of culture that was relevant to the 1960’s and early 1970’s”; and
- federal-provincial agreements through the Council of Ministers of Education to bolster heritage-language learning in the public school systems.

Not for a moment did we expect a favourable response to all of the above, but the council’s new audacity (it quickly approved the report in April 1980) at least made the meetings more interesting.

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The work on the subcommittee had two very important outcomes—an immediate attempt by me at *rapprochement* with the provincial French and the eventual passage of the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act in November 1984. Largely as a result of the friendly relationship with Denis, I looked for an opportunity to reach out to his parent body, the Association canadienne-française de l’Alberta, with an eye to bolstering the council’s recommendations. The French predicament was, of course, well known to me, but not until I met Denis had I actually worked with a French Canadian in Alberta who recognized that the needs of the French and the other ethnocultural groups were comparable. Early in June 1980 I thought I saw an opening when the association, in yet another meeting with a government committee, was rebuffed in its quest for a legal guarantee of French education in the province. On 16 June, in a sympathetic letter to the association president, Roger Lalonde, I expressed both disappointment and dismay that it should act alone at a time when Denis and others on the council had just recommended that “the right to instruction in languages other than English be provided through provincial legislation.” The unsuccessful French intervention could make it easier for the government to give the council’s own resolutions “short shrift.”

The approach to Lalonde coincided with the federal government's energetic constitutional initiatives after Quebec's failed referendum in May 1980. As we have seen, Trudeau's so-called people's package contained a charter with a "Minority Language Education Rights" section, guaranteeing what the association had just been denied. If, I reasoned, the local French could be enlisted to support a more liberal constitutional guarantee for language education at the provincial level, opposition to exclusive French language rights could be muted elsewhere, and the new-found unity might sufficiently impress the provincial government for it to support a more liberal education language clause in the constitution. The latter was admittedly a long shot, but if all groups seriously interested in bilingual education sang from the same songbook, the government (with the council's resolutions before it) just might find it too difficult to dismiss the common front.

Lalonde, in reply, explained the political circumstances of the recent meeting and was relieved to learn that the "almost mystical [public] backlash" often invoked by provincial governments against granting French rights did not apply in Alberta. Denis, he added, would organize a meeting of the individuals to whom I had sent copies: Decore, Savaryn, Pidruchny, Kohut, Vinge, Denis, Motut, Gurbachan Paul and James Gerwing, a very active member on the Language and Education Committee from Red Deer. It being summer, a meeting could not be arranged until 22 September. In the meantime, to give the meeting substance I drafted a brief petition to the government that the presidents of the four Alberta organizations with bilingual programs in Edmonton gladly signed, leaving a blank for the French association. Entitled "Our Common Goals," the petition requested that the government amend the Alberta School Act to ensure that all pupils "shall be taught in English and any other language in accordance with the expressed desire of parents."

Although the meetings with the French (the first at the institute and the rest at the association's offices on 109 Street) were very friendly, Lalonde refused to sign the draft petition without "minor" changes, which in their emphasis on "official bilingualism" and exclusive French "rights" showed an uneasiness with the whole project. While clearly supportive of multiculturalism, some of Lalonde's passages also offered the government unnecessary political handles: "...provincial programs and materials should reflect the cultural reality and aspirations of that group whose language is being used as a language of instruction." It was unrealistic, I thought, to intimate a different curriculum for each language of instruction. As the days passed without a signature, an editorial in the *Edmonton Journal* (27 October) brought the discussions to an abrupt end. After Trudeau's constitutional package passed the Commons, the *Journal's* editors encouraged Albertans to embrace the constitutional guarantees to French-language education in the

schools. The embrace would not only reflect “the ‘basic duality of Canada,’” but “*precisely because we are a vigorous multi-cultural society* [emphasis in original], giving the French ‘special status’ would enhance the status of every cultural minority.”

Unimpressed by the editorial’s generalities, I responded with a letter (published on 3 November) that raised “several basic issues”:

Is, for example, “the wider Canadian reality” really a “‘basic duality’”? If so, why do you place the basic duality in quotation marks? Moreover, how do you propose to reconcile that duality with Alberta’s “*vigorous multi-cultural society*” (emphasis yours)? You have also not shown how “every minority would flourish” under the “umbrella” of the basic duality....

Ought not someone who urges others “to stretch beyond familiar limits” to state clearly and precisely how special status for the French would improve the present educational situation of the province’s other ethnocultural minorities in the area of bilingual education? This is especially so in the light of your welcome statement that “all groups are equal.” Equal in what sense? Without specificity you appear to advance cultural plurality as a cover for a single linguistic duality—and this in a province where that particular duality can only benefit from the presence of other linguistic dualities which have a living demographic base and should by now be familiar even to the *Journal*.

Co-signed by Decore as president of the P & B Federation and by Savaryn as president of the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies, the letter, I hoped, would not only educate the editors but bolster the standing of the recent council recommendations before the Lougheed government. It did not, however, please the French, and once Lalonde indicated on the 10<sup>th</sup> that the association “had been fighting for just such [constitutional] recognition for many years,” further meetings were clearly pointless. From the outset, I was concerned to win French support for a situation where no linguistic group in Alberta would have to take a back seat to any other in the public schools. Such support might even stimulate the provincial government to advocate as much at the constitutional table. Perhaps the hope was “politically unrealistic,” as Lalonde later wrote, but convinced as I was that an injustice was being committed *at the educational level*, I thought the gamble worth taking.

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The road from the education subcommittee's report in April 1980 to the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act more than four years later was strewn with political resistance and manipulation. Vinge, Kohut, Denis and Gerwing met with LeMessurier in July and with ministers David King (education) and Jim Horsman (advanced education), Jack O'Neill (LeMessurier's deputy) and Beth Bryant in August. King and Horsman, leaning heavily on *Harmony in Diversity*, repeated the government's well-known position on language and culture, and when not outrightly defensive received the recommendations only as advice from the council. Perhaps anticipating as much, on 10 May the council's executive had already launched its own review of the policy's roots: Position Paper No. 7. The seven-member ad hoc committee (of which Kohut was a member) was chaired by Julius Buski, the council's outgoing chairman, with strong representation from the visible minorities—Baha Abu-Laban (Lebanese), Mohamed Adam (Pakistani), Spencer Gooden (Jamaican) and Tom Nawata (Japanese). As a result, cross-cultural/intercultural relations were added to the more traditional heritage concerns, reflecting the growing impact of Third World immigration on Alberta's political culture.

In a very comprehensive approach that summer, the review committee distributed questionnaires to the ethnocultural groups and compiled a dossier of past council resolutions, various federal and provincial reports on multicultural policy and relevant public statements by the provincial government's chief spokesmen on multiculturalism. At its September meeting the council devoted the entire weekend to the issues under review, and in February 1981 LeMessurier received the committee's report, "Directions for Cultural Heritage Policy in the '80s." Meanwhile the Heritage Branch, having also undertaken a review of Position Paper No. 7, presented the minister with its own report. As a result, on 19 March the Heritage Council's committee and the branch (with LeMessurier present) struck still another committee to integrate the two reports (the language subcommittee's report by now in limbo).

The members of the new Cultural Heritage Policy Development Committee, co-chaired by Vinge (the new council chairman) and Beth Bryant, consisted of the council's former review committee. Working through the spring and summer, the group had a new report before LeMessurier by November. It declared the 1972 policy paper "overtaken by events" and, in accepting the existing position on cultural preservation, added new dimensions derived from demographic, social, economic and cultural changes wrought by recent immigration. To implement the changes, an arm's-length development agency was proposed, at whose heart was the

Heritage Branch (possibly housed separately from Alberta Culture) under the minister, who would also chair the development agency's eight-member, government-appointed board of directors, with representatives from the Heritage Council and the Alberta Cultural Heritage Foundation. The agency was Bryant's special vehicle to get out from under the restrictions on multiculturalism's development imposed by Alberta Culture's senior bureaucrats. Particularly difficult had been Deputy Minister O'Neill, who regularly resisted the budgetary allocations requested by Bryant.

Like Kruhlak at the federal level, Bryant, by 1980, had sized up the limited potential of the Heritage Council and decided to enhance the bureaucratic implementation of multiculturalism through a quasi-independent agency. Through her closeness with LeMessurier (with whom she had bonded well), she would make the latter "look good" while multiculturalism prospered and benefited a government and party that she and her husband strongly supported. The new agency would effect the horizontal approach by ensuring that all government departments and agencies gave multiculturalism the consideration customarily extended to human rights. The new approach, based on a broader definition of culture—one that "reaches beyond dance, music, drama, literature, history and crafts" and takes in social and economic aspects—was designed to discourage racial prejudice and discrimination and to encourage tolerance and understanding. The report linked language learning to international trade and to "personal and cultural expression," but the specific language recommendations and the pointed power-sharing concerns of the earlier subcommittee's report were dropped. Absent also was the term "multiculturalism," out of deference to the government's well-known preference for "cultural heritage." With its eleven appendices, the report was a very impressive document, easily the most challenging on multiculturalism ever submitted to an Alberta government. In its strategic references to the voluntary sector, community involvement and private enterprise, it also touched all the right ideological buttons of the party in power.

Although opposition was certain, the long delay in obtaining a government response was not expected, and in subsequent months much pressure was needed by letter, through the provincial legislature and in the press. Early in December 1982 help came inadvertently from a totally unexpected source. Jim Keegstra, a high school social studies teacher for fourteen years in Eckville, a town west of Red Deer, was removed by the local school board for promoting hatred in his classroom against an identifiable group, the Jews. A strong Christian fundamentalist and a long-time Social Credit Party supporter, Keegstra had imbibed his anti-Semitism while growing up in rural Alberta in the 1930s. The Keegstra affair (as it came to be known) exposed a raw nerve in Alberta's socio-cultural fabric, a heritage of highly individualistic frontier conservatism, laced in some quarters with

the Bible-based prophecy and self-righteous morality promoted by latter-day followers of "Bible Bill" Aberhart and his evangelical successor, Ernest Manning. A cry for tolerance and understanding went up in a province not known for a strong record on human rights. On 7 March 1979, for example, at a meeting arranged by the Heritage Council executive, Max Wyman, chairman of the Alberta Human Rights Commission, indicated "much need for additional legislation" to make the commission an effective body against discrimination. "Human Rights legislation is unpopular," he added; "...a case could be made in the Cabinet but lost in the Caucus."

Alerted by Bryant that the Cabinet Committee on Social Planning was about to consider the council's policy document, I invited Education Minister David King, a member of the committee, to lunch at the Faculty Club on 31 March 1983. Although very keen on a special committee to help diffuse the Keegstra affair, King was absolutely opposed to a mandatory school clause for languages other than English. He did see merit, however, in making cultural policy more socially inclusive—provided that Alberta's dominant "Anglo-Scottish" culture was explicitly recognized (as English had been in the public schools) as the context within which all ethnocultural communities (and languages) had to develop. He saw no need for Bryant's proposed new agency. Instead, the Cultural Heritage Foundation could be given a higher profile through additional lottery monies and specific legislation, enabling ethnocultural groups to have greater input into programming. The Heritage Council, too, still had an important role to play, especially if it were assisted by a new interdepartmental committee of ministers to effect the horizontal approach.

In the legislature in mid-May Lougheed ignored the cultural policy issue in attributing the Keegstra affair mainly to a failure of the educational system to meet professional standards. At the end of June King announced his Committee on Tolerance and Understanding, chaired by Ron Ghitter, the former Conservative MLA (later senator) from Calgary of Jewish background. On 28 June, concerned that Ghitter's public hearings might supersede the policy issue, I wrote Lougheed (at Bryant's request), tying in the "dreadful Keegstra affair" (and other subsequent manifestations of anti-Semitism) to LeMessurier's "inexplicable foot-dragging" on the policy document. Having copied the six members of the Social Planning Committee (as well as Savaryn and Pidruchney), I learned from Savaryn that LeMessurier disliked the letter and had "complained bitterly," though Savaryn himself (unlike Pidruchney) liked it, indicating that for the moment further pressure was unnecessary. In her reply in mid-July LeMessurier denied that she was responsible for the delay and indicated the steps the cabinet had already taken to expedite the policy issue. Even so, by the end of October Henry Woo, the MLA for Edmonton Sherwood Park and a late addition (after visible-minority protests) to the Committee on Tolerance and

Understanding, had to pressure Lougheed in the legislature. Savaryn, too, was moved to write the premier, indicating that "people expect more" than what they had heard at the Heritage Council banquet a year earlier.

In March 1984, with Ghitter's committee in Edmonton, Kohut and Broda presented the brief I had prepared from the Alberta UCDC. Tolerance and understanding, I argued, were the responsibility of the whole society, not just the educational system or the ethnocultural groups and the human and civil rights advocates, the recent focus of political attention. What message, for example, did the fact that most Canadian immigration offices were in the United States, the United Kingdom and northern Europe send to the young about the most desirable racial and ethnic mix in Alberta? And what message, moreover, was the provincial government itself sending by its continued reluctance to accept the Heritage Council's policy document, with its strong emphasis on tolerance and understanding of racial and ethnic attitudes and values? Despite the pressure, not until 12 July 1984 could Petryshyn report that LeMessurier (and Bryant) had finally prevailed before the government's special "Cabinet Committee on Cultural Diversity." Accordingly, on 7 August, after another Bryant visit, I congratulated Lougheed, expressing pleasure that Alberta was prepared "once more to lead in the development of multicultural policies and programmes at the provincial level." It was wise (she thought) to encourage the direction in which the special committee was apparently willing to go.

Not until 2 November, however, did the government actually release its new cultural policy, "Alberta's Cultural Heritage: Building a Tradition." The document consisted of two parts: a section on new initiatives and another containing the very important Alberta Cultural Heritage Act, the first legislation to recognize the province's multicultural nature, though the term itself was not used. Among the initiatives was a "permanent" eight-member Cabinet Committee for Cultural Heritage—the ministers of culture (chair), education, advanced education, labour, manpower, the attorney general and the caucus chairs for Edmonton and Calgary. Its purpose was to effect the horizontal approach—to "ensure that Cultural Heritage is recognized and respected in Alberta in the development of related government policies." Within Alberta Culture, a Cultural Heritage Division was also created, headed by an assistant deputy minister with direct access to the minister, a position tailored by Bryant, who eventually filled it. The division would "foster circumstances" to ensure that Alberta's cultural heritage was "treated as a positive factor in economic, social, artistic and educational development," thereby reinforcing the cabinet committee's horizontal approach.

Absent, however, from the above "development" list was the linguistic dimension, heritage languages having been explicitly confined to "Heritage

Language Schools outside of the public and separate school systems." Another initiative reorganized the Heritage Council into eight regional bodies, with each ethnocultural group in a region entitled to one representative. Bryant wanted the greatly enlarged council to take multiculturalism into every corner of the province. Finally, as King had indicated earlier, the Cultural Heritage Foundation became the new agency, with a lottery-based budget of \$1.3 million, triple the 1983 amount. On 19 December I sent Lougheed the obligatory letter of appreciation (copying LeMessurier and others), while expressing disappointment that the section on "Heritage Languages" made no mention of the bilingual programs introduced by his own government in September 1974. "Your point on Heritage Languages," LeMessurier replied, "was one that apologetically we overlooked and we anticipate this will be brought to the Cabinet Committee with a possible amendment in the near future." Needless to say I was not about to hold my breath!

Although my term on the Heritage Council ended on 31 March 1981, Bryant and Petryshyn continued to keep me well informed. Because bilingual education had been omitted from the above legislation, I did not join in the praise that various ethnocultural groups (Ukrainians included) heaped upon Lougheed at his retirement in October 1985. Moreover, I cannot say that the above legislation improved the situation to any great extent. The foundation certainly made funds more readily available (it was, as we have seen, the source of the provincial UCDC funds), but it was their tripling, not the legislation itself, that made the difference. Nor did the promised horizontal approach amount to much. I can point to nothing that indicated a greater interdepartmental or inter-agency consciousness of multiculturalism in the formation and application of government policy. What did happen was that Beth Bryant's cross-cultural orientation (her "Y" roots showing) now became paramount within the new division, resulting in the eventual removal of her assistant, Roman Petryshyn, who favoured ethnocultural community development. Petryshyn was fine "in an adversarial role" when the future of the policy was uncertain, but he was not (she said) a good manager or administrator, and their incompatible views on future programming made him expendable.

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An important aspect of my work on the Heritage Council was to assist Henry Shimizu, chairman of the council's Cultural Affairs Committee, to organize a conference on "Multiculturalism and Canadian Television" in Edmonton in mid-November 1980. Shimizu was a Canadian-born plastic surgeon of Japanese origin whom I had befriended at the annual New Year's Day socials at the Bryants'. The purpose of the media conference was

to sensitize television educators at Grant MacEwan College, the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology and the provincial television network (ACCESS) to multiculturalism through exposure to such high-profile panelists as Peter Herrndorff (CBC) and Adrienne Clarkson (CTV). Of the two, the Hong-Kong-born Clarkson (Canada's future governor general of Chinese background) was by far the more helpful. In advocating change in TV programming, she called for multiculturalism to rise above the "ghettos of eating and dancing" and consider the nature of power and authority in Canadian society, for "Such in this country is still basically British." Herrndorff, on the other hand, essentially repeated the CBC's earlier line about its being already well into multicultural broadcasting. When I suggested that in his future world of seventy or eighty TV channels the CBC might need "allies," and that the inclusion of ethnocultural programming now might well pay rich dividends later, Herrndorff saw no need for any special initiatives in that regard. Like the earlier meeting with the CCCM in Ottawa, the session in Edmonton did nothing to make the CBC any more receptive to multiculturalism.

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Besides the Heritage Council, I also followed closely the future development of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, the outdoor museum purchased by the Alberta government, diagonally across from Elk Island National Park, some thirty-five kilometres east of Edmonton on Highway 16. The village, originally founded by the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Society (established in 1971), was conceived by one Frank Lakusta, who had earlier collected many fine artifacts from the large Ukrainian bloc settlement north and east of the future village. Through donations and federal grants (in which the influence of Edmonton's former Liberal mayor William Hawrelak was considerable), the society had purchased land onto which several old buildings from the bloc had been relocated. The enthusiastic Lakusta was a man of strong opinions, and a falling-out with the society was perhaps inevitable. To save the village Savaryn persuaded Premier Lougheed and Bill Yurko, minister of public works, whose family (Ukrainian father/Romanian mother) farmed in the Boian district east of Willingdon, to purchase the society's land and buildings in March 1975. More than two years later Horst Schmid finally appointed a fourteen-member Advisory Board and requested that I chair it. Because most board members, drawn from several Ukrainian organizations, had little historical expertise, I could not refuse, the fledgling institute and the CCCM notwithstanding.



The author as chairman, Advisory Council, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, at a post-mortem on "Ukrainian Day," August 1977. Also shown (left to right) Peter Savaryn; Orest Kruhlak, director, Alberta Cultural Heritage Branch; Anne Marie Decore; Natalia Lupul.

At its first meeting on 17 August the board approved the "Master Plan" presented by Roman Fodchuk & Associates, a Calgary firm specializing in landscape architecture and recreational planning. The plan encompassed three main areas: the farmstead, the rural community and the urban centre, each to be developed by the government's Historic Sites Services, which administered the village. The board also approved a research officer to assist Roman Ostashewsky, the director of the village, which quickly brought Radomir Bilash, a young cultural anthropologist from Winnipeg at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in Saskatoon, to Edmonton.

Shortly after the second board meeting in December, an unexpected visit to the institute by V. F. Skofenko, the first secretary of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, led to my resignation in mid-January. Skofenko wanted my support for the removal to the village of the Soviet-donated statue of the Ukrainian writer, Vasyl Stefanyk, then crowding the Ukrainian Centre, the pro-Soviet hall on 97 Street. If I could not endorse the move, I should at least not oppose it. At the time the institute was in the throes of negotiating its first exchange agreement with the Soviets, which agreement was even then before the Canada-U.S.S.R. "Mixed Commission," meeting in Ottawa. The meaning of the visit, I concluded, was clear: we will help you (maybe) if you help us (now). Such help, however, could carry a heavy price, for moving the statue would likely split the non-communist Ukrainian community in Edmonton, as it had already done in Saskatoon after the university accepted the Soviet

statue of another Ukrainian literary icon, Lesia Ukrainka. Caught in a Catch-22 situation—if I assisted the Soviets, the institute might suffer, and if I did not, it might also suffer—I resigned in order to protect the young institute, a step I always regretted.

In subsequent years I was occasionally asked to help mediate political issues that affected the village. A case in point was the impact of the latter on Elk Island Park, where in the early 1960s the federal government, through MP John Decore's influence, had erected a thatched, whitewashed Ukrainian house to commemorate the Ukrainian pioneers. For many years the Ukrainian Pioneers' Association had held its annual commemorative days in the park, and near the house it had eventually erected a monument. In the late 1970s, as the annual "Ukrainian Day" became a fixture in the village, the association had first to fight off the federal bureaucracy (now bent on tearing down the Ukrainian house) and then to secure funds to repair the crumbling foundation of the monument. Through Laurence Decore's influence and mine the proposed demolition was stopped, but the fate of the monument hung in the balance for years, with the association itself eventually split on the monument's long-term value, especially after August 1980, when the village unveiled Leo Mol (Molodozanin)'s large, impressive bronze sculpture of the Ukrainian pioneer family.

Of a different nature was the mediation solicited by Roman Ostashevsky. Concerned about the strong emphasis within government on developing the material culture of the village for touristic purposes, Ostashevsky also wished to see it become a centre for the study of folk culture in western Canada. It was important, he thought, to describe the cultural transformation of Ukrainian traits, rituals and values in the New World. The idea was sound, for that was precisely how the French had developed their excellent folk-culture studies in Quebec. However, Frits Pannekoek, the director of Historic Sites Services, saw the village (in bureaucratese) as "the centre for strengthening and reviving Ukrainian folk arts and for ensuring not only a public understanding of the Ukrainian experience in east-central Alberta...but increasing as well the scholarship devoted to the understanding of that experience." To that end "trained guides" were needed, which naturally aroused the interest of the university's Department of Slavic and East European Studies, always keen to increase enrollments. After a full-day meeting on campus in mid-December 1982, organized by Carl Betke, senior research historian at Historic Sites, the latter entered into extensive discussions with the department for a suitable preparatory program. I, in turn, soon found myself on a steering committee with Betke, Bohdan Medwidsky (Slavic studies) and John Foster (history) to promote research and education on behalf of the village. In this way, Ostashevsky's initiative was neatly diverted into academic studies on campus (which

greatly pleased the Slavic department), with a research-based conference in the village, ostensibly to please the institute.

The resulting conference, "Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians," was less than satisfactory. "While some speakers," I wrote Pannekoek in mid-July 1985, "turned philosophical cartwheels on the theme of continuity and change and others spoke learnedly of the culture in Western Ukraine, very few could address what was central to the conference and to the needs of the Village, namely, the elements of old-world culture which survived in the new world, the reasons for their survival and the forms that their cultural survival took." In short, what was still needed was a research component within the village to study the nature of Ukrainian folk culture *in Canada*. Pannekoek, however, wanted on-site research to support only "intensive restoration and furnishings efforts at the village"—its priorities, he said, until 1989. In fact, so extensive did the restoration dimension become that restoration operations for the *entire* province were soon centred in the village. Perhaps if folklorist Robert Klymasz (who had applied in the early 1980s) had been hired to direct the village, the possibility of conducting serious folkloric research might have been better. As a result, the historic museum did not realize its full potential as a research centre. Even so, the village was a very fine undertaking, developed at a cost that by the mid-1980s approached fifteen million dollars—the largest such investment in a Ukrainian project outside Ukraine. To most within Historic Sites, however, it was always more illustrative of Alberta's pioneer past, not Ukrainian culture *per se*, though using Ukrainians as a social subtext for pioneering was certainly appropriate, considering their large impact in the province.

### *Implementation in Edmonton*

I was much less involved in the politics of multiculturalism at the municipal level, though once Laurence Decore became mayor in 1983 his interest in a multicultural policy for the city of Edmonton made participation inevitable. From 1977, when Edmonton City Council first indicated the need for a municipal cultural policy, the issue lay dormant until the spring of 1982, when the city's arts groups finally took it up. In the interim Edmonton's vaunted reputation as a multicultural city was expressed mainly through the annual celebration of Heritage Days in Hawrelak Park and in the naming of districts and streets. In July 1979, for example, City Council approved the following "tongue-twisters" (Alderman Paul Norris's words) for the Lake District in northwest Edmonton: Lago Lindo (Spanish for pretty lake), Klarvatten (Swedish for clear water), Crystallina Nera (Greek for crystal waters), Joviz (Hungarian for good water), Schonsee

(German for beautiful lake), Mayliewan and Belle Rive (Chinese and Italian for beautiful shores), Ozerna (Ukrainian for lake area) and Eaux Claires (French for clear waters)! By the 1980s, apart from Chinatown, the most visibly ethnic part of Edmonton were the Italian stores and cafes on 95 Street, where Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) Day was regularly celebrated in June in the city's Gyro Park on 108 Avenue. In the late 1970s Al Iafolla, a young Liberal with political ambitions, had begun to press City Council to name the park after Caboto, and his lobbying was crowned with success in August 1981. A ribbon-cutting ceremony followed, attended by the mayor (Cec Purves), several aldermen, Mary LeMessurier and even Jim Fleming—and the *Edmonton Journal* reported the event, though not in the same grand style as Heritage Days, which it practically drowned in write-ups, pictures and effusive editorials.

In mid-March 1982, to spur the development of a cultural policy for the city, the Parks and Recreation Department held a workshop for professional arts groups at Grant MacEwan College, where various approaches to arts administration, arts funding and the city's role in arts advocacy were outlined. Resolutions were passed—including one declaring the professional and amateur arts to be distinct—and a ten-member steering committee from the symphony, opera, theatre and ballet groups was struck to establish a "full-time advocacy group" for the city's performing artists. At the time Parks and Recreation was responsible to City Council for "culture" through a council-appointed Cultural Advisory Board of twelve citizens, including a special subcommittee of three closest to the local cultural groups for purposes of funding. A veteran on the subcommittee was the first-generation Indo-Canadian Krishan Joshee, a past president of the Heritage Days Festival and, like Savaryn, prominent within Lougheed's Conservative Party and thus close to Schmid/LeMessurier and the Cultural Heritage Council. A provincial civil servant, Joshee had a knack for cultivating the politically ambitious, who in the fall of 1982, a year before the next mayoralty election, certainly included Laurence Decore.

Decore, as we have seen, was much influenced by Gurbachan Paul's holistic approach to multiculturalism as social policy, one that he wished to apply at the municipal level. Disturbed by a white paper, "The Development of a Cultural Policy for the City of Edmonton," released by Parks and Recreation on 23 June 1982, which ignored the ethnocultural dimension, Decore, with Joshee's help, quickly formed a twelve-member Edmonton Committee on Multiculturalism, chaired by Iafolla, of which Myroslaw Kohut and I were members. The result was a second policy paper, "Multiculturalism: A Component of a Cultural Policy," prepared by Iafolla, Joshee, Mohamed Adam and David Bai, the latter two prominent in the Pakistani and Korean communities, respectively. Iafolla was close to

the recently built Italian Cultural Centre, for which he had obtained a grant of \$135,000 from the city's Major Cultural/Recreational (MCR) Facility Development Program (itself mainly derived from provincial grants), and smaller groups like the Koreans and Pakistanis looked to him for help in obtaining meeting space from the city.



Official opening of first multicultural centre, McKay House, Edmonton, April 1984. (Left to right) David Bai, chairman, Edmonton Immigrant Services Association; Beth Bryant, director, Alberta Cultural Heritage Branch; Krishan Joshee, Alberta Cultural Heritage Foundation; Roman Petryshyn, assistant director, Alberta Cultural Heritage Branch; Al Iafolla, Giovanni Caboto Cultural Society.

With Decore's support among the Caucasian ethnic groups assured, he cultivated the visible minorities by including leaders like Dick Wong, Beth Bryant's former assistant director, and Spencer Gooden, the Jamaican-born chairman of the Cultural Heritage Council, on the above Committee on Multiculturalism. My own role on the same committee was to edit the policy paper in time for a large public meeting at the M. E. Lazerte Composite High School on 20 September, chaired by Decore. After the 250-300 invited ethnic representatives broke into workshops to vote on the policy paper's recommendations, my workshop of about thirty-five individuals, on which the visible minorities were well-represented, was strongly encouraged (under hostile Caucasian questioning) to emphasize both racial bias in the delivery of municipal services and the need for affirmative action.

The multicultural committee's policy paper was an audacious document. Adopting the anthropologist's definition of culture as a way of life, it proposed to support the ethnic arts on the same basis as mainstream arts: "Ukrainian dance, for example, should be considered in equal relationship to ballet, jazz and tap dance," with funds and services offered "on an equivalent basis." It also endorsed tax and rental concessions to all existing ethnocultural facilities, along with MCR grants similar to those recently received by the Italian Cultural Centre, the Dutch Canadian Club, the Sikh Cultural Society of Alberta and the Hungarian Cultural Centre. Proposed also was additional space for smaller, emergent organizations and a permanent City Council committee on multiculturalism to ensure that ethnocultural concerns about policing, cross-cultural awareness, multilingual services and senior managerial positions were given "the attention they deserve."

The committee's approach to funding was equally hard-nosed, insisting upon a 50-50 split between cultural (i.e., arts) projects and ethnocultural projects, with recreational and athletic activities (highly favoured by the city's community leagues) played down. The committee was appalled that of the \$21,400,000 received from the province for culture since the mid-1970s under the MCR program, only \$527,740 had been allocated to ethnocultural projects. Of the city's own grants-in-aid program, totalling \$11,551,460, only \$62,170 had been similarly allocated. Astonished by the committee's report, the Parks and Recreation Department released a revised paper ("Towards an Arts Policy") in May 1983 that recognized the Committee on Multiculturalism as a legitimate stakeholder in the arts community ("representing the ethnocultural arts and crafts") and assigned it one member on a ten-member advisory committee to devise a grant-giving system for an enlarged Parks, Recreation and Cultural Advisory Board.

Invited by Iafolla to a meeting on 19 July with Peter Carter, director of the Edmonton Art Gallery, I heard the department's revised paper strongly criticized for suggesting the need for more study and for failing to include ethnocultural centres in the discussion of space needs and tax exemptions on artists' facilities (studios and non-profit galleries). As a result, Iafolla now pressed the multicultural document even more strenuously upon City Council. Late in September the provincial legislature further complicated matters when it passed a private member's bill that gave the city's Jewish Community Centre tax-exempt status and deprived the city of \$48,000 in 1983-84, a move criticized by aldermen Ron Hayter and Ed Leger, who disliked the prospect of thirty-three other "clubs" pressing to join the eighty-four already enjoying similar status and costing the city more than two million dollars annually.

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On 17 October 1983 Decore defeated incumbent mayor Cec Purves, taking 73 per cent of the vote. Although he himself had carefully kept ethnocultural issues under wraps, the Committee on Multiculturalism organized a well-attended electoral forum on the 13<sup>th</sup>, where mayoralty and aldermanic candidates were peppered (in a tape-recorded session) with questions about multiculturalism, the tax issue and equal funding for ethnic, arts and recreation groups. Thereafter silence descended upon the issue, though Decore assured me in January at a "Malanka" in the Faculty Club that a policy would soon be forthcoming.

In May the council created what came to be known as "The Mayor's Task Force on Culture," embarking on the long and arduous road to obtain some form of participatory and financial cultural equity. Chairman of the eleven-member Task Force was Alderman Percy Wickman, a Liberal and a wheel-chair paraplegic sympathetic to ethnic minorities, who became Decore's strongest ally. Assisting him were five representatives from the ethnocultural sector (among them Joshee, Bai and, on my recommendation, the young Daria Ivanochko from the UCDC) and five from the arts sector: Tommy Banks, Helen Collinson, Margaret Clark, Maggie Morris and Clive Podfield. Six months later the Task Force recommended a sixteen-member cultural commission of two equal components, one for the arts, the other for multiculturalism. City Council would appoint one-half of the commission, with the arts and ethnocultural communities selecting the other half, the chair to be elected "from either inside or outside their membership." A committee of six—the commission's chair, an alderman and two elected members from each of the arts and multicultural components—would coordinate the cultural commission. On funding, the Task Force recommended that the council annually allocate a fixed percentage of the municipal mill rate to the commission.

The Task Force proposed a sharing of power that was bound to upset the non-ethnically conscious majority. In mid-March 1985 Decore received his first setback when the four-man Executive Committee created by him to expedite council business had its recommendation to forgive \$345,000 in rent, taxes and penalties owed by six ethnocultural groups blocked by council. In response, Iafolla immediately created the Edmonton Cultural Caucus to lobby council on behalf of nineteen similar organizations holding or leasing land from the city. On 23 April the Executive Committee sustained a second check when council rejected its proposal that, with the provincial MCR grants doubling, the share for the cultural groups be raised from 25 to 40 per cent. Olive Elliott of the *Edmonton Journal*, an inveterate opponent of multiculturalism, cheered the setbacks at every turn. To her, the Task

Force's "silly" report contained both unaccountable financial provisions and inevitable strife over funds and grants criteria that the two components were to establish.

Annoyed by Elliott's constant carping, on 7 May I protested in a public letter, lamenting the council's recent money votes that would have helped ethnocultural groups "raise the quality of their activities and enrich the cultural diversity of which all Canadians are so proud—in August!"

What the majority of City Council, Ms. Elliott and all who enjoy Heritage Days must realize is that the cultural activities which are displayed in August...are not simply preserved in jars or cans and let loose like genies for two or three days in mid-summer. They are artistic creations that are carefully nurtured and developed in all kinds of private ways by organizations whose annual investment contributes mightily to the GNP. Thus what the ethnocultural groups seek is not concessions or handouts but consideration for the cost to them of the cultural and financial benefits we all experience from their activities—a consideration which is more substantial than a picture on the *Journal's* front page or the more usual condescending and patronizing remarks which all of today's aldermen will again trot out at the next city election.

Late in July Elliott returned to the attack in an insolent piece on "the trap of multiculturalism," reiterating familiar themes in the literature on Canadianization written by pre-Second World War Anglo-conformists. Her numerous question-begging generalities (e.g., "culture is cosmopolitan; multiculturalism is parochial") reduced the column, I thought, to "unsubstantiated drivel"—to an "essay in prejudice":

It is a vicious and mean diatribe in the worst tradition of those produced by chauvinistic unicultural and unilingual bigots who have no understanding of what it takes to build a society that appreciates cultural and linguistic differences. But until such insulting people can furnish facts for their fatuous statements, they should be taken no more seriously than the hundreds who dished out countless citizenship lessons throughout this country to the bicultural and bilingual advocates of meaningful respect for Canada's cultural differences, which hopefully will continue to plague impressionistic and simplistic columnists like Olive Elliott for a good long time to come.

My reply aroused considerable comment (mostly favourable), though Elliott herself made no effort then or later to show how multiculturalism as public policy “stunts the individual” or how those who valued multiculturalism were “subCanadians.”

Shortly after Iafolla created the Edmonton Cultural Caucus, Peter Carter of the Art Gallery, feeling threatened, organized the Edmonton Professional Arts Caucus. As a result, I helped the two groups hammer out still another, even longer document during the summer, whose grandfather clause allayed the arts community’s growing uneasiness about sharing its “meagre” funds with multiculturalism. The new agreement guaranteed the arts the 1984-85 base budget, with only *new* funds to be allocated on a 50-50 basis between the two groups. However, the suspicious City Council was in no hurry to act. While approving the cultural-commission-idea in principle, on 12 November it established a six-member Implementation Committee, chaired by Wickman. Represented on the new committee were the civic administration, the Cultural Caucus, the Professional Arts Caucus, the Parks, Recreation and Cultural Advisory Board and the Edmonton Federation of Community Leagues, the latter (egged on by Elliott) now also a prominent player. Elliott strongly denied that the issue was between the “Anglos” and the “ethnic organizations”:

...it’s not only Anglos who support the arts—and, given a choice between money for the arts and money for ethnic organizations, many of those non-Anglos might just opt for the arts.

Wickman’s committee faced an enormous task. Besides a budget for the proposed cultural commission, it had to ensure accountability, incorporate tax and rental subsidies to the civic groups, define the relations of the new commission to the Parks, Recreation and Cultural Advisory Board and establish a rationale for the funding of all festivals, apart from Klondike Days. The tall order was made even taller by the inclusion of the community leagues, which now insisted that they, not the arts or the ethnocultural groups, were the “real” communities. By mid-February 1986, with the Implementation Committee stymied and another mayoralty contest on the horizon, Elliott urged “a strong slate of aggressive aldermanic candidates... to deal effectively with the mayor” on the multicultural issue. A week later Frank Hutton, another *Journal* columnist unsympathetic to multiculturalism, questioned “the political benefits [to Decore] in identifying oneself with selected minorities to the exclusion of the majority.”

On 12 March Elliott gleefully announced the withdrawal from the Implementation Committee of the Federation of Community Leagues, unhappy with the prospect of having to share recreation dollars with the arts

and ethnocultural groups. And in mid-April columnist Graham Hicks in the more brash *Edmonton Sun* finally asked the fundamental question:

Why should the city subsidize day-to-day operations of any amateur dance or choral group, cultural or multicultural? Where does the line get drawn between cultural and multicultural?

Such questions had occasionally surfaced privately, but no one was prepared to meet them head on for fear of encouraging the ever-present detractors of multiculturalism. Even in my own 1982 paper on the political implementation of multiculturalism, I did not touch the very delicate cultural/ethnocultural, professional/amateur issues. It just seemed too obvious that once one got past Edmonton's semi-professional Shumka Dancers, there were no ethnocultural equivalents of the Citadel Theatre, the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra or the Edmonton Opera.

By mid-July 1986 at least three versions of a cultural policy had been rejected by the Implementation Committee. As a result, it decided to scrap the cultural-commission-idea in favour of an enlarged Parks, Recreation and Cultural Advisory Board. The city would appoint six members (two each from the arts, ethnocultural, and recreation communities) and the communities appoint twelve (four each from the Cultural Caucus, the Arts Caucus and the Community Leagues), with the new board to recommend on the distribution of all city grants-in-aid, provincial MCR grants and festival funding (Klondike Days again excepted). In mid-August, however, the bylaw creating the new board was lost in council on a tie vote. With an election looming, on 9 September a smaller (fifteen-member) board—three members from each of the ethnocultural, arts and community leagues, two from the city's school boards and four citizens-at-large—passed first reading 8-4. Although this was a victory of sorts for Decore, Elliott did not think it amounted to much—at least nothing he could not have achieved “in the first month after his election with a simple amendment to the advisory board bylaw.”

And Elliott was probably right, for though Decore easily swept to a second mayoralty victory in October, the new Advisory Board was still without a municipal cultural policy—termed a “flawed Utopian nightmare” by *Journal* columnist John Geiger as late as October 1988. In the fall of 1989 one of the two ethnic representatives on the Advisory Board resigned, “appalled [at] how cultural organizations have been treated by city council,” now under acting mayor Terry Cavanagh, Decore having left municipal for provincial politics on his way to becoming Alberta's Liberal leader. Although Alderman Jan Reimer denied that the council was ignoring the board, she did admit that the continuing lack of a cultural policy was part of the problem.

Nor was the tax-exemption issue resolved more satisfactorily. Shortly after his re-election in 1986, Decore worked out “a deal” with Culture Minister Dennis Anderson, LeMessurier’s successor, whereby the city would receive \$340,909 if it forgave the \$681,818 in rent and taxes owed by six ethnocultural organizations. On 13 January 1987 City Council turned down the deal on equity grounds, ironically pointing to the seventy similar groups that had consistently *met* their financial obligations! At bottom, however, both the city and the province were to blame, for neither possessed a clear policy on exemptions. Under political pressure, anomalies multiplied through exemptions to churches, schools, theatres, golf clubs, hospitals and, most recently, the Jewish Community Centre, with little regard to either purpose or function. Iafolla’s decision in March 1983 to use the Italian Cultural Centre as a test case by deliberately withholding taxes—even though the centre, like the equally tax-exempt Mayfair Golf and Country Club, was a paying proposition—brought no quick resolution, the issue being still in dispute six years later. In the early 1990s, with the political backlash against multiculturalism growing, both issues—a cultural policy for the city and tax exemption—gradually petered out, and the city’s “Anglo-Scottish” cultural hegemony had withstood its most serious challenge ever!

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As we have seen, I had long thought it important to have Edmonton’s multicultural dimension incorporated into Fort Edmonton Park, the city’s major historical attraction. As a member of the Edmonton Historical Board, I had obtained funds (\$12,000) from Horst Schmid for the Parks and Recreation Department to research the “story of ethnic groups” in Edmonton. The result was a report on the “Ukrainian Story in Edmonton and Its Portrayal,” produced by a history student during the summer of 1974. The specifically Ukrainian focus was likely the work of Mary Lobay, a colleague on the board, who had earlier suggested the reconstruction of the “small Edmonton laboratory” in which Roman Gonsett, the pre-First World War Ukrainian-Canadian inventor who later prospered in California, had his beginnings. The idea fell through when Gonsett’s widow categorically rejected it. The ideal was a Ukrainian building on the 1905 Street in Fort Edmonton Park, and to that end the young historian included several photographs of old houses in the poorer McCauley and Norwood districts and in the Riverdale and Rossdale flats. When I placed the photos before the Multicultural Committee in December 1976, all agreed that something more distinctive was needed than a typical worker’s wooden frame dwelling.

I think it was also from Lobay that I first heard about building a replica of the original Ukrainian Book Store on the park’s 1905 Street. Sizing up

the building (at 10234 96 Street), I was at first unimpressed, for there really was little to distinguish its two-storey structure from any number of other commercial buildings. However, with little else available, I phoned Bohdan (Bob) Melnychuk, owner of the book store's latest version on 97 Street, and wrote up a brief historical note for presentation to the Historical Board on 27 January 1977. Founded in 1910 by Michael Ferbey, the original store was "the first and oldest book store in Edmonton," according to Melnychuk (a claim later disputed by Parks and Recreation officials), and thus impressive enough for acceptance by the board "as the Ethnic (Ukrainian) Element on 1905-1920 Street." It helped greatly that the store—and its immediate successor on 101 Street—had served as quasi-social centres, where rural shoppers and other Ukrainian visitors to Edmonton invariably stopped to obtain information about the city's professional and other services, as well as to catch up on the latest news and gossip.

Because of my fairly frequent absences in 1976 and 1977, my six-year term on the board was not renewed in 1978, and Lobay, who by then was also a member of the Fort Edmonton Park Historical Foundation, was left to shepherd the book store project. In the fall of 1979 she and Ken Kobylka, the manager of Fort Edmonton Park, approached me to help "sell" the idea to the P & B Club as a joint venture with the Fort Edmonton Foundation and the provincial government. The government would match the funds raised by the club for the foundation, which supervised the park's administration by the city's Parks and Recreation Department. Having earlier saddled the club with several fund-raising projects, I presented the sensitive matter to its executive in December as one they had only to initiate, with the actual fund-raising to be conducted by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

The club's Ukrainian Book Store Committee, struck with little enthusiasm, did not meet until mid-June, and not until 1 October 1980 did it finally invite some fifty UCC representatives to launch a fund-raising campaign headed by Lobay. At the next meeting in Fort Edmonton fund-raising began in earnest after Savaryn outlined a plan to generate the required \$100,000. Response to the project was surprisingly good and \$2,850 was raised that very evening. Thereafter the organizations contributed well and the campaign ended in the spring of 1982, with the official sod-turning ceremony in June. As promised, the foundation obtained matching funds from the government, and the reconstructed Ukrainian Book Store was officially opened a year later—certainly one of the more satisfying Ukrainian projects I ever experienced. Of the numerous donations, the most imaginative was the \$5,000 from the Leo J. Krysa Family Foundation to ensure the Book Store's upkeep in perpetuity.

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The close association with Lobay and Decore was responsible for my being appointed to the Fort Edmonton Management Committee in April 1982. In 1980 the City of Edmonton had entered into a new agreement with the Fort Edmonton Foundation, whereby the latter operated the park through an eleven-member Management Committee, six from the foundation and five appointed by City Council. From the ethnocultural sector Florence Pidruchney (Bill's wife) and I came on as city appointees, joined later by sociologist Raj Pannu from the university's Department of Educational Foundations. On the fort's drawing board were Chinese, German and Jewish projects, the Ukrainian one having taken precedence only because the Ukrainians had contributed the necessary funds.

The monthly committee meetings were largely routine until early in 1985, when I introduced the Al Rashid Mosque project. The mosque, constructed in 1938, was relocated in 1946 to make room for the Victoria Composite High School. In 1982 it had again forfeited its site near the Royal Alexandra Hospital for city land (and funds) on which the Canadian Islamic Centre was eventually built. With the city proposing hospital expansion and urging another removal, I placed the acquisition of the mosque on the Management Committee's agenda. As the first such building in Canada, perhaps even in North America, it was, I thought, "a historical gem." To my great surprise, some members—most notably George Lord, a foundation appointee who chaired the committee's very important Planning Committee—resisted the move. In April Lord postponed an immediate decision by proposing a study of the park's Master Plan at a cost of some \$40,000. Although Lobay, Pidruchney, Pannu and I objected, the protests were mild, for the plan had not been reviewed since its inception in 1967-68.

As originally conceived, the last of the park's four historical periods was the 1920 Street (1919-1929). To Lord, the implications of extending the plan into the 1930s to accommodate the mosque had to be studied; to me, with retirement from the institute (and from the committee) imminent, the earliest possible relocation of the mosque was crucial. In the circumstances I aroused the interest of Richard Awid, a former junior high school student of mine in Edmonton, now secretary of the Canadian Arab Friendship Association, whom I had met at a meeting of the Edmonton Multicultural Society. He appeared before the Management Committee in March 1986, but the meeting settled little. The cost of moving and renovating the mosque was approximately \$100,000, an amount the association had still to raise. Provincial funding, too, was uncertain, for the mosque, having been moved from its original site in 1946, had not been officially designated a historical building and was thus ineligible for provincial relocation funds. As a result,

when I left the Management Committee at the end of June, the matter was still unresolved. Fortunately, ways were found to accommodate the mosque in 1988-89 after the province matched the \$75,000 raised by the Friends of the Al Rashid Mosque. Although the Fort Edmonton Historical Foundation accepted the old mosque, it did so reluctantly and under some duress: "If it is clearly an exception and not a precedent, I think we can live with it," declared Brian Tod, a prominent foundation director.

### *Implementation in the Academy*

In the decade under review ethnic studies in the academy really came into their own, reflecting the country's growing acceptance of multiculturalism, which likely peaked in the mid-1980s. The focal point for scholars was the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association and its flagship, the *Canadian Ethnic Studies* journal. A major source of funding for research and publications was the federal government's Canadian Ethnic Studies Advisory Committee, on which the institute's Bohdan Krawchenko was a member after 1979. Besides the ethnic histories (some twenty-four by 1977, with those on the Portuguese, Poles and Scots already published) and the chairs of ethnic studies (some half dozen by 1986), the federal government also established the National Heritage Languages Resource Unit at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto in January 1984. At the University of Alberta a Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures opened in July 1981, and in Toronto the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, whose bulletin, *Polyphony*, began appearing in 1977, held a major conference on the "State of the Art" in May 1980, which took stock of the expansion of ethnic studies and explored future directions. The individual who probably did most to put ethnic studies on the academic map was the historian Howard Palmer at the University of Calgary. I personally benefited much from his publications, most notably his book, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (1982). For reasons never entirely clear he committed suicide in 1991.

My own contribution to ethnic studies as a historian was modest. I authored no books, though I did edit several in Ukrainian-Canadian studies. Of institute conferences few had a direct bearing on the politics of multiculturalism. A clear exception was the institute's first, "Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism and Separatism: An Assessment," in September 1977, organized within a year of the Parti Québécois victory in 1976. Once Camille Laurin, minister of cultural development in René Lévesque's government and the author of Bill 101, agreed to be the keynote speaker, I knew we had the makings of an important conference. Although the controversial subject raised eyebrows among some older Ukrainian-Canadian leaders, I was concerned to demonstrate that national unity mattered as much to the "ethnics" as to the French and the so-called English.

Laurin, ever the psychiatrist, gave his usual calm, smooth, totally unruffled presentation that so annoyed Keith Spicer, the former commissioner of official languages (whom Orest Kruhlak, Spicer's former student, had persuaded to be the banquet speaker), that he privately questioned the wisdom of giving Laurin such a respectable platform. However, with the PQ in power, there was a great need to show that Ukrainian Canadians could not easily favour Ukraine's self-determination without at least considering Quebec's, as long as the federalists themselves either dismissed the concerns of Quebecers or advocated only minor adjustments that ignored deeper aspirations. In my own paper on "Canada's Options in a Time of Political Crisis and Their Implications for Multiculturalism," the separatists were portrayed as politicians angry at the mainly unilingual "Anglos" in Quebec, who had only to learn and *use* French (i.e., become bilingual) to ease tensions. Perhaps if more attention were paid to "regional federalism," which accepted bilingualism and multiculturalism as complementary national policies with implementation according to local needs, both concepts would reinforce each other and help counter the sense of alienation felt in different parts of the country.



"Multiculturalism and Separatism," CIUS conference, University of Alberta, Edmonton, September 1977. (Left to right) Walter Tarnopolsky (York University); Bohdan Bociurkiw (Carleton University); Camille Laurin, minister of state (cultural development), Quebec.

Another institute conference into which I injected a modest Canadian dimension was “Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective” at McMaster University in October 1983. In the course of a terrible division between the Ukrainian and Jewish scholars at a concluding “round-table discussion,” I used the Canadian “English-French” dispute to remind both sides (in a statement that showed how far I had personally come in recent years) that in such discussions some agreement on basic principles was most important:

...you will not get very far with any French Canadians if you don't grant them—whether you like to or not—that they are one of the founding peoples of Canada.... From that premise if you do not go farther and say that we should strive to develop an English-French bilingual country.... I assure you, you will not dialogue long.... And I suggest, therefore,...that it is incumbent upon both sides, the Jewish and the Ukrainian, and especially incumbent upon the historians of both sides, to articulate clearly and well what are the givens on your sides. What are the premises, the postulates, that are literally unquestionable, the things that you must simply accept as being out there, so to speak.

At the same conference I presented a paper on “Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Canada” that the conference organizer (Peter Potichnyj) had persuaded me to write. After consulting several Jewish-Canadian sources (and some in the United States) and drawing on my own experiences, I read a paper—deemed “balanced” by those who heard it. The extract below illustrates its approach:

It is not necessary for Ukrainians in Canada to love Jews to condemn such anti-Semitic acts as the pogroms in Ukraine, the Nazi Holocaust or the by-laws against admitting Jews to exclusive clubs in Canada which have only recently disappeared.... Nor is it necessary for Jews in Canada to love Ukrainians to admit that, as the landlord's agent, the Jew in Canada was bound to reap the hostility that oppressed peasants usually heap upon such agents.... In the same vein, nothing personal is involved for Jews to admit the horror of Ukraine's own Stalin-induced genocidal famine in 1932-33 in which millions of Ukrainians perished. The admission would not deprive the Holocaust of its terrible, special place in human history. Nor is anything personal involved for Ukrainians to commend the almost uncanny ability of Jews to make their way in the business and financial world.

As a lesson in how to steer a fine line in shark-infested waters, the paper is perhaps still instructive.

A non-institute conference in which I also participated was "Race Relations in Canada: Problems, Strategies and Solutions" at the University of Alberta in November 1978. In a tough paper I attributed racism in North America mainly to the small value placed upon liberal education by "a very special type of white man—the Anglo-Celt—who is the model for all other white men, except possibly the French Canadians of Quebec and the Acadians of New Brunswick." As a result, a "conspiracy of silence" about minorities has prevailed among most Canadians, who are ill equipped to deal with the differences of colour, language, religion, social class and ethnicity around them. In the circumstances racial minorities could aspire to only a "modest" role in Canada, as North American whites were not particularly fond of immigrants, and "dark-skinned immigrants who can explain things are particularly obnoxious." The North American white man

cannot provide economic opportunities on a sustained basis, which ensures endless opportunities for racial tension; in Canada he cannot even provide Canadian studies let alone minority studies (which should give you some idea where the study of racial minorities would rank); he cannot...live with large white groups that speak a language other than English or encourage the bilingual education which such groups occasionally request let alone live with the sights and smells of Black, Oriental, or East Indian and Pakistani peoples; he is one to whom the thought that a male member of the British Commonwealth's royal family might marry an African, Arabian or Asian princess is inconceivable, however rich or attractive that princess might be.... [Yet] can you think of any model to improve human relations more telling than the future King of England taking to wife a beautiful, dark-skinned princess with dark eyes and hair to match? Why, I ask you, is the thought so incredible?

The hard-hitting presentation stunned the audience—mostly members of racial minorities—and I recall that Jean Forest, the university chancellor with whom I shared the panel and whom I knew quite well, winced more than once before politely leaving without comment when the session ended. Syed Hameed, a professor of industrial relations at the university, who (with Gurbachan Paul) had organized the conference and later published its proceedings, put it mildly when he wrote that my "candid and immensely insightful analysis of race relations in Canada created an impact on all the delegates." Very pleased, they had my wife and me join the head table at the Faculty Club dinner that evening.

Another quasi-political academic project during my years in the institute was the book, *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, which I edited for the Department of the Secretary of State. Initiated in the spring of 1972, it was, as we have seen, not available until December 1982, a span totally unanticipated at the outset. Although the many demands on my time were mainly responsible for the delay, there were other reasons. Because of the poor state of research, the volume had to be a composite work, and certain areas defied easy placement. After Howard Palmer and Jean Burnet, the co-editors of the "Generations" series, reviewed the first draft in 1978-79, Orest Martynowych, a young historian acquired as a research assistant with Secretary of State funds, had to write and revise some of the contents. Further reviews followed and a third draft was not available until March 1981. Concerns about length on the part of McClelland & Stewart, the publisher, delayed the manuscript until November, when it was finally transmitted for French translation, completed in May 1982. Although I complained to Multiculturalism Minister Fleming about the need for simultaneous publication in both languages, he invoked the Official Languages Act and assured me that the book would be out in September. With an advance paperback copy before me in December, I requested Fleming to reinstate clothbound copies because of the book's poor binding. The glossy illustrations in the middle easily "broke" the book's spine, indicating that it would not withstand the rough treatment of either students or readers in public libraries. Fleming, however, would not be moved, maintaining (wrongly) that the libraries generally bound paperback copies; the students, in turn, were simply ignored.

Because of my differences with Fleming, the book launch at a Secretary of State reception in Toronto was delayed until 22 January 1985. At the launch I deemed the work less than a "mighty" contribution to Canadian history for three reasons: the links to Ukraine (apart from John-Paul Himka's background chapter) and to Canada were tenuous; specialists in Ukrainian-Canadian history did not exist; and Canadian historians had helped very little. The latter, preoccupied with political/constitutional history and with biography, had largely ignored social history, especially the views, values and psychology of Canada's ordinary people, among them the immigrants. *A Heritage in Transition* was therefore largely descriptive, crammed full of information—the most essential facts. Although the authors were determined to avoid filiopietism (the positing of one's own group as the repository of all virtues), the book could not, as a government-sponsored publication, embarrass anyone, resulting in minimal judgment of individuals, institutions and organizations. It contained little analysis and it certainly was no definitive work. Yury Boshyk, who chaired the launch as a member of the Canadian Multiculturalism Council, thought

I was unduly harsh, but I did not think the work merited more than a “pass.” Myrna Kostash, in a review in the *Edmonton Journal* (12 February 1983), thought otherwise and wished the book had been available when she was researching her *All of Baba’s Children*, published in 1977. An interesting sidelight was the exchange of letters with Palmer in April 1973 on a separate history by the pro-Soviet Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. Because the group might have access to archives in the Soviet Union, I saw no harm in it. However, I refused to work with individuals like Mitch Sago and the group’s historian, Peter Krawchuk: “They would not be satisfied with one chapter or even two and to give them something of the status of censors as readers is hardly desirable.”



Launching of Ukrainian and Chinese volumes in “Generations” series of ethnocultural histories, Toronto, January 1985. (Left to right) the author (editor, *Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*); Jack Murta, minister of state (multiculturalism); Edgar Wickberg (editor, *A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*).

In 1985 the Soviet dimension again touched the politics of multiculturalism in the academy in a surprising and rather unpleasant way. In mid-May Ramparts Press (Palo Alto, California), jointly with the University of Alberta Press (UAP), released *Soviet but Not Russian: The "Other" Peoples of the Soviet Union* by William Mandel, a Jewish pro-Soviet professor at Stanford University who had frequently visited the USSR, lived there in 1931-32 and travelled extensively within its fifteen republics. The book praised Moscow's linguistic and cultural policies toward the Soviet republics and commended its policy toward the Soviet Jews. When Krawchenko, Myroslav Yurkevich (a research associate at the institute) and I examined the institute's review copy, we were taken aback by the book's strong support of Sovietization. Accordingly, I complained to the historian John Foster, chairman of the UAP Committee and a Canadianist, whom I knew well from his recent assistance in organizing the conference on Alberta's first Ukrainians.

The book is a superficial, tendentious, transparent apology for the Soviet government's nationalities policies. It is not a scholarly work; it is a travelogue in the worst tradition of such publishing houses as [Toronto's wartime pro-Soviet] Progress Books. The book contains numerous factual errors and its interpretation is so biased that one wonders how a university press could have brought it out. Of the "authorities" quoted on the book's back cover, not one is a specialist in Soviet studies. We find it truly incredible that the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, a major research institute specializing in the history of Soviet nationalities problems and housed in the same building as the University of Alberta Press, should not have been consulted prior to publication. An explanation of the review process which resulted in the publication of this book is therefore absolutely essential.

Copies of the above letter were sent to the UAP director, Norma Gutteridge; the university chancellor, Peter Savaryn; and the university president, Myer Horowitz, himself of East European Jewish origin. Without Foster's knowledge, Tova Yedlin, also Jewish and one of the UAP's assessors in the Division of Slavic and East European Studies, had sent the institute a copy of her letter to Gutteridge, in which she discouraged publication on the grounds that information on the Ukrainian and Jewish questions was "slanted." Discrimination against the Jewish minority was "glossed over," and the Great Famine of 1932-33 was not mentioned in the account of Ukrainian history. I did not expect Foster (or anyone else) to divulge the names of the other assessors, but with the book already on the stands, the process of evaluation was material, especially as it did appear that the institute had been deliberately bypassed.

Late in August the situation was further complicated when Jaroslav Rozumnyj of the Slavic department in Manitoba sent Savaryn a copy of a letter, dated 18 June, that Gutteridge had sent to Ramparts Press. Mandel had unwittingly sent the letter to Rozumnyj, requesting a book review "to save the honor of Canadian scholarship from those who claim to have you in their control." Mandel addressed his letter to "Ruzumnygi," apparently unaware that Rozumnyj was a Ukrainian émigré from Galicia. To Ramparts, Gutteridge attributed the book's slow sales to the "vicious opposition to it by émigré groups like the Ukrainians and Lithuanians," who had complained to the president and the chancellor, "himself an expatriate Ukrainian," and set "a definite campaign afoot" to encourage complaints. "Fortunately, my governing committee is standing firm on its decision to publish and, so far, the President has not intervened, though he must wonder what all the fuss is about." When I sent Gutteridge's letter to Foster, his moderate tone defending the assessments as adequate (if insufficient) quickly changed, and he became most anxious to meet with Krawchenko and me (and with his own UAP Committee) to right matters. The upshot was a long, contrite letter from a very embarrassed (and ill) Norma Gutteridge on 20 September, apologizing for her earlier letter. It was written, she said, "unwisely"; she should not have "sounded off so foolishly." Hereafter she promised to use readers whose scholarship was "recommended" by the institute. Meanwhile (provided Krawchenko's assessment was favourable) she offered the institute joint publication of Robert Conquest's *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*, just released by Hutchinson in Britain and Oxford University Press in the United States (a real coup, of course). In closing, she invoked the standard liberal position: "This Press is the servant of scholars. Of itself, it has no politics of culture, no morals, and no religion." That was not strictly true, for in the politics of culture the UAP, like the university generally, was Anglo-Celtic in orientation and largely Judeo-Christian and Anglo-Protestant in morals and religion. As a result, ethnic institutions like the institute had to work doubly hard to win cultural recognition and academic respect.

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If ethnic studies blossomed in the academy, there was practically an explosion of interest in what came to be known as multicultural education. Conferences on the subject in Winnipeg in April 1977, sponsored jointly by the Department of Educational Foundations at the University of Manitoba and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews—and in Toronto a week later, organized by the Ontario Association for Curriculum Development—became very common. The largest in Winnipeg in November 1981 was

sponsored by the Multiculturalism Directorate and organized by a Canada-wide committee of professional teachers—the nucleus of the largely federally funded future Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education (CCMIE), with affiliates in most provinces. Its Alberta Association for Multicultural Education was an interesting mixture of educators and bureaucrats from schools, colleges, universities and provincial and federal governments, and its journal, *Multicultural Education*, which appeared periodically after April 1985, featured popular articles on “The Road to Understanding,” the subtheme of every issue. Even more involved were the teachers’ associations, with the Multicultural Education Council of the Alberta Teachers’ Association publishing regular newsletters after 1978 and the semi-annual *Multicultural Education Journal* after April 1983.

Always much interested in the implications of multiculturalism for the schools, I first explored the subject in “Multiculturalism and Educational Policies in Canada,” a paper presented at the Third World Congress of Comparative Education Societies in London, England, on 30 June 1977. In it I reviewed the origins of the federal policy of multiculturalism and criticized its hitherto poor reflection in the curricula, books and practices of the schools. Besides the study of pioneers (i.e., history and heritage), the learning of languages and attention to the attitudes toward them were also important, but there was little room for optimism where most Canadians were concerned: “Their opposition to second language learning is as deep as their dislike of ethnicity and everything associated with it.”

During Julian Koziak’s ministry (1975-79) Alberta was among the first provinces to take the issue of attitudes seriously. As a result, by 1981 the social studies curriculum was completely revised to include Canada’s multicultural reality in several grades, with about one-third of grade seven devoted to “Canada: A Multicultural Society.” In the class that I observed there certainly were problems, for few teachers as yet had the background to deal with minority rights or the subtleties of ethnocultural conflict and such basic concepts as assimilation, socialization, integration, discrimination and ethnic identity. Still, the available reference materials were gradually increasing, and the teachers were confident that they could deliver the essential understandings effectively. Ethnicity, I was pleased to see, was not being advocated any more than assimilation: “The study,” the seventh-grade curriculum guide declared, “might include consideration of the fact that some Canadians may not be involved with their ethnicity, and are often more influenced by regional, class, urban or rural identities.”

Spearheading the multiculturalism-in-education movement at the federal level was Roberta Russell of the Multiculturalism Directorate, who by the fall of 1979 was moving the school professionals into high gear through the CCMIE. Assisting her was Keith McLeod in Ontario, Peter

McCreath and P. Anthony (Tony) Johnstone in Nova Scotia, Abe Peters in Manitoba and Dean Wood in Alberta. Peters was a consultant on immigrant education and on English as a Second Language (ESL) in the Manitoba Department of Education. McCreath was the executive assistant of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union and McLeod was a professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto. They were the first three presidents of the CCMIE from 1981 to 1984. Of the three, McLeod was probably the most influential. When I first met him in 1969, he was writing a historical dissertation on the effect of Canadianization on the teaching of French and other languages in Saskatchewan schools before 1931. At the University of Toronto, he began the magazine *Multiculturalism* in 1977, published jointly by the faculty's Guidance Centre and the Multicultural Development Branch of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation of Ontario. The quarterly did much to popularize multiculturalism, especially through its emphasis on the impact of multiculturalism on intergroup relations. It was important, as McLeod stressed, to get mainstream recreational and cultural groups, as well as libraries, social welfare agencies and medical personnel and facilities, to take multiculturalism seriously. He was among the handful of Canadians who had heard my paper in London in 1977, and though he occasionally nodded in agreement, his approach to language education within multiculturalism differed greatly from mine.

Nor was he alone. In the growing literature on multiculturalism in education and at the professional conferences, I could find few references to heritage languages as languages of instruction in the public schools, though French immersion was, of course, frequently lauded. At major conferences like that of the CCMIE in Winnipeg in 1981, cross-cultural relations dominated discussions, with much emphasis on fighting prejudice, discrimination, ethnocentrism, stereotyping and racism, as well as on promoting human and civil rights, meeting the special problems of native and Métis children and encouraging ESL. Even education in developing countries was related to multiculturalism by specialists in comparative education. Terms like "international" and "transcultural" vied with "intercultural" and "cross-cultural" for niches under multicultural education, itself (like multiculturalism) rarely examined, even though concepts like "multicultural education," "multiculturalism in education," "multiculturalism and education" and "education about multiculturalism" were not necessarily the same thing. A "series of resource guides for educators" in the hands of Roberta Russell and her helpers was aimed at "multiculturalizing" practically every aspect of the school.

Under the directorate's influence, the impact of multiculturalism on education was gradually being redirected from cultural retention and bilingual education in ancestral languages to the sharing of cultures in the

interests of better citizenship education. Drawing on both a "follow-up survey" after the first CCMIE conference in 1981 and a "multicultural needs assessment survey" in June 1983, the directorate's *Highlights* (a printed fold-out released in the summer of 1984) concluded that "Cultural retention and heritage language teaching was important in the past"; multiculturalism "as an integral part of the Canadian identity, race relations, and equality of status for ethnocultural groups was important in the future." Through the CCMIE bilingual programs like those in the Prairies were shunted aside in favour of Ontario's approach to language education, made explicit by McLeod in an editorial on "Heritage Languages" in *Multiculturalism* as early as 1978. In Ontario, he declared, heritage languages were being taught "at the request of the community, but as an *addition* to the regular school day."

The policy enunciated by Ontario, however, does not go as far as that in Alberta, Manitoba, or Saskatchewan. There are those who claim that the policy is not broad enough, but by developing a policy that is community-based and flexible, more members of language groups will be able to make better use of the program than they could of one that attempts to make heritage language teaching part of the regular school program.

Invited by the ATA Multicultural Education Council to keynote its conference on "Intercultural Understanding" on 2 November 1984, I addressed "The Politics of Multiculturalism and Education" in a paper I would also deliver a week later at the second CCMIE "National Conference on Multiculturalism and Intercultural Education" in Toronto. My challenge to the new proponents of multicultural education was plain:

The organizers of conferences on multiculturalism and education need to explain why one of the most promising experiments in bicultural and bilingual/trilingual education in state schools is given so little attention in their preoccupation with "ethnocultural tolerance" and "intercultural understanding." ...There is also the irresistible impression that the less bicultural is one's background, the more passionate is one's advocacy of tolerance and understanding, of sharing and building bridges. It is almost as if there was a discomfort with human differences and a great temptation to invoke all that is common to human societies that lies just below the surface. In fact, poorly prepared speakers do just that. They remind us solemnly that with all our differences, we are all human beings, after all, as if that were not already self-evident.... A multiculturalism-in-education movement that

is incomplete must address that incompleteness. A conscious decision to be incomplete is not bad in itself; it is only the pretense of those who claim to address all the needs of multiculturalism in education while doing so selectively that is bad.

The intent—to flush out the professionals and bureaucrats giving short shrift to the bilingual programs in the Prairies—brought no reaction. Neither in the philosophy or the goals of the CCMIE nor in the constitution of the above Multicultural Education Council were the above bilingual programs ever mentioned. Nor did McLeod comment, even though he edited the 1984 conference proceedings, *Multiculturalism: A Partnership*, where my paper appeared.

John Friesen, who chaired the ATA keynote session in Edmonton and introduced me, illustrated well how individuals could get caught up in the hype of the multicultural education movement. A teacher of educational philosophy and intercultural education in the Department of Educational Foundations at the University of Calgary, Friesen saw his main interest—the education of natives (for years synonymous with intercultural education)—superseded by the emphasis on multicultural education. Accordingly, in 1982-83 he became president of the provincial Multicultural Education Council and then editor of its *Multicultural Education Journal*, a position he held until 1990. A practising Mennonite, Friesen had a religiously based interest in multiculturalism. At the above conference he held a ten-minute “Interdenominational Service” in the auditorium on Sunday morning, just before his own session on “Multicultural Techniques That Build Understanding.” In 1985 he developed a scriptural base for multicultural education in “Too Close for Comfort: Multicultural Education and Biblical Christianity,” an article published in *SALT* magazine. Besides the native peoples, he wrote extensively about such religious minorities as the Hutterites, the Doukhobors, the Amish and the Mennonites.

He was no great fan of multiculturalism, however. On 23 August 1985 on the CKUA radio program “Cultural Crossroads,” he agreed with the anonymous interviewer that multiculturalism was a “fad.” “It sounds like a nice buzz word,” he declared. “What concerns me is that we have multiculturalism coming out of our ears today.” He also agreed that the proliferation of bilingual programs in the schools was unfortunate: “And the government encourages it.” And he disapproved of multicultural principles that discouraged the assimilation of cultural identities into a larger whole: “...for the first time in my life, within the last decade I’ve been identifying myself as a Canadian instead of a hyphenated Canadian.” A very angry Judge Decore, who had heard the interview, phoned to express disbelief that such a “hypocrite” could be the editor of a journal on multiculturalism.

A major boost to multiculturalism in education came from the Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, established by the House of Commons on 27 June 1983. Its public hearings canvassed ways to promote racial tolerance, understanding and harmony, and on 8 March 1984 its report, *Equality Now!*, declared that "the vast majority...looked to Education to make a major contribution." As a result, it strongly emphasized the need for "a multicultural learning environment," including attention to the impact of multiculturalism on school board policies, teaching materials, teacher education programs, administrative positions and enrollments in post-secondary education. Critical of a tolerance that merely abided differences, the report called for respect for differences and their *acceptance* as a legitimate part of Canadian society. As a result, some individuals occasionally wondered how the committee's director of research, John Kehoe, an educational psychologist at the University of British Columbia, squared the basic orientation of the report with his own conscience. Since at least 1978 he had been encouraging classroom emphases on cultural similarities, not differences, frequently at multicultural education conferences.

The Committee on Tolerance and Understanding in Alberta, chaired by Ron Ghitter, looked to intercultural, not multicultural, education to help create a more tolerant and understanding multicultural society. The preference reflected Ghitter's personal uneasiness with multiculturalism. In interviews and on panels, he criticized its tendency to support the retention of distinct group identities rather than encouraging the interaction—the shared experiences—that brought people together. Intercultural education, he said, encouraged the latter, whereas multiculturalism tended to isolate individuals from one another. Thus, in lauding the bilingual heritage programs in Edmonton, he also noted "the dangers of cultural isolation that could result if such programs are not backed up by policies and mechanisms to ensure shared experience." He praised Alberta Education's "commendable initiatives" in "official, heritage and English as a Second Language instruction where financial and manpower resources permit," but he did not recommend an increase in the same resources.

Ghitter's lukewarm attitude toward encouraging distinct identities was much influenced by his discovery of the widespread religious indoctrination in schools maintained by Protestant fundamentalists, especially in rural Alberta. Having taught in the Faculty of Education, I knew that religious fundamentalists were well represented among the candidates for teaching and that not even the university's liberal environment could reach the diehards. The most troublesome to Ghitter's committee were the "Category IV" private Christian schools that were not required to employ certificated teachers, especially prevalent in the Red Deer district, which took in

Eckville, Caroline and Bentley—"Jim Keegstra country." There were schools in Alberta, Ghitter found, whose "curriculum refers to Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism as 'false transcendent' religions and implies that those who follow those religions or those who may be humanistic in their philosophy of life are 'godless, wicked and satanical.'" Accordingly, in December 1984 the committee recommended that all private schools employ "certified" teachers and use curricula "evaluated and approved by Alberta Education." (It was, incidentally, this recommendation that later tripped up Canadian Alliance leader Stockwell Day in the 2000 federal election. Having been a lay preacher in 1984 at the private Christian Centre in Bentley, which used the U.S.-based Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) social studies curriculum that condemned humanism and the above religions, Day strongly disagreed with Ghitter: "God's law is clear. Standards of education are not set by government, but by God, the Bible, the home and the school.")

Earlier, in June, the committee was disturbed by the *Edmonton Journal's* disclosure that the Covenant Community Training Centre, a provincially supported private Christian school, was using the ACE curriculum, where the early French Catholic settlers in Canada were described as prone to excessive drinking and immorality and their Jesuit priests as using "superficial methods" in administering Catholic sacraments to Huron Indians. The issue was compounded by Jake Johnson, a Bible Baptist Church pastor and vice-president of the Association of Fundamental Christian Schools of Canada. In a letter to the *Journal* (5 July 1984) he declared that "Just because I say the Hindu religion is godless, false and satanic doesn't mean that I am intolerant. You are either ignorant of or deliberately suppress the fact that what these schools teach is the plain teaching of the Bible." To me, fundamentalist preachers like Johnson demonstrated well why religious education in public schools had to consist of teaching *about* the world's religions, but over several months the religious-school controversy did much to sour public attitudes toward cultural pluralism, including multiculturalism.

In the turmoil over teaching materials the Ukrainian bilingual program was also affected, once the minister of education (David King) directed his department to audit the 3,600 learning resources used in some one hundred provincial school programs. By mid-October 1984 more than 90 per cent were said to be at an "acceptable level of tolerance and understanding." In the Ukrainian program some of the 194 supplementary resources recommended for the language arts were deemed problematic and unacceptable, though there was no "intentional fostering of intolerance." Most were simply "insensitive" to the social issues "currently emerging," the result of publication in the early 1970s "by immigrant writers," according to a departmental circular received by the institute. Of Turko's materials, only

the fourth reader (*Pryhody*) contained “stereotyped family roles through illustrations.” Although the rest did not develop an understanding of “racial, religious, handicapped and ethnic groups in our society,” replacement texts not being available, they were not proscribed.

# Chapter Fifteen

THE POLITICS OF MULTICULTURALISM IN DECLINE (1986-96)

## *Return to the Department of Educational Foundations*

At least a year before leaving the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, I knew that my future involvement in the multicultural movement would not only be limited but different. For one thing, by June 1986 I was drained of idealism and finally understood the meaning of “burnout.” I admitted as much in May in a paper, “Ukrainians: The Fifth Cultural Wheel,” at the institute’s “Symposium on Ethnicity in a Technological Age” at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario. I was convinced that the political implementation of the Ukrainian language-and-culture agenda had reached its limits. Of Canada’s five main ethnocultural groupings—the Anglo-Celts, the French, the natives, the visible minorities and the white ethnics—the latter (i.e., mainly the Ukrainians) were the fifth cultural wheel, with no group rights and few prospects, the result of North America’s aversion to ethnicity and its mainstay, language. Whatever awaited me in my former department, of one thing I was certain—I had had enough of lobbying politicians and bureaucrats, and especially of interminable evening meetings. At fifty-nine I was determined to be less the impassioned advocate and more the impartial academic judge, limiting involvement to scholarly work on minorities in western Canada, Ukrainian Canadians and multiculturalism generally.



Edmonton mayor Laurence Decore presents the author with the city’s Silver Ribbon Award (“For Outstanding Leadership in Multiculturalism”), May 1986.

I had no difficulty in negotiating a teaching assignment that reflected the above priorities, along with an introductory “bread-and-butter” course on Canadian educational issues in historical perspective for after-degree and more mature students. As my last sabbatical leave had been in 1967-68, I was granted an administrative leave on full salary, which I used to “bone up” on the above areas. In Rhodes, Greece, to avoid the colder climate of northern Europe, I read mainly about multiculturalism and minorities, concentrating on the *Canadian Ethnic Studies* journal and leaving Canadian educational issues to the second half of the sabbatical in Victoria, British Columbia. It really felt good to finally access the literature I had been accumulating for years, especially as most books and articles were quite helpful. The readings in *Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada*, edited by sociologist Jean Leonard Elliott at Dalhousie University, were particularly good, and I chose them for the minorities course. Early in January, with another trunkful of books, we motored to Victoria, considering it for possible future retirement. The main educational issues, I discovered, had not changed all that much, which meant that even some of my earlier lecture materials could still be useful.

The original intent—to remain in Victoria until the end of June—was upset in mid-February by Bob Patterson, dean of the Faculty of Education, and Nick Kach, a departmental colleague. Their request for a historical paper by the end of June on French-Ukrainian language issues in education for a book to mark the department’s twenty-fifth anniversary in 1987 necessitated an earlier return to the sources in Edmonton. Entitled “The Schools and French- and Ukrainian-Language Claims in Alberta to 1918,” the article appeared in *Exploring Our Educational Past: Schooling in the North West Territories and Alberta* (1992).

In Edmonton, on 8 May, I participated in the four-day international conference on “The Mormon Presence in Canada,” called to mark the centennial of Mormon settlement in Alberta in 1987. Although I had earlier agreed to comment on the session “Mormons as Ethnics,” I did so somewhat reluctantly, for I had never knowingly met a practising Mormon in the multicultural movement, nor did I associate the Mormon religion with ethnicity. Fortunately, the author of the main paper, Armand Mauss, a sociologist at the Washington State University in Pullman, Washington (and himself a Mormon, I believe), agreed with me. That made it easier to dismiss a second paper (available only that morning) by Keith Parry of the University of Lethbridge, a Mormon and a former student of mine. No one, of course, could keep individual Mormons from admitting to an ethnic consciousness, but the same individuals were members of the Mormon Church for its religious, not ethnic, agenda. “To be a member of an ethnic group,” I wrote, “is to be conscious of the group’s *ethnocultural* heritage

with a concomitant wish to use and to display its aspects in one's life." There were no Mormon churches like the Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Orthodox or even Ukrainian Pentecostal and United churches, where the Ukrainian dimension was at least as important as the religious one. During the discussion Howard Palmer, a self-confessed lapsed Mormon, and Jean Burnet, his sociological sidekick in ethnic studies, and, of course, Parry strongly disagreed. That was, I expect, partly because I had also maintained that "only those who would deprive multiculturalism of all meaning would insist that it encompasses all diversity or variety," a criticism of those who would "multiculturalize" everything in sight.

Once back in the classroom, I quickly discovered that it would not be easy in the Thatcher-Reagan-Mulroney era to be the dispassionate scholar that strict objectivity required, especially in Alberta with its large pockets of neoconservative ideology, then gradually jelling into Preston Manning's Reform movement of the late 1980s. The Reformers' political cant roasted the liberalism alleged to be at the root of all modern ills, the public schools, of course, included. Riding a populist wave, the Reformers derided the "elites" and "special interests"—defined as all who disagreed with their own simplistic, anti-government solutions. Having lived through the conservatism of the Ernest Manning era and having also studied political and social movements, I was aware of the underlying anti-intellectualism and nativism of western Canada's periodic populist outbursts against stereotyped centres of power: "the East," "Central Canada," "the monopolies," "the cartels," "the bankers," "the bigshots," "the bureaucrats" and always "the special interests." To my mind such right-wing populism was dangerous because it was politically naïve, advancing direct-democracy nostrums—the plebiscite, the referendum, the recall—poorly suited to representative democracies based on party government.

The resurrection of nineteenth-century libertarian ideas—minimal government, deregulation, the free market as supreme arbiter, the cult of the entrepreneur, privatized public services, reliance upon community volunteers and public charities—showed a lack of historical perspective and a poor reading of the weak contemporary communities expected to succor life's social casualties. I took very seriously the term "public" in public education and always believed it was fiscal conservatives who had kept the public schools from realizing their full potential in mass education. Now, in the name of greater accountability, even charter schools were being advocated, which if encouraged would only increase the number of individuals already indifferent to the chronic underfunding of mass public education. The attack on government and its social services—the welfare state—was particularly dangerous at a time when economic globalization was stomping on national boundaries and reducing individuals to commodities, easily discarded

by corporations on the altar of efficiency and higher returns to faceless shareholders. It was also dangerous to the politics of multiculturalism, for the latter was part of the equity movement of the 1960s and 1970s, with its calls for inclusive social legislation. The neoconservatism of the 1980s was the political reaction to the alleged "social engineering" of the past—and not surprisingly both bilingualism and multiculturalism were soon high on the list of the Reformers' social targets.

In my more specialized courses there was, of course, much less ideological tension, though some students in the undergraduate course on minorities regularly dissented when I suggested that ethnicity, as the underpinning of multiculturalism, had not only to be tolerated but respected, and occasionally even encouraged and promoted. The classes were much smaller (fifteen to twenty on average), which allowed for much more discussion. However, the students' questions were seldom probing, even in the graduate course on "Multiculturalism and Education." Strong differences (even among the students themselves) were rare, which on a subject as controversial as multiculturalism was quite surprising. One lone, fairly skeptical graduate student preferred to differ privately in my office. I offered the history course on Ukrainian Canadians only once—to twelve students in 1988, most from the Faculty of Education, with very little background in either European or Canadian history. Scholars in the institute (John-Paul Himka, Myroslav Yurkevich, Orest Martynowych) and my son David greatly assisted with classroom presentations, as did *Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, the book I had edited for the Secretary of State. Although the course was again slated for 1990, fewer than ten students enrolled, and the class was cancelled to comply with university regulations against low-enrollment courses.

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Outside the classroom, scholarly work, too, was confined to minorities, multiculturalism and Ukrainian Canadians. Very challenging was the panel on "Ethnicity" at "Project 2005: An Alberta History Workshop" in May 1988, held at Red Deer College and organized by Alberta's departments of history in advance of the province's not-so-distant centennial. I recommended that ethnicity be woven into the province's history, rather than relegated to a separate volume. Ethnicity was a home-grown product, an outcome of assimilation in immigration societies, and its intensity was always a correlate of the host society's receptiveness. As a result, ethnic consciousness varied greatly with immigrations and generations, and the Canadian mosaic could not be seen as "just so many frozen census categories." It was more like "a cluster of lighted bulbs with the intensity of light in each bulb constantly

undulating to affect the mosaic's shading and with new bulbs periodically added to change the mosaic's colour."

Thus a good ethnic history of Alberta will not only be flexible (that is, generational) and chronological (that is, possess continuity), but it will also be relational (that is, comparative) out of recognition for the fact that the social fabric is made of whole cloth with each part affecting every other part, even though it is a kind of implicit North American norm that within each immigrant group ethnicity should disappear within three generations and during that time it should surface minimally in the public arena.

Good ethnic history would also take the ethnic pecking order into account and recognize the special predicaments of certain groups in explaining the uneven ethnic consciousness of Albertans over several generations. The approach was very well received, with the light-bulb analogy even quoted in the final report.

One month later, on 17 June, I met Riten Ray, a multicultural program consultant in the Ontario ministry of citizenship, at a book launch in Toronto organized by the federal government to acquaint the public with its "Generations" series. Very concerned as a black that provincial ethnic groups were not much interested in networking, Ray thought some historical perspective on the origins of multiculturalism might help. Such was the background for my paper on "Networking, Discrimination and Multiculturalism as a Social Philosophy," delivered in Toronto in January 1989 and subsequently published in *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. The moment for networking was ripe, for in September 1988 the federal government had announced a twenty-four-million-dollar research endowment for a Canadian Race Relations Foundation, part of the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement. The redress was long overdue, but all the focus was unfortunately on discrimination confined to race. From sociologists like John Porter and Wallace Clement it was clear how little the dominant Anglo-Celts were still sharing power and opportunity in Canada. Accordingly, I suggested that the new Race Relations Foundation should be a *human relations* foundation to research the extent of socio-economic discrimination in the country. With the new database, ethnocultural organizations would then be in a better position to build coalitions to help correct socio-economic imbalances—and perhaps even reinvigorate the flagging multicultural movement. As the Japanese Canadians had obviously to agree, I sent the paper to Art Miki, the president of the National Association of Japanese Canadians, with whom I had worked on the Multicultural Education

Committee of the CCCM in 1979-80. He did not respond, however, and the idea unfortunately fell through.

On 29 April 1989 I responded to a paper on "Language Rights as Human Rights from an Ecological Perspective" at a conference in Edmonton organized by the Centre for Constitutional Studies in the Faculty of Law. David Marshall, a young professor in the Department of English at the University of North Dakota, saw ethnic languages as endangered species to be rescued like any other endangered species. Although his novel approach was interesting, much of the paper bordered on the naïve: "The entire world needs the diversity of ethnolinguistic entities for its own salvation" / "The world's little languages and peoples are a treasure trove of wisdom and refinement" / "...great creative forces that inspire humanity do not emerge out of universal civilization, but out of the individuality of separate ethnic collectivities." Who in the real world, I wondered, actually believed such things? In the great liberal democracies—Britain, the United States, Canada—one could point to little but animosity toward ethnic collectivities. Only a "maverick," I thought, would "advocate multilingualism with such sincerity, with such obvious emotional attachment, on a North American continent with its long heritage of hostility toward all second-language learning—on a North American continent where people cannot stand to learn one language well, never mind two or three!"

Admitting to imminent retirement, I also reflected on what, after many years, might be the linguistic "bottom line" stemming from the Canadian establishment's long opposition to ethnolinguistic group aspirations in the crisis of culture since the 1960s. Although the Anglo-Celts had generally treated the French badly, the latter could be just as "arrogant" toward "the others," especially as the Anglo-Celts "did not yield ground easily," obliging interested ethnic groups to pursue their own ends obsessively. In the academy, especially among historians, "Most scholars still appear wedded to a frozen concept of the two founding peoples with the season always winter!" In the end, however, neither the cultural dualists nor the cultural pluralists would really prevail, for most Canadians had little use for either biculturalism or multiculturalism, having "imbibed well North America's basic, fundamental hostility towards second-language learning." Languages are "divisive" in the nation-state; they promote "ghettoization and Balkanization" and "towers of Babel." "And whenever they need any reminding, there are always plenty of 'intellectuals' around to ridicule multiculturalism or any official support of ethnic aspirations beyond the immigrant generation." Although I was practically spoiling for a fight, the several historians of Anglo-Celtic and French backgrounds in the good-sized audience refused to take the bait.

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Although I was now little involved in the politics of multiculturalism, my interest in the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies continued. Contacted by my successor, Bohdan Krawchenko, while still in Victoria, I phoned Gordin Kaplan, the vice-president (research) to whom the institute reported, to protest a 10-per-cent budget cut when the government's own across-the-board adjustment to the university was only three per cent. While Peter Savaryn and I had understood that budgetary bumps were likely once the institute became part of the university, the disproportionate cutback was grossly unfair. It was, of course, part of the cost-cutting demanded by neoconservative politicians, and despite strong letters from Krawchenko, Savaryn and John-Paul Himka, chairman of the institute's Advisory Council, Kaplan would not yield. Even so, the strong reaction likely had its effect, for the cut in 1988-89 was only one per cent, and those imposed later were not as outrageous.

Other contacts with the institute were largely through carry-over projects, mainly in Ukrainian-Canadian studies. The first involved the institute's Ukrainian Language Resource Centre, which Krawchenko wished to convert into a Ukrainian Language Education Centre. Accordingly, in the late spring of 1987 Savaryn and I worked to persuade the Edmonton P & B Club to donate the \$200,000 in the Ukrainian bilingual program's textbook fund (begun by us) to the university, which the government's Endowment and Incentive Fund then matched 2:1. A closer working relationship with Alberta Education followed, enabling the institute to undertake the badly needed NOVA language arts project for the elementary grades. Another carry-over project was the editing of *Continuity and Change*, the proceedings of the conference (noted earlier) about Alberta's first Ukrainians held jointly with Alberta Culture's Historic Sites Services in May 1985. The launch of the published volume in February 1989, postponed to accommodate the minister of culture, was "blessed" in the end by Conservative MLA Steve Zarusky (Redwater-Andrew), whose rustic manner detracted from what might otherwise have been an elegant evening. Because of government funding, such politicization of multiculturalism was perhaps inevitable, but earlier I had strongly resisted it within the institute. In November 1982, for example, I had vetoed a picture-taking session with the university president when Senator Bud Olson brought a \$27,700 cheque for the bilingual animator's position. Olson was then the Liberal dispenser of patronage in Alberta, and his office was, of course, very upset.

Of other unfinished institute projects, the most important and by far the most demanding was the editing of the Ukrainian-Canadian centennial history, written by Orest Martynowych and published in 1991. I had encouraged

Martynowych to produce as comprehensive a work as possible on the understanding that razor-like editing would follow (in the end I reduced the first draft by approximately 20 per cent). To me, the work—an account of the world of my grandparents' generation to 1924—was a labour of love, the institute's gift to those who had laid the foundations for a better life for all who followed. In mid-October 1988, at Krawchenko's request, Martynowych, Frances Swyrypa (a Ukrainian-Canadian studies specialist in the institute, cross-appointed to the Department of History), Roman Petryshyn and I planned the institute's 1991 centenary conference, at which the above centennial history also appeared. Unfortunately, the excellent sessions were poorly attended, largely because of the local Ukrainian Canadian Committee's gala banquet the previous Labour Day weekend to launch the centennial celebrations. In the end Martynowych's volume was never officially launched, and to this day I am amazed how few people even know of its existence. Finally, my role on the institute's *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* project was to co-ordinate the so-called Diaspora entries from Canada, Australia, South America and the United States in the last three volumes. After editing, I sent them to Toronto, where others were added, occasionally without prior consultation.

From a distance—and it was a good distance, for I rarely contacted Krawchenko about other institute business—it appeared that the institute was doing quite well, my sole disappointment being the paucity of Ukrainian-Canadian publications. Of the thirty-three reported by the institute between June 1986 and June 1990 (when I retired from the university), only five dealt with Ukrainian-Canadian subject matter, and only one had not been initiated during my term as director. Krawchenko, invoking costs, tended to dismiss the contribution that the annual Ukrainian-Canadian conferences had made, but without Ukrainian-Canadian specialists to prepare monographs, the presentation of papers by Canadian, Ukrainian and East European specialists was absolutely essential if the institute was to bring out at least one Ukrainian-Canadian volume each year. While published conference proceedings were certainly no substitute for individual monographs, under the circumstances a conference every two or three years would have helped.

### *The Ukrainian Community at Arm's Length*

Although still very interested in ethnic and Ukrainian-Canadian studies, I was now much less involved in the Ukrainian-Canadian community. By 1987 the community's future goals were not only well defined in *Building the Future*, but younger activists, led by individuals like Krawchenko and Roman Petryshyn, were there to implement them. Still, leaving was harder than I had supposed, especially as I had not communicated my intentions to many outside my immediate family. It did not help that unexpected

community kindnesses occasionally intervened. In mid-May 1987, for example, I was honoured by the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies with its “Award for Excellence in Ukrainian Studies” (\$5,000, an amount I immediately returned as a donation), presented during the convention of the P & B Federation in Oshawa. Since 1983, when Joe Slogan became president, I had been shut out of federation affairs, with contact limited even after 1985, when the executive returned to Edmonton. In fact, but for the award, I had not planned to attend the convention, my first absence in sixteen years. To my surprise, the federation followed with another award for “contributions in the field of education.” On Sunday morning some twenty “leaders” at the conference met to discuss the community’s financial needs with the previous evening’s banquet speaker, Tom Siddon, minister of fisheries and oceans. Although the meeting was called at Siddon’s request by the delegates from British Columbia (Siddon’s home province), the junior minister was minimally acquainted with multiculturalism and ethnic concerns. He could deliver little, and the meeting rapidly degenerated into a mutual-admiration session—the “leaders” (mainly Conservatives) basking in the presence of a federal minister and the latter carrying on as if his was a very special pipeline to the prime minister.

In October 1986, while still in Greece, Natalia and I had accepted an invitation from the Vegreville Cultural Association to be honorary *hospodar* and *hospodynia* (host and hostess) of the Ukrainian Pysanka Festival in July. Accordingly, we mingled on the grounds in Ukrainian dress, with Natalia particularly attractive in a traditional Bukovynian costume worn earlier by her mother when she and Natalia’s father were similarly honoured. Everything went well until shortly after nine on Sunday morning, when Val Eleniak, president of the association and earlier very casual about specific responsibilities, phoned to discover our whereabouts, as the church service was about to begin. He apologized for the misunderstanding, and we



“Hospodar and Hospodynia,”  
host and hostess at the  
Ukrainian Pysanka Festival,  
Vegreville Alberta, July 1987.  
(Left to right) Monty Martin;  
Elaine Lupul; the author and  
Natalia; David Lupul; Myra  
Pastyr-Lupul.

arrived somewhat sheepishly, with the service already in progress. Needless to say the mix-up did nothing to improve my image of the community's organizational skills.

Other ceremonial events in Edmonton brought additional contacts with the Ukrainian community. In August 1987 Anne Marie Decore, Laurence's wife and a departmental colleague, asked me to introduce her father-in-law, John Decore, for the Michael Luchkovich Award, presented annually by the Alberta UCC to former parliamentarians of Ukrainian background. The ceremony took place on "Ukrainian Day" at the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, where two years later Natalia's father was similarly honoured. The following year I introduced Bert Hohol for the same award, but for me the very pleasant task was unfortunately marred by the presence of Doug Main, Alberta's minister of culture and multiculturalism and a recent unsuccessful federal candidate for the Reform Party. Sporting an embroidered Ukrainian shirt and a *poias* (a colourful Ukrainian sash at the waistline), the political trimmer twirled on stage, displaying his sartorial splendour to enthusiastic applause from an audience apparently too ideologically insensitive to care.

Although I no longer attended any meetings that affected the Ukrainian bilingual program, I gave it whatever help I could. In January 1988, when Anna Eliuk, president of the Alberta Parents for Ukrainian Education, requested that I examine Bill 59, the government's new school legislation, I warned of its possible adverse effects under a new section, "paramount considerations," that empowered the courts, school boards and other administrative bodies to consider the following in making decisions: "the diverse nature and heritage of society within the context of the common values and beliefs of society," "the best educational interests of the students," "the standards of the society," "the financial circumstances of the Government or of the board" and "the physical facilities available." All were "unprecedented" provisions, I said, "clearly intended to curb the alternative programmes which minorities tend to spawn." Such clauses were "very slippery things" whose presence made one question their "need, source and motivation," and I advised the APUE to challenge them in the brief it was preparing. When Peter Savaryn called about pressing for a mandatory clause for instruction in languages other than English, I reminded him of our earlier unsuccessful efforts and, though pessimistic, did not discourage him.

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In the spring of 1988 the question of further political community involvement was seriously posed for the first time by Krawchenko on behalf of the local Ukrainian Community Development Committee and by Tony Harras of Regina, a long-time member of the prairie UCDC and now its

chairman. Krawchenko invited me to a “crucial” evening meeting on 21 April to help draft a press release for the provincial UCC on the French-language issue then agitating the provincial government. While contributing to a draft posed no problem, I categorically ruled out the evening meeting. Besides the timing, there were additional political factors well known to Krawchenko. In December 1986 Andrij Semotiuk, after two terms as UCC president, was replaced by an executive, some of whose members had allowed personal political ambitions to influence their conduct of community affairs. I informed Krawchenko that I did not think I could engage in frank discussions in such an atmosphere. In the meantime I drafted a press release—one that strongly favoured the French.

Recent developments in Alberta had made a pro-French stance very important. By the late 1980s the province had entered upon an extremely acrimonious period partly rooted in profound disillusionment with Brian Mulroney’s federal government, elected in 1984 by a solid Conservative west to end Trudeau’s alleged favouritism toward central Canada, especially Quebec. To make matters worse Trudeau’s last constitutional talks had not disposed of Canada’s cultural crisis. Not only had Quebec not signed the 1982 Canada Act, but by April 1985 the equity provisions in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms required implementation. Among these was, of course, section 23, which granted the French minority the right to an education in French. After several unsuccessful meetings between Premier Don Getty’s government and Alberta’s French Canadians, Léo Paquette, the New Democrat MLA for Athabasca-Lac La Biche, forced the issue in the legislature on 7 April 1987 by addressing Nancy Betkowski, the bilingual minister of education, in French. When Speaker David Carter ruled him out of order, Paquette correctly claimed that under the 1877 federal amendment to the North-West Territories Act, he had the right to speak French. The government, having intervened in support of Saskatchewan’s case before the Supreme Court of Canada challenging the validity of the old legislation, refused to commit itself. When, at the end of April, Getty signed the Meech Lake Accord—including its explicit recognition of French-speaking Canadians outside Quebec as “a fundamental characteristic of Canada” that provincial legislatures were obliged “to preserve”—the French issue intensified, and Getty was regularly accused of hypocrisy for failing to act as the accord required.

Meanwhile the government’s language situation steadily worsened. In August 1987 the Alberta Appeal Court agreed that under section 23 of the charter the province’s French minority had the right to manage and control its own schools. The issue was no longer bilingual schools or even French immersion classes but separate schools for the French minority, about which the government had been dragging its feet since April 1985.

Separatism, stymied at the political level, was legal at the educational level. Then in February 1988 the long-awaited decision of Canada's Supreme Court validated the 1877 amendment in Saskatchewan (and by implication Alberta): the use of French in the courts, in the legislature and in the publication of government documents was legal. French was not only an official language in both provinces unless the legislatures explicitly declared otherwise, but all existing English-only laws were invalid until the governments expressly validated them. On 4 April Saskatchewan declared English the province's sole official language and agreed to translate some of the provincial laws into French. Fearing a precedent, the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta immediately informed Attorney General Jim Horsman and Betkowski that the Saskatchewan legislation was "totally unacceptable." What was needed was an "Alberta-made solution": trials in French and the use of French in the legislature, as well as in its committees and in the publication of laws. As for the laws in force, only some 20 per cent required translation, the costs to be shared by the federal government, as in Saskatchewan.

In the above my sympathies, like Krawchenko's, lay with the French. We were fed up with the government's and the media's long-time use of multiculturalism and Alberta's linguistic mosaic to block French aspirations. In the current crisis Hospitals Minister Marvin Moore was typical: as a member of the legislature's committee to investigate the language issue, he would favour questions in *any* language, not just French, on two hours' notice to the speaker, accompanied by an English translation. Such references were a favourite ploy of the "Anglo-Scottish" establishment when up against the wall of western unilingualism. Accordingly, in my draft I made it clear that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee wished "to dissociate itself from any suggestion that the development of public policy on French-language usage in the schools or elsewhere has been stymied by the need to create for Ukrainians and/or other ethnocultural communities a linguistic situation comparable to that to which the francophone communities aspire." The UCC had recognized English and French as Canada's official languages "long ago" and again most recently in *Building the Future*—the latter having explicitly embraced "functional trilingualism, with fluency in English, French and Ukrainian."

According to Krawchenko, the local UCDC considered my draft and created an ad hoc committee under Petryshyn to prepare a policy on the issue by the end of May. Petryshyn then invited me to an evening meeting on 10 May with the Association canadienne-française designed to effect a quid pro quo: French support for an "Alberta Languages Commission" of interested groups in exchange for the latter's support of French rights. I liked the commission-idea and met with lawyer Georges Arès, president of the association, together with Bill Pidruchney, Denis Tardif,

the association's executive director, and David Bai from the Koreans, the only group among the invited that cared to be involved. Tardif had worked closely with Paul Denis (now editor of the association's organ, *Le Franco*), and we reminisced about the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council and the importance of its crowning achievement, the Cultural Heritage Act. It was soon clear that the beleaguered French had had little success in attracting the support of other groups and were thus most interested in Petryshyn's proposed languages commission.

On the afternoon of the 16<sup>th</sup> Petryshyn, Pidruchney and I reported to the UCC executive, where Ihor Broda criticized the committee for not consulting the community on the controversial issue. What assurance was there, he asked, that the Ukrainian community would in fact benefit from supporting the French? There was, of course, no such assurance, but it was also true that the French association did strongly support continued federal funding for the UCDC and its projects. At a meeting over lunch in Arès's office a few days later, the French definitely agreed to place the commission-idea before the government at their next meeting, and on 13 June, according to a brief report well buried in the *Journal*, Arès and Horsman discussed a "language council to study language services for Alberta's nationalities [!]." "The scheme," the report added, "was originally proposed by another Alberta organization, which Ares wouldn't identify." Two weeks later government legislation made English the province's sole official language. No laws would be translated, but French could be used in the criminal courts and in the legislature without a translation in Hansard. The approach, according to Premier Getty (alluding to Quebec's then prevalent line), reflected the province's "distinct" multicultural reality in which, he said, the government would continue to provide English-speaking students with opportunities to learn French and other languages in the public schools—seemingly unmindful that the province was still without a language policy in education.

Unlike the call from Krawchenko, the one from Tony Harras of Regina entailed a project proposed by the national executive of the UCC. The latter had struck a committee to commemorate the centennial of Ukrainian life in Canada, and Harras now invited me to become a member, strongly suggesting the chairmanship. Pointing to my many years of activism, I thought it best that he enlist younger souls; privately I also believed that I was poorly suited for the highly political task. As a historian I would invoke academic criteria that would rule out projects and certainly offend their sponsors. Moreover, the organizational superstructure of the "Proposal for Celebration" provided by the national executive appeared very cumbersome. The Ukrainian Canadian Centennial National Council (the committee's official name) had not only to seek the "prior approval" of the UCC executive but to consult a National Advisory Council consisting of the same executive, representatives from the

centennial council's committees and subcommittees, and an unspecified number of representatives from the UCC's own councils, committees and commissions. For all projects, including those already suggested—a "docu-drama series" on film, a "calendar of historic events," a "postage stamp," a "gold coin," a "pioneer monument in Halifax," a "national cultural jamboree," "provincial cultural jamborees" and "national museum/gallery/archives exhibitions"—it was the Centennial National Council, not the UCC, that had to find the funding, which would certainly entail more government lobbying. Worse still, under "education," a committee from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the Chair of Ukrainian Studies in Toronto and the Ukrainian Canadian Studies Centre in Winnipeg was to review the "depiction of Ukrainians" in school curricula and to "prepare new units and submit proposals for revision of units with negative or incorrect portrayals." Nothing, to my mind, was more certain to mar a centennial celebration than the vigilantism to which such efforts invariably led.

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Besides such tasks, there were recurring irritants within the Ukrainian community that discouraged involvement. Some were small, like the piddling \$250 scholarships that the well-heeled members of the P & B clubs continued to dole out to students to assuage consciences at a time when the educational needs of the institute and the national Foundation for Ukrainian Studies were truly enormous. Others were large social issues like capital punishment, homosexuality, indoctrination (i.e., Christian education), abortion and the welfare state, on which the position of most Ukrainian organizations differed greatly from my own. Abortion was a case in point. In the spring of 1988 the Ukrainian churches took strong exception to the Canadian Supreme Court ruling that abortion is a human right of women. To the Orthodox *Visnyk* the question of when human life begins "is not within the expertise of the Supreme Court. It falls within the scope of theologians." Believing as I did that there was nothing supernatural (the domain of theologians) about either biological conception or human evolution, I did not find this an easy position to accept. Intellectually, anthropomorphic theism had ceased to be part of my life long ago, and I did not need theologians, bishops or priests to instruct me on human, social and political realities. Nor, for that matter, could I as a supporter of trade unions accept the view of the *Ukrains'ki visti* (30 September 1987) that on the verge of a postal strike it was "time for a very clear message to be sent—it's management and not unions that are [*sic*] running the show." Although such issues were certainly very complex, my whole being told me that they could not be resolved through the social conservatism of most Ukrainian institutions.

Within the area of Ukrainian-Canadian history the community was also highly inclined to pursue peripheral issues. Among these was the internment of Ukrainians in Canada during the First World War, blown up into a *cause célèbre* by the late 1980s. At the institute's Ukrainian-Canadian historical conference in 1982, an entire session had been devoted to the internment issue, but not until May 1985 at the federation's convention in Edmonton did I have to meet it head-on in a resolution urging professional research into the "injustice" committed by the Canadian government in interning some 8,500 "enemy aliens" after August 1914, some 5,000 of them "Ukrainians." In opposing the resolution, I referred to the institute's recent publication of the conference proceedings, *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War*, which, I said, had made further research unnecessary. From the book it was clear that the emotional issue was by no means a simple black-and-white affair. Should it become contentious, it could easily split the Ukrainian community at a time (I said) when unity was much needed to implement the UCDC's forthcoming blueprint document, *Building the Future*. On division, the resolution narrowly passed 24-22, with Savaryn and me openly on opposite sides for the first time—barring in the process the very split predicted earlier. Fortunately, the resolution died with the executive, as did so many others.

However, more than two years later, in December 1987, the national UCC Civil Liberties Commission (the issue of war criminals squarely behind it) revived the internment issue before the federal government's Standing Committee on Multiculturalism. Parliament, the commission declared, should "officially acknowledge the mistreatment suffered by Ukrainians in Canada during and after the First World War," and the government should begin negotiations with the UCC "to redress these injustices." Shortly thereafter it released a well-illustrated thirty-one-page booklet, *A Time for Atonement: Canada's First National Internment Operations and the Ukrainian Canadians 1914-1920*, prepared by Lubomyr Luciuk, the commission's research director and a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Geography, University of Toronto. Bohdan Kordan, a young political scientist who had located most of the photographs, joined in publicizing the issue, claiming that the entire Ukrainian community in Canada had been traumatized by the internment. I found that strange, for though raised in Alberta's Ukrainian bloc, I had never heard of the issue—unusual, considering the bloc's strong penchant for lambasting "da guberman."

Late in September 1988 the UCC publicity campaign drew added impetus from the federal government's three-hundred-million-dollar compensation package to the Japanese Canadians for political internment and confiscation of property during the Second World War. With Ukrainian comparisons to the Japanese immediate Krawchenko, Swyripa, Martynowych, Roman

Petryshyn and I discussed the issue at the institute in October. All agreed that the UCC's rhetoric was excessive, but the next step was far from clear. Martynowych, who had researched the issue for the centennial volume he was then writing, knew that the Ukrainians affected were in the main sojourners intent on returning to the old country after making their "stake" in Canada. Predominately single, male, unemployed, migrant workers, they were Austrian citizens, "aliens," in fact, who had failed to take out Canadian citizenship papers. Martynowych, however, had a large book to finish, and the issue could not be pursued. Meanwhile Luciuk and Kordan published an article, "And who says time heals all?" in the *Globe and Mail*, timed to appear when the UCC discussed the issue with Multiculturalism Minister Gerry Weiner. Troubled by their allegations and exaggerations, Martynowych drew up a hastily prepared rebuttal and sent it to them.

The concentration on internment, Martynowych declared, trivialized and obscured the many other social injustices suffered by thousands of Ukrainian immigrants before the Second World War. While the wartime incarceration was certainly deplorable and the camps themselves were a stain on Canadian democracy, there were other relevant facts. First, the order-in-council (6 November 1914) that launched the internment pertained only to "aliens of enemy nationality," not naturalized Canadian citizens (though the odd naturalized Canadian may well have been interned); second, of the 8,579 internees, no one really knew how many were of Ukrainian origin; third, the contemporary Ukrainian-Canadian press made no mention of Ukrainians being taken from farms or prairie towns, where most Ukrainian Canadians then lived; fourth, the affected were primarily labourers in the frontier camps or in the cities, mainly immigrants to Canada between 1910 and 1914 who suffered most from the economic depression of 1913-15 as they either roamed the countryside looking for work or participated in urban demonstrations; fifth, with relief scarce for such men, some began to head for the then neutral United States, from where the British and Canadian governments feared they might drift back into the Austrian armed forces—hence their internment. Against this background, it was simply incorrect to say that the Canadian government had deliberately set out to harass (let alone persecute) the entire Ukrainian-Canadian *community*, which now required immediate restitution.

Even if Martynowych's paper had not been specially geared to the *Globe and Mail* article, it still posed a major political problem. Any version released to the press was bound to create a historical spat that would certainly overflow into the community. Neither Krawchenko nor I relished the "camps" that would likely form and the resulting disunity. *Building the Future* was barely two years old and its potential was still largely untapped. There was also the growing political backlash against multiculturalism to contend with. Yet from the

personal standpoint, because of my identification with Ukrainian-Canadian history, it would have been very difficult to be active within the community and remain silent on the UCC's steadfast promotion of the issue. To declare the latter a non-issue would have plunged me (and possibly Krawchenko) into a controversy I preferred to avoid. Accordingly, we counselled Martynowych to publish a revised, condensed version of his paper in the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* "for the record." Martynowych, however, preferred to have only his centennial history address the prickly issue.

For what it is worth, I thought that most of the individuals promoting political redress were mainly concerned to embarrass a Canadian society (and its government, of course) that had failed to stem the rapid assimilation of Ukrainians, notwithstanding almost a generation of multicultural policies. Peering helplessly into the assimilative vortex that was reducing the culture of their parents (many of them postwar immigrants) to folklore, they could do little but kick and scream at the centres of political power. I always thought their energies would have been better spent strengthening and developing the community programs outlined in the UCC's *Building the Future*. Their efforts were not having much impact on the political authorities, while the assistance of a group as articulate as the Gregorovich-Luciuk-Kordan trio would have been welcome in resisting the growing attacks by the political right wing on encouraging ethnicity and multiculturalism as part of the country's public philosophy.

### *The Political Backlash against Multiculturalism*

As circumspect as was my multicultural involvement within the Ukrainian community, it was practically non-existent at the provincial political level, now characterized mainly by a steady retreat from the high hopes aroused by the passage of the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act in 1984. In fact, within little more than a decade, the act itself would disappear. During the late 1980s rich, self-reliant Alberta's nostalgia for an earlier laissez-faire era, together with an inchoate envy of the American political system on the part of Alberta's Reformers, led many increasingly to oppose government intervention, especially in social and cultural areas, multiculturalism, of course, included. The traditional liberal emphasis on rights and freedoms, on greater equality of opportunity and on power-sharing by minorities had begun to grate on small-c political conservatives. Equating movements for greater equity with enhanced privileges and special treatment, they opposed groups that they felt were either morally destabilizing (the feminists), sexually peculiar (the homosexuals), economically subversive (the environmentalists), socially embarrassing (the poor), racially unassimilable (the natives), insufficiently grateful (the immigrants), culturally fragmenting

(the ethnics) or patriotically suspect (the French). The result was increased political sensitivity to all minority interests and a steadily worsening environment for multiculturalism.

Perhaps aware of the Alberta government's growing skepticism toward ethnocultural interests, Beth Bryant, the civil servant primarily responsible for multiculturalism in Alberta Culture, reached out to her federal counterparts to help establish the first Institute of Multicultural Resource Development in Calgary in mid-April 1987. It promised programs in intercultural communication and understanding, with utilitarian benefits to the hospitality industry, international business, public service agencies and multicultural workplaces. In my graduate class in March 1988 she admitted that multiculturalism in the province was "politically driven" and that it was important to keep everybody happy if multiculturalism was to prosper.

Such moves, however, did little to impress a government bent on a gradual dismantling of the institutional framework for multiculturalism. I first encountered the chipping away in the office of Culture Minister Dennis Anderson with several ethnocultural leaders invited to meet him on 27 May 1987. After outlining his legislative changes to the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act, a resolute Anderson (who had not consulted the ethnocultural communities) ran into immediate opposition. His assurances that consultation would follow persuaded no one. His bill replaced the arm's-length Alberta Cultural Heritage Foundation (drawn mainly from members of the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council) with an Alberta Multicultural Commission to oversee a lottery-based Multicultural Fund. Instead of the above government-appointed fourteen-member foundation, a government-appointed six-member commission chaired by an MLA would now report directly to the minister. Moreover, the provincial treasurer, not the Department of Culture, would administer the fund, and all grant applications would be processed by the minister, not the foundation.

Although Anderson justified the changes in terms of "more efficiency" and "greater accountability," a new section in the preamble of the 1984 act now indicated that ethnocultural groups would be encouraged to interact *and* share their knowledge and traditions with others in order to enhance "the richness of life in Alberta." In the new lexicon of government "sharing" would become the operative term, mere interaction having apparently not led to sharing—an undefined, seemingly mysterious process that defied description. Although the amendments added "multiculturalism" to "culture" in a renamed Department of Culture and Multiculturalism, the political gesture could not hide the diminished reality behind a fading concept. Bill Pidruchney, who attended the meeting, sent Anderson a strong letter, and the Liberal Al Iafolla complained in public, but the government's new direction was clearly set.

The meeting with Anderson was my last with a provincial minister on Alberta's multicultural policy. After LeMessurier, three others (Anderson, Greg Stevens, Doug Main) held the portfolio within a three-year period as the policy's profile gradually declined, especially once Beth Bryant left for a federal position in Calgary in September 1988. She was my last link with the department, but by then I was much less interested in the impact of multiculturalism on ethnocultures *per se* than on multiculturalism's implications as a social policy for Canada's social structure. I was especially impressed by Wallace Clement's findings in *The Canadian Corporate Elite* (1975) that "The economic elite of 1972 is more exclusive in social origins, more upper class and more closely knit by ties than in 1952. Nor has there been any sizable entry into the boardrooms of the major corporations of Canadians who are not British in their ethnic origin." I was also tired of the never-ending potshots by the mainstream press at the political clannishness of ethnic groups, and in July 1988 I tied the two together in a letter to the *Edmonton Journal*.

That the 'ethnics' looked to their own was, I said, but "the continuation of a process which has always been there" (as Clement had shown). Canadians of Anglo-Celtic backgrounds will be entrusted to speak for those of other backgrounds when "they know what to say":

And this means more than simply trotting out platitudes at picnics... much more important will be their demonstrated efforts to break down institutional barriers to facilitate the sharing of power and opportunity at elite levels, not just in politics (where some dents have been made largely through efforts similar to those now raising well-placed eyebrows), but also in the mass media, the federal and provincial bureaucracies, organized labour, higher education and, of course, the corporate sector.

The unhappy *Journal* would not print the letter (ostensibly because of length), and only after further pressure was it published in slightly abbreviated form a month later. By this time the *Journal* was also criticizing Premier Getty for complaining about the number of federal bilingual positions in Alberta and in the RCMP. Both the premier and the *Journal*, I wrote again, were pressing the issue much too narrowly. What was needed was a study by the Southam Press of French-Canadian "under-representation (over-representation?)" in all federal *and* provincial jurisdictions, "comparable to 1987's study by Southam of illiteracy in Canada."

And while at it, the study might also include sections on what representation Canada's other ethnocultural groups enjoy not

only in the same public service sector but in the economic, media, academic, political and other Canadian sectors.

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An important element in the provincial demise of multiculturalism was the *Educational Language Policy for Alberta* that the Getty government finally released in December 1988. Designed primarily to provide guidelines for implementing French-language rights under section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the policy barely touched on other languages. At its core all language programs were still at the mercy of local school boards, which pleased neither the French nor the Ukrainians. To demonstrate the latter's displeasure the new administrator of the institute's Ukrainian Language Education Centre, Marusia Petryshyn, Roman's wife, organized a conference late in May 1989, jointly with the Alberta Parents for Ukrainian Education. Jim Dinning, the minister of education, spoke informally and yielded nothing in the very heated discussion that followed his remarks. I was quite amazed by the magisterial manner in which he dismissed the concerns of teachers, administrators and parents. Yet it was not easy to tackle him, for the 1987-88 enrollments included in Appendix B of the new language-policy document were anything but flattering. The 1,362 children in the Ukrainian bilingual program and the 1,413 in the Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, German, Hebrew/Yiddish and Polish bilingual programs combined compared very unfavourably with the 23,972 in the French immersion program and the whopping 146,507 in core French. It is true that the heavily subsidized program for the French native speakers enrolled only 2,091 children, but in light of section 23 in the Canada Act, the small enrollment and the gross disparity in language funding were no longer material. Invited to provide a conference "wrap-up," I concentrated on "educating" the minister (who had already left), even though with the above statistics the task would not be easy. One's sympathies went out to the frustrated parents and professionals, but personally I could not see what the political confrontation (for that is what it became) had really accomplished.

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Just as important in the eventual demise of multiculturalism was another slick government publication, *Multiculturalism: Focus for the 90s*, a report submitted by the Alberta Multicultural Commission late in October 1989 to Culture and Multiculturalism Minister Doug Main. The latter's appointment as minister responsible for multiculturalism was so incredible that even the *Journal* wondered about "the rationale for giving culture"

to him. To me, the unprincipled appointment indicated the small regard Getty's government had for multiculturalism—and the commission's report only reinforced that view. Because the commission was not well regarded by the ethnocultural groups, its chairman, John Oldring, an MLA from the Red Deer area, embarked on province-wide hearings in November 1988. When Oldring entered the cabinet, Steve Zarusky replaced him. Of the commission members, I knew only Zarusky, Orest Olineck, a former educational administrator in Vegreville, and Deputy Minister John O'Neill—none very well. As already indicated, O'Neill, who became the commission's secretary after Beth Bryant left the department, had little use for multiculturalism; moreover, he and Bryant had been feuding for years. As a result, after her departure, he quickly ensured that the Alberta Cultural Heritage Division reported only through him, not directly to the minister.

On the eve of the "fact-finding tour" Oldring indicated the commission's two main purposes: to draw up new policies for multicultural funding and to fight discrimination. The latter had taken on new urgency with the Alberta Court of Appeal's reversal in June 1988 of Jim Keegstra's conviction on the charge of promoting hatred against Jews. The decision revived the embarrassing debate over anti-Semitism at a time when both the provincial NDP, with a brand-new policy on multiculturalism, and the Liberals under their new leader, Laurence Decore, were touting multiculturalism and greater equity for minorities to combat discrimination. In November the Council of Black Organizations lambasted the commission for its all-white membership, and late in April 1989 the issue of discrimination took on added life with the RCMP's decision to permit Sikhs in the force to wear turbans as well as beards. The show of respect for cultural diversity was defended on multicultural grounds, while opponents of the change lauded the historic RCMP Stetson on patriotic grounds. The tense cultural environment spurred 161 written briefs and 246 oral presentations, and government hopes were high that the commission might help to ameliorate the growing cultural tensions. Among the submissions was a private one from Beth Bryant and Craig Curtis, the last chairman of the now defunct Alberta Cultural Heritage Foundation, which revealed that between 1979-80 and 1988-89 the cultural-heritage portion of the departmental budget had increased only 19 per cent, while allocations to the department had risen 82 per cent.

Apart from the Indo-Canadian community's *Prairie Link*, the commission's report was little noticed by the rest of the media. Invited by Allan Shephard, the assistant editor of the *Link*, to provide a written reaction, I termed the report "a political statement put together by what are in the main political hacks on political assignment," true to the commission's origins in a former minister (Dennis Anderson) who created it "arbitrarily and unilaterally for political ends."

Since the commission exists, it must do something, and so it has wandered up and down the province listening to briefs which articulate *yet again* what the government and its departmental agencies already know only too well, bearing in mind that as a provincial policy multiculturalism has been around since 1972.

The commission's report was thus "a product of busy work," the creature of a body that had replaced a "widely representative" council and an arm's-length granting agency.

Such blatant politicizing of ethnocultural project funding fools no one and only brings ethnocultural communities into disrepute, as numerous journalists have pointed out. It demonstrates the small respect which politicians in power have for the same communities. The latter are entities to be manipulated.... Periodic sops such as the Commission's report are part of the manipulation. The cultural aspirations of the communities themselves are at best incidental, as the report amply demonstrates.

The report was high on "vision" and "directions" ("banal generalities and platitudes," MLA Gerry Gibeault, the NDP multiculturalism critic, termed them) and low on specifics. To illustrate, on heritage languages it declared that "The Language Education Policy for Alberta, which respects the cultural diversity and heritage of Alberta, offers students the opportunity to learn heritage languages in addition to English and French."

Is it not truly incredible [I wrote] that, after a major conference in Edmonton late in May 1989 had repeatedly pilloried the government's "Language Education Policy for Alberta," the report dares to add insult to injury by blandly asserting that the policy "respects the cultural diversity and heritage of Alberta...." In conferences, colloquiums, briefs, and in meeting after meeting with ministers of education and departmental officials, as well as in innumerable private conversations, the great difficulties under which heritage languages are taught and the measures needed to correct them have been conveyed *ad nauseam*. What does it truly take to get through to the government that ethnocultural communities want a genuine partnership with the provincial government in the realization of equity in matters of employment and cultural development?

The reference to employment stemmed from the report's equally cavalier attitude toward affirmative action for racial minorities:

Could anyone even vaguely familiar with the handicaps under which racial (visible) peoples live in the province find the slightest solace in a recommendation which urges the public and private sectors merely to "examine their employment practices to ensure that all Albertans are treated equally." What pabulum! What insolence! Why was the call in innumerable briefs for provincial equity legislation to counter discrimination comparable to the legislation at the federal level ignored?

The answer, of course, lay with ministers like Main. In releasing the report, he defended its lack of specifics by declaring it a policy document that addressed the need "to find mechanisms to speed along the integration process." The commission saw multiculturalism as a policy intended primarily to turn immigrants into new Canadians as quickly as possible. As we have seen, this was also the growing emphasis within Ottawa's multicultural programs, part of the effort by government officials to win respect for multiculturalism by stressing sharing and integration and downplaying grants to the ethnocultural groups themselves.

In criticizing the report, I also touched on its treatment of the French, who were similarly advised to look to "the Four Principles guiding English language competency outlined in the Language Education Policy for Alberta."

If the francophones have made anything clear it is that government help to implement their language rights in education under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is what is desperately needed and not pious invocations to apply motherhood principles.

The new president of the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta, France Levasseur-Ouimet, welcomed the rejoinder and in mid-April proposed "preliminary discussion" to revive meetings such as those held earlier with Arès. However, with retirement imminent ("my days as an activist on behalf of minority causes are over"), I only suggested that she contact the UCDC, particularly Roman Petryshyn.

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During my last three years at the university I was even less involved in the politics of multiculturalism federally than provincially, though I did continue to monitor the fortunes of federal multiculturalism for teaching

purposes. It fared little better, I thought, under the Mulroney Conservatives than under the Trudeau Liberals. The ministers changed as if through a revolving door—Jack Murta followed by Otto Jelinek, David Crombie and Gerry Weiner in rapid succession—and the political posturing of each was just as marked. The Canadian Multiculturalism Council (successor to the CCCM) did not issue a single report, and by 1993 it had ceased to exist—replaced, it would seem, by its community counterpart, the Canadian Ethnocultural Council. The most significant Conservative achievement was arguably the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, passed on 12 July 1988. Although it was first proposed by the old CCCM, the Liberals did not act until June 1984, and the bill died with their defeat that year. The Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, established by the Conservative government in June 1985, issued an excellent report in June 1987 that strongly recommended a multiculturalism act, and a bill was introduced by Crombie on 1 December.

Invited by the Edmonton Immigrant Services Association to discuss the bill on a panel with local politicians on 22 March 1988, I wondered why the government was so tentative about giving legislative substance to a cultural diversity that all admitted was a fundamental characteristic of the country. The prejudicial use of “shall” and “may” continued to trouble me. If the minister “shall” take such measures as he/she “considers appropriate to implement” the multicultural policy, why only “may” he/she facilitate “the acquisition, retention and use of all languages that contribute to the multicultural heritage of Canada”? I also wondered why a policy designed to “encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic, and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada’s multicultural character” failed to mention education and the media. The audience, fed up with the demotion of official multiculturalism to merely symbolic status, welcomed the criticism with loud applause, much to the dismay of the bill’s supporters on the panel—Conservative MPs Jim Hawkes and David Kilgour, broadcaster Fil Fraser and chairman Bill Pidruchney. Needless to say none of my comments affected the final legislation. Nor was Roman Petryshyn of the UCC any more successful before the above Standing Committee early in May, suggesting among other things that the Canadian reality be described as “bilingualism within a multicultural framework” rather than vice versa. Also not included in the act were several of the Standing Committee’s own excellent suggestions—a department of multiculturalism headed by a minister and his deputy; a commissioner of multiculturalism; and an arm’s length “Canadian Centre for Multiculturalism” to create a “data bank” on Canada’s ethnocultural communities.

My last federal involvement occurred on 9 December 1989 at a workshop of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council on section 27 in Ottawa. Sessions on the latter section became fashionable shortly after the charter’s

equity provisions came into force in April 1985. My first was a seminar-like conference in Ottawa in September that year organized by the Canadian Human Rights Foundation. While the seminar speakers (mostly constitutional lawyers) had much to say about rights and cases, the fact that ethnocultural groups had no rights as groups—especially in education at the provincial level—did not appear to trouble them. The purpose of the conference, I was politely informed, was to consider the possible future impact of section 27 on case law. My concern being a political one required a political will that apparently still did not exist. Without rights, however, it was soon clear that the legal implications of section 27 for ethnocultural groups were not likely to be many.

The 1989 ethnocultural workshop was organized with an eye to expanding the government's Court Challenges Program, created by the Conservatives for the official languages in the fall of 1985. The purpose of the workshop was to encourage ethnocultural groups (and individuals) to invoke charter safeguards (section 27 included) against discrimination based on race, colour and national or ethnic origin. I was invited to participate by Andrew Cardozo, the council's executive director, disturbed that my earlier paper on networking at the Riten Ray conference in Toronto had questioned the council's effectiveness as a federal pressure group whose "'get-togethers' are largely financed by the government it is concerned to influence." In July he had updated me on the council's activities and the promised get-acquainted invitation duly followed.

Although most workshop sessions were of fairly high calibre, their great number and diversity—on women, heritage languages, social discrimination (and the perils of administrative discretion), refugees and immigrant settlement, citizenship requirements and accreditation, the media and broadcasting, housing for the poor, employment equity—was overwhelming, even when run concurrently. In my own ten-minute presentation on section 27 and language education, I reviewed Tarnopolsky's earlier linkage between sections 27 and 15 and suggested that ethnocultural groups might legally argue for per-pupil grants to heritage-language classrooms in *public schools* proportionate to what the French and English classes were receiving under the Official Languages Program. With the Secretary of State office in Edmonton unable to furnish the comparative per-pupil federal expenditures on official and heritage languages, I returned to my earlier proposal for a Canadian human relations research foundation that would furnish such data to strengthen the base for all types of affirmative-action programs. As the conference participants were mainly first-generation Canadians little interested in non-official languages in public school classrooms, my presentation made no more of an impression than did Marusia Petryshyn's plan in another session for federal cultural agencies to support the teaching of heritage languages.

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Of other federal issues in the late 1980s the most important was undoubtedly the national trauma over the Meech Lake Accord. Besides discussing it in the classroom, Ihor Broda and I exchanged ideas on it in August 1987 for a UCC submission to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in Ottawa on the 13<sup>th</sup>. It being summer, I got the distinct impression that no meetings on the subject had been held and that Broda was doing his best to fill a vacuum. The accord, he argued, should recognize that French- and English-speaking Canadians were a fundamental characteristic “within Canada’s multicultural society” and that Quebec, too, was “a distinct multicultural society within Canada.” I did not think that a lightning-rod term like “multiculturalism” would make it into the so-called Quebec Round on the constitution. I also wondered whether a UCC brief was really necessary, since the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, in a brief we both possessed, had already pressed for a clause affirming the role of Parliament and the provincial legislatures in preserving and promoting both bilingualism and multiculturalism as fundamental characteristics of Canada. Broda, however, insisted on briefing the committee, though nothing came of either his or the council’s efforts.

In my own classes I opposed the accord for three reasons. First, the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society placed the charter rights of Quebecers at risk. Second, giving each province a constitutional veto ensured that Ontario and Quebec, always chary about seeing their status within confederation diminished, would never support Senate reform. Yet, to me, the latter was absolutely essential if the demographic (and thus political) preponderance of central Canada within the union was ever to be checked—and perhaps even diminish the antipathy toward the French and Quebec in the west. Canada required at least *one* political institution in which power was shared equally among the provinces or regions. Third, as a strong centrist and Canadian nationalist, I had great difficulty with the checkerboard social policies that a decentralization of federal power would certainly encourage.

Canada, to me, was more than just the sum of its provinces. The federal government represented the national public interest, which was far more important than the more parochial concerns of Quebec’s provincial leaders and their recent imitators in provinces like Alberta, where angry prairie Conservatives and Reformers increasingly masked narrow political agendas behind tons of humanitarian and nationalistic rhetoric. I knew, for instance, that but for the Canadian Housing and Mortgage Corporation my wife and I could never have acquired a house within weeks of our return from graduate studies. And this was only one of many national programs

from which all citizens benefited equally, but which were increasingly under attack by short-sighted provincial politicians. Considering my strong advocacy of minority interests, some students were surprised that I sided with the class majority in opposing the accord, but to me the whole nation was always greater than its parts. That was why I had strongly advocated regional federalism on the language-in-education issue: by meeting the bilingual aspirations of interested ethnocultural groups, the all-important bilingual *whole* would be strengthened. Later, when the Charlottetown Accord continued to emasculate the central government, I voted against it as well.

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After I retired from the university in June 1990, we moved to Calgary within a year to be near our daughter Elaine's family. Calgary was the "capital" of Canada's Reform Party, where the continuing attacks on multiculturalism by the ever-more influential Reformers were even more marked. By the early 1990s the neoconservative political agenda was driving that of most governments in Canada, and most took their cue on multiculturalism from the Reformers' bold statement in their 1993 platform:

**The Reform Party of Canada opposes the current concept of multiculturalism and hyphenated Canadianism pursued by the Government of Canada. We would end funding of the multicultural program and support the abolition of the Department of Multiculturalism.**

By the early 1990s I was so upset that in July 1991 I even refused the Alberta UCC's invitation to be a "Special Guest" at its centenary "Tribute to Our Pioneers" on Ukrainian Day at the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village because Multiculturalism Minister Main was the keynote speaker. As a Reformer, I wrote the organizers, he held a "narrow" attitude toward cultural diversity: "To give such a man a platform is to reduce the event to a travesty!"

As the attacks on multiculturalism grew in intensity, I welcomed opportunities to speak out against them. Late in November 1991 I defended multiculturalism in Toronto at a conference, "A Question of Identity: Canada's Ukrainians and Multiculturalism," organized by the local Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Committee, jointly with the Multicultural History Society of Ontario. Although invited to participate, Preston Manning sent Tom Flanagan, a political science professor at the University of Calgary, then the party's director of policy, strategy and communications. In my remarks I invoked John Porter and Wallace Clement and again concentrated on the

failure of the Canadian Anglo-Celtic establishment to recognize the real meaning of multiculturalism—the wider sharing of power and opportunity among Canada's ethnocultural groups. To Flanagan's espousal of the alleged social divisiveness and financial wastefulness of multiculturalism (the usual Reform line), I countered with a critique of Reform's ideological roots in old-style Anglo-conformity and (citing Palmer's *Patterns of Prejudice*) underlined Anglo Canada's long-standing intolerant, nativistic attitudes toward minorities. Ten months later, as the luncheon speaker at a Ukrainian Orthodox centennial celebration in Edmonton, I alerted fiscal conservatives to the dangers of "the growing backlash against government support of ethnocultural activities, for which Preston Manning's Reform Party is largely responsible." Thus, when the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies invited me to deliver the annual Shevchenko Lecture in March 1994, I was more than willing to tackle the suggested theme, "Multiculturalism, Ethnic Studies, and the Present Economic Crisis in Alberta." As a local 'prophet,' I whispered under my breath before beginning, "It pays to live in Calgary!"

The Shevchenko Lecture was arguably my best public address, and the audience of some one hundred apparently agreed, for a prolonged standing ovation followed—the first at such a lecture to my knowledge. The neoconservatives were dangerous, I said, because in attacking the state as "the bloated spendthrift that has wilfully and mindlessly squandered our wealth and left us with enormous debts," they attacked official multiculturalism at its most vulnerable point: "the public validation of ethnicity through state encouragement and support." After all, the state had provided either "full funding, matched funding or partial funding" for each of the major institutional achievements of Ukrainian Canadians for almost a generation.

The roots of Reform's neoconservatism lay, I said, in two documents produced by Preston Manning and his father: *A White Paper on Human Resource Development* (March 1967), which termed religious and ethnic factors "matters of private rather than public jurisdiction," and *Political Realignment* (1967), which argued for "a wholly new political party committed to the social conservative position." Underlying both documents, however, were the Mannings' religious beliefs:

...to the Mannings, religion is anything but a private affair. It has large social implications. This is because people who know God's will, as do the Mannings, not only know what is right and good morally, but, even more important, they need only a minimalist state socially to ensure their welfare and security.

This was because in the philosophic debate on the influence of nature and nurture on human behaviour, religious fundamentalists like the Mannings generally place much more emphasis on human nature (i.e., man's original sin) than on the social environment when accounting for society's ills. It is "headstrong, wilful individuals unmindful of any Higher Law" who are always the main problem. Because of their rebellion against "the basic laws of nature as laid down centuries ago in the Holy Scriptures," such individuals invariably look to government (i.e., the welfare state) to furnish the eventual remedy for asocial behaviour—and that on the backs of righteous individuals (like the fundamentalists themselves) and their tax dollars!

However, in Canada, unlike the United States, the interventionist state was part of a long, honourable tradition going back to the government's assistance to the United Empire Loyalists after the American Revolution, and it was disturbing to see so few academics point this out. Surprising also was their failure to pick up on Preston Manning's hypocrisy in inveighing against state support to ethnocultural groups when it was his father who, as premier, had first introduced state support to private religious schools in the mid-1960s (which support by the 1990s was meeting nearly half of most private-school budgets).

State support which makes it easier for religious special interests to retain their religious faith is fine; but state support which makes it easier for ethnic special interests to retain their ancestral cultures or for racial special interests to overcome racist barriers through government equity programmes is somehow preposterous. What incredible reasoning! As if the ethnics were mere rip-off artists and the evangelicals saints!

Political reactionaries opposed to cultural diversity were, I continued, nothing new in Canada. Howard Palmer's work had documented the hostility toward all whose appearance, language and/or religion differed from the norm. As official multiculturalism had done something to change that environment, people now had to decide whether they wished to return to the bigotry and intolerance of the past or support the greater respect for cultural pluralism developed in recent years. Was the language of greater equity at the base of all recent social movements to be abandoned in the current preoccupation with debts and deficits? If so, could the morality of the market really be the only moral principle in social relations? "Who will be the winners and losers in such a society, and how is the dignity of the losers to be sustained or restored?"

Especially concerned to reach the Ukrainian neoconservatives in the audience, I appealed to the P & B Club members (the sponsors of the lecture), many of whom I knew personally:

...let us admit at once that most of us have done fairly well and that, on the whole, we are quite comfortable. But, if you are like me, the state paid at least 90 per cent of the tuition costs that contributed to my undergraduate success. Why, then, should others have to pay more? And if they do pay more, who then will attend? If it is children like yours and mine—comfortable, middle-class children, most of whom, in any case, have already left at bargain-basement prices—how can we deny the poor (and most of us, I think, were once poor) the same opportunity? There are, I would again submit, other ways to meet our deficits without raping our health and welfare services and wrecking our educational system, which for so many of us was the ladder of opportunity to future success, and which now also houses some of our largest multicultural gains.

The lecture was prepared with the *Edmonton Journal* in mind, but, though invited, no reporter came, as was also the case earlier in Toronto and Edmonton. The Edmonton *Ukrains'ki visti*, the American *Ukrainian Weekly* and the P & B *Clarion* carried summations of the lecture, and the university *Folio* also noted it, singling out my criticism of the academy's failure to address certain issues. To broaden the impact, Dmytro Jacuta, the Alberta UCC president and a strong Liberal, invited me to address the Ukrainian Day celebrations on 14 August as the recipient of the UCC "Special Achievement Award." Misjudging the moment, I foolishly plunged into the earlier lecture until polite applause obliged me to quit after about ten minutes. A fine opportunity was thus lost to show how institutions like the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, the site of the award, were a direct outcome of the multicultural policy that the neoconservatives were then attacking.

On 8 September I sent MP Jan Brown, Reform's multiculturalism critic from Calgary, a copy of the lecture, hoping it might lead to a meeting. Early in November I phoned her office, and a meeting duly followed. Falling back on the party's populism, Brown insisted that "the people" were opposed to multiculturalism; I countered that it was her responsibility as a leader to correct, not follow, popular prejudices. The meeting was fairly heated, and in her follow-up letter Brown admitted that she was not accustomed "to such an aggressive discussion, one-on-one, nor one that leaves me so dissatisfied with the outcome." A former schoolteacher of mixed East European background, Brown could not say why the state should stop

assisting its ethnically conscious citizens. She did indicate, however, that her parliamentary colleagues among the Bloc Québécois had blamed multiculturalism for contributing to the disunity of Canada, which really upset her. She would not grant that multiculturalism and comparable equity programs in the last twenty years had done something to give greater substance to the rhetoric of liberal democracy in Canada.

Having seen the *Ukrainian Weekly's* report of the lecture, Michael Wawryshyn, a secondary school teacher in Toronto (well known to me since the early 1970s) offered to arrange P & B meetings in Toronto and Montreal. John Nunziata, an independent MP from Toronto strongly critical of multiculturalism, had agreed to participate, which would likely bring out the media (in that, Wawryshyn was mistaken). Nunziata was a second-generation Canadian of Italian background uncomfortable with official state affirmation of ethnicity. He undoubtedly drew solace from two recent well-publicized critiques of multiculturalism: *Report for the People and Government of Canada of the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future*, released in July 1991 by Keith Spicer, the forum's chairman, and *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, published in 1994 by Neil Bissoondath, a Quebec City-based author and Laval University professor. Spicer, who had never been a fan of multiculturalism, played up the popular objections to it expressed on talk shows and in public polls. Bissoondath, a Trinidadian of East Indian ancestry, expressed a view increasingly common among able, successful individuals of colour: 'Because I don't need a hand up, the state has no business giving anyone else a hand up.' Stripped to their core, both publications rested on the assumption that official multicultural policies and programs encouraged divisive cultural differences to the detriment of "pure Canadianism," which, of course, was never defined.

In Toronto and Montreal in late March 1996 I minced no words in a blunt paper on "The Future of Multiculturalism as State Policy in Canada." The process of assimilation, which the "Senator Yuzyk school of cultural discourse" had largely dismissed, was, I said, the basic reality in immigrant societies such as Canada's. Contrary to the view from Ottawa in recent years, Canada did have a culture of its own: the Anglo-American culture (Franco-Anglo-American in Quebec), rooted in Canada's two largest ethnocultural groups, the Anglo-Celts and (in Quebec) the French, which regularly reduced all incoming cultures to subcultures (cultural heritages). Such assimilation was not only inevitable but occasionally even good: "Much that is illiberal (like autocratic husbands and fathers) and even cruel (like female genital mutilation) is often lost in the process."

However, *the assimilative process must be natural; it cannot be forced assimilation and it must not annihilate everything*. What immigrants and their descendants will always want is an accurate, dignified and willing acceptance by the host society of some aspects of their cultural heritage. What they will always want is to see something of their cultural roots incorporated into the public culture of their new country [italics in original].

Drawing on the Ukrainian-Canadian experience, I pointed to the bilingual classes in Edmonton's *public* schools, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the *public* University of Alberta, the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village among Alberta's *public* museums and the inclusion of Canada's multicultural reality in the *state's* school curricula and textbooks. All were expressions of a multiculturalism "that welcomes (but does not require) the ethnic consciousness of Canada's ethnically conscious citizens." Only "narrow nationalists" saw the interests of such citizens as "special interests"—individuals like Jacques Parizeau who had recently complained about the ethnic vote determining the sovereignty referendum in Quebec, and groups like the Reformers whose opposition to "hyphenated Canadianism" was practically a neurosis.

In the Canada of the 1990s there were two main views on "the proper role of the state in such ostensibly private matters as ethnicity, race, gender and sexual orientation": small-l liberals generally favoured state policies and legislation; small-c conservatives generally did not.

...with small-c conservatives today in the ascendant, state policies like multiculturalism (which encompasses ethnicity), affirmative action (which encompasses race), pay equity (which encompasses gender) and lifestyle equity (which encompasses sexual orientation) are all major centres of public controversy. Thus, the manner in which the financial case against multiculturalism is usually put—"I don't want my tax dollars to support a public policy I don't favour"—can be (and often is) levelled against government initiatives in a multitude of what moral conservatives would consider strictly private areas.

But that was just the point: ethnicity was no more merely a private matter than was race, gender or sexual orientation. In multicultural societies ethnicity inevitably impinged upon questions of social equity, and that was so from the beginning of the multicultural movement in the 1960s, though the case was usually put in cultural, not equity, terms.

The goal of multiculturalism was not only to take ethnicity out of the closet where chauvinistic narrow nationalists had historically swept it, but to give it an equal and honorable place in the country's public philosophy and eventually in its public culture alongside such other social markers as religion, race, age, gender, sexual orientation and social class. And for that, of course, state funds were needed to ensure the kind of high-quality projects and institutions mentioned earlier.

To argue, as did Preston Manning, that the role of government was to treat all Canadians "equally in law and the Constitution regardless of race, language and culture"—with the groups preserving their language and culture on their own—was to take an exclusive, not inclusive, social-equity position. Taken seriously, it was, I said, "nothing but a prescription for ignoring the race, language and culture of all but an unnamed [by him] status quo of ethnocultural groups in the development of Canada's public cultural policy." Manning would have all ethnocultural groups but the Anglo-Celts (and the French in Quebec) "equally excluded from participating in the development of Canada's public culture on the *quality* footing that public funds alone can ensure. It is just the opposite of the equity encouraged under multiculturalism."

And while cutting away the cultural underbrush, I also touched on the two concepts central to French-Canadian thinking: "founding peoples" and "distinct society."

...their [the French] situation in Canada has always been very different from our own, and in the interests of national unity I think it is time to put aside our hostility to the concept of two founding peoples at the base of Confederation, with such special status as that implies. After all, it is Confederation's biculturalism that makes today's multiculturalism possible. The dominant linguistic space in Quebec will always be French just as outside Quebec it will always be English—and our own Ukrainian cultural aspects will have to make their way within the context of one or the other and at times (as in Ottawa and Quebec) within both.... In the interests of national unity also, I think it would be useful to recognize Quebec constitutionally as the distinct society that it is, once the government of Quebec itself agrees that such recognition will not supersede the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Apart from Nunziata, no one in Toronto (some sixty) or in Montreal (about two dozen) took exception to anything I said, nor did the national UCC president, Dmytro Cipywnyk, comment after I faxed him a copy (at his request). Yet what could he or anyone else say: to affect the public sector, power was needed, and to obtain power, organization was needed, and for an effective organization, reform was needed—yet resistance to reform was one of the few things that most Ukrainian organizations could agree upon.

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Within days of my return from Montreal I learned from Beth Bryant that Ralph Klein's Conservative government in Alberta had just introduced legislation (Bill 24) to abolish the province's policy of multiculturalism, and that resistance to the bill was being organized by the Southern (and Northern) Alberta Heritage Language Associations. The bill repealed the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act, abolished the Alberta Multicultural Commission, discontinued grants to private ethnic schools and cut the multicultural budget in half. It placed the remainder—\$1.1 million—into a new Human Rights, Citizenship and Multiculturalism Education Fund under the control of Gary Mar, the minister of community development responsible for culture and multiculturalism after the provincial election in June 1993. Because the *Calgary Herald* had not reported on Bill 24, I was not aware of it, though with strong closet Reformers like MLAs Stockwell Day, Steve West and Lorne Taylor on the government side, I was not surprised. The bill had, of course, to be challenged, and I immediately forwarded a copy of my recent paper to Bryant, along with a cheque for a hundred dollars toward the newspaper protest planned by the Southern Heritage Language Association.

As usual, the government held all the cards, and nothing anyone could say or do had much effect. The language association's single nostalgic "Remember When..." ad in the *Herald* would certainly have troubled few Reformers. It deplored the demise of community participation through a "citizens' advisory council" (the Cultural Heritage Council was by now so invisible that it could not even be mentioned!), as well as the government's failure to encourage respect for "our diverse heritage," including the end of official support for multicultural values and beliefs. In the legislature Eugene Zwozdesky and Gary Dickson, Liberals from Edmonton and Calgary, respectively, led the opposition, invoking all the familiar arguments, with special emphasis on the economic benefits of international languages ("heritage languages" were seldom mentioned) in a global economy. The premier countered that cost-cutting required the government to set priorities and pursue multiculturalism "in its purest form" through educational programs "to break down the barriers of discrimination and to get rid of

this insidious thing that we know as racism." Lorne Taylor from Medicine Hat insisted that families and the groups themselves, not governments, were responsible for the protection of culture.

Others declared that, with the government's annual contribution to heritage language schools constituting about five per cent of what the groups themselves were providing, the latter were already meeting the linguistic needs of business in a global economy. Moreover, the government was not abandoning them—they would be consulted in "the next few months" on future allocations from the Multiculturalism Education Fund. Halvar Jonson, the education minister, offered what was perhaps the most ingenious argument. After noting that the public school systems in Edmonton offered bilingual and other language programs "in a quality manner," he said that it was not up to the government to tell such boards what "their top priorities" should be in language instruction. At least implicit was the suggestion that the ethnic groups themselves had failed to capitalize on the options available to them. And certainly it now made little sense for groups like the Italians to be criticizing the government, since at least in Edmonton they had had years to organize an English-Italian bilingual program, yet no one had stirred. They and others had boxed themselves into ghetto-like Saturday schools and were now reaping the full whirlwind of the government's Reform-driven, anti-multicultural agenda.

Resistance to the demise of official multiculturalism was much hampered by the lack of unity among those opposed to Bill 24. In the forefront was the Coalition on Human Rights in Alberta, created quickly by the Calgary-based Dignity Foundation specifically to challenge the bill's watering down of human rights in the province. The Dignity Foundation encompassed some eighty groups brought together in 1995 by Senator Ron Ghitter (his Calgary office housed the foundation) and Fil Fraser, the recently retired chairman of the Alberta Human Rights Commission. Its purpose was to counter the likes of MLAs Day, West, Taylor and Diane Mirosch (a social conservative from Calgary), who had threatened to abolish the Human Rights Commission. Besides numerous Jewish and visible-minority organizations, the foundation included most of the usual advocates of civil and human rights: the Civil Liberties Association, the United Church of Canada, the Labor Council, the Status of Women Action Committee and even the United Way (after 18 April). Not a single non-Jewish white ethnocultural organization had been invited, though the Southern (and Northern) Heritage Language Associations, the Alberta Association of Multicultural Education, the Calgary Immigration Society and the Society for Cultural and Multicultural Programs were members. When, on 9 May, the government appeared willing to consider changes that endorsed the concept of multiculturalism, Ghitter dismissed such changes as "window dressing." Not surprisingly, he,

the foundation and the coalition were totally uninterested in Beth Bryant's suggestions to broaden the coalition. Quite typically, Klein dismissed the foundation as representing "special interests": he was not, he said, getting a lot of cards and letters from "normal Albertans." And within a week, a poll by the government-appointed Human Rights Commission bore him out—84 per cent of Albertans felt that the commission adequately protected human rights in the province!

In such an environment it was not easy to fight the right-wing attack on multiculturalism. After Bryant sent my paper to Bill Pidruchney, he forwarded it to every member of the government caucus on 21 April. Next day I phoned Laurence Decore, still in the legislature though no longer the provincial Liberal leader, having relinquished the post to Grant Mitchell within a year of the Conservative victory in the hard-fought 1993 election. Decore, battling cancer, was at first cool to my suggestion that he intervene. He was not, he said, a member of caucus any more. He was also already involved in educational and trade projects for the newly independent Ukraine, and it did appear that the local "Ukes" were not much interested in multicultural issues (only some twenty on average now attended most P & B meetings). He confessed to never having seen such acrimony in the legislature.

I urged him to appeal to Klein personally—to indicate that while he understood Klein's difficulties with the Reformers, the issue on a higher plane was the quality of future human relations in the province and the country as a whole. "Do you want a province as acrimonious as the legislature itself?" When I invoked his late father's name, Decore's objections gradually subsided. He did not need, he said, to have anyone accompany him, but he *was* disturbed that Peter Savaryn was not talking to the Tories. Nor was he entirely pleased with Mitchell's reliance upon Zwozdesky to carry the ball in the legislature. Decore did see Klein, and early on the 24<sup>th</sup> he indicated that the premier had "listened," but that was all. Two unnamed Conservative backbenchers had informed him that the right-wingers in the party were "definitely driving" the agenda, but as Decore was in a hurry, I could only thank him before he hung up.

Meanwhile Beth Bryant had persuaded the editorial-page editor of the *Herald* to publish an article defending multiculturalism. She had also sent me a long list of Alberta's ethnic and rural newspapers to which the article might be sent. As a result, by the 26<sup>th</sup> I mailed copies of my piece on "Multiculturalism as State Policy—What It Is and What It Is Not" to some thirty carefully chosen local papers throughout the province. Bryant had also convinced the columnist Satya Das at the *Edmonton Journal* to broker the same piece with his op-ed editor, and early in May it appeared in both metropolitan dailies. The brief article was a highly distilled version of my

earlier paper, and since it was my last effort, it is reproduced below. In the *Journal* it was set off by a cartoon that portrayed Manning as a caddy on a golf course handing off an axe-shaped no. 4 iron to Mar to cut down a tall tree labelled "Multiculture."

With the pending repeal of the Alberta Multiculturalism Act by a provincial government driven by fanatical closet Reformers, it is well to review what multiculturalism as state policy is and what it is not, in the hope of reaching reasonable people and perhaps even forestalling the worst.

Multiculturalism is not the wholesale transmission of many cultures—fully blown and completely intact. Such a thing is hardly possible, for assimilation is a daily phenomenon, and the culture of all immigrants begins to change almost as soon as the decision to leave the old country is made. However, the assimilative process has to be natural; it cannot be forced and it should not annihilate everything.

Its outcome should be an accurate, dignified and willing acceptance by the host society of *some* aspects of the cultural heritage of the diverse peoples who make up Canada—*quality* aspects like the bilingual (heritage language) classrooms in some prairie public schools that are now part of Canada's public culture.

Multiculturalism is not a pandering by government to special interests. All interests are special interests in pluralistic, democratic societies like ours.

To be mindful of one's ancestral roots and to work (under official multiculturalism) for public institutions that reflect them is not to be divisive. On the contrary, it is where public institutions fail to respond to ethnocultural aspirations that separate institutions that marginalize or segregate ethnocultural groups are most prominent.

Multiculturalism does not produce "hyphenated Canadians" with dual loyalties. It is as normal for some Jewish or Arab Canadians to be concerned about the fate of their ancestral homelands in the Middle East as it is for some French Canadians to be in love with France or some Scots Canadians, Irish Canadians and Anglo-Saxon Canadians both to visit and to be interested in developments in the United Kingdom and Ireland.

Multiculturalism as state policy is the learning of second languages in the same public school classrooms that children learn English and French. This is good cultural policy because it

gives Canada's diverse peoples a greater sense of belonging by contributing to the public culture. It also strengthens Canada's economic potential as a trader in a shrinking world.

Multiculturalism is curricula and textbooks in state schools through which children can study the various peoples who have developed the Canadian nation. Multiculturalism is public parks named after notable kinsmen like Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot), and displays in public museums that focus on aspects of Canada's cultural diversity.

Multiculturalism is the portrayal of the lives of Canada's diverse peoples in documentaries, plays and dramas in both official languages on Canada's radio and television networks, and especially the publicly funded CBC, whose mandate is to convey to Canadians their national identity in full.

Multiculturalism was meant to affect Canada's public culture. The idea was not to transplant whole cultures across oceans but to affect Canada's public institutions as part of the sharing of power and opportunity among the peoples who share Canada. That sharing, in the last analysis, is what multiculturalism at its most *fundamental* level is all about.

Appreciation of the cultural aspects of a country's diverse peoples creates mutual respect and such respect, in the end, is what holds heterogeneous countries like Canada together. Such respect, far from being divisive, is, in fact, the strongest possible cement and the surest basis for national unity.

In the interest of good human relations, it would be foolish to return to the bad old days when state indifference towards cultural aspects outside mainstream ethnicities dominated public policy.

Yet this is just what Reform leader Preston Manning recently suggested: "We believe that all Canadians should be treated equally in law and the Constitution regardless of race, language and culture. If various groups of Canadians want to preserve the language and culture, fine. Let them do so. But as far as the federal government is concerned, treat all Canadians as equal, period."

What equity in this sense really means is that in Canada all ethnocultural groups, apart from the Anglo-Celts (and the French in Quebec), would be equally *excluded* from participating in the development of Canada's public culture on the quality footing that public policy and public funds alone can ensure.

It is just the opposite of the equity encouraged under multiculturalism.

What today's opponents of multiculturalism as state policy need to address are the ethnocultural roots of Canada's *publicly funded* culture and how well the roots of all Canadians will continue to be represented therein.

To assist Zwozdesky, Edmonton's Ukrainians organized a rally on 11 May at St. John's Auditorium, which ironically was also where Premier Harry Strom had first announced his government's interest in a multicultural policy twenty-five years earlier! In his letter of mid-April inviting other groups to participate, Dmytro Jacuta, "volunteer president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress—Alberta Provincial Council," suggested that in the interim they meet with Klein and also consider a province-wide co-ordinating body modelled after the federal Canadian Ethnocultural Council. In his letter to Klein he requested a meeting to provide time "for a review by our community before the adoption of the proposed changes." Nothing came of either initiative, but from the *Journal's* report it was clear that the rally at St. John's was a pretty raucous affair.

Before some sixty individuals from "about 40 Edmonton ethnic groups," Jacuta, Pidruchney, Diachuk and Savaryn—the latter three identified as prominent Conservatives—roasted the government for abandoning multiculturalism. When Julius Yankowsky, the Tory MLA (Edmonton Beverly-Belmont), defended Bill 24, Savaryn censured him and the government for not consulting the ethnocultural groups: "You say: 'We consulted.' But whom did you consult? Did you hold meetings? You did not. So, I suggest to you now, wipe out that atrocious bill." Pidruchney, an unsuccessful Conservative candidate in the most recent provincial election (1993), was just as pointed: "I want to believe that you [Yankowsky] did not write that speech...that it was given to you and written by Steve West or one of the other Reformers on the far right in our government." In interviews next day leaders from the German and Chinese communities (and Jacuta and Savaryn again) objected to the bill, with Savaryn accusing the government of displaying "Anglo-Saxon chauvinism" against other ethnic groups: "They want Anglo-Saxon culture to dominate every other one and wipe them out." Earlier I had sent Savaryn a copy of my address, and he now reciprocated with comments on the newspaper clippings:

Gone are the days, when we could do things from "the inside," without "stink". Yesterday the PC House deferred the debate on Bill 24 till today.... I am sure they will pass it, with some "amendments," to sweeten "merging" and then "submerging"

the Multiculturalism Act with “human rights and citizenship”. An old political trick: merge a mouse with an elephant, and then—see the mouse disappear. Cut the budget in half, and then—abolish it completely. I was a little rough in my interviews subsequently, taking it out on “anglosaxons” (you use the word “fanatics”), but I did it on purpose. Shouting and stinking—that is all we can do, when we have no real “representatives” in the House, and no friends! Hladie [*sic*], Stelmach, Trynchy, Yankowsky, Woloshyn, Beniuk...but nobody to unite them for a cause. Zwozdesky cannot do it alone, and Lawrence [*sic*—is out of it, as far as I can judge.

Inexplicably, the *Ukrains'ki visti* did not enter the debate until mid-June, when its editorial declared “Heritage Language Schools beneficial for Alberta trade” and naïvely called upon the government to “take a second look at funding.”

Despite rumoured changes to the bill, none were forthcoming. The bill passed on 23 May, the last day of the legislative session, after the government invoked closure. A generation after a Social Credit government on its last legs had accepted the need for a provincial multicultural policy, the latter bit the dust. I was by then too far removed to participate effectively in the resistance, but from a distance it did appear that among Canadians of Ukrainian origin enthusiasm for the policy, if not the concept, had run its course (on the phone Jacuta indicated that there was now little “real” interest). The Ukrainian Community Development Committee was no longer meeting in the Prairies, and a year earlier, even before turning its back on multiculturalism, the provincial government had signalled an end to community development funding (some \$70,000 annually). Fighting deficits, the federal government also decreased multicultural funding from a reported high of thirty million dollars in 1989 to twenty million by 1996. After a major review that spring it was clear that federal community development grants would give way to funding race relations, immigrant integration and measures to improve job prospects and foreign-trade opportunities for members of ethnocultural groups. Once government grants for Ukrainian community development disappeared, the Ukrainian community in Edmonton was again thrown back upon its own resources. I was not too disappointed, for a community unwilling to fund at least its own infrastructure was not much of a community. I did regret, however, that all the earlier talk about a strong foundation for future community programming had come to nothing. But I never had the impression that the community-development movement was ever very popular with most community leaders, and once government funding dried up, few appeared too reluctant to limp back to how affairs had been conducted in the past.

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So, was all the political involvement worth it? The greatest beneficiaries of the multicultural movement were undoubtedly the immigrants who came to Canada after the 1960s. Canadian society today is far more receptive of immigrants than it ever was—and it is definitely more favourably disposed toward immigrants of colour than in the past. This, I think, is a very good thing—a direct outcome of the emphasis on the value of cultural pluralism and diversity within the multicultural movement. The latter did much to make Canadians more accepting of differences regarding colour, race, ethnicity and religion—even gender and sexual orientation. Mainstream Canada is now a much more tolerant society, largely because of the political activism associated with multiculturalism.



The author and Peter Savaryn at the launching of the last three volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Toronto, September 1993.

For the Ukrainians the earlier cultural breakthroughs are still largely in place. With their bilingual/trilingual classes, academic studies, resource centres, historical monuments and arts groups, one might even say that the Ukrainians benefited most institutionally (if not necessarily organizationally) from the multicultural movement. For this, they had ultimately to thank the very difficult political and cultural situation in Ukraine. Until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, they were, as was frequently stated, truly “an endangered species.” It is hard to say how Ukrainians might have reacted to the biculturalism spurred by Quebec’s Quiet Revolution but for their special political and cultural predicament as a Canadian minority. The thirty-six thousand Ukrainian Displaced Persons who immigrated to Canada after the Second World War were in the main highly politicized refugees, and their Canadian-educated children—the second generation—were even more effective activists than their parents. And, not surprisingly, it was they (along with a generous smattering of well-placed men and women from earlier immigrations) who became the strongest supporters and often the most vociferous advocates within the multicultural movement.

Inherent in the advocacy, however, was also an important source of the movement’s eventual decline, for the Ukrainian cultural agenda was essentially “me-tooist”—a reaction to the French agenda from Quebec. Both agendas, at least initially, were primarily rooted in traditional cultural concerns—language retention and cultural preservation, with spinoffs (for the Ukrainians) into academic studies, museums, archives and history, festivals and other song-and-dance displays and, of course, bilingual education. Although originally advanced under the general rubric of Canada’s cultural diversity, both traditional agendas were narrowly ethnocentric, having little to say about human rights, colour, race or the multireligious diversity of Third World immigrants from the Middle East, the Caribbean, Africa or Asia. As a result, when affirmative action programs and eventually the religious fundamentalism of some non-Christians (the Islamic Arabs, for example) were defended on multicultural grounds, questions were raised about the benefits of multiculturalism to Canada, especially among those who had had doubts about the value of multiculturalism in the first place.

The failure of political will in the implementation of multiculturalism as advanced by the Ukrainian Canadians also contributed to its decline, especially at the federal level. For this, two factors were primarily responsible: Quebec’s highly negative reaction to ‘Ukrainian’ multiculturalism and the schizophrenic attitude of most English-speaking Canadians toward ethnolinguistic interests. Quebec’s opposition to official multiculturalism never wavered: to its political leadership, multiculturalism was the latest Anglophone stratagem to assimilate the French. The latter were cultural separatists at heart, and for some political separatism was the eventual,

logical outcome. If there were to be political multiculturalism in Quebec, it would only develop on French terms; outside Quebec, the French minorities would have to cope with Anglo-led multiculturalism as best they could. Quebec's attitude did nothing to make multiculturalism more palatable to the political authorities, especially in Ottawa, where the French influence was steadily growing.

Multiculturalism had also to contend with the schizophrenic attitude toward ethnicity of most Anglophones in the rest of the country. Although Canadians have generally been proud of their ancestral roots, most have not been overly ethnically conscious, and few have embraced "hyphenated Canadianism" or linguistic studies. When confined to immigrants, both hyphenation and second languages are tolerated, but most Anglophone Canadians have not been too eager to grant ethnicity official status, complete with funds that might even secure a place for it in the country's public institutions. Thus the ultimate cause of the demise of official multiculturalism was the dominant cultural atmosphere in English-speaking Canada, which discouraged most ethnocultural groups from taking advantage of the benefits that multiculturalism offered.

As a result, few Caucasian groups, apart from the Ukrainians, showed much interest in exploring the possibilities of official multiculturalism—an approach that only enervated the will of politicians and denied a strong and permanent base to multicultural policies and programs. Notwithstanding the popular deprecation of the melting pot south of the border, Canada's own well-stoked cauldron had done its job well, discouraging general interest in programs that might have given state-supported ethnocultural community development a reality past the first immigrant generation. When the government knocked in the early 1970s, most "white" ethnic doors were only momentarily ajar. In the absence of any sustained groundswell of public support for multiculturalism as government policy, such indifference was ultimately fatal in a political democracy, leaving behind only the symbolism of multiculturalism with little cultural and linguistic substance in Canada's public institutions, apart, of course, from what the visible minorities might yet be able to give it.

### *Post- 9/11 Addendum*

In my preoccupation with the Ukrainian-Canadian cultural agenda, I have touched only occasionally on how Third World immigration to Canada may have affected the politics of multiculturalism. Like most Canadians, I knew very little about the actual living conditions of the newcomers, though Gurbachan Paul's wife did occasionally indicate that a good deal of family life (at least for the Sikhs) was quite patriarchal, resulting in considerable

tension in some middle-class families. But the actual beliefs of groups like the Sikhs, Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims touched me only when controversies like the wearing of the kirpan to school or the turban in the Canadian police forces became public issues. To me, the latter were minor deviations on religious grounds that attracted mass-media attention out of all proportion to their importance. As with Caucasians generally, not all members of visible minorities favoured multiculturalism, and some even joined the Reform Party, despite the Reformers who were very critical of Canada's liberal immigration policies and who were especially wary of immigrants from the Third World.

After the catastrophe in the United States on 11 September 2001, I immersed myself in the history, teachings and practices of peoples from the Middle East. I was amazed to discover how thin was the line between the mosque and the state for some Islamists, and how illiberal were some of the cultural prescriptions of Islam. Historically, I was of course aware of the many years that it took Western civilization, following the terrible religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to gradually delimit the influence of Christianity in public life. Today, the use of the Bible in the courts, the daily prayers at the opening of state legislatures, the prayerful invocations at public ceremonies, the formal obeisances to clergy at public gatherings, and even the exemption of religious property from public taxation are largely symbolic and mostly inconsequential. The fine line between church and state is still occasionally breached, but a line does exist, and most Canadians understand that minimizing the influence of religion in public life is an unavoidable necessity. Most also have separated faith from ethnicity (at least publicly), and for better or worse there was never any suggestion that the multicultural movement had also a multi-faith dimension.

However, among some of the more fundamentalist newcomers to Canada from the Third World, the line between religion and the state is unfortunately either ignored or at least badly blurred. As a result, it is most disturbing to learn of cultural practices that may encourage arranged and/or forced marriages, or that may invoke sharia law and subordinate women to male-ordained sanctions governing divorce or property rights, or promote opposition to sexual practices such as artificial contraception or a sexual condition like homosexuality. *Worse still, such illiberal attitudes and practices have occasionally been justified on the grounds that Canada, as a multicultural society, permits them.* Multiculturalism, originally designed to liberate ethnicity from the harsh assimilative pressures of culturally homogeneous societies, has thus been used by some religious and political leaders to enforce socially conservative practices through religiously sanctioned cultural customs and traditions that are restrictive. Such use of multiculturalism by Third World fundamentalists to defend traditional family-oriented and faith-based

practices (when associated with religious fundamentalism among North America's Christians and Jews) only reinforces the Religious Right, a key element in the flowering of the social conservatism that has bedevilled political agendas in recent years.

Whatever multiculturalism may mean (and, as we have seen, the meanings are many), it must not be used by fundamentalists of any racial or ethnocultural background, who see their faith as inseparable from the social governance of their members, to protect traditional illiberal ways. Nor must Third World fundamentalists, in particular, look to the concept of multiculturalism to fight racism while protecting such ways. Racism, of course, is a terrible scourge to be strongly resisted, but multiculturalism is always sullied when it is used (and abused) by anyone to defend illiberal social values and practices.



The author inducted into the Order of Canada by Governor General Adrienne Clarkson, Ottawa, February 2004.

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