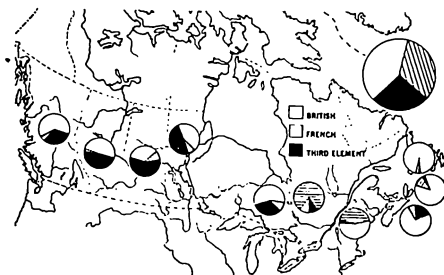


# FOR A BETTER CANADA



**Senator Paul Yuzyk**

**FOR A BETTER CANADA**

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The Senate, Ottawa, Canada

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# **FOR A BETTER CANADA**

**A collection of selected speeches delivered in  
the Senate of Canada and at banquets and  
Conferences in various centres across Canada**

**by**

**Senator Paul Yuzyk**

**on the occasion of his  
Tenth Anniversary as Senator  
February 4, 1973**

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SENATOR PAUL YUZYK

The Honourable Paul Yuzyk was introduced between the Honourable Senator Brooks, P.C., and the Honourable Senator Hnatyshyn, and having presented Her Majesty's Writ of Summons, it was read by the Clerk Assistant, as follows:—

GEORGE P. VANIER  
(L.S.)



CANADA

ELIZABETH THE SECOND, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom, Canada and Her other Realms and Territories QUEEN, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith.

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved  
PROFESSOR PAUL YUZYK,  
of the City of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba,

GREETING:

KNOW YOU, that as well for the especial trust and confidence We have manifested in you, as for the purpose of obtaining your advice and assistance in all weighty and arduous affairs which may the State and Defence of Canada concern, We have thought fit to summon you to the Senate of Canada; and We do command you, that all difficulties and excuses what-soever laying aside, you be and appear for the purposes aforesaid, in the Senate of Canada at all times whensoever and wheresoever Our Parliament may be in Canada convoked and holden; and this you are in no wise to omit.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of Canada to be hereunto affixed.

WITNESS: Our Trusty and Well-beloved Major-General George Philip Vanier, Companion of Our Distinguished Service Order upon whom We have conferred Our Military Cross and Our Canadian Forces' Decoration, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of Canada.

AT OUR GOVERNMENT HOUSE, in Our City of Ottawa, this fourth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-three and in the eleventh year of Our Reign.

BY COMMAND,

G. E. HALPENNY,  
Secretary of State of Canada.

Ordered, That the said Writ be placed upon the Journals.



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## **INTRODUCTION**

### **The Emergence of Multiculturalism in Canada**

Even though it is difficult to attain fully, the ideal of a Just Society is worth striving for. If such a society is guided by the universal principles of freedom and democracy, truth and justice, and equality and brotherhood, it is obvious that the citizens will all greatly benefit. The peace and harmony which will consequentially be assured by adherence to these principles will promote progress, prosperity and the Good Life. As a result, Canada will increasingly become a better place for all in which to live.

To implement these high principles people in various parts of the world often resorted to revolutionary means. The Canadian way of life, however, preferred the evolutionary process. Canadians have been constantly improving their life by improving their laws. They have been adapting their constitution to respond to the new contingencies and needs of life.

Having been brought up and educated on the prairies, which were settled and developed by many peoples from many lands, from my early

life I realized that these pioneer ethnic groups were often treated unjustly, rather than as equal citizens. Persons in established positions of authority upheld the melting-pot theory and pursued discriminatory practices against these peoples, often denouncing them as foreigners, bohunks, etc., the very people who were helping to build our new country. Like many others I was fully aware that dividing our citizens into categories of first and second class was harmful. As a public school teacher, later as a university professor and historian, I devoted my efforts towards promoting better relations among all groups and a new concept of an all-inclusive Canadian identity.

When Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, whom I knew since 1935 and highly respected for his stand against discrimination, appointed me to the Senate, he expected me to defend the just rights of the ethnic groups. My previous experience in Saskatoon, and later in Winnipeg, made it obvious for me to carry out this life-time undertaking. The leaders on both sides of the Senate not only encouraged me in my task but also gave me support in many ways. I was provided with a secretary versatile not only in English and French, but also in Ukrainian, as well as other Slavic languages. Duplicating, printing and translation facilities were put at my disposal. Whenever there were matters pertaining to ethnic groups, I was called upon to deal with them and present my views to the Chamber.

My Maiden Speech on March 3, 1964, entitled

"Canada: a Multicultural Nation", outlined my approach to this serious problem. By this time, the Liberal government of Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson had decided to establish the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Its focus was on English-French relations with an after-thought "and taking into consideration the contributions of the other ethnic groups". I took the stand that this approach would seriously divide the country as it relegated a large section of the population to second-class citizenship. All the other ethnic groups formed nearly one-third of the population and this Third Element or Force must be recognized as equal partners with the British and French. The true Canadian identity cannot be "biculturalism" because this discriminates against one-third of the Canadian people — it is and must be "multiculturalism", as this concept preserves the dignity of the individual and his cultural group and maintains "unity in continuing diversity". To exemplify the efficacy of multiculturalism, I spoke several paragraphs also in French and Ukrainian. This speech was well received in the Senate.

This Maiden Speech was also generally well-received in many parts of Canada. The press gave it some attention and some English-language papers published the full text. The non-English, non-French press, with over 1,500,000 readers, gave it wide coverage and favourable editorial comments. Several editions of it were printed in pamphlet form, copies of which numbered over

15,000. In the hearings of the B & B Commission, extracts from the text of the speech were quoted by numerous witnesses from coast to coast. Multiculturalism was endorsed by a significant portion of the Canadian population, much to the displeasure of the B & B Commission and the proponents of the exclusive privileges of the "two founding races". The lesson was evident — Canadians of all origins, races, colours and creeds must be recognized and treated as equals in the governments, institutions and all walks of life.

The Federal Government began to respond immediately. In November, 1964, the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State under the jurisdiction of the Hon. Maurice Lamontagne, sponsored a conference of the representatives of the leading ethnic groups. Here the Canadian Folk Arts Council was established; it played a prominent role in the celebrations of the Canadian Centennial in 1967 and subsequently at occasions of a cultural character across the country. Incidentally, at this conference in 1964, I had suggested that the name of the body should be Canadian Cultural Council, which should deal with the broad aspects of culture and not only the performing folk arts; the idea at the time was premature.

If justice and recognition were to be realized, the ethnic groups of the Third Element became aware that co-operation among themselves would be necessary. Thus in 1940 the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation was established and at subse-

quent annual meetings gradually evolved common policy. Co-operation was practised through the Canadian Citizenship Councils in various centres, and on a larger scale through the Canadian Folk Arts Council with branches across the country.

I decided to take an active part in promoting the co-operation of these groups in various fields of community and national activity. So, I gave full support and assistance to the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs which was held in Banff, Alberta in 1965 as a university association, and subsequently every two years to 1971, when the academics decided to broaden the scope and transformed themselves into the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, joining the Learned Societies in Canada.

When it became apparent that the Federal-Provincial Conferences had bogged down on constitutional reform and failed to deal with the rights of all ethnic groups, I took the initiative to convene the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights in Toronto in December, 1968. With the support and co-operation of the Federal Government, the Government of Ontario and several national bodies, this Conference was attended voluntarily by delegates representing 20 of the major ethnic groups and unanimously adopted resolutions regarding the implementation of a policy of multiculturalism; these were sent to the Federal and Provincial governments, most of which responded favourably.

Subsequently, events in the direction of multi-

culturalism began to move rapidly. Students' conferences on *Multiculturalism for Canada* were held at several universities in the fall and summer of 1970, which involved government, academic and political leaders. On the occasion of the Centennial of Manitoba, the provincial government of Premier Edward Schreyer sponsored the Manitoba Mosaic Conference in Winnipeg in October, 1970. The government of Premier Harry Strom sponsored the Alberta Multicultural Conference in Edmonton, in July, 1971. In response to Book IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Prime Minister Trudeau announced a federal policy of multiculturalism on October 8, 1971 in the House of Commons, which received the endorsement of the leaders of all the parties. In 1972, Prime Minister William Davis's government held a well-attended Heritage Ontario Congress in Toronto in June and Premier Peter Lougheed sponsored the Alberta Heritage Conference in Edmonton in October, each dealing extensively with multicultural policy.

In the meantime, the Federal government and Parliament in January, 1970 launched the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada, which toured 51 centres in all regions of the country, hearing briefs from citizens and interested bodies and groups. The Committee, composed of representatives of all the parties, of which I was also a member, tabled its report in both houses on March 16, 1972. The report defines the Canadian identity

as "an independent, democratic officially bilingual, multicultural, federal state", recommending it for the new Canadian constitution.

During the federal election in the fall of 1972 it can become obvious to the subsequent minority government of Prime Minister Trudeau that there was a strong feeling in the country for a more positive approach in the implementation of the policy of multiculturalism. In November, a new portfolio was established (which I had advocated for many years). Dr. Stanley Haidasz of Toronto, who had good relations with many ethnic communities, became the Minister of State responsible for Multiculturalism. He began to popularize the rather vague government policy, but was encountered everywhere with the criticism "how can the policy of multiculturalism be implemented without sufficient funds?" and that the meager efforts of the government smacked merely of "tokenism".

Thereupon, the federal government decided to carry out a resolution of the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights. In May, 1973, the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism was appointed, consisting of 101 members of almost every ethnic origin, with Mr. Julius Koteles, of Winnipeg, as chairman, a prominent lawyer who had been very active in the work of the Canadian Folk Arts Council. The funds were increased to \$10,000,000, making it possible to expand a variety of programs in the cultural field.

In the shaping of these important developments it should be borne in mind that a significant role

was played by the Canadian Cultural Rights Committee, which was established by the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights and had the support of central and national bodies of various ethnic groups. It planned to convene a second Thinkers' Conference in the fall of 1970, which however, had to be postponed because of the FLQ crisis. The provincial conferences on multiculturalism and the uncertainty of the next federal election contributed to further postponements. Finally, the conference was announced to be held in Ottawa in March, 1973 to which nearly 250 delegates were accredited from national and regional organizations representing the vast majority of the ethnic groups. Representatives of several provincial governments and large cities agreed to participate.

At this time, the federal government was contemplating the establishment of an advisory council on multiculturalism and therefore requested the Canadian Cultural Rights Committee to postpone the announced conference and to co-operate with the government in convening a larger conference to deal with federal policy. The Committee thought it would be in the best interests of the Canadian people to give the government the opportunity to clarify and improve its multicultural policy and programs. So, the Second Thinkers' Conference was postponed to study the results of the federal government conference which was planned for October, 1973.

I can state with some pride that I am happy to

have played some part in the evolutionary process which gradually crystallized the concept of Canada as a multicultural nation. I followed all the relevant events closely and spoke on all these developments in the Senate, at conferences and at banquets in various Canadian centres as well as in the United States. I have been receiving numerous requests for copies of many of my speeches.

This volume contains several selected speeches, which in reality are sources for tracing the development, the recognition and the implementation of multiculturalism in Canada by governments and in the constitution. Repetition of some sections of the texts is avoided by omitting them a second or third time, stating the reference. Part B consists of speeches, some of a controversial character, on relations with the USSR and Ukraine. Part C has 3 addresses under the heading "The Quality of Life".

As most Canadians, I have faith in Canada, which I am trying to serve to the best of my ability, in my capacity as an active member of the Senate and Parliament. Through my speeches and efforts and in cooperation with men and women of good will, I have tried to contribute to the building of a better Canada for all citizens, in accordance with the best principles of a Just Society.

P. Y.

Ottawa, October 1, 1973





# Debates of the Senate

OFFICIAL REPORT

Maiden Speech

of

The Hon. PAUL YUZYK

Senator

CANADA  
A MULTICULTURAL NATION

In the Senate of Canada, Ottawa, on Tuesday, March 3, 1964



## **PART A**

### **MAIDEN SPEECH**

#### **CANADA: A MULTICULTURAL NATION**

(Delivered in the Senate of Canada, March 3,  
1964)

Honourable Senators, as I rise to deliver my maiden speech, which in reality is a virgin speech since this is the first time that I have ever spoken in Parliament, it is with humility as well with pride that I stand before so august a body as the Canadian Senate. I had planned to make my debut at the last session, but I was away in New York serving my country in the Canadian delegation to the Eighteenth General Assembly of the United Nations.

The warm welcome that I had received at the last session from His Honour the Speaker, (Hon. Maurice Bourget), the honourable former Leader of the Government (Hon. W. Ross Macdonald), the honourable Leader of the Opposition (Hon. Alfred Brooks), and many other honourable senators, made me immediately feel at home in the Senate, and for this I am immeasurably grateful. Since there has been so much expressed concern

for my happiness, I would like to assure the honourable senators that certainly they have launched me in that direction. My one year's experience here has convinced me that the Senate is paramontly non partisan in character and, therefore, my happiness is assured, as I had become accustomed to such a nonpolitical and nonpartisan institution as the university. Consequently, I do not regret the transfer and am looking forward to an increasingly useful life, with the objective of making some small contribution through the Senate to the welfare of the people of Canada.

### **Tributes**

I gladly join all those who have congratulated His Honour the Speaker, the honourable Leader of the Government (Hon. Mr. Connolly), and the honourable Leader of the Opposition. Their positions are indeed responsible. I wish them well in the performance of their duties. A special and warm word of thanks I would like to convey to Senator Connolly, who was chairman of the Internal Economy and Contingent Accounts Committee, and to other members of the committee, for their support of my request for a stenographer who could type and correspond in Ukrainian. A trilingual stenographer, who could handle Ukrainian, English and French was found, making it possible for me and for other senators to expedite correspondence readily in three languages. My congr-

tulations go to Senator George S. White for the great honour that he received by his appointment to the Privy Council; I shall always fondly remember him as the Speaker of the Senate when I was sworn in to this chamber.

I have also learned to appreciate the role of the Whips and wish them success and satisfaction in the fulfilment of what is not always a grateful function. It is a pleasure to welcome the newest senators who have joined us recently.

At the outset I would like to pay tribute to the Right Honourable John George Diefenbaker, whom history will record, I am sure, as one of the great Canadian Prime Ministers. His championing the cause of the liberty of nations against Russian communist colonialism at NATO and the United Nations, his efforts to strengthen the Commonwealth, based upon the principles of freedom, justice and democracy, his advocacy for many years of the Canadian Bill of Rights, and his defence of Canadian sovereignty, have brought great prestige to Canada throughout the world. His roots go deep in Canadian history, for on his mother's side he is a distinguished descendant of George Bannerman and his wife, who arrived with the courageous band of Selkirk settlers 150 years ago to establish the Red River Colony, the precursor of Winnipeg, the "Gateway to the West". To this great Canadian, who has always had the interests of all segments of our diverse population at heart, I owe an everlasting debt of gratitude, for it was he who first interested me in political life

during the election of 1935 — although I did not actively participate for a long time — and who finally involved me permanently in political affairs by nominating me to the Senate last year.

### **Throne Speech**

I also would like to offer my congratulations to the mover, Senator Eric Cook, and the seconder, Senator Azellus Denis, of the motion for an address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. Their contributions to the debate, despite brevity, were interesting, worthwhile and stimulating.

Honourable senators, there are certain references in the Speech from the Throne that are of particular interest to me and that part of the Canadian population into which I was born; I take it upon myself to voice their feelings. These are the references dealing with Canadian unity and citizenship, "which will ensure full equality of rights for all Canadian citizens wherever they were born". I hope that this will eliminate second-class citizenship.

### **Changing Face of Canada**

Canada has undergone tremendous changes in all walks of national life since the proclamation of the British North America Act in 1867. The original four provinces have increased to ten, while the population has increased from 3½ million to over

19 million, the complexion having changed from paramountly British-French, with a substratum of Indian and Eskimo cultures, to multicultural, with the immigration of many European and Asiatic peoples.

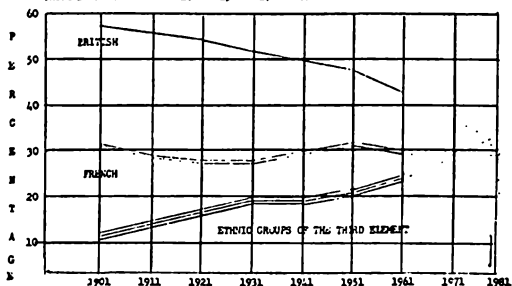
During that time, Canada has developed from a colony to an independent democratic state, from a relatively unknown country to a leader of the middle nations of the world, from an exploited territory to a leading trading nation and a champion of the freedom of nations of the world. Few countries in the world have paralleled the peaceful progress of our country. Canada today is a vastly different country and our approach to her problems must be in keeping with the new situation and new times.

### **New Factor in Canadian Society**

It is regrettable that Canadian historians have consistently neglected to take into account population statistics, and have thus failed to bring into perspective the variety of the contributions of the many ethnic groups to the building of Canada. Even a casual examination of the figures of the past seven Canadian censuses reveals significant trends in our population. I will read briefly the percentage distribution of the three elements — British, French, and the Third Element consisting of all other ethnic groups — of the population, taken from catalogue 92-545 of the 1961 census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics:

CANADIAN POPULATION TRENDS (Percentage-wise)

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
British	57	56	55	52	50	48	44
French	31	29	28	28	30	31	30
Third Element	12	15	17	20	20	21	26



From these percentages it will readily be noted that the British element – English, Scots, Irish and Welsh – during the past 60 years has steadily decrease, not in number but in proportion, from 57 per cent to 44 per cent; today it is a minority group. The French element has constantly held its own proportion, about 30 per cent. On the other hand, the Third Element has steadily increased from 12 per cent to 26 per cent, more than doubling itself, and is quickly approaching the numerical and proportional position of the French Canadians. Present-day Canada is a country of minorities, and this fact should not be ignored.

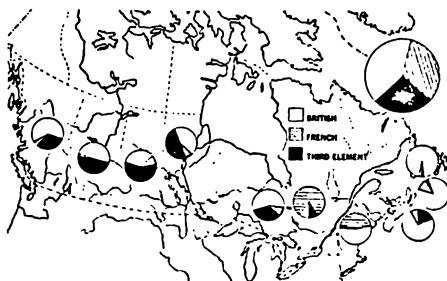
### **Ethnic Composition of Canada**

For purpose of information, the following chart of the ethnic composition of Canada, according to the 1961 census, is presented:

# ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CANADIAN POPULATION (1961)

Group	Population	Percentage	Canadian-born (%)	Canadian Citizenship (%)
Total	18,238,247	100.0		
French	5,510,346	30.4	95	99
English	4,195,175	23.0		
Scottish	1,902,302	10.4	86	96
Irish	1,753,351	9.6		
German	1,049,599	5.8	73	87
Ukrainian	473,377	2.6	77	97
Italian	450,351	2.5	41	61
Netherlander	429,679	2.4	64	81
Scandinavian	386,534	2.1	73	93
Norwegian	148,681			
Swedish	121,757			
Danish	85,473			
Icelandic	30,623			
Polish	323,517	1.8	60	90
Indian	220,121	1.2	100	—
Jewish	173,344	1.0	62	93
Judaic Faith	254,368	1.4		
Welsh	143,942	0.8	86	96
Others	729,051	4.0		

## Distribution by Provinces



ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION BY PROVINCES  
1961

	British	French	Third Element		British	French	Third Element
Canada	44	30	26	Quebec	9	81	10
British Columbia	61	4	35	New Brunswick	55	49	5
Alberta	45	6	49	Nova Scotia	71	12	17
Saskatchewan	40	7	53	Prince Edward Island	80	17	3
Manitoba	41	9	48	Newfoundland	94	4	2
Ontario	60	10	30				

It is interesting and revealing to examine the present composition of the population of the provinces according to the three elements. The British element predominates in Newfoundland with 94 per cent; Prince Edward Island, 80 per cent; Nova Scotia, 71 per cent; British Columbia, 61 per cent; Ontario, 60 per cent; and New Brunswick, 55 per cent. The French element predominates only in Quebec with 81 per cent; the largest minority is in New Brunswick, 49 per cent. The Third Element predominates in Saskatchewan with 53 per cent, exceeding the British, 40 per cent, and French, 7 per cent. It forms the largest element in Alberta,

49 per cent, followed by the British, 45 per cent, and the French, 6 per cent. In Manitoba it forms 48 per cent, followed by the British, 43 per cent, and the French, 9 per cent. It has the considerable proportion in British Columbia of 35 per cent; Ontario, 30 per cent; and Nova Scotia, 17 per cent. In general, the Third Element, composed overwhelmingly of Canadian-born, forms about 50 per cent of the population of the three prairie provinces.

### **Settlement of Ethnic Groups**

By what right did the non-British, non-French peoples come to Canada? First of all, the Indians and the Eskimos are indigenous peoples, being natives of this land long before the coming of the French and the British. The other European peoples were invited to this country by the Canadian Government to settle the vast wilderness. The settling of the West began shortly after Confederation, and brought into being the province of Manitoba, and later Saskatchewan and Alberta. Large-scale government-sponsored and government-directed immigration was initiated by Sir Clifford Sifton of Manitoba, Minister of the Interior, in 1896 under the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In less than two decades before World War I, most of the arable land in the prairie provinces was settled by a considerable number of several European peoples, a very large proportion of whom were neither of British nor French

origin. They fully accepted the laws of Canada, brought civilization to vast areas hitherto uninhabited, greatly aided the expansion of Canadian economy and prosperity, loyally and fully participated in the Canadian armed forces of the two world wars, and conscientiously performed their duties as citizens in every respect, even though there was some discrimination against them for quite a long time. The Third Element ethnic groups, now numbering approximately five million persons, are co-builders of the West and other parts of Canada, along with the British and French Canadians, and are just as permanent a part of the Canadian scene.

### **Example — the Ukrainians**

(See separate article — *The Ukrainian Fact in Canada*)

### *Shevchenko's Greatness\**

At the last session of Parliament the committee sponsored a bill, which was passed in both houses, to establish the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, to promote Ukrainian culture in Canada. This year Ukrainians throughout the world are celebrating 150th anniversary of the birth

\* See separate article: Taras Shevchenko: Poet, Prophet and Leader.

of Taras Shevchenko, the great poet of Ukrainian and universal freedom, justice, truth and brotherhood. Prime Minister Diefenbaker unveiled a large monument of Shevchenko on the grounds of the Legislative buildings of Manitoba in 1961, on which occasion he spoke some Ukrainian, as did Premier Duff Roblin. A monument of the great poet will be unveiled this June on the grounds of the federal Capitol of the United States, in Washington, D.C. To commemorate this great anniversary, I have selected brief excerpts from Shevchenko's poetry, inspired with the divine spirit of liberty, which I would like to read for your appreciation in Ukrainian, followed by an English translation.

From "The Caucasus" — the poet's indictment of Russian Tsarist oppression and a mighty protest against the brutal subjugation of the peoples of the Caucasus, translated by Professors Watson Kirkconnell of Acadia University, and C. H. Andrusyshen of the University of Saskatchewan. Their poetic translation of the complete works of Shevchenko is due to be published shortly by the University of Toronto Press. I shall recite in Ukrainian one of his powerful passages:

*Ne vmyraye dusha nasha,  
Ne vmyraye volya,  
I nesyt' ne vjore  
Na dni morya polya.  
Ne skuye dushi zhyvoji  
I slova zhyvoho.*

*Boritesya — poboryte!*  
*Vam Boh pomahayet*  
*za was pravda, za was slava*  
*I volya svyataya.*

Translated:

So likewise shall our spirit never die  
Nor our dear freedom wholly vanquished lie.  
Sooner may foemen hope to plough with glee  
a meadow at the bottom of the sea  
As chain the living soul with force uncouth  
Or choke to death the vital word of Truth.  
Struggle and ye shall overcome the foe:  
For God shall succour you in battle's throe;  
His strength is on your side, and freedom  
stands

With justice on the threshold of your lands.

The poet who himself had been a serf, fought for the abolition of the abominable system of serfdom in Russia and for the emancipation of these exploited human beings, as well as peoples. Here are his sirring and noble words.

*Vozvelychu*  
*Malykh otykh rabiv nimykh!*  
*Ya na storozhi kolo yikh*  
*Postavlyu slovo.*

I shall make great  
These insignificant mute slaves!  
On their behalf in their defence  
Shall speak the word.

The word is the living human spirit of truth, justice and liberty, which ultimately must prevail for Ukraine and all oppressed peoples who are still struggling for their freedom against Russian communist imperialism. The free countries of the world, including Canada, must mobilize world opinion against the largest existing totalitarian empire, the Soviet Union, to compel it to grant self-determination and freedom to the many nations under Russian domination, in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the principles of the United Nations.

### **Contributions of these Ethnic Groups**

The contributions and place of the Third Element ethnic groups are very little known to the Canadian public and to the leaders of our country. To my knowledge, only the province of Manitoba has made an effort to learn objectively about the prominent groups in that province. The Manitoba Government has been subsidizing these studies through the Manitoba Historical Society since 1946, which to date has received manuscripts on the Mennonites, Ukrainians, Icelanders, Poles, Jews, early French, and Hutterites, of which the social histories of the Ukrainians, Mennonites and Jews have been published. We sorely lack authentic studies of these groups on a Canada-wide basis. Certainly, on the eve of the centennial celebrations

an effort should be made to fill in this gap in Canadian history. With adequate financial support from the Canada Council, such a project should be sponsored immediately under the guidance of prominent Canadian historians, who should subsequently incorporate the important material in Canadian histories.

### **Biculturalism — a Misnomer**

In the light of the above figures and information it will be easily understood why I am viewing critically the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism. First of all, the word "bicultural," which I could not find in any dictionary, is a misnomer. In reality Canada never was bicultural; the Indians and Eskimos have been with us throughout our history; the British group is multicultural — English, Scots, Irish, Welsh; and with the settling of other ethnic groups, which now make up almost one-third of the population, Canada has become multicultural in fact. Furthermore, the projecting of the idea that Canada is bicultural not only excludes the non-British and non-French groups, but denies the multicultural character of the British group, which can only lead to disunity. What we need is a firm basis of our nationhood which will unite all elements in our society. It is found in the paragraph quoted in the Speech from the Throne of May 16, 1963:

The character and strength of our nation

are drawn from the diverse cultures of people who came from many lands to create the Canada that is ours today. The greater Canada that is in our power to make will be built not on uniformity but on continuing diversity.

If biculturalism were carried to its logical conclusion — a virtual two-nation co-existence — then all Canadians would be required to become either English or French. This is an impossibility, and I believe that is not the desired objective of our people. It would not be consistent with full democracy and equality of all citizens. I was glad to note in the debate on the reply to the Speech from the Throne the other day, the honourable Leader of the Opposition (Hon. Mr. Brooks) stated:

... no matter what we try to do, we cannot make an Englishman of a Frenchman, and we cannot make a Frenchman of an Englishman, but we can make good Canadians of both... so far as the other ethnic groups are concerned, we cannot change their ethnic group except to make good Canadians of them.

In his remarks in the debate on the reply to the Throne Speech, the honourable Leader of the Government (Hon. Mr. Connolly), expressed a similar view when he appraised the cultural contributions of various peoples from many countries of the world "as a boon to a new country" and made the exhortation, "each element shall continue to develop its own ideals and achieve its

own aspirations alongside the other". It is my belief that our citizens desire an all embracing Canadian identity which will include all the elements of our population and emphasize unity.

### **Contributions of the Three Elements**

Let us first evaluate briefly the general distinctive contributions of each of the three elements of our population and then assess their place in the establishment of the Canadian identity which should meet with the approval of our citizens.

The great permanent British gift to the Canadian way of life is the parliamentary system of government, an evolutionary democracy under the Crown, which has continually adjusted itself to the new situations, while upholding the authority of and equality before the law, liberty, justice, fair play, equal opportunity for all and the dignity of the individual. Under the British Crown through the Quebec Act, the Constitutional Act, the British North America Act, and the Statute of Westminster, Canada has evolved from colonial status to an independent state and a leader among the middle nations of the world. In this process, Canada has become an equal partner in the Commonwealth of Nations, the great bulwark of freedom and democratic evolution. The British system of democracy has become firmly rooted in Canada and has been accepted by all Canadians as fundamental in our society.

The great French contribution to the Canadian way of life is of a conservative character, the preservation and perpetuation of the culture of a people. Their love of Canada, their pride in their language and their traditions, and their devotion to their religion give depth to the meaning of life. These qualities of the French-Canadian character have built up their resistance to the pressure of the United States and have made possible the development of Canada to independence and greatness.

A tous mes confrères canadiens d'origine française au Sénat, je veux transmettre mes salutations chaleureuses en français. J'ai appris à lire le français à Saskatoon, mais, malheureusement pas, à le parler.

Les autres groupes ethniques, qui ont aidé à construire le Canada, admirent les Canadiens français pour l'amour de leur pays, pour la défense de son indépendance et pour la préservation de leur belle culture. Continuons de travailler ensemble avec un respect mutuel les uns envers les autres, afin de construire un Canada fort et unifié pour la gloire de Dieu, pour la prospérité de nos citoyens et pour la paix et le progrès de l'humanité.

The joint contribution of the various ethnic groups of the Third Element to the Canadian way of life is like that of the French, in the cultural sphere with political and constitutional implications. By their perpetuation of the best of their cultural heritages, these groups have made Canadians more conscious of cultural values, out of

which there has emerged the principle of "unity in diversity", or, stated in another way, "unity with variety", as a rule of governance. This principle, in keeping with the democratic way, encourages citizens of all ethnic origins to make their contributions to the development of a general Canadian culture as essential ingredients in the nation-building process.

### **The Canadian Identity — Multiculturalism**

The contributions of the three elements side by side in our society provides the sound materials for the building of a strong Canadian nation. They provide us with the Canadian identity, a pattern which has been developing in a different way from that of our neighbour to the south. This is brought out clearly in the address delivered last year to the sixth conference of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews in Winnipeg by Dr. Charles Hobart, of California, now sociology professor at the University of Alberta. Here are some of his statements:

Search of identity? You are almost THE multicultural society of the world and this is your identity. It is the contribution you as Canadians have to make to the world. This system of multiculturalism has now worked for almost 100 years and you should be missionaries in this type of cause.

In his opinion the Canadian system of multicul-

turalism has obvious advantages over the American melting-pot concept which produces,

A mixture in which there is loss of identity and peculiar genius. In the long run multiculturalism beats the melting-pot idea all to hell.

A more emphatic statement could not be made by an American.

Canadian leaders have also expressed the same idea. Here is a statement of the late Dr. Sidney Smith former president of the University of Manitoba and the University of Toronto, when he was Secretary of State for External Affairs:

The present population of Canada is roughly, one-third of Anglo-Saxon stock, one-third of French stock and one-third of many other racial groups. There is no Canadian race. We have never had a melting-pot policy toward newcomers. We have never tried to fashion them into one, and only one, mould. Rather we have rejoiced in and we have been strengthened by their special contributions.

There were also leaders in the past who could foresee the shape of things to come. A great architect of Canada, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier under whose administration the Prairies were peopled by various groups of the Third Element, left, some 60 years ago, the following message for future generations:

I have visited in England one of those models of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius,

guided by an unerring faith, has moulded into a harmonious whole. This cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here, I want the marble to remain the marble; the granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak; and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world.

### **Recognition of Multiculturalism**

At this stage, I would like to state it is gratifying to learn that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has recognized the potentiality and vitality of multiculturalism. I would like to quote from its working paper, for the use of those preparing briefs:

The mainspring (l'idée-force) of the terms of reference is the question of bilingualism and biculturalism (i.e. English and French) adding immediately that this mainspring is working in a situation where there is the fact of multiculturalism — multiculturalism that must not be suppressed as quickly as possible (the proverbial melting-pot) but on the contrary, respected and safeguarded, despite not being given official recognition.

It should be borne in mind that a form of official recognition has been given to this principle, since

the languages and cultures of some of the non-British, non-French ethnic groups are taught in the public high schools of the three Prairie provinces and in many of the universities. This could easily be extended to the other provinces. I think that the time has arrived for the Third Element ethnic groups to send their representatives to a national conference in Ottawa and make their common views known to the federal and provincial governments and not only to the Royal Commission.

The recognition of the multicultural character of our population has evolved the unique principle of unity in continuing diversity, which Prince Philip at the Commonwealth Study Conference in Vancouver two years ago identified as the Canadian way. This, of course, is the principle of Confederation which originally had been applied in the political sphere, and now has been extended to the cultural sphere of Canada. To achieve the integration of the rich cultures in our midst into a harmonious entity, Canadian leaders have invoked such sensory symbols as the beauty of the mosaic, the flower garden, the rainbow, the symphony orchestra and the choir, each of which expresses harmonious variety.

In keeping with the ideals of democracy and the spirit of Confederation, Canada should accept and guarantee the principle of the partnership of all peoples who have contributed to her development and progress. As the founding peoples of our country, the British and the French should be regarded as the senior partners whose special rights

include the recognition of English and French as the official languages in accordance with the British North America Act; Canadians would have the choice, but not compulsion, of one or the other language as the means of instruction in our schools. The Third Element ethnic or cultural groups should receive the status of co-partners, who would be guaranteed the right to perpetuate their mother tongues and cultures, which should be offered as optional subjects in the public and high school systems and the separate schools of the provinces, and the universities, wherever there would be a sufficient number of students to warrant the maintenance of such classes, as it practised in England. The teaching of languages should commence at the grade one level, when children learn without much effort. This I know from my own teaching experience of many years in the public schools of Saskatchewan.

For the evolution of a multicultural Canadian nation, a firm basis has been established by Canadian governments since the last war. The Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 recognizes the equality of all Canadian citizens and the Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960 elaborates the specific rights of all citizens and condemns discrimination.

### **Discrimination in Parliament**

Honourable senators, I would like to convey to both Houses of Parliament and to all Canadians how deeply shocked I was when I read in the

House of Commons Debates of February 27, 1964, the following two paragraphs of the speech of the Minister of Citizenship and immigration:

There is a tradition of long standing in this Parliament, that the Speakers function in the House of Commons and in the other place is entrusted in turn to representatives of the two most important ethnic groups in this country.

According to another tradition, the mover and the seconder of the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne are chosen among representatives of the two most important racial groups in Canada.

The minister stated that he respected this tradition, which can be interpreted that he recognizes these rights only for the French and the English. He has gone so far as to make all the "English-speaking" one ethnic group, thus denying the existence of the Scots, Irish and Welsh, and soon after he calls them a racial group. Such confusion in the thinking of a minister of citizenship is not pardonable. What is worse is the policy, which he calls tradition, that he upholds. In his opinion, the speaker of each house and the movers and the seconders of addresses in reply to the Speech from the Throne must alternate between the English and the French. This would deny the right for Senators Thorvaldson, Croll, Hnatyshyn, Gladstone, Basha, just to mention a few, to become the speaker or the mover or seconder of the Throne

Speech addresses in the Senate. This would deny many members of Parliament in the other house such rights also.

Obviously, this is a discriminatory attitude against which I protest most emphatically, as will many Canadians, I am sure. If this is adhered to, it will be a mockery of the Canadian Bill of Rights, the existing Citizenship Act, and the prospective — and I quote from the Speech from the Throne — “amendments to the Citizenship Act which will ensure full equality of rights for all Canadian citizens wherever they were born”.

### **Canadian Citizenship**

Notwithstanding this, however, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration has been doing a wonderful job not only of aiding immigrants in their happy adjustment to Canadian life but also of promoting good Canadian citizenship through citizenship conferences, publications and publicity, et cetera. The essence of Canadianism is most approximately expressed in the message of a Citizenship Court Judge on the occasion of the granting of citizenship to new citizens:

This nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions. To each this nation has given a chance to live and grow and share in the common wealth. From each Canada has

accepted the gifts of different cultures and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea, this rich heritage is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadian.

### **Rights of all Canadians**

Other departments of federal and provincial governments, public bodies and our schools, are slow in following the lead of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. School textbooks should contain the story of the contributions of all elements of our society to the development of Canada, in order to break down the barriers of prejudice and stimulate positive citizenship. Equality of citizenship should mean that appointments to high offices, commissions, the Canada Council, et cetera, should also be made from the Third Element, as has already been partially put into practice.

For example, I believe that the time has come for someone of the Third Element to grace the office of Governor General and of Lieutenant Governors in some of the provinces. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the worst offender, should have representatives from the Third Element on the Board of Broadcast Governors and should promote the harmony and unity of all segments of our multicultural society by sponsoring regular weekly programs of the music, songs, dances, darams, handicrafts and literature of the ethnic

groups of the Third Element on television and radio systems.

The issuance last year of a stamp commemorating Sir Casimir Gzowski, a great Canadian of Polish origin, an outstanding engineer, soldier and educator, should be the beginning of others to follow in the same vein. The multicultural image of Canada should be conveyed in external affairs throughout the multicultural world; exhibits of Canada, embassies, consulates and delegations should have illustrations of the cultural contributions of some of the leading Third Element groups. I believe it would greatly enhance Canada's prestige in the world if a native Indian, educated in a Canadian university, became a member of a Canadian diplomatic mission. Cultural exchanges between the various groups should be promoted. These are only a few suggestions.

### **Fundamentals of Canadian Unity**

Canada's future and greatness will depend not so much upon the exploitation of her natural resources as upon the proper development of her human resources, both of which we have in variety. If we succeed, and we are well on the road to succeeding, to evolve the pattern of unity in continuing diversity through the application of the principle of Confederation and compromise, this will serve as precedent for other states in the world having similar population and cultural

problems. It will be Canada's contribution to the world. I shall venture to go farther. In Canada we have the world in miniature. World peace and order could be achieved if the principles of unity in continuing diversity, brotherhood, compromise and the recognition of the freedom and dignity of individuals and nations are honestly applied.

So, on the even of the celebration of the centennial of the Confederation of Canada, let us honour the memory and the deeds of the Founding Fathers of our nation. The bronze tablet in the Confederation Chamber of the Legislative building in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, most appropriately assesses their immortal work of one hundred years ago in the following words:

Providence being their guide  
They builded better than they knew.

In these days when our nation is subjected to various stresses and strains, when some express doubts and fears about Canada's future, let us strengthen the moral fibre of our nation by rededicating ourselves to the principles of the Canadian Bill of Rights. Let us always bear in mind the pledge appended to this bill, which was read by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, in the House of Commons, on July 1, 190:

I am a Canadia, a free Canadian, free to speak without fear, free to worship God in my own way, free to stand for what I think right, free to oppose what I believe wrong, free to choose

those who shall govern my country. This heritage of freedom I pledge to uphold for myself and all mankind.

Fundamentally, we are a Christian and democratic nation. Let us therefore not forget that all men are born in the image of God. Believing in the Fatherhood of God, we also believe in the brotherhood of man and the brotherhood of peoples and nations. Our faith in freedom, equality, justice, co-operation, truth and love as the antidote to tyranny, hate, fear, bigotry, prejudice and discrimination has been the strength that has brought about and maintained Canadian unity, which has produced peace, progress, prosperity and happiness for Canadian citizens. This faith and work has built a great and dynamic Canada. With continuing mutual understanding and goodwill and adherence to these high principles we will build a greater and more dynamic country. Let us look to Canada's future with the faith of our Founding Fathers, of our pioneers of various origins, and of our great leaders.

## **THE UKRAINIAN FACT IN CANADA**

(Article in program of the Montreal Conference, "The Future of Ukrainian Canadians in Quebec", June 9, 10 and 11, 1972 — in English, French and Ukrainian)

The Eightieth Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada was celebrated throughout Canada in 1971. It was in early September, 1891, that the first two Ukrainian settlers, Iwan Pylypiw and Wasyl Eleniak (died in 1956 at the age of 97) arrived in Winnipeg, Pylypiw and Eleniak were the first known permanent Ukrainian homesteaders in Canada, whose example and appeals attracted many thousands of their countrymen to Canada, mostly from the Western Ukrainian lands, which at that time were part of the ill-fated Austro-Hungarian Empire. Over a half-million Ukrainian Canadians paid tribute to these and other pioneer settlers and leaders.

### **Monumental Contribution to Agriculture**

The outstanding and everlasting contribution of the Ukrainian pioneers is the bringing under cultivation of millions of acres of virgin soil in the

Canadian West and the bringing of civilization and prosperity to these vast, hitherto unsettled regions. The significance of this contribution can be fathomed when a comparison is made: the Ukrainians brought under cultivation considerably more land (my estimate is approximately 10,000,000 acres) in seven decades than the ten-times more numerous French Canadians in Quebec (over 5,000,000 acres) in over 300 years.

It took courage, faith, good-will and perserverance for these humble folk to leave their native land forever and settle in an unknown wilderness to face and endure all the trials and hardships of a tough pioncering venture in order to establish a new home and a new life. They pushed back the frontier on the periphery of settlement at that time, establishing numerous new communities which formed a long and almost continuous belt commencing in the south-eastern corner of Manitoba and scattering diagonally across the three prairie provinces in a north-westerly direction to the Peace River area in northern Alberta, in some places the width of the belt being over 100 miles. They also settled in many centres in Eastern Canada, such as Toronto, Montreal, etc. To their eternal memory, they have left over 100 place-names of Ukrainian origin in this vast strip of territory, such as Ukraina, Komarno, Senkiw and Medika in Manitoba, Gorlitz, Tarnopol, Dnieper, Krydor and Sokol in Saskatchewan; Myrnam, New Kiew, Shandro and Stry in Alberta. Together with the British and French, the Ukrainians are build-

ers of Western Canada, and therefore can be regarded as their partners in all aspects of Canadian life.

The advent of Ukrainian settlement in Canada was preceded by two other Ukrainian newcomers. One was the introduction of Red Fife wheat in the West in 1876, which because of its early maturing as well as superb milling and baking qualities, made possible the settlement of the Prairies. Red Fife wheat was Galician (Ukrainian) wheat planted first in Ontario, from which later were developed over 80 other North American varieties, such as Marquis, Ceres, Reliance, Rewards, Thatcher and Apex. It is also remarkable that Red Fife was first produced in the West in the Red River Valley, whose soil on both sides of the river is officially designated in agricultural atlases as "chernozem", the Ukrainian name meaning "black earth", after the fertile soil in Central Ukraine "the granary and breadbasket of Europe". Adjacent to the Chernozem of the Red River Valley is a lighter, greyish-black soil labelled "Podzol", named after the soil in the Western Ukrainian region known as Podilia or Podolia, of which "podzol" is a Polish version. (The Chernozem and Podzol soils extend outward to Minneapolis). And so, when Ukrainians arrived in Manitoba in the 1890's, they felt at home on a Ukrainian-type soil and with a Ukrainian variety of wheat.

Consequently, as could be expected, with their centuries-old background of farming in their native

land, and their devotion to hard work and their families, the Ukrainian Canadians have made the most spectacular progress in agriculture. Almost half of the Ukrainian population in the Prairie Provinces is still engaged in farming, the size of the average farm having increased to approximately four quarters, 640 acres, or one square mile. Farming today is highly mechanized and costly, bringing in a good income and wealth to the country. Ukrainian farmers are ranked among the best in Canada and in the world.

### **Economic Contributions**

Rapid progress was made in agriculture because the pioneers were of farmer stock and because of this background progress was slower in business, industry and the professions. Their first business efforts were with small stores, shoe-repair shops, barber shops, bakeries, etc., which required little capital. The first co-operative ventures ended in failure. It was not until the Canadian-born generation moved on the scene after the First World War that the professions began to expand and that larger economic enterprises began to go forward. Today, eighty years later, Ukrainians are keeping abreast with modern development in most fields of economic activity.

Without a survey or study of the economic activities of the half-million Ukrainian group scattered from coast to coast it is not possible to

appraise properly their achievements in this field. The co-operative movement in the 1930's has expanded very little beyond grocery stores in a few centres, except in savings and loans. With the establishment of the first Ukrainian Credit Union in Saskatoon in 1939, the credit union movement has advanced rapidly. In 1971 there were at least 60 Ukrainian-operated credit unions across Canada with assets amounting to approximately \$100,000,000.

Private enterprise has urged ahead in leaps and bounds. An example is the Ukrainian community of Toronto, where a recent survey revealed there were 416 groceries, many of which had large turnovers, the largest being the UBA Trading Co., established in 1955, which in 1966 reported a gross income of over \$5,000,000. Large-scale enterprises have produced several Ukrainian millionaires. Among many successful entrepreneurs are such men as Mark G. Smerchanski, a former M.P. from Winnipeg, geologist, with gold and uranium mining interests in northern Manitoba and Quebec, and an owner of chemical plants in Moncton, N.B. and Winnipeg. The Settlers Savings and Mortgage Corporation in Winnipeg is the first large financial firm established by Ukrainian business and professional men.

With Michael Szafraniuk's survey of the economic activities of the Ukrainians of Toronto we have a good picture of the achievements in this field of one large community. To offer a valid assessment of Ukrainian economic achieve-

ments for the whole ethnic group in Canada, it will be necessary to have similar surveys made in all communities. Here is a valuable and useful project for the Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Federation.

### **Achievements in Canadian Politics**

Perhaps the most important criterion of the integration of any group into Canadian society and into life is its active participation in politics and public life. In this respect the Ukrainians are far in advance of many other ethnic groups. This can be explained by at least four factors:

- 1) The Ukrainians settled in compact communities in the rural areas, and generally in towns and cities, thus in strong position to elect their own candidates;
- 2) In Ukraine, they had been oppressed by foreign rule, which manipulated elections and deprived them of representation in parliament; here they possessed complete freedom and the opportunities were open to them;
- 3) They were anxious to prove that they were active, rather than passive, citizens in politics;
- 4) Discrimination and prejudices demonstrated by some segments of the British population served to spur them to political activity and

participation in municipal, provincial and federal elections.

The Ukrainians first started at the lowest rung of the political ladder, in municipal affairs, which was a school for higher politics. The first Ukrainian reeve was elected in 1908; it was Ivan Storoschuk for the Stuartburn Municipality in south-eastern Manitoba. Ever since, they have elected as mayors, e.g. William Hawrelak of Edmonton, who in 1956 was president of the Canadian Federation of Mayors; Stephen Juba of Winnipeg, elected eight times, twice by acclamation; Michael Patrick of Windsor, Ontario; Peter Ratuski of Kenora, Ontario; and others.

To date, there have been 79 Ukrainian members of the provincial Legislative Assemblies, some having been re-elected many times, and four of whom have served as cabinet ministers. The first parliamentarian of Ukrainian origin to be elected in Canada was William Shandro, in 1913, as a Liberal for the Vegreville constituency to the Alberta Legislative Assembly. The first Ukrainian woman legislator was a lawyer, Mary Batten (Fodchuk), Liberal, Humboldt, Saskatchewan (1956-64), who subsequently became a judge; recently, Agnes Kripps served as a Social member in British Columbia (1969-72). A record in parliamentary service was established by Nicholas V. Bachynsky, first elected in 1922 in the Manitoba riding of Fisher, which he served as Liberal for 34 years; several years as Vice-Speaker and the

last two years as Speaker of the provincial house, retiring in 1956.

So far, there have been twelve provincial ministers of Ukrainian ancestry from Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. The Hon. John Yaremko, a Toronto barrister, has been Minister of Transport, Citizenship, Provincial Secretary, Public Welfare and now Solicitor General in the Conservative Government of Ontario since 1958.

Representation of Ukrainians in federal politics was not achieved until 1925, when Michael Luchkovich, American-born teacher, was elected in Alberta. Since that time 20 Ukrainians have served in the House of Commons, one of whom, Michael Starr, former Mayor and businessman of Oshawa, Ontario, served as Minister of Labour from 1957 to 1963 in the Conservative Government of Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker. There have been 3 members of the Canadian Senate appointed for life, the first being William M. Wall (Wolocha-tiuk), a High School principal of Winnipeg (1955-1962), the next John Hnatyshyn, a barrister of Saskatoon (1958 — 1967), and myself (Paul Yuzyk), professor of history, Winnipeg, since 1963.

Thus at the time of the 80th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the Ukrainians have a roster of 79 provincial members, 20 federal members, and 3 senators for a total of 102 parliamentarians.

A very significant achievement in the political sphere was the appointment of Dr. Stephen

Worobetz, of Saskatoon, as the Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan in 1969; Prime Minister Trudeau stated this was a tribute to the Ukrainians for their contributions to Canada.

### **Service to the Country**

As Canadians of Ukrainian origin have been graduating from colleges, universities, technical and vocational schools, and other education institutions, they have been increasingly entering the administrative branches of the federal, provincial and municipal governments. Being almost 80 percent Canadian-born, producing many excellent students for over two generations and having highly qualified specialists among the newcomers, they are found in almost every department of the federal civil services and government bodies. It would be a long list if all the judges, magistrates and top civil servants were named.

The real test of loyalty and devoted citizenship is brought out when a country finds itself in a crisis or at war. An estimated 10,000 (a high percentage) were in the ranks of the Canadian army during the First World War; many gave their lives for their adopted country and Philip Konowal received the highest award for valour in the British Commonwealth, the Victoria Cross. During the Second World War (1939-1945), the Ukrainians were no longer regarded with suspicion, but as full-fledged Canadian citizens; approximately

40,000, predominantly Canadian-born, served in the Canadian Army, Navy and Air Force, which was a proportionately higher number than the Canadian average; among them were many officers, NCO's and winners of medals for bravery, thousands having paid the supreme sacrifice. Being an integral part of the Canadian population, Ukrainian Canadians participated with the Canadian forces fighting in the Korean War and are active in the military forces wherever they serve Canada in defence of freedom, democracy and peace.

### **Cultural Contributions**

Their cultural contribution is known in most parts of Canada. Ukrainian folk-dancing in colourful costumes, choirs, orchestra's embroidery and handicraft have been winning the enthusiastic applause and praises of audiences, leaders, critics and monarchs, at local and national celebrations, since the Diamond Jubilee in 1927, and in greater magnitude at the Centennial Celebrations in 1967. All forms of Ukrainian literature have been flourishing, in Ukrainian, in English and some in French, which would require a chapter to do it justice. There are several books in English that deal with this topic.

The Ukrainian language, literature and history are taught at the leading universities in English-

speaking and French-speaking Canada, and as an elective subject in the secondary schools of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario, and in the primary schools of Alberta and Saskatchewan, with Manitoba commencing at Grade One. British Columbia and Quebec, where there are considerable numbers of Ukrainians, have not yet recognized the teaching of this language in the secondary and primary schools. Some 6,000 Ukrainians, among whom over 300 lecture at universities and colleges, are engaged in the teaching profession. Ukrainian culture is being gradually woven into the multicoloured fabric of the composite Canadian culture.

Containing the sees of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church as well as the publishing firms of the largest Ukrainian newspapers and magazines, Winnipeg is the pulsating centre of Ukrainian life in Canada. It is the headquarters of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the co-ordinating body of all the Ukrainian organizations (except the communists) and the designated spokesman for the group.

### **Statistical Study**

In 1969, the Canada Council approved the project entitled "A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891 — 1971" and allotted a sum up to \$50,000 for the first three years and

further grants for another three years. The project is based in the History Department of the University of Ottawa under the direction of myself (P.Y.) and Dr. W. Darcovich, economist, with Dr. John Tesla, geographer, as Research Assistant. A team of 9 qualified researchers using the services of two secretaries has completed most of the fields up to 1961. They are now commencing work on the 1971 census, as the statistics are being released by Statistics Canada (formerly the Dominion Bureau of Statistics). This study will cover every aspect of Ukrainian life in Canada for which statistics are available. It is planned for completion and publication in 1975.

### **Mission of the Ukrainian Canadians**

Over eighty years ago the Ukrainians came to this land of freedom. Having faith in God and in Canada, they have given their best as constructive citizens, to make Canada greater and a better place to live in. Above all, the Ukrainian Canadians cherish the freedom and democracy of this country, which their compatriots in the land of their origin, Ukraine, have not enjoyed for over two centuries, except for the brief interval of the Ukrainian state, 1917-1921. Ukrainian freedom and democracy were destroyed by the false propaganda and military forces of the Soviet Russian Communist dictatorship, which has become the largest colonial power

in the world, having designs upon Canada. Ever aware of the catastrophe that befell Ukraine, the Ukrainian Canadians have constantly been keeping before the public and informing the Canadian government, that Soviet Russian Communism is engaged in subtly undermining our democratic institutions and freedom, as was disclosed by the former Soviet agent, Igor Gouzenko after the Second World War. Canadians are warned that constant vigilance is necessary in order to preserve our way of life. The defence of freedom and democracy must be the cornerstone of Canadian foreign policy, in which, because of their background, the Ukrainian Canadians would be playing an increasing role; for several years delegations to the United Nations and NATO have included them as members.

The mission of the Ukrainian Canadians also includes the perpetuation of the consciousness of cultural values in the development of the Canadian nation. Their fate is bound with the fate of the non-British and non-French element of the Canadian population, known as the Third Element, which today forms almost one-third of the Canadian population. The "melting-pot" theory with its colourless uniformity has been rejected by Canadian governments for a "mosaic-type" of Canadian culture, based on the voluntary integration of the best elements of the culture of each of the ethnic groups as partners. This is the multicultural concept of the Canadian nations, which was recognized by the Federal Government and Parliament

on October 8, 1971; this identity maintains the dignity of the individual and the ethnic group, assuring the unity of the country. It is as leaders and part of the Third Element that the Ukrainian Canadians will continue to make important contributions to Canada.

## **MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE JUST SOCIETY**

(Speech given in the Senate, October 1, 1968)

Honourable senators, at the outset let me congratulate Senator Paul Martin on his appointment to the responsible high position of Government Leader in the Senate, and Senator Deschatelets on his elevation to the Speaker's Chair. I wish them well in the discharge of their duties for which they are so eminently qualified. They succeed Senator John J. Connolly and Senator Sydney Smith, respectively, both of whom served the Senate wholeheartedly and brought increased honour to it. Consequently, all members of this chamber are grateful to them, not only for the excellent performance of their duties of office but also for their warmth of friendship which we shall continue to enjoy on a more unofficial basis.

### **Trilingual Senators**

Because of my ancestral background, I wish at this time to give public credit and convey appreciation in particular to Senator Martin and Senator

Conolly for their efforts to become trilingual. Both are perfectly bilingual in the two official languages. Both have participated in conventions and national celebrations of Ukrainian Canadians, at which they have displayed a scholarly knowledge of Ukrainian history and cultural contributions to Canada and have spoken several sentences in the Ukrainian language.

Despite our political differences both have encouraged me in my work, as have many other honourable senators in this chamber. As I have done in the past, I am always ready to co-operate and work with all men dedicated to the principles of democracy, liberty, justice, equality and brotherhood in the building of a better Canada.

We are all aware that in addition to English and French there are many other languages spoken in Canada. Rarely do we hear some of these mother tongues of Canadians spoken in Parliament.

### **Lesson from Shevchenko**

Having been requested by several senators, permit me to recite in Ukrainian — a language now taught in the high schools of the three prairie provinces — a popular verse by the great poet Taras Shevchenko, whose statue stands in front of the Legislative Building of Manitoba. This literary gem, which can easily be memorized by any Canadian, is very applicable to our multicultural society:

*Uchitsya, braty moyi,  
Dumayte, chytayte;  
I chuzhoho nauchaytesh,  
Svoho ne tsuraytesh.*

This is the translation in English:

Learn my brethren,  
Think and read;  
Study other cultures,  
Do not deny your own.

Here is my French version of this verse:

Apprenez, mes frères,  
Pensez et lisez,  
Etudiez les autres cultures,  
Ne niez pas la vôtre.

The speeches of the two new members, Senator Lazarus Phillips and Senator Raymond Eudes, the mover and seconder of the motion for an Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, were of the high calibre, in substance and presentation, that has become traditional in this chamber. They show promise of better things to come.

### **Tribute to Senator Lazarus Phillips**

I was impressed by the fact that Senator Philips was proud of his Jewish origin. Indeed, he is a very worthy representative of a leading ethnic group that has contributed greatly to the many-

sided development of Canada, thus helping to improve the material and spiritual welfare of all Canadians and the stature of Canada abroad. I find myself in full agreement with his statements that:

in the pluralistic mosaic of Canada the aspirations and ambitions of all Canadians must be placed on an equal footing.

And that the inspiring word "Canadian" must mean:

...the sum total of the rights, privileges, duties and obligations which every citizen of this country enjoys and shares equally, from sea to sea, regardless of his ethnic origin or religion.

I am sure that Senator Phillips is aware that this has not been fully achieved, and that he will find sympathetic support in the Senate for the realization of this high ideal.

### **Objectives of a Just Society**

Honourable senators, the Speech from the Throne that opened the twenty-eighth Parliament of Canada vaguely referred to the objectives of a just society, in which there would be: "the righting of wrong and . . . the opening of opportunities long denied."

The Government, following the recommenda-

tions of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, plans to introduce an Official Languages Act as one phase of constitutional reform. Many of these wrongs, injustices and denied opportunities are suffered by members of our minority ethnic and cultural groups. Something must be done to improve the situation, or it may lead to undesired repercussions and harm to our country.

### **International Conference on Human Rights**

I would like to draw the attention of the members of this house, and indeed, of Parliament, to some of the conclusions reached by the 1968 International Conference of Christians and Jews, held at York University in Toronto during the first week of September this year. There were some 200 participants, preponderantly from the United States and Canada. Among them were professors, clergy, social workers, politicians, educators, lawyers, judges and people from various walks of life, of various origins, colours, classes and creeds, including myself. They conferred for five days in commissions dealing with the theme, "Overcoming the Barriers to Communication".

The commission on Ethnic Groups and Value Systems came out with some rather startling observations, which could be useful to us in helping to find solutions for some of our problems in Canada. I read from their report:

The current problem between racial and religious groups takes the form of a power struggle which unless resolved will have serious consequences for western society.

Canadians, who at the outset felt their country's situation to be far different and far less troubled than that of the USA, later agreed that, indeed, both countries faced similar problems stemming from similar causes. It was felt that perhaps Canada still had time to learn and benefit from the experience of the USA.

Causes of group conflict were identified clearly as (1) Racism and ethnocentrism on the part of the majority group, in western society. This majority has zealously maintained one set of value systems as superior. All others they denigrate. The second reason for conflict which in many cases is caused by the first, is the struggle between the have-nots and the haves — the powerless and the powerful. As a result of society's failure in these two areas tensions between the generations have been polarized and nourished. Thus the first two conflicts have helped to create yet another power struggle.

While legislation is vital, it is only a partial solution to the problem. Laws which set standards for the behaviour of institutions and individuals toward those in minority groups are indeed necessary. Pending a change in attitudes, the enactment of such legislation

can afford the protection of the minority groups' rights. It can also serve as an educational tool to bring about the desired attitude changes.

While minority ethnic and racial groups have made sustained attempts to communicate over a long period of time, it is clear that the majority has failed to listen and act. Thus tensions exploded into violence. While this violence and its consequences are deplored, it must be recognized that their extreme means of communication in the US, and the threat of it in Canada, did finally result in the beginning of change...

Moreover, white youth leadership is aligning itself with non-whites out of what they see as a spiritual affinity. Like the non-white because of what they feel to be society's inability or unwillingness to deal with grave moral issues, some youth are attempting to change the society, other go as far as to reject it.

Given this set of circumstances, the dominant groups in white western society have but two choices.

One is repression — total repression. This is hardly a viable or moral solution.

The other is sharing — total sharing of power and its products. This would mean moral, religious, intellectual power; economic, political and social power.

### Three Vital Interests

The commission considered that there were three vital interests of special importance to minority groups:

- (1) minority rights (including the right to preserve and promote certain distinct traits or patterns of behaviour which pose no threat to the common good);
- (2) economic security; and
- (3) a greater measure of "participatory democracy."

It is significant that the commission rejected the "melting-pot theory" of assimilation, which many felt led to the present disturbances in the United States, and approved the Canadian concept of integration.

Ethnic groups create the multicultural pluralist society of our age... They are one dominant mosaic within the state. Their diversity need not divide, but rather must enrich society. Only out of diversity will come the new unity of peoples. But all ethnic groups require the inspiration and guidance of a public and social philosophy of their vision of the new society. Their aspiration is not only to survive and flourish with their values, religious and cultural, intact, but also to offer them to the society as a whole for acceptance and even exchange. This is the challenge and constant dynamic in society today rather than the religious confrontations of a century ago.

The commission urged the gradual creation of the new society based on the principles of distributive and social justice. It could be achieved much faster if the spirit of goodwill and understanding motivated all the groups in the society. Here is how the strategy of attitude was defined:

All ethnic and oppressed minorities recognize that it is critical to bring about an effective change in the attitudes of majority groups. This is the factor, psychological and mental, that calls for reprocessing and programming. Minority groups in our society cannot get through these obstacles to awareness of this social and economic predicament. Violence is a protest against this obtuseness of the dominant groups. The majority powers need to acquire a genuine openness of mind and heart, greater awareness, sensitivity and humility. These are primary goals that must be striven for with every available, effective resource.

### **Rights of all Canadians**

This year, the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations is being marked by rededication to that ideal for the peoples of the world. The Canadian Citizenship Council in 1964 declared that "the maintenance of human rights should be the basic objective of the citizens of Canada."

A list of our rights as Caadians would be long, providing proof of our freedom. In his essay "Belief and Action" Viscount Samuel has set a standard. The man who is fully free is one who lives in an independent country, in a democratic state, in a society adhering to laws of equality with a minimum of restrictions, in an economic system providing latitude for secure livelihood and assured comfort and full opportunity to rise by merit. The state in democratic terms exists for the benefit of the individuals rather than the individual for the benefit of the state, as is practised in totalitarian countries.

In Canada we possess the right to belong to and support the religion of our choice, the political party of our choice, to speak our minds and to assemble and organize ourselves. In our pluralistic society this would appear to provide a guarantee of full freedom. Individuals seem to be protected against the tyranny of the state. Society, however, has a duty toward the individual in that it must provide new opportunities for self-development, encourage scientific research and extend education to improve material and human welfare by making the best use of human and natural resources for the benefit and heappiness of all citizens.

Democracy has always been faced with the problem of synthesizing legislated law and freedom, and adapting law to meet changing circumstances. The broad principles of democracy are synonymous with the ideals of the good life and the just society which have been enunciated thus:

1. All human being have absolute worth regardless of race, religion or material possessions.
2. Reason and conscience are essential guides to human behaviour.
3. Human beings possess fundamental equalities which must be respected.
4. Freedom, limited only by moral responsibility and social justice, must be forthcoming to all human beings.

All Canadians are involved in the process of change. Life is becoming more and more complex, to which our citizens of necessity must adapt themselves. The only safeguard of individual and group rights is a sound and vigilant public opinion which can be implemented by conscientious leaders, inspired by the highest ideals of democracy stated above.

### **Constitutional Reform**

The Federal-Provincial Conference of February of this year has initiated the process of constitutional reform in Canada. A new bill of rights to supplement the one of 1960 has been proposed, as well as other not clearly defined constitutional changes. Here is where public opinion can and will play an important part. Our leaders and citizens must be conscious of one important fact that majorities, because of their dominant position in our society, usually do not feel the need for constitutional reform. The corollary is also true, that

minorities without status, without power and without effective voice feel that their rights should be protected by the Constitution.

An excellent essay on human rights, published in "The Royal Bank of Canada Monthly Letter", January, 1968, refers to the rights of minorities in the following manner:

What is needed in applying the rules of human rights is that in addition to the principle of majority rule there should be recognition by every group in society of the legitimacy of minority group interest, provided, as Sidney Hook wrote in *The Hero in History* "the group in question accepts the methods of free inquiry and democratic decision as principles of negotiating conflicts of interest".

Majorities should be generous and gracious. They can spoil their goodness if, while admitting that it takes all sorts of people to make a world, they say it as though they find it a regrettable thing. On the other hand, minorities should beware lest insistence upon rights should become a hammer by which affection is beaten to death.

The fundamental cause of group and class conflict is the attitude of superiority on the part of one group or class toward another. It is essential that minorities be encouraged to take part in the common life of the community, whatever customs and cultures they wish to preserve among themselves, and that they be welcomed warmly by the majority.

## **Multiculturalism Assures Justice**

Honourable senators, in my maiden speech, delivered in this chamber on March 3, 1964, I employed statistics and history to bring out the fact that Canada was a multicultural rather than a bicultural society and that the ethnic groups of non-British, non-French origin formed almost one-third of the population, which desired recognition of their rights as partners, who have contributed and are constantly contributing to the building of a better Canada. In the five years that I have been serving in the Senate I have maintained communication with the leaders, the leading organizations and the press of most of the ethnic groups, including the Indians. During this time, these ethnic groups of the Third Element have found various means of co-operation in order to have a stronger voice in the affairs of their country.

There are many sceptics, not only in the British and French groups but also in the other ethnic groups, who believe that a united voice and action of the Third Element is impossible and even undesirable. Such people do not take into consideration that the organizations and spokesmen of the ethnic groups were given the opportunity to express their views to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in its hearings across the country.

From the many reports that I have read, I have come to the conclusion that there is fairly unanimous opinion that Canada should be bilingual in

some form; that our country is not bicultural but in reality multicultural; that official recognition should be given to multiculturalism by permitting non-official languages and cultural subjects to be taught in the public and secondary schools and in the universities, wherever there would be sufficient numbers to maintain such classes; that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation should sponsor regular programs on the national radio and television networks, presenting the contributions of our ethnic groups which would promote better understanding of our cultural heritage; that ethnic groups should receive more representation in governmental bodies and national institutions, and should not be discriminated against in the federal, provincial and municipal governments and services.

These Canadian ethnic groups are greatly concerned about many developments and recent Government statements and actions. They are rarely, if at all, consulted. Yet they feel that they are an integral part of society and should be consulted in matters where their fate is involved. They want to see justice done in the proposed "just society", in which they do not want to be second-class citizens.

### **Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights**

To make it possible for the ethnic groups to make their views known, for the Government and Parliament, to communicate with them, to prevent ten-

sions and conflicts and to maintain unity in Canada, I have taken the initiative to convene a Thinkers' Conference on Minority Rights, to meet in Toronto, towards the end of November, prior to the Federal-Provincial Conference on the Constitution. A Senate Committee of Patrons (unofficial), was established last March, consisting of myself as chairman; Senator Norman A. M. MacKenzie, former President of the University of British Columbia, former President of the Canadian Centenary Council and Professor of International Law; Senator Maurice Lamontagne, former Secretary of State; Senator David Croll, first Jewish Cabinet Minister (Ontario) and Senator in Canada; Senator James Gladstone, first Indian Senator in Canada. I am happy that other senators have volunteered to assist.

Several prominent institutions have consented to become patrons of this conference, namely, the Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, the Canadian Citizenship Council, the Canadian Folk Arts Council, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, and the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has offered its co-operation.

The actual preparation of the conference is in the hands of a committee of prominent citizens in Toronto. Experts from various parts of Canada have agreed to present position papers on important topics in both official languages. The conference will study minority rights in relation to

possible changes in the Constitution, the desirability of establishing a council as an advisory body to the governments, and the feasibility of convening a national assembly of the ethnic groups. Most of the central and leading organizations of the ethnic groups have written that they will participate.

In my opinion, this can prove to be an important conference, which will have a bearing on future developments in Canada, particularly in establishing and perpetuating good relations among all the elements of our population, thus helping to make Canada a better place for all in which to live. The Senate, as a protector of the rights of minorities, can derive some satisfaction from its contribution to the cause of Canadian unity.

Honorables sénateurs, les journaux canadiens français ont publié récemment des articles, certains favorables, d'autres sceptiques, au sujet de la conférence des groupes ethniques. Je tiens à rassurer les citoyens canadiens français que, en général, les groupes ethniques ont un très grand respect pour eux et pour leurs luttes afin de maintenir et de sauvegarder leur identité et leur culture. Les délibérations de la conférence se feront en anglais et en français. C'est avec du respect mutuel, de la bonne entente et de la coopération qu'ensemble nous réussirons à bâtir un meilleur Canada pour nous-mêmes et nos enfants.

**THE TRUE CANADIAN INDENTITY  
MULTICULTURALISM  
AND  
THE EMERGING NEW FACTOR IN THE  
EMERGING NEW CANADA**

(Address delivered at the Seminar on Multiculturalism sponsored by The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, December 8, 1971)

Over a hundred years ago, the Fathers of Canadian Confederation thought mainly in terms of English-French relations, although there was the Indian problem. Today, our national, provincial and local leaders must think in much broader terms.

During the past century, a new element and a new factor has been gradually emerging and increasingly making an impact upon Canadian society. It has been a consistent policy of Canadian governments since Confederation in 1867 to encourage and even to subsidize immigration and settlement in order to develop our vast and rich natural resources as well as the economy. As a result many peoples from many lands, but preponderantly from Europe, have come to this country and acquired citizenship. For several generations this non-British, non-French element has been

steadily increasing, in numbers and in proportion. These "other" or so-called "new" Canadians in reference to the British and French elements are sometimes termed as the third element, the third group, the third dimension, the third force, or simply as the ethnic groups. Whatever the name, these Canadians are a fact of Canadian society and life, just as the British and the French.

For the purpose of clarification, it should be pointed out that the application of the term "ethnic" in the Canadian press is often confusing and erratic. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics states: "Canada's population is made up of many cultural or ethnic groups, the largest being the British Isles and French groups". The 1961 census-takers were instructed to trace a person's ethnic group through his father in answer to the question "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?". In the census tables showing the ethnic composition of the Canadian population the British element includes the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh. Consequently, it is improper and misleading to refer to the non-British, non-French element solely as ethnic, when this term in reality applies to all origins in Canada.

### **Ethnic Pattern of Settlement**

The first Canadian census, conducted in 1871 in the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, recorded 3,485,761

people. The British numbered over 2,100,000 (English 706,000; Irish 846,000; Scots 546,000), the French 1,100,000 and the others 285,000 (about 8 per cent of the population), of whom over 200,000 were of German extraction and the remainder included the Dutch (29,000), Negroes (21,000), Swiss, Italians, Indians, etc.

Shortly after the entry of Manitoba (1870) into Confederation came the massive settlement of the West. Every year the frontiers receded as successive immigrant waves brought in along with the British and Americans also increasing numbers of new ethnic groups, anxious to till the soil and live a life of freedom. In the 1870's came the German-speaking Mennonites from the Ukrainian territories of Russia, and the Icelanders; in the 1880's, the Jews from Russian Ukraine and the Germans from Germany; and in the early 1890's the Ukrainians and Poles from Austria-Hungary. The large scale government-directed and partially-subsidized settlement of the prairies initiated in 1896 by Sir Clifford Sifton of Manitoba, Minister of the Interior in the government of Sir Wilfred Laurier, brought into Canada an increasing influx of settlers of many other origins, such as the Hungarians, Dutch, Norwegians, Swedes, Russian Doukhobors, Czechs, Slovaks, Rumanians, Finns, Serbs, Croatians, Italians, Japanese and many others. The rapid increase of the population in the North-West Territories justified the establishment in 1905 of two new provinces — Saskatchewan and Alberta.

The First World War cut off the widening

stream of immigration in 1914. The flow of settlers was again resumed in the 1920's, but came to a halt in 1930 when the Great Depression had set in. After the Second World War, the government again opened the doors of immigration, which brought in more people from Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark, Portugal and the Scandinavian and Balkan countries. The Iron Curtain prevented the flow of immigrants from the Slavic, Baltic and East European countries, except those who had come from the Displaced Persons' Camps immediately after the war. Recently, immigrants have been coming from the West Indies and India.

### **New Factor in Canadian Society**

With this great influx of many peoples from many lands the face of the Canadian population has undergone a tremendous change when compared with a hundred years ago. (See section in *Maiden Speech*).

### **Exmple of Ethnic Contribution — Ukrainians**

(See article *The Ukrainian Fact in Canada*)

Other ethnic groups have made similar and various other contributions. The Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State has done a very useful service to Canada by publishing *The Canadian Family Tree* in 1967,

a handbook of information on all the active ethnic groups, some 50 in number, focussing attention on their distinctive contributions. The Jews, Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, and others have published full-volume studies of their groups. This should be done by all the ethnic groups and the information from such studies should be incorporated in the general histories of Canada. The recognition of the contributions of our ethnic groups in Canadian histories and history texts in schools and universities will help to increase understanding, break down the barriers of prejudice and promote appreciation and co-operation in the building of a better life and society in our country.

### **Viability of Third Element**

What is common to the ethnic groups of the Third Element is their intense loyalty to Canada, their belief in a strong and united Canadian nation based upon a mutual partnership of all its component elements, their wholehearted acceptance of the Canadian democratic institutions and way-of-life, and their desire to perpetuate their cultures as an integral part of the evolving cultural pattern of Canada. In general, they recognize the fact that the founders of the Canadian Confederation were the British and the French and therefore English and French should continue to be the official languages at the federal level but official status must be given to the other Canadian languages.

That is the only privilege that the British and the French are entitled to, otherwise all ethnic groups as partners and all individuals should have equal rights in every respect; there must not be second class citizenship, which can only spell trouble.

Some regard the new element as a sort of cement that can serve to bind the two founding peoples. This view was expressed in the Polish Alliancer (Toronto) in December 1964:

The "third element" may be the binding force that will unite the Anglo-Saxon group with the French and will play a deciding role in the modern national structure that will differ from that which was conceived a hundred years ago.

The ethnic groups of the Third Element co-operate through the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation, founded in 1940, through the Canadian Folk Arts Council, founded in 1964 under the jurisdiction of the Department of Citizenship, and through the Canadian Citizenship Council and their branches in various cities.

There are many sceptics not only in the British and French groups but also in the other ethnic groups who believe that a united voice and action of the Third Element is impossible and even undesirable. Such people do not take into consideration that the organizations and spokesmen of the ethnic groups were given the opportunity to express their views to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in its hearings

across the country. From the many reports that I have read, I have come to the conclusion that there was fairly unanimous opinion that Canada should be bilingual in some form, that our country is not bicultural but in reality multicultural, that official recognition should be given to multiculturalism by permitting non-official languages and cultural subjects to be taught in the public and secondary schools and in the universities, wherever there would be sufficient numbers to maintain such classes, that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation should sponsor regular programmes on the national radio and television networks, presenting the contributions of our ethnic groups which would promote better understanding of our cultural heritage, that ethnic groups should receive more representation in government bodies and national institutions and they should not be discriminated against in the federal, provincial and municipal government and civil services.

In general, the ethnic groups have been practising co-operation since 1940 at the annual meetings of the Canada Ethnic Press Federation, where common policy has been gradually evolved. Further progress in the direction of the crystallization of common objectives was achieved in 1965 when the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs was held in Banff, Alberta, attended by representatives of several Slavic groups which number over 1,100,000. Over 100 delegates heard 18 interdisciplinary papers, which were later published in a separate volume. The conference established

a permanent Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs which convened the Second Conference in June 1967 at the University of Ottawa during the Centennial Celebrations. Over 200 representatives heard 74 papers on a variety of topics pertaining to the Canadian Slavs and their role in Canada, which have been published in a separate volume. This conference was a tremendous success and of historical significance. Harmony and cooperation was achieved, of course in the best interests of Canada. If we recall the history of the Slavs in Europe, we should note that in over 1000 years of relations the Slavs had never succeeded in achieving harmony, as was evident in Canada. Consequently, I believe that the magic of our great country can overcome ethnic prejudices and distrust, and achieve the unity of our diverse elements in building an ever greater and better Canada.

### **Multicultural Canadian Nation**

Present-day Canada is a pluralistic society, a country of numerous minorities with two dominant cultures. During the past one hundred years she has been gradually evolving into a multicultural nation. The concept of a "bilingual, multicultural Canadian nation" is realistic and the very essence of a dynamic Canadianism. It is fortunate that Canadian governments have rejected the "melting-pot" theory with its colourless uniformity and have

promoted a "mosaic-type" of Canadian culture based on the voluntary integration of the best elements of the cultures of the component ethnic groups. The development of a composite Canadian culture, rich in variety, beauty and harmony, reflects the principle of "unity in continuing diversity" and the democratic spirit of compromise inherent in the Canadian Confederation. This was manifestly evident in the centennial celebrations in 1967 and in the Manitoba centennial this year.

A great Canadian leader who could foresee the shape of things to come had the vision of a multi-cultural Canadian nation. Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier, a great architect of Canada, under whose administrations the West was peopled by the various ethnic groups, left, some 70 years ago, the following message to future generations:

I have visited in England one of those models of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius, guided by an unerring faith, has moulded into a harmonious whole. This cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here I want the marble to remain the marble; the granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak; and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world.

A similar concept of the Canadian Nations was portrayed in 1961 by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker in the following manner:

I liken Canada to a garden... A mosaic is

a static thing with each element separate and divided from others. Canada is not that kind of country. Neither is it a "melting pot" in which the individuality of each element is destroyed in order to produce a new and totally different element. It is rather a garden into which have been transplanted the hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land.

Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, the father of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, gave support to the concept of three elements of our population and the multicultural character of the Canadian nation in his statement to all Canadians in the *Weekend Magazine* of April 3, 1965, with a word of admonition:

We must become increasingly proud of the composition and character of our people — the French part, the English part and the third force. We must develop a more exuberant spirit of patriotism. Some diffident people have become accustomed to think of this as almost un-Canadian.

I don't believe that the Anglo-Saxon element in our society need be subordinated or minimized because Canada is now a multiracial society. In rough terms, one-third of our population is of Anglo-Saxon stock, one-third of French stock and one-third which is neither French nor English. We cannot allow tradi-

tional feelings and loyalties to dominate the situation to a point where the English-speaking group appears as some sort of master race.

To achieve the integration of the rich cultures in our midst into a harmonious entity, Canadian leaders have invoked such sensory symbols as the beauty of the music, the flower garden, the rainbow, the symphony orchestra and the choir, each of which expresses harmonious variety. This has become the Canadian way-of-life, which is the principle of Confederation which originally had been applied in the political sphere and has now been extended to the cultural sphere. A bilingual and multicultural Canadian nation, ensuring the free development of the English and French languages and cultures as well as the languages and cultures of the other ethnic groups, dedicated to the high principles of freedom and democracy, justice and truth, and equality and brotherhood, is no longer a utopia but is gradually becoming a reality. This is the all-inclusive Canadian identity, which is the broad basis for the development of the emerging new Canada.

### **Importance of Citizenship**

At this stage, it is only proper that tribute be paid to the Canadian Citizenship French, which more than any other government body has patiently made Canadians aware of the intrinsic value of citizenship, the very spirit of the Canadian nation.

If there is any force that will keep our peoples of various origins together, it is the spirit of citizenship, which means a pride in our country and nation which the citizen is willing to serve wholeheartedly and for which he is willing to bring great sacrifices if need be. Governments in general have tended to underestimate and even neglect the work and function of the Citizenship Branch. It is my belief that government should put more emphasis on the promotion of constructive citizenship, not only among the immigrants who are "new Canadians" but also in greater magnitude among the "old Canadians", born and raised in this country. Otherwise, how can we expect to maintain unity?

Experience has been the guide of the Canadian Citizenship Branch. In its monthly publication, *Citizen*, June, 1967, there appeared a succinct article entitled "The Challenge of Integration", which explains the very essence of Canadianism.

Canada is an excellent example of a country in which recognition of cultural diversity has led government and people alike to speak of the "integration", rather than the "assimilation" of groups and individuals. Integration, in contrast to assimilation encourages the newcomer in a society to retain what he regards as best in his own cultural background and traditions, with the expectation that he will contribute them to the enrichment of Canadian life . . .

The fact that every Canadian is a member of an ethnic minority group has no doubt

persuaded us, both collectively and often as individuals as well, that the "meking-pot" concept is not feasible for Canada. We have accepted the fact that the population of Canada represents an impressive array of cultural and social backgrounds; that there is no cultural mould into which people can be squeezed and from which they will emerge as "typical Canadians". We have, in fact, learned to live with cultural diversity and to recognize its advantages in developing a lively and stimulating country in which to live...

In summary, integration of any newcomer into a community, whether he be from another land or another province, is a two-way street. It requires the newcomer to adapt himself to new circumstances and surroundings; to accept whatever he cannot change and contribute his talents and skills whenever he has an opportunity to do so. It demands, as well, that the community itself be adaptable to change and active in providing opportunities for newcomers to share equally in community life — retaining at the same time their personal integrity and self-respect.

## **Human Rights**

In 1968, the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations was marked by rededication to that ideal

for the peoples of the world. The Canadian Citizenship Council in 1964 declared that "the maintenance of human rights should be the basic objective of the citizens of Canada."

Two very important conferences were held in 1968 on the occasion of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations. One was the 1968 International Conference of Christians and Jews on Human Rights and the other — the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights. I dealt with both conferences in separate speeches in the Senate of Canada.

(See section in *Minority Rights in the Just Society*)

### **Three Vital Interests**

(See section in *Minority Rights in the Just Society*)

### **Canadian Conference on Cultural Rights**

The Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights was held on December 13, 14 and 15, 1968, in Toronto, the first of its kind in the history of Canada to bring together leaders of the various ethnic groups, numbering 160 delegates and 50 observers representing 20 major cultural backgrounds. The sponsors were a Senate committee and several institutions, i.e. the Canadian Citizenship Branch, the Citizenship Branch of the Province of Ontario, the Canadian Citizenship Coun-

cil, the Canadian Folk Arts Council, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews and the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation, with the co-operation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Position papers on various related topics were presented by outstanding Canadian authorities, such as Claude Ryan, editor of a leading French daily, *Le Devoir*; Honourable William G. Davis, then Minister of Education, and now Prime Minister of Ontario; Dr. W. S. Tarnopolsky, Dean of Law, University of Windsor; Omer Peters, President of the Indian-Eskimo Association at that time; and others.

After three days of discussions in workshops and plenary sessions, the delegates unanimously passed six resolutions. Recommendations included a "meaningful representative advisory body", similar to the Economic Council and Science Council, to be established to advise government on cultural affairs; rejected "the concept of biculturalism and seeks official recognition of the multicultural character of Canada"; commendation of the inter-group cultural programs of the Canadian Folk Arts Council; that educational authorities at all levels of government expand existing programs of language teaching and recognize as credit courses language courses of Canadian ethnic groups; and that CBC, the National Film Board, Canada Council and other public bodies should take into account the multicultural composition of Canadian society in programming, research and in subsidizing creative efforts of ethnic groups. The Confer-

ence made it clear that it "should in no way be considered a formation of a third political force — but rather the expression of a serious concern of those citizens making up the Third Element of Canada's population in the cultural development of our country". The delegates elected a Canadian Cultural Rights Committee to continue pressing for these recommendations and to prepare the next conference after the release of the fourth volume of the B & B Commission. The most significant thing about this conference on cultural rights of ethnic groups, contrary to the opinion of some Canadians and the B & B Commission, was the fact that these ethnic groups, of various backgrounds, creeds and colours, had much in common, co-operated fully and displayed their unanimity and unity. The report of this conference was favourably commented on by some of the provincial premiers and editors of dailies across Canada.

(See section in *Minority Rights in the Just Society*)

Since the Thinkers' Conference, several important developments affecting the ethnic groups have taken place.

### **Official Languages Act**

The Official Languages Act was passed by the Parliament of Canada in July 1969. English and French are now the official languages of Canada "for all purposes of the Parliament and Govern-

ment of Canada". The only reference to the other languages in Canada was in clause 38, which left their recognition and status unaffected; it has been dubbed as the "nothing" clause. French was made official for federal purposes only but the other ethnic groups feared that this would mean the imposition of French on the rest of the population to the detriment of their own languages, which had received no guarantees.

(See article *The Official Languages Bill*)

### **B & B Commission Rejects Multiculturalism**

On April 15, 1970 the long-awaited Volume IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was tabled in Parliament. Entitled "The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups", this volume contains much useful information, although distorted in places, and particularly a large number of good tables and figures. The commissioners have stuck very closely to the terms of reference and in dealing with "questions of those of ethnic origin other than British or French, they do so in relation to the basic problem of bilingualism and biculturalism, from which they are inseparable, and in the context of the Francophone and Anglophone communities". They reject the idea of the Canadian mosaic, multiculturalism, ethnicity and the "third force" or "third element", stating that "culture is a way of being, thinking and feeling. It is a driving force animating a signi-

ficant group of individuals united by a common tongue, and sharing the same customs, habits and experiences", the B and B Commission thus claims that "this definition is applied essentially to the two dominant cultures of Canada, those of the Francophone and Anglophone societies; to a certain degree it also fits the other cultures in this country, particularly if they have brought enrichment to one of the two dominant cultures and continue to flourish and benefit through their integration with one of the two societies". The Commission does not reject the "melting-pot theory" and in adhering to biculturalism actually advocates the "two melting-pots" or the "double melting-pot" theory, advising the other ethnic groups to "integrate", but they really mean to assimilate, into one of the two pots. Obviously, the Commission has totally disregarded the numerous briefs that were submitted by the organizations of the ethnic groups.

In my opinion, and I am sure it is the opinion of a large segment of the Canadian population, the premise and basic concept of the Canadian nation that is adhered to by the Bilingual and Bicultural Commission is wrong, as purely bicultural policies contradict the principles of equality and justice. Nevertheless, the recommendations regarding the preservation and safeguarding of ethnic cultures are practical and helpful, as far as they go, providing positive proof that multiculturalism is a fact of Canadian life, the very basis of "unity in continuing diversity".

Succintly stated, it became increasingly apparent to the non-British, non-French groups, forming nearly one-third of the population, that the surest course to attain their linguistic and cultural rights was to persuade the political authorities. It was obvious that the B & B Commission was willing to extend only human rights to members of these groups and not cultural rights which would mean group recognition and equality with the British and the French. This was evident in Volume One of the B & B Commission where in paragraph 22 it stated "Modern social organization functions best in a relatively large territorial and economic units, and has encouraged different language groups to associate. *In all plurilingual societies, linguistic tensions must be handled by the normal working of the political process.*"

### **Conferences on Multiculturalism**

The struggle for ethno-cultural rights commenced during the briefings of the B & B Commission, where only limited success was achieved. The Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights in Toronto in 1968 had a greater impact as the Federal and Ontario governments were involved; there was fairly extensive press coverage, including favourable editorials and a favourable response from several provincial premiers and the Prime Minister of Canada. The students then began to take the initiative; during the summer of 1970

several students' conferences at Canadian universities on *Multiculturalism for Canada*, which involved government and political leaders, confirmed a fairly general consensus of opinion regarding the Canadian identity. It was apparent that success could be achieved through the concerted effort of people and political action.

Since language and culture come within the sphere of education, some of the provinces began to take an active interest in these matters. The Manitoba Mosaic Congress which was held in Winnipeg, October 13 — 17, 1970, on the occasion of that province's centennial, with broad representation of government, institutions, and organization leaders, as well as of the British, French and other ethnic groups, endorsed the policy of multiculturalism for all levels of government and its implementation in the public school system. The Alberta Multicultural Conference culminated in a declaration of "A New Cultural Policy for the Province of Alberta" by Premier Harry E. Strom on July 16, 1971, in which he committed his government to a broad range of social and electoral rights, educational reform, cultural development programs, publications, a Cultural Task Force and an Ethnic Advisory Council. The newly-elected Conservative government of Alberta has decided to adopt this policy of multiculturalism and is now planning the Alberta Heritage Congress to be held in June, 1972. The Ontario Government has announced the sponsoring of a "Heritage Ontario Congress" next

June, as one of the most comprehensive public forums of its kind in Canada, committing itself to the preservation and development of the multicultural heritage of Canada's richest and most populous province.

### **International Symposium**

An indication of the Federal Government's interest became evident when the Secretary of State department funded the International Symposium on Language and Cultures in a Multicultural Society at the Fourth Conference of the Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs at the University of Ottawa, May 21 — 23, 1971. Several outstanding authorities from Europe, the U.S.A., and Canada contributed to the success of the symposium. It is significant that the Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs expanded its scope to include non-Slavs. Under the new name, the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, objective studies of ethno-cultural groups of the Third Element will be pursued at the academic level. The Government was represented at this symposium by the Honourable Robert Stanbury, then Minister without Portfolio responsible for Citizenship and Information Canada. He stated that "the federal government has not only accepted the idea that Canada is a multicultural nation but is actively engaged in developing programs which will encourage cultural pluralism". The designation of nearly \$100,000 from the summer employment

funds "Opportunities for Youth Program" to Ukrainian students to be involved in cultural activities appears to be part of this program, something that is beneficial but not very systematic.

### **Constitutional Recognition**

The importance of this Symposium to the Federal Government can be deduced from the participation of Dr. Mark MacGuigan, M.P., co-chairman of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada, of which I am one of the thirty members and on its Steering Committee. This Parliamentary Committee, since its inception in January, 1970, has toured 51 centres in all regions of Canada hearing briefs from citizens, experts, government bodies, institutions, church societies, organizations and interested groups; it is now preparing its report to be presented to Parliament early in 1972. Dr. MacGuigan claimed that a new constitution will be recommended for Canada as this was the overwhelming opinion of the witnesses across the country. Although he was not in position to speak officially on behalf of the Constitution Committee, he felt impelled to state as a private, responsible citizen, that "The consistent theme of other-ethnic witnesses before the Constitutional Committee has been the compatibility of multiculturalism with official bilingualism" and "that constitutional recognition of Canada's actual multiculturalism would in no way diminish the position of the

official languages, since they would retain their legal priority". Towards the end of his address, Dr. MacGuigan concluded thus:

... the principal reason for the constitutional recognition of the other-ethnic groups would remain valid even if all of these groups in the country were to become wholly assimilated. The constitution of a country must reflect reality. If the reality is multicultural, this should appear in the constitution... I see a great role in the Canada of today and the Canada of tomorrow for other-ethnic groups.

### **Federal Government Responds**

Realizing that the movement for the recognition of multiculturalism was growing rapidly, the present Federal Government decided to be responsive to a large section of Canadian citizens and began gradually to expand its proclaimed policy of biculturalism. The Secretary of State, the Honourable Gérard Pelletier, in his official statement delivered at the Canadian Conference on the Arts in Toronto on September 12, 1970, entitled "The Development of a Cultural Policy in Canada", which he subsequently repeated at the Manitoba Mosaic Congress, enunciated the new policy thus:

When we speak of cultural pluralism we are making fundamental choice for Canada, both now and for the future, for we are talking about the development in Canada of a multicultural society. The Government refuses to

sacrifice, in the name of unity through conformity, any of the cultures which are represented in our population, whether these cultures are European or native to Canada such as those of the Indians and Eskimos. Canada is not a "melting pot" and the Government is opposed to any measure aimed at assimilation. On the contrary, it encourages all initiatives which have as their objective the promotion and dissemination — alongside the two main cultures, English and French — of other cultural values.

... We will therefore tolerate no exclusivity, and we will work to reduce budgetary inequalities which tend to give privileges to one cultural group at the expense of the others.

Prime Minister Trudeau officially proclaimed the policy of Multiculturalism in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971, after tabling a document entitled "Federal Government's Response to Book IV of the Report of the Royal Commission Bilingualism and Biculturalism". The leaders of all the opposition parties in general terms endorsed the government's position.

### **The Government's New Policy**

Arguing that the very name of the Royal Commission whose recommendations are to be implemented tends to indicate that bilingualism and biculturalism are indivisible, the federal govern-

ment stated that "biculturalism does not properly describe our society; multiculturalism is more accurate". It asserted that the recognition of the cultural value of many languages should not weaken the position of Canada's two official languages for the use of all the citizens of Canada. The policy objectives in the federal sphere are defined as "preserving human rights, developing Canadian identity, strengthening citizenship participation, reinforcing Canadian unity and encouraging cultural diversification within a bilingual framework", which "can best be served through a policy of multiculturalism".

The four main elements of this policy for all Canadians consist of:

1. Government support to all of Canada's cultures by assisting those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada.
2. Assistance to members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.
3. Promotion of creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups to share their heritage with all other Canadians and with other countries.
4. Continuing assistance to immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages.

## Programmes of Implementation

To implement this policy the federal government has planned 6 programmes. The recommendations in Book IV of the B & B Commission are to be carried out by making grants available to activities which qualify.

1) *Multicultural grants* to such activities as multicultural encounters, organizational meetings for new cultural groups, citizenship and immigrant orientation programmes, conferences, youth activities, cultural exchanges and multicultural centres in communities.

2) *A Cultural Development Programme* will be instituted, to study existing organizations, educational institutions, the press, radio and television to determine their role in cultural development, planned to produce results within one year. Efforts will be made to facilitate the teaching of a third language in the schools, usually the ancestral language as part of the cultural identity, and to make better use of the ethnic press for purposes of language and culture preservation.

3) The Citizenship Branch will commission 20 objective *ethnic histories*, specifically directed to the background, contributions and problems of various cultural groups in Canada.

4) *Canadian Ethnic Studies* will be carried out on a systematic and continuous basis to deal with the problems of ethnic groups in the context of a multi-ethnic society.

5) Assistance will continue to be given to pro-

vinces in the *teaching of English and French* to adult immigrants and to children entering the public school system without a knowledge of that language.

6) *Federal Cultural Agencies* will be required to respond to the recommendations in Book IV of the B & B Commission to enable all Canadians to gain an awareness of the cultural heritage of all of Canada's ethnic groups. Additional funds will be allocated for this purpose to the National Museum of Man, the National Film Board, the National Library and the Public Archives.

To implement the policy of multiculturalism, the Citizenship Branch proposes to establish an Inter-Agency Co-ordinating Committee as well as an Interdepartmental Committee which will constantly review government policies. Federal-Provincial meetings at the senior official level will be held to prepare ministerial meetings with the object of co-ordinating federal and provincial policies. A variety of consultative procedures — public conferences, private meetings with group leaders, confidential consultation sessions with specialists, seminars, press analysis, and others will be continued and intensified at the local, regional and national levels, to obtain involvement in the decision-making process.

The Federal Government's statement of policy and programmes of implementation are timely and commendable. The people are now waiting for constructive action. They are aware that the Government has allotted \$300,000,000 over a

period of years to support the development of the French language and culture throughout Canada. So far there has been no announcement of how many millions of dollars would be assigned for the preservation and development of the languages and cultures of the Canadian ethnic groups of non-British, non-French origin. I estimate that the Ukrainians alone pay much over \$100,000,000 annually in income taxes, a share of which should now be devoted to cultural purposes that include their participation. Time will soon prove whether this announced policy is merely a political promise before an election. The ethnic groups have not been directly approached to give their opinions and to co-operate in the outlined programmes.

### **New Canada Emerging**

Canada is changing, changing very rapidly in all aspects of life — social, technological, economic, spiritual and political. A new Canadian society is emerging dedicated to the immortal principles of democracy and freedom, truth and justice, equality and brotherhood, which are inspiring our young generation. The problems confronting our leaders and our society are gigantic, but are being resolved in the spirit of fair play, co-operation and reasonable compromise. It is to the credit of the federal, provincial and municipal governments that they are adapting to the changing conditions, though perhaps not always quickly enough and adequate-

ly enough. Our democratic process is still flexible enough to respond to the desires and needs of our diverse population.

Several years ago, very little was heard about the non-British, non-French ethnic groups. In a very short period of time these groups have emerged as a dynamic force in our society and are being recognized as an important fact of Canadian life. In their struggle to gain equality and recognition and to be a positive factor in all walks of life, the leaders and members of many of these groups have realized the value and effectiveness of the democratic process, what is now called "participatory democracy", which means "participatory government".

### **Next Conference on Cultural Rights**

Although there were important precedents of the co-operation of the ethnic groups of the third element such as the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation since 1940, the Canadian Folk Arts Council since 1964 and the Inter-University Conferences on Canadian Slavs since 1965, the great milestone of the board co-operation of these groups was the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights in December of 1968. Since that time several other conferences involving these groups in participatory democracy, some sponsored by the Citizenship Branch, have taken place but usually their scope and representation was narrower or regional. In

view of the many important developments that have since transpired affecting federal and provincial government policies, and in order to provide accommodation to these policies, the time is appropriate to convene the Second Thinker's Conference on Cultural Rights in the near future, probably in Montreal, the heart of French Canada, or Ottawa — our capital. Participation of a larger number of ethnocultural groups in co-operation with the British and French elements will be sought to study the proposed cultural and linguistic policies and programmes of the federal, as well as the provincial governments. Of prime concern now will be the establishment of a representative Advisory Council on Ethno-Cultural Affairs for the Federal Government, similar in function to the Science Council and the Economic Council; appropriate bodies should be set up to assist provincial governments also. In this way we are paving the road to progress and a better life for Canadians of all origins.

Because I have faith in the good-will and brotherhood of man and people, I have faith in the emerging new Canada with a peaceful and progressive role in world affairs.

# ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CANADIAN POPULATION (1971)

## Preliminary Figures

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	<i>CANADA</i>	<i>%</i>
TOTAL	21,568,000	
British Isles	9,624,000	44.62
French	6,180,000	28.65
German	1,317,000	6.10
Italian	731,000	3.39
Ukrainian	580,000	2.69
Netherlands	426,000	1.97
Polish	316,000	1.47
Jewish	297,000	1.38
Native Indian	297,000	1.38
Norwegian	179,000	0.83
Hungarian	132,000	.61
Greek	124,000	.57
Chinese	119,000	.55
Yugoslavic	105,000	.49
Swedish	102,000	.47
Portuguese	97,000	.45
Danish	76,000	.35
Russian	64,000	.30
Finnish	59,000	.27
Czech	58,000	.27
East Indian: Indo-Pakistani	52,000	.24
Belgian	51,000	.24
Austrian, n.o.s.	42,000	.19
Japanese	37,000	.17
Negro	34,000	.16
Icelandic	28,000	.13
Spanish	28,000	.13
West Indian	28,000	.13
Romanian	27,000	.13
Syrian Lebanese	27,000	.13
Lithuanian	25,000	.11
Slovak	24,000	.11
Estonian	19,000	.09
Eskimo	18,000	.08
Latvian	18,000	.08
Other East Indian	16,000	.07
Byelorussian	2,000	.01
All Others	209,000	.97

NOTE: These figures were rounded to the nearest thousand.

## **Appendix A**

### **THINKERS' CONFERENCE ON CULTURAL RIGHTS**

#### **Report of the Resolutions Committee**

**December 15, 1968**

**Toronto**

#### **PREAMBLE:**

The delegates to the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights express their appreciation to Senator Yuzyk, the organizing committee, and the sponsoring organizations for their efforts in convening this conference. They wish to state clearly that the Conference should in no way be considered a formation of a third political force — but rather the expression of a serious concern by those citizens making up the third element of Canada's population in the cultural development of our country.

#### **RESOLUTIONS**

##### *First draft*

1. The Conference recommends that the work of the Canadian Cultural Rights Committee be continued with a view to cooperating with the federal government in establishing a meaningful representative advisory body that would make recommendations and assist in assessing the general needs and interests of Canada's ethnic groups to ensure their full participation in the cultural development of Canada.

2. The Conference confirms and commends the splendid work of the Canadian Folk Arts Council in the multicultural field and recommends not only that this work

be continued, but *expanded*, and that this program should receive the full moral and financial support of all levels of government.

3. Whereas the Conference supports the efforts of the Federal and Provincial governments in formulating a viable Canadian constitution and the Conference unequivocally rejects the concept of biculturalism and seeks official recognition of the multicultural character of Canada.

4. The Conference is of the opinion that communication media supported by public funds, such as the CBC and the National Film Board, should take into account, in programming, the multicultural composition of Canadian society and should reflect in its work the cultural variety of the Canadian people.

5. The Conference strongly urges the educational authorities at all levels of Government to expand existing programs of language teaching, and that language courses of all cultural groups should be recognized as credit subjects to the matriculation level.

6. The Conference recommends that the Canada Council and other grant-giving institutions in Canada be encouraged to support the research and development of standardized history texts for the schools by the responsible authorities in this field, and that these texts make a factual presentation of the backgrounds and contributions of all Canadians to the development of our country and subsidize creative efforts in this direction.

**Appendix B**  
**SUMMARY OF SPECIFIC RESPONSE TO RECOMMENDATIONS**  
**IN BB IV**

**1. Recommendation 1**

We recommend that any provinces that have not yet enacted fair employment practices, fair accommodation practices, or housing Legislation prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin, do so; and that this legislation be made binding upon the Crown and its agencies. We further recommend that all provinces make provision for full-time administrators of their rights legislation. (No. 152) 1

*Response*

This is directed primarily to the provinces but the federal government has the whole question of human rights under consideration.

**2. Recommendation 2**

We recommend that the same conditions for citizenship, the right to vote, and to stand for election to public office be accorded to all immigrants, with no regard to their country of origin. (No. 233)

*Response*

The Canada Elections Act (proclaimed April 12, 1971) and intended amendments to the Citizenship Act now in preparation provide for the equality called for in this recommendation.

**3. Recommendation 3**

We recommend that the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public

elementary school programme, where there is sufficient demand for such classes.  
(No. 378)

*Response*

Elementary school education is a provincial concern, but the government plans to undertake a major research project on the relationship of language to cultural retention and development. It also plans to discuss with the provinces and cultural groups ways of assisting in the development and duplication of new teaching aids for languages and cultures other than English and French.

4. *Recommendation 4*

We recommend that special instruction in the appropriate official language be provided for children who enter the public school system with an inadequate knowledge of that language; that provincial authorities specify the terms and conditions of financial assistance for such special instruction; and that the federal authorities assist the provinces in mutually acceptable ways through grants for the additional cost incurred.  
(No. 383)

*Response*

The federal government approves in principle aid towards the teaching of official languages to children of immigrants, and will be discussing it with the provinces.

5. *Recommendation 5*

We recommend that more advanced instruction and a wider range of option in languages other than English and French, and in cultural subjects related to them,

be provided in public high schools, where there is sufficient demand for such classes.  
(No. 390)

*Response*

This is primarily a matter of provincial jurisdiction. However the development of new teaching aids (noted in the response to Recommendation 3) and the ethnic histories programme will be useful in the high schools. The Prime Minister's letter to each of the provincial Premiers urges a positive response to all those recommendations which touch upon provincial authority.

6. *Recommendation 6*

We recommend that Canadian universities broaden their practices in giving standing or credits for studies in modern languages other than French and English both for admission for degrees.  
(No. 443)

*Response*

This is primarily a matter for consideration by the academic institutions.

7. *Recommendation 7*

We recommend 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.  
(No. 458)

*Response*

This is primarily a matter for consideration by the academic institutions.

8. *Recommendation 8*

We recommend that the CRTC remove restrictions on private broadcasting in languages other than English and French, except those restrictions necessary to meet the administrative and legal responsibilities of the licensees and those that also apply to English and French-language programmes.  
(No. 538)

*Response*

The CRTC has agreed to place this matter before the Commission in the very near future.

9. *Recommendation 9*

We recommend that the CBC recognize the place of languages other than English and French in Canadian life and that the CBC remove its proscription on the use of other languages in broadcasting.  
(No. 539)

*Response*

The CBC has not agreed to the spirit of this recommendation. The question of broadcasting in non-official languages will be considered within the major research project.

10. *Recommendation 10*

We recommend that the CRTC undertake studies in the field of broadcasting in other languages to determine the best means by which radio and television can contribute to the maintenance of languages and cultures and that the CBC participate in these studies. We further recommend that these studies include pilot projects on either AM or FM radio in both Montreal and Toronto.  
(No. 542)

### *Response*

The CRTC has agreed to undertake these studies, and the CBC has agreed to cooperate. The studies will be carried on within the total framework of the major research project on language retention which will be directed by the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State.

#### 11. *Recommendation 11*

We recommend that research be undertaken through the CTRC concerning nature and the effects of the portrayal of other cultural groups on both publicly — and privately-owned English and French-language radio and television stations.

(No. 546)

### *Response*

This study will be broadened to include all the media and will be carried on within the major research project mentioned above.

#### 12. *Recommendation 12*

We recommend that the National Film Board undertake to publicize the fact that it produces prints of many of its films in languages other than English and French particularly in regions where there are concentrations of persons who speak languages other than English and French. In addition, we recommend that the voluntary associations of cultural groups stimulate interest among their groups in the use of these films.

(No. 553)

### *Response*

The multicultural programme to be undertaken by the National Film Board meets this recommendation.

13. *Recommendation 13*

We recommend that the National Film Board continue and develop the production of films that inform Canadians about one another, including films about the contribution and problems of both individuals and groups of ethnic origin other than British and French, and that the National Film Board receive the financial support it requires in order to produce such films.  
(No. 555)

*Response*

The multicultural programme to be undertaken by the National Film Board meets this recommendation.

14. *Recommendation 14*

We recommend that the appropriate federal, provincial, and municipal agencies receive the financial means they require to maintain and extend their support to cultural and research organizations whose objectives are to foster the arts and letters of cultural groups other than the British and French.  
(No. 42)

*Response*

The grants programme administered by the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State will provide funds to assist such organizations.

15. *Recommendation 15*

We recommend that the administrative costs of the Canadian Folk Arts Council or a similar body be provided for out of public funds through the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State.  
(No. 643)

*Response*

The Canadian Folk Arts Council already receives an annual grant for administrative purposes from the Arts and Culture Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State. In the Citizenship Branch, requests for grants to pay for specific projects suggested by the Canadian Folk Arts Council or similar bodies will continue to receive consideration if they meet the objectives of the multicultural programme.

16. *Recommendation 16*

We recommend that the National Museum of Man be given adequate space and facilities and provided with sufficient funds to carry out its projects regarding the history, social organizations, and folk arts of cultural groups other than the British and French.

*Response*

The multicultural programme of the National Museum of Man meets this recommendation.

<sup>1</sup> (The numbers in brackets refer to the relevant paragraphs in Book IV of the Report)

## **OFFICIAL LANGUAGES BILL**

(Debate in Senate, July 8, 1969)

Honourable senators, we are indeed grateful to the Government Leader, Senator Paul Martin, for his lucid explanation of this bill. I should like to congratulate him and tell him that I agree with most of what he stated.

I am particularly grateful for the kind references he made in my direction and in the direction of the Ukrainians who have come to Canada to make Canada their country and their home. May I say that they hope to make even a greater contribution in the future, as do all other ethnic groups.

I consider that excellent contributions have been made by Senator Macdonald, Senator Fournier and Senator Prowse. I was particularly impressed by the message that Senator Prowse delivered today, and I think that the challenge that is thrown out to us should be accepted by all Canadians. I think we Canadians are of that stature to accept the challenge.

## **Principle and Objects of Bill**

As I understand it, the Official Languages Bill now before us recognizes explicitly that English and French are the two official languages of our country, which in reality has been the practice in a more limited form since Confederation. If there have been any misinterpretations in the past, the new law is expected to dispel all doubts for all time and thus help to bring about better and more positive relations between the two linguistic communities. This is a very worthy objective and deserves the support of all Canadian citizens. If the English-speaking people and the French-speaking people in Canada are to live happily and respectfully together, both groups must be able to enjoy government services in their own language. This is the basic principle of Bill C-120, and all federal Government agencies will now provide to a greater extent public services in English and French from coast to coast in areas where at least 10 per cent of the people speak one or the other language and where in the opinion of the Advisory Board or the Commissioner it will be regarded as practical to establish and maintain bilingualism in the administration of the federal Government.

The bill as such does not force anyone to learn both English and French. Unfortunately, many people throughout Canada, and particularly in the west, fear that bilingualism will become compulsory for all. It will therefore be necessary for the Government to educate the people that this is not

so. The fact that all parties supported the bill in principle gives full assurance that all citizens, whether English-speaking or French-speaking, are guaranteed equality of government services at the federal level. This certainly should bring about better understanding between these two language groups and help strengthen Canadian unity, which is vitally essential if we are to survive as a nation.

### **Criticism of Bill**

If the principle and the objects of the bill are good and important, it does not mean that the means adopted to carry them out are the best. For example, the concept of 10 per cent bilingual districts can prove to be dangerous. These pockets could become cultural ghettos, against which the surrounding population could react with hostility, and backlashes are to be feared. I do not think it is just that once the English-speaking or the French-speaking element falls below a certain level in a bilingual district, say 7 per cent, the Government must continue to provide bilingual services, which are costly to the taxpayer. Bilingual districts should not be made permanent; population changes should determine their usefulness otherwise there will be trouble.

Most of the country does not need full bilingual services, and federal Government departments and agencies do not have to be completely bilingual. All public servants do not have to be bilingual;

in fact most of them do not have to be bilingual. Merit must not be sacrificed for mere proficiency in both languages. Only as much bilingualism should be instituted in a department or agency as the needs require without lowering the standards of efficiency. The government must see to it that there will be a minimum of discrimination and that justice will be upheld and maintained.

There is some concern that the Commissioner of Official Languages for Canada will possess too much power and should be accountable to Parliament directly. I believe that there would be more confidence in the Commissioner, and that fair treatment would be given to both official languages, if the commissioner were of non-English and non-French extraction.

### **What Other Ethnic Groups Want**

Honourable senators are aware that in addition to my general duties a considerable proportion of my work in the Senate is devoted to the problems and interests of the ethnic groups whose ancestral backgrounds are neither British nor French and who form nearly one-third of the population of Canada. In my maiden speech of March 3, 1964, I made it clear that if we want to achieve unity, harmony and justice, the Canadian identity, and therefore Canadian policy, should be officially bilingual and multicultural in character. This means the official recognition of English and

French, as well as constitutional status for the languages and cultures of other ethnic groups who have helped build all aspects of the life of Canada. The ethnic groups are not seeking to have their languages recognized as official; they want their languages to be recognized as Canadian languages in the curricula of the public and secondary schools and in the universities, wherever there would be sufficient enrolment, as is practised in several provinces already. In order to facilitate my work with the ethnic groups, for the past six years I have had the services of a trilingual secretary, with the approval of the Senate, who is proficient in English, French and Ukrainian, in which languages I carry on regular correspondence, and sometimes in Polish and Russian.

In my speech to the Senate on October 1, 1968, I drew attention to the concern of the Canadian ethnic groups of the third element about constitutional changes proposed at the Federal-Provincial Conferences and the introduction of the Official Languages Bill, in which matters the Government made no attempt to consult them. The leaders of the ethnic groups fear that they are relegated to second-class citizenship, because they are not consulted in matters where their fate is involved.

Honourable senators will recall that I had undertaken to convene a Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights in Toronto on December 13, 14 and 15, 1968 in order to make it possible for the ethnic groups to make their views known, and for the Government and Parliament to communicate with

them so as to prevent tensions and conflicts and to maintain unity in Canada. The patrons of this conference were an unofficial Senate Committee, the Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, the Canadian Citizenship Council, the Canadian Folk Arts Council, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, and the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was represented.

Judging from the representation of the ethnic groups, the quality of the position papers, and the reaction in the press and the communications media, the Thinkers Conference on Cultural Rights was a success. Some 160 representatives of 20 ethnic groups, including the largest groups and Indians from various parts of Canada participated on a voluntary basis. The bilingual program included position papers by outstanding Canadian authorities from various professions grouped under four general topics: first, rights and responsibilities of cultural groups in Canadian Life, second, preservation of cultural traditions in Canada; third, striking a balance in the Canadian cultural pattern; and fourth, public policy and the preservation of multicultural traditions.

1. The Conference recommends that the work of the Canadian Cultural Rights Committee be continued with a view to co-operating with the federal government in establishing a meaningful representative advisory body that would make recommendations and assist

in assessing the general needs and interests of Canada's ethnic groups to ensure their full participation in the cultural development of Canada.

2. The Conference confirms and commends the splendid work of the Canadian Folk Arts Council in the multicultural field and recommends not only that this work be continued, but expanded, and that this program should receive the full moral and financial support of all levels of government.
3. The Conference supports the efforts of the Federal and Provincial governments in formulating a viable Canadian constitution and the Conference unequivocally rejects the concept of biculturalism and seeks official recognition of the multicultural character of Canada.
4. The Conference is of the opinion that communication media supported by public funds, such as the CBC and the National Film Board, should take into account, in programming, the multicultural composition of Canada's society and should reflect in its work the cultural variety of the Canadian people.
5. The Conference strongly urges the educational authorities at all levels of Government to expand existing programs of language teaching, and that language courses of all cultural groups should be recognized as credit subjects to the matriculation level.

6. The Conference recommends that the Canada Council and other grant-giving institutions in Canada be encouraged to support the research and development of standardized history texts for the schools by the responsible authorities in this field, and that these texts make a factual presentation of the backgrounds and contributions of all Canadians to the development of our country and subsidize creative efforts in this direction.

### **Attitude of Trudeau Government**

The position papers, reports and resolutions were sent to the Prime Minister of Canada and the Prime Ministers and Premiers of all the provinces. Most of them responded favourably. I would like to put on record pertinent extracts from two federal Government letters.

In this letter of February 4, 1969, Prime Minister Trudeau responded thus:

I am directing that these reports should be studied so that the views there presented may be appropriately taken into account both in the area of constitutional review and of cultural development.

The following letter, dated March 10, 1969, came from the Secretary of State, the Honourable Gérard Pelletier, and since it is pertinent I would like to put it on record. It states:

The Office of the Prime Minister has sent me the resolutions and documents produced at the "Thinkers Conference on Cultural Rights" held in Toronto last December.

Your group has to be congratulated for the extensive work which was done. While I have not had a chance to study each paper in detail, I have asked the Citizenship Branch to do so. It is important indeed that in this matter the federal government attempt to meet the aspirations of all of the component groups of Canadian society.

The orientation of the policy which the federal government intends to follow was already contained in the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism when it was indicated that the Commission should pay special attention to the "contribution made by other cultures".

We are anxiously waiting for the special volume of the Commission's report which will deal with ethnic groups in order to more precisely set our goals and programmes. Meanwhile, I would like to assure you that this report will receive the same careful consideration as the others published by the Commission.

It is my opinion that if the Secretary of State had consulted an advisory committee of the ethnic groups, this bill would have been received more favourably in the west and other regions.

### **Interpretation of Clause 38**

I know that many leaders of the ethnic groups are not happy with clause 38 of the bill, which the honourable Government Leader has explained. The clause reads:

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 either before or after the coming into force of this Act with respect to any language that is not an official language.

This is a general blanket clause stating that anyone may speak any other language without penalty. It gives no kind of status to Canadian languages which are not official. I believe that these languages should not be left to survive on their own. After all, the ethnic groups have contributed substantially to Canada's progress. Their languages and cultures enrich the Canadian cultural mosaic. Consequently, it would be in the spirit of justice for the federal Government to give encouragement to these languages within the educational systems of the provinces. With this in mind, I would like the bill to go to committee, where I would like to move an amendment which I believe would improve clause 38.

### **Amendment of Clause 38**

*Hon. Mr. Martin:*

Is my honourable friend in a position now to give us the form of the amendment?

*Hon. Mr. Yuzyk:*

Yes, I am quite willing to do that.

*Hon. Mr. Croll:*

Let us have it on the record.

*Hon. Mr. Yuzyk:*

I am suggesting this course now, because the amendment cannot be introduced on second reading and I would like the committee to take it into consideration.

My amendment is to delete all the words in clause 38 and substitute the following:

- (1) The right to speak and use a language other than either of the two official languages shall not be restrained or restricted in its natural development in any way.
- (2) The Governor in Council may by order in council enter into an agreement with the government of any province which has been authorized by legislation so to do, for the purpose of encouraging natural development of any such minority language especially as regards the use of such language in matters of education.

*Hon. Mr. Martin:*

Would my honourable friend permit me to ask him another question? I ask it without in any way precluding him from suggesting that the bill should go to committee.

Has my honourable friend given careful consideration to this formulation, because it is not in language that comes to us for the first time — and

I am not saying that by way of criticism, but it was considered in the other place. Is the senator not of the view that the formulation now proposed is more restrictive than the general language of clause 38 of the bill?

*Hon. Mr. Yuzyk:*

I have studied the wording of clause 38 of the bill as it is now. It is a very general statement, and certainly it does not interfere in any way with the development of any other language in Canada. However I have been discussing this matter with the leaders of some of the ethnic groups, and I have here copies of telegrams from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Ukrainian National Federation in which they endorse this type of clause because it is more positive in every way. In other words, in this amendment the federal Government is dealing with these languages officially, although they are not official languages — if you understand what I am trying to say. This gives the languages a status, and the ethnic groups are recognized rather than being left to develop on their own.

Another reason why I support this amendment is that it gives encouragement to these language groups to maintain their languages within the school system, or to establish them wherever there are sufficient numbers. It means also that the provincial governments as well as the federal Government are cognizant of the fact that these languages are living Canadian languages.

(The amendment was defeated in Committee).

## **THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF CANADA**

(Debate in the Senate, February 17, 1970)

The Debate in the Senate on the proposed Special Joint Committee of both Houses to study and report upon recent and future proposals related to the Constitution of Canada is drawing to a close.

In general the senators who participated in this debate gave wholehearted approval to the establishment of such a committee. There were several suggestions to improve the regional representation of its membership and to include at least one woman, who could represent the interests of approximately half of the population. There can be no doubt that if these suggestions would be implemented, the Senate section of this Committee would play a more effective role in the review of our constitution.

### **Participation of the People**

The three Federal-Provincial conferences dealing with the constitution have made some progress in this direction, however less than what the public

had expected. It became evident that if a global revision was to be achieved there would have to be a more extensive involvement of the whole country. Hitherto it was the Federal and Provincial governments which had taken the initiative and set the machinery in motion. From the higher level these discussions and proposals must necessarily come down to the Parliament and the people, who must approve the final decisions.

Under our democratic system, in the final analysis, it is the citizens who must decide the matter of the constitution. The more they take part in the discussions, the more meaningful will the constitution be to them. Consequently, I am of the opinion that a joint Parliamentary Committee that will hold hearings accessible to all people and groups of people in various parts of Canada is preferable to a Royal Commission. I believe that members of a Parliamentary Committee, after the completion of the task would be more responsible in defending important recommendations in Parliament and in watching that these will be properly carried out and maintained. A Parliamentary Committee acts more swiftly and is much less expensive than a Royal Commission.

## **Four Constitutions**

A glance at our history will reveal that since Canada came under British rule, the British Parliament enacted four different constitutions for

this country. The Quebec Act of 1774, which as a counter-action to the American Revolution, guaranteed definite rights to French Canadians, lasted 17 years and was replaced by the Constitutional Act of 1797, which divided the country into Upper and Lower Canada with separate administrations. Then 49 years later the Act of Union was passed in 1840, shortly after the unsuccessful William Lyon Mackenzie and Papineau rebellions; this act united the two Canadas under a unitary form of government. Subsequently, 27 years later in 1867 due partially to threats from groups in the United States, the British Parliament passed the British North America Act, providing Canada with a federal system of government based on democratic rights of the people; known as the Canadian Confederation; it now united other former British colonies and provided for the establishment of new provinces.

### **Evolution, not Revolution**

The B.N.A. Act, which has been our constitution for 103 years, has undergone many changes, for during this period there have been at least 30 constitutional amendments giving us full control over all our own affairs — hence independence and sovereignty. It should be noted that Canadians won their freedom, independence and sovereignty, not through revolution, although abortive rebellions took place in 1837, but through the process

of evolution. We are among the several large countries of the world with a federal system and these countries enjoy the highest standard of living in the world. (The Soviet Union a federal state, is the exception, but it should be noted that it operates under a totalitarian form of government.)

We must not forget that most countries, such as France, the United States, the USSR and many others, created their constitutions dramatically in the wake of revolutions with bloodshed. We must bear in mind that Canada, however, inherited the British tradition, and our constitution, the B.N.A. Act, came as a result of long and arduous discussions over a period of three years by Canadian parliamentarians, the Founding Fathers, who were not under any kind of threat of internal violence or coercion from Britain or the United States. Firm negotiation and reasonable compromise were the methods employed to draw up the constitution and bring about the subsequent amendments, always in times of peace. This is essentially our way-of-life.

### **Revision of Constitution is Necessary**

Yet, it must be remembered that British North America Act is in fact a colonial statute, passed by the British Parliament in London, over a hundred years ago. There is no doubt that this form of constitution is obsolete and its style is out of tune with modern times. The situation in our country

has drastically changed, for in the hundred years we have evolved from a preponderantly stable agricultural society to a vast industrialized, technological, urbanized and affluent society active in world affairs, and as a result our needs have greatly changed. Even if some of the provisions would require little or no change, it is obvious that new provisions are required to meet new needs and a general over-all revision to improve the document is necessary.

It was the preparations for and the celebration of the Canadian Centennial which stimulated a general public interest in the constitution. At the same time increasing difficulties arose between the federal government and the provincial governments regarding powers or jurisdiction with respect to new problems of the new society that had emerged. The "quiet revolution" of the early 1960's in Quebec drew attention to the problems of Quebec, particularly to the place of the French province and the French Canadians in confederation and to its powers and jurisdiction and their rights as stipulated in the constitution — all of which stirred up lively discussions and a great debate in all regions of Canada. The questions of national unity, the Canadian identity and the very survival of Canada became great political issues which were fought out by all parties in the general as well as provincial elections in the 1960's. It thus became apparent to Canadian leaders and to the people that the constitution must be not only examined and revised but also redrafted. There

are increasing demands for a new constitution made in Canada by Canadians for Canadians.

### **Limitations of Federal-Provincial Conferences**

There are several courses of action that can be taken to adopt a new constitution, if that is what the Canadians want. The method that has been recently applied and is still in progress is the holding of federal-provincial conferences. It has been a useful method to initiate the process of constitutional revision, which has had the support of all the political parties. These conferences have been instrumental in helping to clarify the great issues regarding constitutional matters.

In his introduction of the motion to appoint the joint committee, the Government Leader in the Senate, the Honourable Paul Martin, our distinguished colleague with an enviable record of public service, who participated in all these conferences, outlined these issues:

official languages, fundamental rights, distribution of powers, reform of institutions linked with federalism, among which the Senate and the Supreme Court of Canada, regional disparities, amending procedures and provisional arrangements, and finally the mechanisms of federal-provincial relations.

There was agreement that "the national capital should symbolize the two main cultural groups of

Canada". Emanating from these conferences were also

the proposal as to whether or not there should be entrenched in the Constitution a Bill of rights covering civil liberties; whether or not there should be a redistribution of powers in the British North America Act, a reallocation of the functions under section 91 and 92, taking into consideration some of the problems of the urban community; whether or not changes have to be made in the Constitution to enable the federal Government to deal more directly with matters that now come under the exclusive authority of the provinces or the municipalities.

Although it had not been a subject of discussion at these conferences, Senator Martin also raised the important question of the repatriation of the Constitution. There is the question of the place and role of the Monarchy. And, of course, there are others.

It is apparent that these federal-provincial conferences on the constitution have reached their limit. They have already bogged down in stalemate without achieving a consensus of opinion on important matters in the last public sessions and have resorted to in-camera meetings, which are highly questionable and cannot satisfy the democratic citizens of our country. Furthermore, it is very questionable whether 11 prime ministers and premiers should be making these vital decisions

alone, for the problem was posed as to who really spoke on behalf of the Canadian people — the Prime Minister of Canada or the first ministers of the provinces.

## **Referendum**

What other methods could be employed to adopt a new constitution? One could be the referendum. The government could present to the Canadian citizens a draft constitution for their approval or rejection. This could probably be done but with great difficulty. Canada is a vast country with communication problems which must be handled in two languages. And the task of explaining to the common people complicated clauses of legal significance which lawyers and law professors could argue about would be a colossal undertaking, almost insurmountable. Hence the referendum on the constitution seems not to be practical.

## **Constitutional Convention**

Canadians could try the method of the constituent assembly or the constitutional convention as has been carried out in France, the United States and other countries. The government or a special committee could present a draft of the new constitution to such an assembly composed of especially elected representatives of the people and members

of the Federal Parliament and the Provincial Legislatures. This appears to be an elaborate process with which we have had no experience in Canada, but it could be taken into consideration.

### **Repatriation of the Constitution**

Because of historical circumstances and our adherence to the evolutionary principle and British parliamentary tradition, Canada will in all probability seek constitutional revision by submitting a joint petition or address of the Senate and the House of Commons — the Canadian Parliament — to the British Parliament, which from all indications will in all probability give its approval in order to dispose of the embarrassing relationship and predicament. This is probably the only way to solve the problem of the repatriation of the Constitution and may have to be applied to the adoption of a new constitution.

### **Parliament Should Involve Citizens**

The present proposed method of a joint parliamentary committee on the constitution has come to us because this is the next best alternative to the federal-provincial conferences, which could not make any further progress. Under the present circumstances I think that this is the best method. Since this committee will be authorized to go to

the public to examine carefully various submitted proposals on the constitution and will finally present its recommendations to Parliament in an unbiased, objective manner, it will engage both parliamentarians and the people, young and old, throughout Canada in a great national debate in conference halls, in educational institutions, in organizations, in the press, radio and television, in the legislatures and in Parliament. This will be participatory democracy and a massive effort to help create a just society. I believe that Canadian citizens will welcome this involvement in the making of a new constitution and a new Canada in a new age.

A viable Canadian constitution must reflect the paramount interests of the Canadian people. Our population is heterogeneous. In the process of constitutional review it will be necessary to take into consideration the Canadian Identity — the image of Canada.

### **New Element in Canadian Society**

(See first part of article *The True Canadian Identity — Multiculturalism*)

### **Ethnic Pattern of Settlement**

(See above article)

### **New Factor in Canadian Society**

(See section with charts and graph in *Maiden Speech*)

### **Example of the Ukrainian Contribution**

(See article *The Ukrainian Fact in Canada*)

### **Viability of the Third Element**

(See section in *The True Canadian Identity — Multiculturalism*)

In general, the ethnic groups have been practising co-operation since 1940 at the annual meetings of the Canada Ethnic Press Federation, where common policy has been gradually evolved; in its presentation to the Senate Mass Media Committee last week, the Federation claimed a circulation between 750,000 and 1,000,000 for the ethnic press, with a readership approaching 3,000,000. Further progress in the direction of the crystallization of common objectives was achieved in 1965 when the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs was held in Banff, Alberta, attended by representatives of several Slavic groups which number over 1,100,000. Over 100 delegates heard 18 inter-disciplinary papers, which were later published in a separate volume. The conference established a permanent Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs which convened the Second Conference in June 1967 at the University of Ottawa during the Centennial Celebrations. Over 200 representatives heard 74 papers on a variety of topics pertaining to the Canadian Slavs and their role in Canada, which are to be published in the near future. This conference was a tremendous success and of his-

torical significance. Harmony and co-operation was achieved, of course in the best interests of Canada. If we recall the history of the Slavs in Europe, we should note that in over 1000 years of relations the Slavs had never succeeded in achieving harmony, as was evident in Canada. They have given full co-operation in the excellent work of the Canadian Folk Arts Council and the Canadian Citizenship Councils. Consequently, I believe that the magic of our great country can overcome ethnic prejudices and distrust, and achieve the unity of our diverse elements in building an ever greater and better Canada.

### **Multicultural Canadian Nation**

(see article: *The True Canadian Identity – Multiculturalism*)

### **Rights of All Canadians**

(See section in *Minority Rights in the Just Society*)

### **Constitutional Reform**

(See above article)

### **Concern of Ethnic Groups**

The Canadian ethnic groups of non-British, non-French origin are greatly concerned about many developments and recent Government statements and actions. They are rarely, if at all, consulted. Yet they feel that they are an integral part of

society and should be consulted in matters where their fate is involved. They want to see justice done in the proposed "just society", in which they do not want to be second-class citizens.

There is no doubt that in Canada we are now going through a crisis not only in English-French relations but in relations with other ethnic groups. We are witnessing a more militant attitude on the part of our Indians, who resent the paternalism of the establishment and desire control over their own affairs and a better deal as citizens. Various Canadian ethnic groups want a better share in all aspects of Canadian life, together with the responsibilities, and want to be regarded as partners in the building of a new and better Canada. Students and the youth are protesting against the establishment and its association with the mechanization and automation of the society which is becoming increasingly de-humanized; they want to be human beings and have a voice in the affairs that affect them directly.

In my speech to the Senate on October 1, 1968, I drew attention to the concern of the Canadian ethnic groups of the Third Element about constitutional changes proposed at the Federal-Provincial Conferences, in which matters the Government made no attempt to consult them. Subsequently, on July 8, 1969, in the Senate debate on the Official Languages Bill, to which I gave approval, I had introduced an amendment to clause 38 to give status to the 'non-official' languages used extensively in Canada. As honourable senators will re-

call, the amendment was rejected in the Senate. The Government was not willing to go farther as it was waiting for the forthcoming report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism on the ethnic groups, which was supposed to have made its appearance in 1967 but still has not been released. Senator Roebuck, the chairman of the Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee, made the following significant statement, which should be noted by all who are concerned:

I would suggest to those people who speak languages other than one or both of the two "official languages" that it should be thoroughly understood that certain services are being extended to the French minority in English-speaking portions of Canada, and to the English-speaking minority in French-speaking districts, and that in consequence our friends who speak languages other than those described as official will have a very good case indeed for equal assistance from the Government officials.

If in the future, one, say, of the Ukrainian population should come to a government department with the request: "You are extending privileges to the French population, and we have at least as many in the locality as there are French," I can scarcely understand any government saying "no" to such a request for equal services.

That applies not only to Ukrainians, Poles, Italians, but to many others.

## **Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights**

In this debate I gave a report of the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights which was held in Toronto in December, 1968, the first of its kind in the history of Canada to bring together delegates of the various ethnic and cultural groups, including the Indians and Eskimos, from various parts of Canada on a voluntary basis. It had the support of a Senate Committee of Patrons and five national and government institutions and some financial assistance from the Secretary of State. Outstanding authorities and experts spoke on four general themes:

- 1) Rights and responsibilities of cultural groups in Canadian life;
- 2) Preservation of cultural traditions in Canada;
- 3) Striking a balance in the Canadian cultural pattern; and
- 4) Public policy and the preservation of multicultural traditions.

The full report of the proceedings of this Conference has been published and sent to Government and public leaders and to public and university libraries.

Of the six resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, I want to draw attention to the following:

The Conference supports the efforts of the Federal and Provincial governments in formulating a viable Canadian constitution and the

Conference unequivocally rejects the concept of biculturalism and seeks official recognition of the multicultural character of Canada.

I would like to explain that multiculturalism includes biculturalism, a term which by itself tends to discriminate against all those of non-British and non-French ancestry.

This Thinkers' Conference established the Canadian Cultural Rights Committee, electing me as its chairman. I am happy that there has been a positive response from many government leaders. Prime Minister Trudeau's letter of February 4, 1969 stated:

I am directing that these reports should be studied so that the views there presented may be appropriately taken into account both in the area of constitutional review and of cultural development.

### **Creation of True Mosaic**

It is also encouraging that the government is beginning to respond to the needs of our pluralistic society. This can be gathered from the speech of the Honourable Robert Stanbury, Minister without Portfolio responsible for Citizenship, who at a banquet in Montreal on February 7 of this year stated:

This commitment to Canada can only come about if every individual and every ethnic

community are afforded the opportunity to live up to their potential. Our common objective and our shared ambition is to create a out while at the same time forming part of a harmonious whole . . . How can we make sure that the official status of languages is not taken to imply special status for any particular groups in our multicultural society?

### **Task of Parliamentary Constitutional Committee**

This is one of the grave problems in our society. The establishment of an advisory council representative of the ethnic groups which would cooperate with the government in cultural affairs, would greatly assist in helping to overcome discrimination. The whole question of discrimination will have to be studied by the Parliamentary Constitutional Committee. We know that many groups of citizens are clamouring for rights, but the Committee should also find a place in the constitution for corresponding duties and responsibilities.

If this Committee is to have the confidence of the Canadian public, it will have to be fairly representative of important segments of our population, of the regions and the political movements. The bulk of the members should be known for their broad interests and for their sense of fair play and justice. I hope that when the Committee will be chosen from both Houses that its membership will reflect the dynamic elements in our country.

When the Committee goes into action, I think that it should always keep in mind that Canadians are a large family with a variety of interests that at times lead to conflicts. If there will be a spirit of good-will, the differences and conflicts can be settled. The emphasis must be placed on what unites us and there must be an understanding of those who hold different views. Members of the committee will achieve the best results if they approach the problems of the constitution with an open mind, and in the spirit of justice and toleration will seek a consensus through reconciliation and compromise, which have been so fundamental in the development and progress of our country.

*Hon. Paul Martin:*

Honourable senators, we have heard a number of speeches on the proposal that there be a joint committee of the Senate and the House of Commons to consider a revision of the Constitution of our country. As Senator Yuzyk has just pointed out, within the last two years there have been three conferences of the federal and provincial governments on constitutional revision. It is important to recall the circumstances in which these constitutional discussions of recent date began.

They began primarily with a request addressed to the federal Government by a number of provinces of Canada, a request that was highlighted at a conference called by the head of the Government of Ontario, the *Conference for Tomorrow*, where over the television and other news media

there was a full and frank exchange of the divisions in the country, and of the concerns that exist because of the position taken by some sections of the nation. It was in pursuit of that request that the federal Government under Mr. Pearson called the provinces together a short time thereafter in the first constitutional conference in this series.

Senator Yuzyk said that these conferences had not been a great success. The fact is, as I said at the outset when I introduced this motion, that it would be wrong to argue that the conferences have not had a measure of achievement. There was a wide measure of tentative agreement reached in principle, if not in every detail, on the subject of spending power. There is no more complicated area of dispute in the Constitution than this. Agreement has also been reached on the principle of access to, rather than allocation of taxing powers. This represents an important consensus. A firm position in principle was reached on language rights. Agreement was reached in principle that the national capital should reflect the two predominant cultural groups in the country. Therefore, when we come to assess the work to date it should not be assumed that progress has not been achieved.

Senator Yuzyk said that the proposal for a joint committee was an arrangement that he would support. He thought it was a better instrument than a royal commission. We did have a royal commission which made a report in this very chamber at a federal-provincial conference bearing the names of two great Canadians, Sirois and

Rowell. We have the benefit of the conclusions of that royal commission and these undoubtedly are conclusions which will be considered by the joint committee as they have played a part in the briefs presented by the various governments to one another.

This is not the first time that there has been a committee of Parliament. The committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Lapointe over 40 years ago served its purpose, even though it did not yield great results. It would be wrong to say, however, that because this committee is being set up we should conclude that the conferences of the two levels of government will not continue, or that they are not likely to succeed. The Government does not agree with that position but believes that the discussions between the two levels of government will be productive.

It took many months and a great deal of discussion to bring about the kind of agreement that made possible the passage of the British North America Act in the Parliament at Westminster. Long before those agreements were reached by the fathers of this country, there were frustrations and interminable discussions, but there was final agreement. I have no doubt that we will reach agreement in our constitutional discussions, difficult as they are, both in this committee and in the forum of those who have the executive authority given to them by the people to take the initiating act.

Of course Senator Yuzyk is right that it is not

governments that are going to finalize the Constitution. The Constitution can only be finalized "ad referendum". After the executives of the two levels of government, provincial and federal, have reached their positions, then it must be the Parliament of Canada and ultimately the people of Canada who give their approval and "imprimatur". In the meantime there has to be a dialogue and debate which involves some of the most complicated issues. All one has to do is look at the problems that face governments in Canada today, the urban problem, that of environment and pollution, the responsibility for unemployment, the kind of social legislation that we must develop and the kind of fiscal and monetary policy that must be pursued by governments at a time of excessive prices. These are problems which for their orderly solution depend on the Constitution in the final analysis. These were problems not envisaged by the Fathers of Confederation, so I suppose it is not unnatural that the provinces should have asked the federal Government to call together a conference for the purpose of ironing out constitutional difficulties and bringing into being either a partially or totally revised constitution.

Senator Yuzyk made one emphatic point. If I do not cover all the matters he referred to I do want to mention what I believe was his underlying thesis. He pointed out, using the figures of 1961 from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the character of the Canadian population.

Senator Yuzyk did not deny that under the

Constitution there were two official language groups, nor do those who share with his his particular background take issue. However, it is important that we should remember the wording of section 133 of the Constitution which reads:

Either the English or the French Language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Quebec.

We have subsequently, of course, by the Languages Bill added to the scope of this provision.

I am grateful to Senator Yuzyk for frankly acknowledging the constitutional position with regard to the two official languages. I wish I had brought with me tonight the words of Walter Tarnopolsky of the Osgoode Law School, now Dean of the Law School at the University of Windsor. At one of the conferences that I know Senator Yuzyk attended, Dean Tarnopolsky spoke lucidly and cogently on this point. It was clear that there was no disagreement as to the effort by the Government and the provinces of Canada to observe strictly the implications of section 133 of the British North America Act.

When we refer to the two official languages, as

the Prime Minister said when he introduced this subject in the other place, there is no thought of overlooking the existence of other groups in our country who are referred to by name in the table which Senator Yuzyk placed before us tonight. In the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism there was clearly an appreciation indicated in the recommendations of that commission in Volumes 1 and 2 — I have not yet finished my full reading of Volume 3 — of the existence and the rights which attend the third group in this country.

Long ago Canada took a decision that we were to be a multicultural country, one that is legally and constitutionally bilingual and bicultural in character, always taking into account the existence of these other groups that compose the Canadian nation and represented in this chamber by Senator Yuzyk, among others. Nothing that the Government is doing at these constitutional conferences or which has emanated from the report of the Royal Commission or anything that I have heard — have attended all of these recent conferences — from provincial representatives have varied in any way from the view which I think is implicit in our national existence. That is, while we have two official language groups we also have a group of other citizens who are no less in stature or in function than those two groups that made up the two main formations when Confederation was established.

Senator Yuzyk quoted from Laurier. He antici-

pated me because I was going to make that same quotation as a reflection of what most Canadians believe Canada to be, a mosaic. As Laurier said, based on his visit to that English cathedral, this is a land that reminded him of the marble, of the oak, and of the granite which constituted the physical structure of the cathedral he had visited. For here he wanted the marble to remain, the granite to remain and the oak to remain, and out of these elements to build a nation great among the nations of the world. That is what this Government believes and what this Parliament subscribes to, and also what the Canadian people believe in and want to see done.

On my left sits Senator Croll, who was formerly mayor in my own city and was born in Russia, as were his father and mother. Senator Yuzyk is himself an example of the origins of many of our people who were born outside this country. They have come here and they are making their contribution to Canada. It has been a noble contribution in the professions, universities, business and in Parliament. No one wants in any way to create a second class citizenship and no one proposes to do so.

If anything that is being done in these discussions or that is going to emanate from the recommendations of this parliamentary committee, I can think of no more important duty for this house and for the other place than to be engaged in a study of the constitutional basis of our country. The Constitution of Canada is not completely written.

That portion of it which is written is essentially embodied in the British Act of Parliament, the British North America Act. From that Constitution, as the Prime Minister said, springs the authority for our laws, for the administration of justice and for the preservation of order in our society. It affects the most common acts of everyday lives, the price we pay for our groceries, our heating, the quality of the air we breathe, the water we drink, the programs we watch on television, the way we run our schools and our courts, the number of jobs, the development of industry and the adequacy of our health and welfare services. That is why it is important not only for lawyers, but for those who are interested in the progress of our country; that is why we must see to it that the basis upon which we proceed in Parliament, in the making of the laws of this country, are orderly and well established. That is the purpose of this joint committee. It is satisfying to note that this Senate is prepared to share with the other place in the performance of this vital task.



## **THE NEW CANADIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE RIGHTS OF ETHNIC GROUPS**

(Address delivered to The Senate of Canada,  
Ottawa, April 25, 1972)

Honourable Senators: The preparation for the celebration of the Centennial of the Canadian Confederation in 1967 stimulated a general public interest in the Constitution of Canada. The mounting difficulties which arose between the federal government and provincial governments regarding powers of jurisdiction with respect to the new problems confronting the emerging new society led to several federal-provincial conferences which followed the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference sponsored by the Government of Ontario in November of 1967. When it became apparent that progress in constitutional revision was painfully slow at these top-level meetings, the Government decided that if global revision was to be achieved Parliament and the people must necessarily be involved.

Accordingly in January, 1970, a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada was establish-

ed to make a comprehensive review of the constitution. The report of this Committee was tabled in both Houses on March 16, this year.

### **Scope of Hearings**

It is important to note that in its two years of intensive effort, the Committee held 145 public meetings, including 72 sessions in 47 cities and towns located in all the Provinces and Territories. The 1,486 witnesses who appeared before the Committee ranged from acknowledged experts, leaders in various walks of life, representatives of various institutions and organizations to students and common people, such as individual labourers, farmers, housewives, trappers, and others. The evidence was published fully in both official languages in the record of Parliament (93 volumes) and is available to all who may wish to study this important material.

This was a large-scale national exercise in participatory democracy. It was the first time in the history of Canada that a parliamentary committee undertook such an ambitious series of hearings to gauge public opinion on such an important matter that would affect the lives of every man, woman and child in this country. Many mayors and citizens expressed their great delight and gratitude to have a parliamentary body visit their area and hear their opinions on vital issues; we heard many requests for parliamentary committees to hold simi-

lar meetings on important topics in the future from time to time throughout Canada. This method of ascertaining public opinion falls just short of conducting a referendum.

### **Reasonable Compromise**

We should remember that Canadians won their democratic rights, their freedom, independence and sovereignty not through revolution, although rebellions took place in 1837, but through the process of evolution. Let us remember that many countries, such as France, the United States, the Soviet Union and others created their constitutions dramatically in the wake of revolution with bloodshed. Canada, however, inherited the British tradition and our constitution, the British North America Act of 1867, came as a result of long and arduous discussions over a period of three years. At that time, Canadian parliamentarians, the founding fathers, under the leadership of Sir John A. Macdonald, were not under any threat of internal violence or coercion from Britain or the United States. Firm negotiation and reasonable compromise were the methods employed to draw up the constitution and also to bring about the subsequent amendments, always in times of peace. We are probably one of the few countries of the world which has taken the matter of total constitutional revision beforehand directly to the people.

The final product of the Committee is a report

which embodies recommendations hammered out as a tolerable and reasonable compromise. It reflects an agreement arrived at by representatives of all the political parties as well as their differences of opinion within the parties. Taking into consideration the consensus of public opinion when it was clearly evident as well as their own personal views, the members of the committee, who themselves are fairly representative of Canadian society, have presented proposals that reflect the main streams of opinion of this diverse society. Consequently, it was not a unanimous report. Uppermost in the minds of these parliamentarians, however, were the best interests of Canada as a whole.

### **Tributes**

It would not be fair if special tribute were not paid to those of the Committee who performed the lion's share of the heavy work. I mention in particular Dr. Mark MacGuigan, a former professor of law, who was the co-chairman from the House of Commons side from the very beginning to the end; he wrote a great part of the original draft. Of course, special mention should be made of Senator Gildas Molgat, my colleague from Manitoba, the co-chairman from the Senate, who assumed his duties towards the end of the hearings. Both of these gentlemen were excellent chairmen of public meetings and internal meetings of the committee; both displayed fairness, sympathy, understanding

and a deep knowledge of the people, their problems, aspirations and needs. Special mention should also be made of the members of the steering committee, the immediate staff and the clerks, who spent many extra hours and days preparing the draft of the various sections of the report, and their revisions, for presentation to the many sittings of the Committee. For their great input and hard work they deserve special thanks. And of course all other members of the Committee deserve the deep gratitude of the Canadian people for their contributions and sense of duty, especially for the sacrifices made of much overtime, patience and even health.

It would be impossible for one person to examine adequately in a normal speech this comprehensive Report which contains 6 parts divided into 37 chapters presenting 105 recommendations. I shall therefore confine myself to the field of my special interest for which I was given responsibility as member of the all-party steering committee which consisted of seven persons. Although I was heavily involved in all sections and aspects of the Report my special responsibility was the place and the rights of the non-British, non-French ethno-cultural groups in the new constitution of Canada.

### **Inadequacies of B.N.A. Act**

Honourable Senators, at the time when the Joint Parliamentary Committee came into being I took the stand that a new constitution is essential to Canada.

Yet it must be remembered that the British North America Act is in fact a colonial statute, passed by the British Parliament in London over a hundred years ago. There is no doubt that it is out of tune with modern times. The situation in our country has drastically changed, for in the hundred years we have evolved from a preponderantly stable agricultural society to a vast industrialized, technological, urbanized and affluent society active in world affairs, and as a result our needs have greatly changed. Even if some of the provisions required little or no change, it is obvious that new provisions are required to meet the new needs; a general overall revision to improve the document is absolutely necessary.

Consequently, I am in full agreement with Recommendation 1. "Canada should have a new and distinctively Canadian Constitution, one which would be a new whole even though it would utilize many of the same parts." The arguments for a new constitution are set out in Chapter 3. Stating that a new constitution ought to be "both an inspiration and a mirror for its community", the Committee defines the purpose of a constitution as "to distribute the powers of government according to the wishes of a particular national community and to enunciate its fundamental values and common goals". The Committee goes on to say that the B.N.A. Act with all its amendments "does not reflect the Canadian reality of today: an independ-

ent, democratic, officially bilingual, multicultural, federal state", which is now the Canadian identity and will be for generations to come. In the hearings across the country there was a strong current in favour of a new constitution that would be distinctively Canadian and functionally contemporary.

### **Distribution of Powers**

For reasons of functionalism and flexibility and to meet the regional differences the Committee recommends greater decentralization in areas of culture and social policy and greater centralization in the regulation of the economy. This means the expansion of provincial powers in income support, marriage and divorce, educational television, criminal law, taxing powers and some international arrangements, sharing powers with the federal government with respect to appointments to the Senate and Supreme Court and limitations with respect to appointments to the Senate and Supreme Court and limitations with respect to the federal spending in fields of provincial jurisdiction. On the other hand, federal powers are to be increased with respect to jurisdiction over air and water pollution, international and interprovincial trade and commerce, incomes, securities regulations, financial institutions, unfair competition and foreign ownership. Considerable federal government administrative decentralization is proposed in

order to allow more regionalized government service which would be closer to the people of these regions and therefore more efficient. Such a redistribution of powers, it is believed, would produce a more viable federal system serving the best interests of Canada as a whole and also her people and their particular needs in the various regions.

### **Basic Objectives of Canada**

It is recommended by the Committee that "the Canadian Constitution should have a preamble which would proclaim the basic objectives of Canadian federal democracy". This is the only place in the Constitution where it can be stated in broad terms what kind of a country Canada is and what she aspires to be. The Canadian nation is distinguished as "a free people in a free society; a country characterized by rich diversity in linguistic communities, cultural heritages and regional identities; a country where individual fulfilment is the fundamental goal of society; a country where individual Canadians look to the state not simply as a vehicle by which to serve their own self-interest but as a vehicle by which they can contribute to the well-being of other Canadians."

The basic objectives of Canada that should be included in the preamble to the new constitution are the following:

1. To establish a federal system of government within a democratic society;

2. To protect and enhance basic human rights;
3. To develop Canada as a bilingual and multicultural country in which all its citizens, male and female, young and old, native peoples and Métis, and all groups from every ethnic origin feel equally at home;
4. To promote economic, social and cultural equality for all Canadians as individuals and to reduce regional economic disparities;
5. To present Canada as a pluralistic mosaic, a free and open society which challenges the talents of her people;
6. To seek world peace and security, and international social progress.

### **Self-Determination**

One of the most controversial recommendations was number 7 which deals with self-determination. "If the citizens of a part of Canada at some time democratically declared themselves in favour of political arrangements which were contrary to the continuation of our present political structures, the disagreement should be resolved by political negotiation, not by the use of military or other coercive force." Some Quebecers argued that their province should have the right of self-determination and even secession. The Committee referred to Article 1 of the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) which states: "All peoples have the right of self-determination.

By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." Although the large majority of French Canadians live in Quebec, there are large numbers occupying large areas in New Brunswick, Northern Ontario and elsewhere. It is fundamentally a question of self-determination for a people or self-determination for province; the two are not equivalent, as people are a natural entity and a province is an artificial one. Since the preamble should recognize that the existence of Canadian society rests on the free consent of its citizens and their collective will to live together, differences and disagreements should be settled by peaceful means. All peoples of Canada will be able to achieve their aspirations more effectively within the proposed more flexible federal system.

### **Entrenched Bill of Rights**

The Committee endorses the entrenchment of certain basic political, legal and human rights, to be included in a Bill of Rights as part of the Canadian constitution. Guaranteed should be political freedoms of conscience and religion, of thought, opinion and expression, of peaceful assembly and of association; the inalienability of the right to citizenship; protection of a citizen's life, liberty and security of his person, protection against arbitrary seizure of his property, except for the public good

and for just compensation; prohibition of discrimination by reason of sex, race, ethnic origin, colour or religion; prohibition of discrimination in employment, or in membership in professional, trade or other occupational associations, or in obtaining public accommodation and services, or in owning, renting or holding property; as well as other provisions contained in the Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960. The Committee considered the arguments against the entrenchment of a Bill of Rights but came to the conclusion that an entrenched Bill of Rights was a more effective guarantee to individuals. Succinctly state, it is a question of who would have the final word, a court which has the right to interpret what a legislature enacts or a legislature which has the right to amend a judicial interpretation. I do not want to discuss all the arguments pro and con; I am satisfied that courts in a democratic society eventually accept what the majority want and that competing interests of majority rule and minority rights are in accordance with the essence of democracy. Canada is a country of numerous minorities, all of whom want fair treatment.

### **Language Rights of Ethnic Groups**

Probably one of the most important questions to be settled in a new constitution is that of language rights. Because language is a vital part of the culture of most peoples, its recognition is of great

symbolic importance. Consequently, Chapter 10 on Language Rights is one of the longest in the Report.

After having studied the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the Official Languages Act of 1969 as well as the reactions of the public, the Committee recommends that English and French be constitutionally entrenched as the two official languages of Canada. Four other recommendations deal with the right of any person to use either official language in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures and the Territorial Councils, in dealing with judicial or quasi-judicial Federal bodies or with courts in New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec and the Territories and recognition of the parents' right to choose the language of instruction in public supported schools where a sufficient number of persons could justify the provision of necessary facilities. Since French is in an inferior position, Federal and Provincial governments are urged to upgrade French and try to achieve linguistic equality throughout Canada.

### **Rights of non-British, non-French Groups**

To the non-French, non-British ethno-cultural groups who are interested in preserving and perpetuating their cultures as part of the Canadian mosaic the key recommendations are numbers 27 and 28. Giving recognition to the multicultural reality of Canada the Committee states that:

The Constitution should explicitly recognize the right of Provincial Legislatures to confer equivalent status with the English and French languages on other languages. Federal financial assistance to support the teaching or use of other languages would be appropriate.

In the text explaining these recommendations, the Report refers to the population statistics of Canada. It is noted that during the period 1871 to 1961 the British element has declined proportionally from 60.55 per cent to 43.85 per cent, the French element has remained almost constant declining only from 31.07 per cent to 30.38 per cent, while the other ethnic groups have rapidly increased percentage-wise from 8.38 in 1871 to 25.77 in 1961. "It is expected that the 1971 census will show a further increase in the percentage of Canadians who are neither British nor French, largely at the expense of the British proportion."

Recognizing in the preamble of the new Constitution that Canada is multicultural rather than bicultural or unicultural, which seems to be an obvious fact, the Committee considers nevertheless that this "needs formal emphasis". There neither is nor should there be any official culture in Canada. It is further stated that:

One of the deepest aspects of our national character has been its cultural tolerance towards minority groups. Canadians do not feel the need to impose a common culture nor to divorce people from their cultural roots. All

democracies allow their citizens freedom under the law, but many do not go so far as to allow cultural freedom. Canada must continue to do so, but more consciously and more effectively.

Taking into consideration that there are large groups of Canadians who speak German, Ukrainian, Italian and smaller numbers who speak many other tongues, particularly in the Prairie Provinces where some of these languages are spoken more than French, the Committee in majority approved constitutional recognition for these languages. These ethnic groups of the third element (non-British, non-French) have "made a great contribution to the development of Canada in the years since Confederation and it would be fitting to recognize it in the Constitution". One way of recognizing this contribution is to regard their languages not as foreign but give them the status of Canadian languages as an integral part of the Canadian linguistic fact.

### **Language Rights of Ethnic Groups**

Realizing that there are inherent limitations of constitutional provisions respecting languages, the Committee has decided that since the languages of the third element ethnic groups are "regional rather than national" in the context of Canada it would therefore be appropriate that specific recognition be given to them at the provincial level.

This recommendation would confer no additional rights upon the provinces, for by section 92(1) of the B.N.A. Act, they already possess the power to amend their own constitutions and by section 93 they have the power to make laws in relation to education. Several of these languages are already taught in the elementary and secondary public schools and at the universities of some of the provinces. The committee advises that:

The Constitution should therefore provide in its section on language rights that Provincial Legislatures may confer rights on other language groups with respect to use in the Legislatures themselves, or in government administration, the courts, and education in publicly-supported schools.

The obvious conclusion is that where it would now be impractical to make official other languages besides English and French, there is nothing in the constitution to prevent them from achieving official status in the provinces and this is even encouraged. It is made clear that the officiality of English and French "does not confer any priority with respect to culture".

Since the new Constitution would recognize bilingualism and multiculturalism it is logical that this fact be appropriately reflected also in the policies of the provincial governments, including educational policies (see Chapter 99 on Education). This means that the Federal Government must have certain obligations in this respect to the

provincial governments. The Report therefore concludes thus:

Moreover, where a Province confers a particular public right upon a language group, it would be appropriate for the Federal Government to provide a measure of financial assistance. By doing so, it would help the Provinces to provide a valuable public service to a group of citizens.

### **Senator Yuzyk's Contribution**

Honourable Senators, I am satisfied that the members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution of Canada in dealing with the problems of the non-British, non-French ethno-cultural groups were as objective, fair, understanding and sympathetic as could be expected of them. The Committee carefully studied the briefs and submissions of the organizations that represented these groups and in general adopted the recommendations which were consensual and practical, keeping the best interests of Canada in mind.

Personally, this Report gives me a great deal of deep satisfaction. It embodies most of what I have been striving and fighting for since I became a member of the Senate in February, 1963. Gaining recognition of language and cultural rights for the ethnic groups of the Third Element in the new Constitution of Canada is the fulfilment of my life dream and my steadfast endeavours which, I

am pleased, received the backing of the leaders and the Senate body. This is gratefully acknowledged.

I have delivered several speeches in this chamber on the topic of the Canadian Identity, multiculturalism and the rights of the ethnocultural groups. My maiden speech of March 3, 1964 was published as a separate pamphlet by the Queen's Printer with the title "Canada: A Multicultural Nation"; it was subsequently reprinted several times in pamphlet form and used frequently by ethnic groups in the hearings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. On October 1, 1968 I drew the attention of the Senate to the concern of these groups about constitutional changes proposed at the Federal-Provincial Conferences.

Then, with the support of an ad hoc committee of the Senate, consisting of Senators Maurice Lamontagne, David Croll, Norman A. M. MacKenzie, James Gladstone and myself, with funds supplied by the Department of the Secretary of State and the Ontario Government and with the support of the Canadian Folk Arts Council, on December 13, 14 and 15, 1968, I convened the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights, in which leading Canadian leaders and representatives of 20 leading ethnic groups participated together for the first time in Canada. The resolutions, rejecting the concept of biculturalism and endorsing official recognition of multiculturalism, the papers and reports were all sent to the Prime Minister of

Canada and all the Premiers of the provinces, from most of whom came a favourable response. I gave a report of this important conference to the Senate on July 8, 1969 in the debate on the Official Languages Bill, in which I supported the Bill but urged that the non-English, non-French languages be recognized as Canadian languages. And finally, on February 17, 1970, following the launching of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution of Canada, I delivered a lengthy address on constitutional revision in which I supplied statistics, a graph and a chart and in which I advocated that a bilingual and multicultural Canadian nation was the all-inclusive Canadian identity. Eight years ago this concept was scorned; today it has received general acceptance, thanks in a great measure to the attitude of the young generation.

### **Recognition of Multiculturalism**

In conclusion, I would like to quote from my maiden speech of March 3, 1964 referring to the recognition of multiculturalism and the implementation of the principle of unity in continuing diversity.

A great architect of Canada, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, under whose administration the Prairies were peopled by various groups of the third element, left, some 60 years ago, the following message for future generations:

I have visited in England one of those models of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius, guided by an unerring faith, has moulded into a harmonious whole. This cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here, I want the marble to remain the marble; the granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak; and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world.

It is significant that Prime Minister Trudeau used a part of this quotation when the present Government launched its new policy of multiculturalism on October 8, 1971. It is also significant that President Richard Nixon of the United States used this quotation when he recently addressed a joint session of the Senate and House of Commons in Ottawa on April 14, this year. President Nixon identified this as the Canadian way and exhorted us to remember these truths: "that variety can mean vitality — that diversity can be a force for progress".

### **New Constitution Needed**

Regardless of how we identify Canada — whether in terms of geography, governmental institutions, natural resources or human resources, such as ethnic and cultural communities, — these are

not enough. A state is constituted paramountly by the collective will of the people to live, work and sacrifice together for the common good. If this will falters, then inevitably the nation falls. We know from history and experience that the common strain binding Canadians together is a pervading goodwill towards persons and people other than their own and their love of this great land. In its extensive travels throughout our vast country, the members of the Constitution Committee witnessed the vibrant spirit of Canadians of all backgrounds and therefore look with confidence to a better future for Canada.

In the words of the Report "a modern constitution for Canada is ultimately a restatement of our faith in ourselves and our country". Our faith in freedom and democracy, truth and justice, equality and brotherhood, cooperation and peace as an antidote to tyranny, hate, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination and war has been the strength that has brought about and maintained Canadian unity, which has produced progress, prosperity and general happiness for Canadian citizens. This faith and work has built a great and dynamic Canadian nation. With continuing mutual understanding, goodwill, faith and adherence to these high principles we will build a new and better Canada. To facilitate the fulfilment of our worthy aspirations, a new modern constitution is vitally and urgently needed, for which this Report is an indispensable basis.

## **PART B**

### **THE SOVIET SUBVERSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

(Speech delivered in the Senate, November  
18, 1969)

Honourable senators, I should like to speak today in reference to the following statement in the Speech from the Throne:

We will continue to be an active member of the United Nations. After a quarter of century of radical changes in its functions and membership, the UN needs to be revitalised and strengthened. Canada is presenting its proposals for reform to the present session of the General Assembly.

On October 23 last, several distinguished members of this chamber — namely, Senator Paul Martin, the Government Leader; Senator Jacques Flynn, the Leader of the Opposition; Senator Grattan O'Leary and Senator Arthur Roebuck — made appropriate remarks on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the United Nations Organization.

In view of the fact that on November 7 the Soviet Union and communists in various parts of

the world celebrated the 52nd anniversary of the Russian Communist October Revolution, and the fact that the Canadian Government is interested in making the United Nations a more effective instrument in carrying out the principles of the charter, I have chosen to deal with the policy of the Soviet Union in this world organization. Because of my academic background in the history of Central and Eastern Europe, I think I shall be able to throw some light on this topic, which should help to give us a better understanding of what kind of relations Canada should have with this super-power, particularly in the United Nations. My speech will be a kind of sequel to Senator McDonald's excellent report on NATO on November 6. I sincerely congratulate him for his open-mindedness, frankness and logic.

### **Usefulness of the UN to Member-States**

Every country has its own view of the proper function of the United Nations and every country attempts to use the UN for its own purposes. In general, the prosperous countries of the West regard the organization in political terms, that its function is to maintain peace, punish the aggressor and prepare the ground for world government; they pay little attention to the extensive welfare and technical programs. The United States tries to use the UN to contain communism and counter-act left-wing revolutions. The Europeans see in it

a useful forum to discuss grievances and a convenient centre for diplomatic contacts and negotiations with many nations. The Soviet Russians look upon it, at least on the surface, as a necessary evil in which they must paralyze the plots of the "imperialists". The new underdeveloped, former colonial states fervently support this world organization, using it as an instrument to voice their anxieties, so as to secure more economic, technical and educational assistance from the wealth states. All are worried about preventing the Third World War, which with the modern super weapons could destroy mankind.

Broadly speaking, the member states of the UN are divided into two camps — the capitalist and the communist, but there are also regional groupings. Our concern will be with the Soviet Union and its policies in the world organization.

### **Achievements of Russian Communism**

The "fifty years of communism" that was celebrated in the Soviet Union in 1967 was certainly not the communism envisaged by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founder of the theory. According to the concept of these ideologists, communism meant a state of affairs in which nation states would "wither away", the capitalist system would be destroyed and the conflict of classes would vanish. In this society, people would rid themselves of the "opium of religion" and

would become educated so as to develop their full potential and organize their life on the basis of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". This, of course, has not been achieved.

The "fifty years of communism" is in reality the fifty years of the rule of the Communist Party in the USSR and in other parts of the world. The Communist Party was the creation of Lenin, whose ideas very often differed from those of Marx and Engels. Lenin established Bolshevism, which by means of a well-disciplined organization of professional revolutionaries destroyed Tsarist autocracy and the "bourgeois" Provisional Government and set up what was called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" — the Soviet system. This "dictatorship of the proletariat" was to be a transitional stage in the evolution to communism.

Many communist leaders outside Russia, although in sympathy with the Russian October Revolution, did not endorse Lenin's highly-centralized dictatorship of revolutionaries and the suppression of freedom. Rosa Luxemburg, a revolutionary in Poland and one of the founders of the German Communist Party, criticized Lenin's Bolshevism in the following manner, proving to be prophetic:

Freedom restricted to the supporters of a government, freedom only for the members of one party, however numerous, is no sort of freedom. Freedom is always and only the freedom of those who think differently... With-

out the right of free speech, the life of public institutions will wither away, become a shadow and a masquerade and only bureaucracy will remain as the active component. Public life will gradually become anaesthetised while a few dozen leaders with unquenchable energy and boundless idealism direct, a dozen of the best brains rule and a working class elite is assembled in official meetings from time to time to applaud the speeches of the leaders, to vote unanimously for resolutions put before them — in fact an oligarchy... Under such conditions public life will take on a new savagery and will lead to political assassinations, the shooting of hostages, and so on.

With her passionate belief in democracy, freedom and the dignity of human life in the new society, Rosa Luxemburg did not live long enough to influence the communist movement, for she was murdered less than three weeks after the German Communist Party had been established, in December 1918. Her assessment of Bolshevik methods of fifty years ago describe the situation in the Soviet Union today.

### **Bolshevik Deceit and Perfidy**

Although Lenin adhered to dictatorial control of his Bolshevik party, he did not hesitate to issue promises of "Land, bread and peace" as well as freedom, which, as subsequent events proved, were

not intended to be kept, but were merely a means of obtaining power. Take for example the decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars of November 15, 1917 concerning the subjugated peoples of Tsarist Russian Empire:

1. All peoples of Russia are equal and sovereign;
2. The peoples of Russia have the right of self-determination including the right of secession from Russia and of the establishment of independent national States of their own.
3. All national and religious-national privileges and restrictions shall be abolished;
4. The national minorities and ethnic groups in Russian territory shall be given every opportunity to develop freely.

When the Bolsheviks were in power under the leadership of Lenin, the various subjugated peoples asserted their "right of self-determination including the right of secession from Russia and the establishment of independent national States of their own". One after the other, the non-Russian peoples proclaimed their independent states in the following order: Idel Ural (Tatar) — November 12, 1917; Finland — December 6, 1917; Ukraine — January 22, 1918; Kuban Cossacks — February 16; Lithuania — February 16, Esthonia — February 24; Byelorussia — March 25; Don Cossacks — May 5; North Caucasus — May 11; Georgia — May 26; Azerbaijan — May 29; Armenia — May 30; Poland — November 11; Latvia — November 18; Far Eastern Democratic

Republic (Siberia) — April 4, 1920; Turkestan — April 15, 1922. This was a democratic, anti-imperialist manifestation. Gradually, the Russian communist regime subverted and conquered by force all these independent states, and these nations are again part of the Russian empire under totalitarian rule, not much different from the autocratic tsarist regime.

Not only did the Russian communist government make a general declaration of self-determination, but we also have its formal acknowledgement of this right with respect to Ukraine, dated December 17, 1917:

We, the Soviet of People's Commissars, recognize the Ukrainian National Republic and its right to separate from Russia or to make an agreement with the Russian Republic for federative or other similar mutual relations between them. Everything that touches national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, we, the Soviet of People's Commissars, accept clearly without limitations and unreservedly.

This declaration was deceitful and perfidious, for at the time of its announcement the Russian communist government immediately had a Ukrainian Soviet Republic established in another city in Ukraine, Kharkov, in direct opposition to the democratic Ukrainian National Republic. This Ukrainian Soviet Republic claimed to possess the sovereignty of an independent state, but when it became a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

in 1922, it lost its sovereignty, including the rights of amending its own constitution, maintaining its own armed forces, conducting its own foreign policy, directing its own financial affairs, etc. Ukraine as a consequence became a mere province under the rigid control of the centralized Russian communist government in Moscow, similar in many ways to her position under the former Russian Tsarist regime.

To gain Ukrainain support for the final phase of the Second World War effort, to save his own face and have more votes in the newly-established United Nations, Stalin had the Soviet Constitution amended, restoring to Ukraine and Byelorussia their own ministries of defence and external relations. These were the only two "republics" of the USSR which were given these rights and became founding members of the United Nations. None of the other members of the United Nations has given recognition to Ukraine and Byelorussia, knowing that these two countries have no sovereignty. The Soviet government does not encourage such a step, undoubtedly fearful of the fact that official diplomatic relations between these two component "republics" and the soveriegn states of the world could stimulate the movement towards independence. This was obvious at Expo '67 in Montreal; Moscow refused a separate pavilion and exhibition for both Ukraine and Byelorussia, as this would have made necessary a state visit of these countries to Canada, implying the recognition of the sovereignty of Ukraine and Byelorussia.

## Anti-Democratic Character of Communism

Communism, Lenin's brand, does not tolerate freedom and democracy. This becomes abundantly evident just from a mere reading of *The Theses and Statutes of the Communist International*, approved at the Second Congress of the Communist International (Comintern), which was held in Moscow in 1920 and has always been binding upon all the communist parties throughout the world. The object of the Comintern, is stated in the following sentence:

In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an international Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the state, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms.

To achieve this purpose all means were to serve the end, applying the Machiavellian principle that the end justified the means. Here is how it was stated in *The Theses*:

It is especially necessary to carry on illegal work in the army, navy, and police . . . On the other hand it is also necessary in all cases without exception not to limit oneself to illegal work, but to carry on also legal work overcoming all difficulties, founding a legal press and legal organizations under the most diverse circumstances, and, in case of need, frequently changing names.

Anyone who has followed the work of the communist parties in the various countries outside the USSR, including Canada, will recognize that these instructions have been adhered to — to the letter.

The communist view of parliaments in capitalist countries was stated thus:

Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future...its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore it is only possible to speak of utilizing the bourgeois State organization with the object of destroying them... The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work, but in order to direct the masses to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the Parliament itself from within.

Stating that the work of each communist member in the bourgeois countries "consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform", *The Theses* of the Comintern specifies only one loyalty. According to instructions:

The Communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist party — whether legal or illegal.

### **Communist Perpetuation of Russian Imperialism**

The Bolshevik communists of the Soviet Union have made plans to conquer the whole world, some of which have already been implemented but some

of which have also backfired. Many leaders of communist parties in bourgeois countries have undergone training to achieve this purpose. Here is a statement of one of the Russian communist leaders, Dmitri Manuilsky, who taught at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow in 1931, where several Canadian communists took courses:

War to the hilt between Communism and Capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 to 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep; so we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to co-operate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist.

It therefore comes as no surprise that after the Second World War this "spectacular peace movement" came in the form of "peaceful co-existence" and every outward appearance was made to display co-operation. That this was merely a tactic to achieve ultimate victory is evident from the speech of Khrushchov to German communist leaders in 1955:

People say our smiles are not honest. That is not true. Our smile is real, not artificial. But

if anyone believes that our smile means that we have given up the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, they are badly mistaken ... One cannot stop the course of history.

If the masks are stripped off the face of "Soviet Communism" and the propaganda balloons are pierced, it reveals the naked face of Russian imperialism, propped up by brute force as under the Tsarist. The Red Army re-conquered all the non-Russian peoples who had broken away from the Tsarist Russian Empire and formed their own independent state after the First World War. The second wave of Russian imperialism and colonialism commencing at the beginning of the Second World War absorbed the Baltic nations which were overrun by the Red Army. The third wave, since the Second War, established Soviet statellite regimes in Central and Southern Europe, Asia and Cuba and intensive subversive activities in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Asia. The "Peaceful co-existence" did not hold back the Russian communist regime from instigating aggression in Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere.

In his book *The Origin of Russian Communism*, Nicholas Berdyaev, the great contemporary Russian philosopher in exile, explains the real drive behind communism:

Russian Communism is difficult to comprehend because of its two physiognomies. In some aspects it is an international and universal phenomenon; from other points of view

it is Russian and national. It is particularly important for Western minds to understand the natural roots of Russian Communism and the fact that it was Russian history which determined the limits and shaped its character. A knowledge of Marxism will not suffice to find the cue to it.

In another place Berdyaev stated that in Bolshevism "the Russification and Orientalization of Marxism has been achieved".

Russian emigre leaders, even though they oppose communism, have been constantly upholding the Russian empire and adhering to the "one and indivisible Russia" of the Tsarist regime. This explains why Alexander Kerensky, the leader of the Russian Provisional Government in 1917, who was ousted by Lenin's Bolshevik party, later in 1943, when Hitler's Nazis threatened to dismember the Soviet Union, came to its defence with the following statement:

Russia, a geographical backbone of history, should exist in all her strength and power, no matter who or how he is ruling her. (In this case it was Stalin, the greatest tyrant in Russian history. P.Y.) From this comes Miliukov's testament to us: to be on watchful guard of Russia — no matter what her name is — absolutely, unconditionally and to the last breath.

## **Deceitful Statements of Soviet Leaders**

Deceit is a basic tactic of Soviet policy in the subversion of the free world. During the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Communist Soviet revolution, and the "glorious" achievements of the Soviet regime, Alexey Kosygin, the Soviet Premier, boastfully proclaimed, as reported in Pravda, June 20, 1967, that:

In the fifty years of her existence the Soviet Union has respected all other nations, great as well as small. Every nation is entitled to establish an independent national State of its own. This is one of the basic principles of Soviet policy. Supporting the right of self-determination of nations, the Soviet Union condemns and resolutely opposes the attempts of any Power to conduct an aggressive policy and to work for the annexation of foreign countries...no country in the world could claim to have solved the nationality problem as successfully as the Soviet Union...no nationality in our country is discriminated against.

Consider the sincerity of the resolution introduced in the United Nations in December, 1965 by Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, who recently visited Canada:

No state has the right to intervene directly or indirectly for any reason whatever, in the internal and external affairs of any other state. Consequently armed intervention and all

forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the state or against its political, economic and cultural elements, are condemned.

These declarations of Gromyko and Kosygin are obviously false for they did not deter the Soviet Government from sending the Red Army together with the forces of its satellite states to invade and occupy its socialist satellite Czechoslovakia in August, 1968, just as it had been done during the uprisings in Hungary in 1959. The Soviet Russian empire was established by force and will evidently be maintained by force under a totalitarian system which cannot allow "liberalization", democracy and freedom to make headway within its jurisdiction.

### **World Domination via the UN**

We had already noted that the ultimate goal of Soviet communism, as was spelled out in the Comintern *Theses* of 1920, was world conquest, which would employ all means at its disposal, including deceit and force of arms. Subsequently, Dictator Joseph Stalin, in his book, *Marxism and the National Question*, outlined the methods of achieving this objective as follows:

1. Confuse, disorganize and destroy the forces of capitalism around the world.
2. Bring all nations together into a single world system of economy.

3. Force the advanced countries to pour prolonged financial aid into the underdeveloped countries.
4. Divide the world into regional groups as a transitional stage to total world government. Populations will more readily abandon their national loyalties to a vague regional loyalty than they will for a world authority. Later, the regionals can be brought all the way into a single world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Cominterns of 1928 and 1936 formally adopted these intermediate goals of communism in their programs. When the USSR entered the League of Nations in 1934 it began to carry out this program.

After achieving victory over Nazi Germany in the Second World War, which would not have been possible without the close collaboration and extensive aid of the allies, the United States, Great Britain and others, the Soviet leaders expressed no gratitude to the allies but immediately laid plans to continue their efforts to dominate the world. On the eve of the inception of the U.N., the communist pamphlet entitled *The United Nations* (published in Bombay, India, 1945) advocated full support for this world organization, giving the four primary reasons as:

1. The veto will protect the USSR from the rest of the world.
2. The UN will frustrate an effective foreign policy of the major capitalist countries.

3. The UN will be an extremely helpful instrument in breaking up the colonial territories of the non-Communist countries.
4. The UN will eventually bring about the amalgamation of all nations into a single Soviet system.

This is precisely the blueprint that was initially drawn up by Lenin, elaborated by Stalin and refined by Khrushchov for achieving world government and communist control of the world by exploiting the United Nations.

### **Treachery — a Part of Policy**

The use of such innocent-like tactics in the overall strategy of attaining a concealed goal is perhaps best illustrated by the story of the young married man working in a baby-carriage factory in Germany at the beginning of Hitler's regime. In his speech to the Senate of the United States on February 23, 1954, Senator William Jenner related how this young man had saved his money to buy one of the baby-carriages which he was helping to build, as his wife was expecting their first child. When the factory refused to sell him the product, he began to collect the various parts secretly. When he obtained all the parts, he and his wife painstakingly put them together. What a shock they received, when instead of a baby-carriage, they beheld a machine-gun! It is obvious that the blueprint of the final product had been planned years ahead. Many

unsuspecting people helped to produce the product which could even be turned against them.

This is the way the Kremlin master-planners are exploiting the UN for their purposes. The pre-designed parts are being produced by many unsuspecting workers who believe they are helping to build baby-carriages described to them with such slogans as "peace", "security", "international co-operation", "world brotherhood", "human rights", "peace-keeping operations", etc. Little do many realize what the final product will be when the component parts are assembled.

### **Soviet Blueprint for the UN**

Let us assemble some of the major parts of the Soviet Russian blueprint for the United Nations. Although the Third International repudiated parliamentarism, communist members were instructed to enter bourgeois parliaments "to direct the masses to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the Parliament itself from within". Consequently the Soviets have been constantly using the rostrum of the United Nations to spread communism over all the world and to inflame colonial people and underdeveloped nations against the Western powers, particularly the United States. Testifying to the Committee on Un-American Activities, Dr. Marek Korowicz, a UN delegate from communist Poland who defected in 1953, stated:

We were all indoctrinated strongly with the Russian master plan to reach the working

classes of the various countries in the Western World over the heads of their government . . . The organization of the UN is considered as one of the most important platforms of Soviet propaganda in the world . . . The UN offers a parliamentary platform to the Soviet politicians, and from this platform they may preach to the populations of the entire world and do their subversive propaganda.

The Soviet Union has consistently used her veto in the Security Council to paralyze the work of the UN during international crises. Of the 109 vetoes cast from January 1946 to October 1967, almost all of them were cast by the USSR, except France — 4 times, the United Kingdom — 3 and China — 1. The United States did not use its veto at all. The Soviet Union vetoed all resolutions related to Soviet aggression in Hungary in 1956 and recently her invasion of Czechoslovakia. She has been attempting to make UN peace-keeping operations as ineffective as possible also by refusing to contribute her share. In such a way the USSR has used the UN to frustrate the foreign policy of the major capitalist countries.

### **Exploitation of Anti-Colonialism**

The part of the Soviet Russian blueprint that has been most successfully realized was the role of the United Nations "in breaking up the colonial territories of the non-Communist countries", particularly in Africa. Commencing with 51 members

over 20 years ago, today the UN has 126 members, during which time some 1 billion people achieved their independence, thanks to the efforts of the UN.

With the disappearance and disappearing of imperialism and colonialism throughout most of the world the great paradox of our age is the existence of the United Nations member, the Soviet Union, which has emerged as the world's greatest imperialist power. It is most ironical that the USSR while steadily expanding has been the loudest in the United Nations in denouncing imperialism. The greatest threat to the freedom and independence of man and nations and to the peace of the world today is Soviet Russian imperialism, under the guise of spreading revolutionary socialism and communism to all peoples.

### **Canada Challenges Soviet Colonialism**

We can be proud that Canada was one of the first nations to challenge Russian colonialism in the United Nations. In his famous speech of September 26, 1960, Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker reminded Khrushchov of the Soviet declaration for "the complete and final elimination of colonial regimes". Diefenbaker then presented the record of Britain and France regarding the elimination of colonialism.

Since the last war, seventeen colonial areas and territories, comprising more than 40 million people, have been brought to complete freedom by France. In the same period four-

teen colonies and territories, comprising half a billion people, have achieved complete freedom within the Commonwealth... this with the approval, the encouragement and guidance of the United Nations, the Commonwealth and France. There are few here that can speak with the authority of Canada on the subject of colonialism, for Canada was once a colony of both France and the United Kingdom. We were the first country which evolved over a hundred years ago by constitutional processes from colonial status to independence without severing the family connection.

Later the Canadian prime minister posed the following questions: "How many human beings have been liberated by the USSR?... How are we to reconcile the tragedy of the Hungarian uprising in 1956? What of Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainians and many other Eastern European peoples?... And very emphatically he stated: "There can be no double standard in international affairs."

### **American Condemnation of Soviet Imperialism**

The United States took a firm stand against Soviet imperialism at the Sixteenth General Assembly in the fall of 1961. President Kennedy expressed American sympathy and support for the continuing tide of self-determination in the following statement:

But that is why there is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not yet reached the Communist empire, where a population far larger than that officially termed "dependent" lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free institutions — under a system which knows only one party and one belief — which suppresses free debate, free elections, free newspapers, free books, and free trade unions — which builds a wall to keep truth a stranger and its own citizens prisoners. Let us have the choice and the practice of free plebiscites in every corner of the globe.

### **Soviet Double-Standards**

The American Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, at the same session, on November 25, 1961, condemned all forms of colonialism and urged the United Nations to focus attention on the colonialism of the Soviet Union by applying the key of self determination. He related the historical events of the Soviet conquest of several peoples who had established independent states after the fall of the Russian monarchy at the end of the First World War, noting how the Bolsheviks employed a double standard with complete impunity. Here is his reference to Ukraine:

We are told that the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy the right of self-determination. Indeed the Soviet regime at its inception issu-

ed a Declaration of Rights which proclaimed the "right of the nations of Russia to free self-determination including the right to secede and form independent states".

How did this "right" work in practice? An independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks in 1917, but in 1917 they established a rival Republic in Kharkov. In July, 1923, with the help of the Red Army, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and incorporated into the USSR.

Ambassador Stevenson then explained how the Soviet Government justified the double standard:

The right of self-determination has never been accepted for its own independent areas by the Soviet Government. Stalin in 1923 explained that "there are instances when the right of self-determination comes into conflict with another, higher right, the right of the working class to fortify its own power. In such cases the right of self-determination cannot be and must not serve as an obstacle to the realization of the right of the working class to its own dictatorship. The former must give way to the latter." In short, self-determination is a right which can only be upheld when the peoples concerned have not fallen under Communist domination.

Mr. Stevenson warned that the ascendancy of the smiling Khrushchov has brought no changes in the Soviet nationalities policy, whose announced

design was to eradicate all national differences between diverse nationalities and the Great Russian model. The ambassador called attention to the Soviet Communist Party program, which lamented that "The obliteration of national features, particularly of the language differences, is a considerably longer process than the obliteration of class differences." Khrushchov's speech to the 22nd Congress of the Party warned that "even the slightest vestiges of nationalism should be eradicated with uncompromising Bolshevik determination." Mr. Stevenson concluded:

This is the unique aspect of soviet colonialism — an aspect that differentiates it from all other historical examples of one State's suppression of another's freedom. Through the total State controls of mass culture, propaganda, education and movement, the Soviets seek to wipe out forever the national characteristics that differentiate the Turk from the Ukrainian, the Kazakh from the Armenian, the non-Russian from the Russian. They not only seek the eradication of differences and the suppression of freedom, but the eradication of the desire for freedom.

### **Apathy of Free Nations**

In view of the harmony of Canada and the United States regarding Soviet Russian imperialism, one would have expected a stronger combined

effort at the 18th General Assembly of the United Nations in the fall of 1963. The American delegate, Mr. Yates, delivered a speech on December 4, 1963, pointing out that "fortunately for the rest of the world, and fortunately perhaps for the Soviets themselves, in the long run, this new empire is tending to crack up". Referring to the fact that the United Kingdom, France and other Powers had granted independence to their formerly colonial territories, he asked outrightly "Can the Soviet Union point to one territory that it has surrendered" and he answered "It cannot". He called upon the nations of the world "to make sure that every people now under colonial domination is given the chance to exercise the right as well as the pure form of self-determination" according to the promise of the United Nations Charter for all peoples. The Canadian government of Prime Minister Lester Pearson and the other governments of the free world decided not to press the matter against the USSR, which has continued to violate the basic principles of the United Nations.

There is abundant evidence to show that the communists throughout the world, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, have been consistently carrying out the objectives of Stalin "to confuse, disorganize and destroy the forces of capitalism around the world" in the process towards "a single distatorship of the proletariat". It is generally known that the advanced capitalist countries have been "forced" by the United Nations "to pour prolonged financial aid into the

underdeveloped countries", as part of the communist policy to weaken the Western countries, while the Soviet Union and her satellites have given proportionately very little aid, and when they have given assistance it was usually in the form of weapons and ammunition to strengthen the communist and pro-communist forces. It is no surprise, for example, that when the General Assembly in 1953 created a special UN fund for world economic development, the United States found itself paying nearly 70 percent of the five billion dollars.

### **Subversive Activities in the UN**

In pursuit of the ultimate objective of establishing world government, the Soviet Union has concentrated on the Secretariat of the United Nations, particularly on the permanent staff members. The communists know that the resolutions and edicts passed by voting delegates of the General Assembly and the Security Council can be effectively neutralized and prevented from being realistically carried out by the thousands of international bureaucrats. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), disclosed in 1960 that between 70 to 80 percent of the iron curtain diplomatic representatives in the US had "some type of espionage assignment", in spite of the loyalty oath to the UN. Here is how Congressman Fred Busbey explained the activities of iron

curtain civil servants in the UN Secretariat to Congress on August 3, 1953:

Agents of Russia, Czechoslovakia and Poland, as employees of the world organization, face little or no surveillance of the type Americans face in Communist countries. They can talk to anyone. They can communicate with Moscow by secret radio code; they can travel back and forth between New York and their home capitals freely, carrying secret documents with immunity. They are even free from arrest for minor crimes. And, if one is caught red-handed with secret US documents, as was Valentin Gubitchev in the Judith Coplon case, he can count on merely being sent home, his passage paid by the UN.

It is often not realized that one of the most important positions in the United Nations is that of the undersecretary-general for political and security council affairs, about which the public knows virtually nothing. Its importance can be judged from the three main areas of its responsibility:

1. Control of all military and police functions of the United Nations peace-keeping forces.
2. Supervision of all disarmament moves on the part of member nations.
3. Control of all atomic energy ultimately entrusted to the UN for peaceful and "other" purposes.

It should be of concern to the free world that since the inception of the UN, this tremendous power has been in the hands exclusively of high-ranking communists — 1 from Yugoslavia and 7 from the USSR.

In order to prevent the Soviet Russian blueprint objective of using the UN to "bring about the amalgamation of all nations into a single Soviet system", which of course is world government controlled by the Russian communists, the free nations must watch very closely the activities of the UN Secretariat and have it reformed to carry out the principles of the United Nations. It has been a fortunate turn of circumstances that Red China now challenges the ascendancy of the Soviet Union to world domination, and that threat for a while has been decreased.

### **Most Powerful Force in World**

At this time when the free world is confronted with the brute force of Soviet imperialism, it is well to remember the imperishable idea expressing the essence of the struggle of humanity for its highest values which was pronounced by a great president of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who laid down his life at its altar:

The most powerful single force in the world today is neither communism nor capitalism, neither the H-Bomb nor the guided missile; it

is man's eternal desire to be free and independent.

In the struggle against this super-power, the USSR, the hope of the free world lies in the co-operation of the free nations and the effectiveness of the United Nations Organization. We must never allow the free nations to fall into a mental state of compromise with Moscow which will undermine the highest values of democracy, culture, religion and humanitarianism. The defeat of Russian imperialist communism is possible only by a common mental and material effort of the free nations as well as the captive, oppressed nations. Consequently, much more must be done to take advantage of the spiritual contribution and experience of these captive peoples who are the victims of the new form of Russian imperialism.

After last year's celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights it must be constantly stressed that the Soviet Union has violated most of these rights, which had originally been sanctioned by the USSR. The foundation of the Charter of the United Nations is the recognition of the sovereign equality of all nations. Member nations are obligated to refrain from the threat and the use of force against the territorial integrity and the sovereign independence of any state. As Canadians we should give full support to our government in its work in the United Nations to make the Soviet Union adhere to the principles of the Charter and Universal Declaration

of Human Rights. As strength is the only language that communists understand, the concerted action of the member states of the United Nations is our only assurance at this time that freedom, truth and justice will ultimately prevail for all peoples.

## **UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY**

### **ANNIVERSARY**

(Speech delivered in the Senate, January 22, 1969)

Honourable senators, in view of the fact that January 22 is a very special day for all freedom-loving Ukrainians throughout the world, and particularly for over half a million Canadians of Ukrainian descent who have made notable contributions to the political, economic, social and cultural progress of our country, as well as to Canada's war effort, with leave of the Senate I rise to mark the occasion in this august chamber.

#### **Flag of Free Ukraine**

Today the blue and yellow flag of Ukraine is flying on the flagstaffs of the city halls of Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and other Canadian cities to commemorate the independence of the Ukrainian state, which was re-established by the will of the Ukrainian nation on January 22, 1918.

Last year the flag of free Ukraine fluttered in the breeze over the city hall of Ottawa, but this year it was forbidden, for Canadian protocol recognized officially the flag of Soviet Ukraine, which has the

hammer and sickle on it to identity it with the Soviet Union. Soviet Ukraine is not a free and sovereign state.

The celebration of Ukrainian Independence Day should inspire not only Canadians of Ukrainian origin, but all Canadians of all origins to reflect upon our political and cultural heritage. It would doubtlessly give us a better appreciation of Canadian sovereignty if a comparison would be made with Ukrainian sovereignty.

### **Achievement of Canadian Sovereignty**

It was the British North America Act of 1867, which had been drawn up voluntarily by delegates of several colonies, that established the Dominion of Canada. By this act Canada achieved a responsible and representative government based on democratic freedom for her citizens. In the subsequent years the Canadian Government gradually gained control over all external relations, achieving complete independence in foreign policy at the end of the First World War.

Canadian sovereignty was given final recognition by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. In 1947 the Canadian Citizenship Act made Canadian citizenship distinct from British citizenship. In 1952 a Canadian was appointed Governor General for the first time. This practice has become a permanent feature of that high office.

With respect to the Constitution we have only one sore problem, to find a method of cutting the

apron-string which still ties it to the British Parliament. Thus Canada has evolved constitutionally from colonial status to independence, from an unknown entity to a leader among the middle nations of the world. From her early history she had been under the domination of British Imperialism. Today she is a free and voluntary member of the Commonwealth, NATO and the United Nations.

Having been part of the British oceanic empire, Canada won her independence through evolution, not through revolution, therefore without the shedding of blood in the struggle. In the meantime, she has assisted other British colonies to attain their independence, and speaks out in world forums for the cause of freedom and independence of peoples in various regions of the world.

Canada was able to gain her freedom and gradually her independence because she had been part of an oceanic empire. Although Britain had exploited her colonies economically, she brought to them civilization and the democratic forms of government as these were developing in the British Isles. When these colonies matured they gained control over their own affairs and proclaimed independence, mostly without bloodshed and with Britain's approval.

### **Ukraine under Russian Domination**

Ukraine's situation was different. She had the misfortune of becoming part of a land or continental empire. Tsarist Russia, unlike Britain which

gradually developed a democratic constitution, was an autocracy with a totalitarian political system, employing terror as an instrument of policy to carry out the economic exploitation of subjugated peoples and their national territories. Ukraine, with her higher culture, civilization and democratic government, fell victim in the seventeenth century to a backward, tyrannical and ruthless Muscovite Russia. Under Russian tsarist domination, Ukraine's democratic freedom was crushed and she became a mere Russian province, deprived of her rights and even of her name. Ukrainians were forcibly subjected to Russification and the Ukrainian language was forbidden by the decrees, ukazy, of 1863 and 1876.

The soul of the Ukrainian nation, however, could not be destroyed. From the exploited mass of peasants there emerged a great spiritual leader, the greatest poet of Ukraine, the immortal Taras Shevchenko, who advocated the dignity of the human being, freedom, truth, equality, justice and the brotherhood of man. His poetry spread like a prairie fire and was memorized by all Ukrainians. The spirit of Ukraine was revived.

### **Restoration of the Ukrainian State**

When the Tsarist empire came crumbling down under its own overburdensome weight of tyranny, despotism, bureaucracy and inefficiency, the Ukrainians were the first to break out of the "prison

of nations". Ukraine followed the course of self-determination. At first, the Central Rada in Kiev, the Ukrainian Parliament, in September 1917, demanded a reconstruction of the empire into a free federation of autonomous republics. The so-called democratic Russian Provisional Government of Kerensky outrightly rejected this demand and upheld an indivisible, monothic Russia. When the Bolsheviks seized power under Lenin they recognized the Ukrainian National Republic in December 1917 and declared, "Everything that touches national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, we, the Soviet of People's Commissars, accept clearly without limitations and unreservedly." This evidently was duplicity, for when the Bolsheviks failed to take control of the Ukrainian Parliament, they set up what they called a "Ukrainian government" in Kharkiv and called upon the Russian Red Army to help conquer Ukraine.

It was under these difficult circumstances that the Ukrainian Parliament, in the name of the people, proclaimed the Fourth Universal in Kiev, the capital, on January 22, 1918. This act established an independent national democratic republic of the Ukrainian nation. A year later on January 22, 1919 the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian territories, as sections had previously been under Austria-Hungary and other countries. Thus was established a united Ukrainian National Republic, which in reality restored the Ukrainian State of the Cossacks and the original

state of Prince of Volodimir the Great of medieval times. This year free Ukrainians are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the reunification of all Ukrainian lands within their own sovereign state.

The Ukrainian National Republic was a modern state modelled upon those of the western world. It recognized the highest principles of democracy — freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, association and personal freedom. All minorities, including the Jews, were granted “national-personal” autonomy and representation in the government. The Ukrainian National Republic was the very antithesis of totalitarianism, depotism, colonialism and imperialism, and therefore has much in common with Canada.

### **Free Ukraine Crushed by Force**

The Ukrainian state should have received the recognition of the Western Allies, who unfortunately applied the Wilsonian principle of the self-determination of nations only to central Europe — Germany, Austria and Turkey. The principle of self-determination was not applied to the Russian empire. The communist regime continued the policy of an indivisible monolithic Russia under the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and crushed by force the many independent states that had emerged after the fall of tsardom, including Ukraine. By failing to support the new national states, the western powers allowed com-

munism to win the Russian empire, and the principles of Russian imperialism, colonialism and totalitarianism to continue on a larger scale. Thus, the USSR emerged as the largest colonial power in the world and the greatest threat to western life, democracy and freedom. The western world could have prevented the restoration of Russian colonialism at the end of the First World War, by having recognized the freedom of the captive nations. Today we are facing the grim consequences: constant warfare of the cold war and the non-achievement of peace.

### **Significance of Acts of January 22.**

The acts of January 22, 1918 and January 22, 1919 are celebrated annually by the free Ukrainians throughout the world, including our Ukrainian citizens of Canada. These acts marked the victory of principles now written in the charter of the United Nations, of which Canada is a signatory. Free Ukrainians and the free people of all the subjugated nations of the Soviet Russian empire and its satellites will continue to celebrate their independence days and impress upon the western world that freedom is indivisible. The principles of the United Nations must be applied by all the other members, to the Soviet Union, which is a member, and self-determination, complete freedom, sovereignty, and integrity of national territory must be also granted to the non-Russian captive and satellite nations.

The Canadian Government, legislators, and people must constantly reassert their faith in the principles of democracy, justice, freedom, and independence, and at the same time proclaim sympathy for and a readiness to give feasible aid to all those nations which are still struggling for the realization of these, the highest principles of humanity.

*Hon. Paul Martin* (Government Leader) Honourable senators, I say on behalf of the Government that it recognizes that this is an anniversary which means a great deal to many Canadians of Ukrainian descent who compose this federation. Canada is rich because of its Ukrainian population. We acknowledge the great contributions Ukrainians have made to national development and cultural achievement. We are the heirs of a rich heritage of a great people.

In all our cities and and our farms are to be found Canadians of Ukrainian descent, with their folklore, their political orientations, their great appreciation of music and who remind us of men like Taras Shevchenko. We are indeed happy to have in the Canadian family people whose origins are those of the honourabl senator who has just spoken.

The first Ukrainian came to Canada around 1880. His name was John Ilyniak. He was the first of some 700,000 Canadians of Ukrainian descent to come to Canada. I had the pleasure of participating in a ceremony in the Supreme Court of

Canada when he was one of the first nine persons to be given the first certificates of Canadian citizenship. He was the representative of a strong band of people who have come from the Ukraine. They have enriched our lives in every way.

Canada, as a member of the United Nations, has repeatedly reaffirmed its belief in the principle of self-determination. Whatever application this cardinal postulate of the United Nations implies has, of course, the wide support of the Canadian people.

This is a proud day for the honourable senator. I assure him that it is a proud day for all of us to be able to pay our tribute to a great people who are contributing to the Canadian mosaic.

*Hon. Jacques Flynn* (Leader of the Opposition)  
Honourable senators, it is indeed most appropriate that Senator Yuzyk should draw our attention to the fact that today is an important anniversary for the sons of the Ukraine. It is the anniversary of two memorable occasions. The independence of the Ukrainian State was re-established on January 22, 1918 and exactly one year later, on January 22, 1919, the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian territories.

We know that since then the fate of the Ukrainian nation has been one of domination by the USSR. Because of that, Ukrainians throughout the world who have found a new home wish to recall these events. In Canada a very large number of sons of this proud nation have found here the freedom that is denied their brothers in their

homeland. We understand and share their feelings, and with them we hope, despite the events in Czechoslovakia which may dim this hope, that democracy, justice, freedom and independence will triumph in a not-too-distant future, not only in the Ukraine but in all those countries beyond the Iron Curtain where the populations await only favourable circumstances to achieve their liberation.

## **CANADA AND THE UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM**

(Speech delivered at Ukrainian Independence Day  
Banquet, Sudbury, Ontario, January, 31, 1970)

The recent celebration of the 100th anniversary of Canadian Confederation and the present Centennial Celebration of Manitoba inspire all Canadians to reflect upon their history, particularly upon their cultural and political heritage, as well as to give thought to Canada's future.

### **Evolution of Canadian Sovereignty**

It was the British North America Act of 1867, which had been drawn up voluntarily by delegates of several colonies, that established the Dominion of Canada. By this act Canada achieved responsible and representative government, based on democratic freedom for her citizens. In the subsequent years the Canadian government gradually gained control over all external relations, achieving complete independence in foreign policy at the end of the First World War. Canadian sovereignty was

given recognition by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. In 1947 the Canadian Citizenship Act made Canadian citizenship distinct from British citizenship. In 1952 a Canadian was appointed Governor General for the first time, which has become a permanent feature of this high office. We are now in the process of revising and repatriating our constitution, the final step in the achievement of full sovereignty.

Thus Canada has evolved constitutionally from colonial status to independence and from an unknown entity to a leader among the middle nations of the world. Whereas in her early history she had been under the domination of British imperialism, today she is a free and volutary member of the Commonwealth, NATO and the United Nations.

Having been part of the British oceanic empire, Canada won her independence through evolution and not through revolution, therefore without the shedding of blood in the struggle. In the meantime she has assisted other British colonies to attain their independence and speaks out in world forums for the cause of freedom and independence of peoples in various regions of the world.

Canada was able to gain her freedom and gradually her independence because she had been part of an oceanic empire. Although Britain had exploited her colonies economically, she brought to them civilization and the democratic forms of government as these were developing on the British Isles. When these colonies matured they gained

control over their own affairs and proclaimed independence, mostly without bloodshed and with Britain's approval.

### **Ukraine under Russian Domination**

Ukraine's situation was different. She had the misfortune of becoming part of a land or continental empire. Tsarist Russia, unlike Britain which gradually developed a democratic constitution, was an autocracy with a totalitarian political system employing terror as an instrument of policy to carry out the economic exploitation of subjugated peoples and their national territories. Ukraine, with her higher culture, civilization and democratic government, fell victim in the 17th century to a backward, tyrannical and ruthless Muscovite Russia. Under Russian tsarist domination Ukraine's democratic freedom was crushed and she became a mere Russian province, deprived of her rights and even her name. Ukrainians were forcibly subjected to Russification and the Ukrainian language was forbidden by the decrees (ukazy) of 1863 and 1876.

The soul of the Ukrainian nation, however, could not be destroyed. From the exploited mass of peasants there emerged a great spiritual leader, the greatest poet of Ukraine, the immortal Taras Shevchenko, who advocated the dignity of the human being, freedom, truth, equality, justice and the brotherhood of man. His poetry spread like a

prairie fire and was memorized by all the Ukrainians. The spirit of Ukraine was revived, strengthening the will of the people to fight for their rights and their independence.

The opportunity came nexpectedly, when the Tsarist regime of the colossal Russian Empire crumbled into ruins before the forces of revolution in March 1917. It was the inevitable fate of a hated regime that had been the bulwark of Russian tyrannical autocracy and Russian imperialism propelled and maintained by brute force, which for centuries relied on oppression and reaction; the Russian Tsarist empire had appropriately been called "the prison of nations". It was the forces of freedom, democracy and social justice that destroyed Tsardom.

The Ukrainians, the largest subjugated nation of the Russian empire, were in the vanguard of the revolution. When the Tsarist government ordered the Volyn Guard and the Izmail Regiments to fire into the mass demonstrations of workers who demanded food on March 12 in the Russian capital of Petrograd, these army units not only refused to shoot at the defenceless people but immediately fraternized with them. These two regiments were preponderantly composed of Ukrainian soldiers. This revolt of the army led to Tsar Nicholas's abdication on March 15, 1917 and to the establishment of the Provisional Government of Russia.

The Provisional Government, headed at first by Prince G. E. Lvov and subsequently by Alexander Kerensky, a Social Revolutionary, promised to call

a Constituent Assembly of elected representatives. In the meantime, this government upheld the principle of a "one and indivisible Russia" and refused to grant the subjugated peoples autonomy, self-determination or freedom as was advocated by the allies and the Western World.

### **Establishment of the Ukrainian State**

Thereupon, a Ukrainian Army Congress and a Ukrainain Farmers' Congress passed resolutions urging the Rada to ignore Petrograd and establish a Ukrainian government. On June 23, 1917 the Rada proclaimed the freedom of Ukraine within a Russian federation and declared itself to be the government. This was a revolutionary act, which was denounced by Russian imperialists, but which inspired other peoples in the empire to take matters into their own hands. The Rada took the lead in sponsoring in Kiev, September 21 — 28, a congress of non-Rssian peoples, which demanded a reconstruction of the empire into a federation of autonomous republics. Kerensky's Provisional Government again rejected the demand, reiterating the principle of "one and indivisible Russia", which was clearly imperialistic and colonialistic.

The Bolshevik seized of power in Russia on November 7, 1917, ushering in the Soviet Revolution, caused the Rada to issue the Third Universal, or Manifesto, on November 20, proclaiming a democratic Ukrainian National Republic. The

communist government of Lenin acknowledged the right of self-determination of Ukraine in the following declaration of December 17, 1917:

We, the Soviet of People's Commissars, recognize the Ukrainian National Republic and its right to separate from Russia or to make an agreement with the Russian Republic for federative or other similar mutual relations between them. Everything that touches national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, we, the Soviet of People's Commissars, accept clearly without limitations and unreservedly.

The Bolsheviks had resorted to this approach because they had failed in the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly at the end of November. They had received only 10 per cent of the votes in Ukraine, when the Ukrainian democratic parties received 72 per cent. The will of the Ukrainian nation had approved the Ukrainian state. At the same time that Russian Bolsheviks recognized the Ukrainian National Republic, they immediately backed a puppet Ukrainian Government in Kharkiv and sent the Red Army to Ukraine to fight the forces of the Central Rada. On January 22, 1918 the Fourth Universal of the Rada proclaimed Ukraine an independent and sovereign democratic republic, the consummation of the liberation revolution. This was in keeping with the Wilsonian principle of the self-determination of nations.

## **Bolshevik Conquest of Free States**

The National Liberation Revolution, which first began in Ukraine, spread throughout the Russian empire to the nations imprisoned by the Russian tsarist regime. One after the other, the non-Russian peoples proclaimed their independent states in the following order: Idel Ural (Tatar) — November 12, 1917; Finland — December 6, 1917; Ukraine — January 22, 1918; Kuban Cossacks — February 16; Lithuania — February 16; Estonia — February 24; Byelorussia — March 25; Don Cossacks — May 5; North Caucasus — May 11; Georgia — May 26; Azerbaijan — May 29; Armenia — May 30; Poland — November 11; Latvia — November 18; Far Eastern Democratic Republic (Siberia) — April 4, 1920; Turkestan — April 16, 1922. This was a democratic, anti-imperio-colonial manifestation. Gradually, the Russian communist regime subverted and conquered by force all these independent states and compelled them to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. The former Russian Tsarist empire was thus transformed by conquest into a totalitarian Russian Communist Empire, more despotic and reactionary than the previous one, in spite of paying lip-service to democracy and adopting a constitution that is meaningless in its application. In reality the Soviet constitution is a farce.

In reference to the recent celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the communist Soviet revolution and the "glorious" achievements of the Soviet regime, Alexey Kosygin boastfully proclaim-

ed that "no contry in the world could claim to have solved the nationality problem as successfully as the Soviet Union . . . No nationality in our country is discriminated against." These are words. What are the deeds?

### **Fate of Ukraine Under Soviet Domination**

The Ukrainian Soviet Republic that was established by the Ukrainian Communist Party in December 1917 in opposition to the Ukrainian National Republic claimed to possess the sovereignty of an independent state. When this Ukrainian Soviet Republic became a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922, it lost its sovereignty, including the rights of amending its own constitution, maintaining its own armed forces, conducting its own foreign policy, directing its own financial affairs, etc. Ukraine as a consequence became a mere province under the rigid control of the centralized Russian communist government in Moscow.

In the beginnings, in the late 1920's, the communist leaders of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic implemented an extensive program of promoting and advancing Ukrainian culture and education; considerable progress was made. The central government of this one-party state, under the dictatorship of Stalin, however, pursued a policy of Russian superiority. Russification was forced on the non-Russian peoples. The defence of Ukrainian culture, for example, was regarded as

opposition to the Russians, and was branded as "bourgeois nationalism" and a crime against socialism. Many Ukrainian communist leaders resisted this policy of Russification and when pressure was exerted from Moscow, several committed suicide while others were exiled or shot. The forced collectivization of farms in Ukraine, conducted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow, caused a deliberate mass famine in 1932-33, resulting in over 5 million deaths. Several purges in the middle 1930's destroyed the Ukrainian communist leaders, writers and poets who had dared to oppose Russian centralist policies. On the eve of the Second World War it appeared as if Ukrainian resistance to Moscow was destroyed completely.

The dissatisfaction with Russian rule was made evident in 1914, when Hitler's Nazi armies invaded Ukraine. Many battalions of the Red Army, Ukrainians, Russians and others, surrendered. The Nazis, however, liquidated large numbers of these prisoners-of-war. Stalin then granted the Ukrainians some concessions in culture and with their help was able to drive out the Nazis. The Ukrainians had to choose the lesser of the two evils, although many refugees fled and found their way to freedom in the United States, Canada and elsewhere. Thousands joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and fought against both the Reds and the Nazis, after the war, as guerillas in the Carpathian Mountains, which resistance continued underground for several years.

## **Ukraine in the U.N.**

To gain Ukrainian support for the final war effort, to save his own face and have more votes in the newly-established United Nations, Stalin had the Soviet Constitution amended, restoring to Ukraine and Byelorussia their own ministries of defence and external relations. These were the only two "republics" of the USSR which were given these rights and became founding members of the United Nations. None of the other members of the United Nations has given recognition to Ukraine and Byelorussia, knowing that these countries have no sovereignty. The Soviet government does not encourage such a step, undoubtedly fearful of the fact that official diplomatic relations between these two component "Republics" and the sovereign states of the world could stimulate the movement towards independence. This was obvious at Expo 67 in Montreal; Moscow refused a separate pavilion and exhibition for both Ukraine and Byelorussia, as this would have made necessary a state visit of these countries to Canada, implying the recognition of the sovereignty of Ukraine and Byelorussia.

## **Russification of Ukraine**

The new leaders of the communist dictatorial government in Moscow, Brezhnev and Kosygin, have stepped up the Russification of Ukraine,

which means the assimilation and the gradual destruction of the Ukrainian nation, as well as of the many other non-Russian peoples. That Russification is being pursued in Ukraine, has been rather reluctantly admitted by the special delegation of the Communist party of Canada, which included the former leader Tim Buck and several Ukrainian communists, after its visit to Ukraine in 1967. A former leading communist of Canada, John Kolasky, a university classmate of mine, went to study in the Soviet Ukraine for two years and upon his return recently wrote a book, *Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification*, (published by Peter Martin Associates of Toronto) in which he irrefutably proves by means of many documents, some confidential, that Ukrainians are being subjected to deliberate Russification. Kolasky's new book *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine*, is an eye-witness account of Russian exploitation and oppression.

### **Dissident Movement Growing**

Many Ukrainian communists, intellectuals and particularly the youth that was raised under the Soviet regime have been resisting the Russification policy of the central government. In May, 1967, a sit-in protest of a large crowd, mostly students, was staged against this policy at the Taras Shevchenko monument and burial plot. A larger demonstration of students was held in the capital,

Kiev, at which they demanded "the introduction of the Ukrainian language in all schools in Ukraine, from kindergarten to university, as well as public institutions; from local town-halls to ministerial offices". They also demanded that the seven million Ukrainians in the Russian Federated Republic be granted Ukrainian schools and newspapers as the Russians enjoy in Ukraine. Some burnt themselves alive as a protest against the regime. This clearly demonstrates the falseness of Kosygin's statement that, "the nationality problem has been solved" and that there is no discrimination in the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, one of the outstanding and most beloved Soviet Ukrainian writers — Ivan Dziuba, age 37, two years ago wrote a memorandum and a length treatise, over 200 pages, entitled *Internationalism or Russification*, which he sent to Peter Shelest, a Politburo member and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine and to V. V. Scherbytsky, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers. This document has been published in London in English. Dziuba accuses the Soviet Russian government of attempting "to disperse and destroy the Ukrainian nation". Noting the fact that in fifty years the Ukrainian population has increased from 37,000,000 to 40,000,000, according to Soviet statistics, and that in the same period the Russians increased from 65,000,000 to 127,000,000, almost double, Dziuba declares "It is no secret that during recent years a growing number of people in Ukraine, especially among the younger genera-

tion, are coming to the conclusion that something is amiss with the so-called Nationality Policy in "Ukraine". Despite this condemnation of this policy, the Soviet government would not dare arrest Dziuba for fear of elevating him to martyrdom.

A most remarkable manuscript has reached the Western World from Ukraine and was the theme of a leading article in the Toronto Telegram of January 6, 1968 by Peter Worthington, a reporter who had visited the USSR to cover the secret trials of intellectuals, who were imprisoned up to seven years. The author of the manuscript was Vyacheslav Chornovil, a 29-year old journalist and former secretary of the Young Communist League. He had covered some of the secret trials of Ukrainian intellectuals who had protested against the Russification policies. Chornovil wrote letters of protest to the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Minister of Justice and other government organs, declaring that some 20 of these intellectuals had not violated the Soviet constitution and were illegally sentenced. His book entitled *The Chornovil Papers*, published in English by McGraw-Hill, reveals the perversion of justice in Ukraine and the disregard of the KGB (Security Police) for the criminal code. For his criticism of the Soviet authorities and his pro-Ukrainian stand, Chornovil was arrested and at a secret trial in Lviv on November 15, 1967 was sentenced to three years in a hard labour camp. Because of protests of Ukrainians throughout the world, Chornovil was released last year. We have

news that he continues to be active in the intellectual dissent movement.\*

The courage and unbending will-power of such young men as Dziuba, Chornovil and the other sentenced intellectuals means the Ukrainian resistance to Russian domination cannot be destroyed and that the Ukrainian nation will survive and will ultimately become free.

### **Protests Against USSR Violations of Human Rights**

The problem that all people are entitled to basic human rights, including those in the Soviet Union, which guarantees such rights in its constitution but does not live up to them, has commanded the interest of Canadian students. The Canadian Union of Students at its congress at Guelph University in September, 1968 condemned the USSR for the arrests, trials and imprisonment of students, writers and academics, "in violation of the United Nation Declaration on Human Rights Constitution and the Criminal Code of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR", as these facts "run counter to the philosophy of democratic freedom maintained by

\* Throughout 1972 the Soviet government arrested many Ukrainian dissidents, who in closed trials were sentenced to long prison terms and exile. The underground magazine of intellectual dissent, *Ukrainian Herald*, however, continues to circulate; the first four large issues will soon be published in English translation.

the United Nations and supported by CUS". To reveal the true situation, the CUS authorized the publication of the booklet entitled *Report on Intellectual Dissent in Ukrainian SSR*, which subsequently made its appearance. I am indeed happy that our Canadian students are staunch defenders of freedom.

If we follow the tense current situation in the USSR, it becomes increasingly evident that Kosygin's declaration that the nationality problem has been successfully solved is just sheer propaganda, meant to minimize the gravity of the problem. Outstanding authorities on the Soviet Union, however, consider that the nationalities conflict is becoming steadily intensified. Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Director of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University, an adviser to the American government, states in the foreword to *The Chornovil Papers*, that "It is not inconceivable that in the next several decades the nationality problem will become politically more important in the Soviet Union than the racial issue in the United States".

### **Dorberg's Reprt on Explosive Situation**

*Newsweek* Magazine, with a circulation of 2,320,000 analyzed the situation in Ukraine in its January 12, 1970 issue in an article entitled "Not-So-Silent Majority". John Dornberg, *Newsweek's* Moscow bureau chief, who recently toured the vast

country, observes that "there are unmistakable signs that the national consciousness of the Soviet Union's non-Russian majority is increasing at least as fast as its numbers'. He comes to the following conclusion:

If a confrontation ever develops between the Great Russians and a resurgent nationalist minority group, it may be most likely in the Ukraine. In part this is due to the sheer size and population of the Ukraine. With 47 million inhabitants and a territory of 232,000 square miles, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic ranks as the fifth largest European member of the United Nations, where it has held a separate seat since the world organization was founded. But the Ukrainians' intense nationalism is also firmly rooted in cultural and economic achievements. Kiev was the center of medieval Russian civilization and Ukrainians are also the heirs to a highly refined literary culture developed in the nineteenth century. Economically, moreover, the Ukraine is self-sufficient. Besides being one of Europe's principal granaries, it is rich to the point of abundance in iron, coal, oil, manganese and titanium.

Though on paper all fifteen of the Soviet Union's republics enjoy the constitutional right of secession, the Ukraine would doubtless be the most capable of standing on its own feet as an independent nation. Perhaps it is the consciousness of this fact which makes Ukrai-

nian nationalists so intransigent — and the Soviet authorities so quick to stymie their activities.

Dornberg's report stresses the fact that the Moscow regime finds itself in a terrible dilemma, at a time when the conflict with the other communist giant, Red China, appears incapable of a solution. This leads him to assessing the present situation thus:

...in an age in which demands for separate nationalist expression are heard around the world, the Kremlin has steadfastly kept a tight lid on its own minority groups. The Soviet leaders are painfully aware, of course, that by opening avenue for legitimate ethnic expression they would court the risk of undermining the very authoritarian system on which their nation is run. Yet, by failing to heed the demands of their increasingly restive nationality groups, the men in the Kremlin are courting the equally grave risk of an eventual political explosion.

### **Soviet Threat to Western World**

It is my belief that at the end of the First World War the Ukrainian state should have received the recognition of the Western Allies, who unfortunately applied the Wilsonian principle of the self-determination of nations only to central Europe (Ger-

many, Austria and Turkey). The principle of self-determination was not applied to the Russian Empire. The communist regime continued the policy of an indivisible monolithic Russia under the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and crushed by force the many independent states that emerged after the fall of tsardom, including Ukraine. By failing to support the new national states, the Western powers allowed communism to win in the Russian Empire, and the principles of Russian imperialism, colonialism and totalitarianism to continue on a larger scale. Thus, the USSR emerged as the largest colonial power in the world and the greatest threat to Western life, democracy and freedom. The Western World could have prevented the restoration of Russian colonialism at the end of the First World War, by having recognized the freedom of the captive nations. Today we are facing the grim consequences: constant warfare of the coldwar and the non-achievement of peace.

### **Lesson from Tragedy of Ukraine**

The Act of January 22, 1918 is celebrated annually by the first Ukrainians throughout the world and by the over half-million Ukrainian citizens of Canada. This act marked the victory of principles now written in the charter of the United Nations, of which Canada is a signatory. Free Ukrainians and free people of all the subjugated nations of the Soviet Russian empire and its satellites will

continue to celebrate their independence days and impress upon the Western World that freedom is indivisible. The principles of the United Nations must be applied by all the other members of the UN to the Soviet Union, which is a member — that self-determination, complete freedom, sovereignty and integrity of national territory must be also granted to the non-Russian captive and satellite nations.

The Canadian Government, legislators and people must constantly reassert their faith in the principles of democracy, justice, freedom and independence and at the same time proclaim sympathy and the readiness to give feasible aid to all those nations who are still struggling for the realization of these, the highest principles of humanity.

N.B. — This address was published in its entirety in the *Sudbury Star*, February 3, 1970, under the heading "Freedom: Mankind's Common Heritage".



## LENIN'S 100TH ANNIVERSARY

(Speech delivered in the Senate of Canada on  
April 22, 1970)

Today, April 22, the Soviet Union, her satellites and the pro-Soviet communists throughout the world are jubilantly marking the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, whose real name is Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov. The free world is flooded with misleading propaganda painting Lenin as a man of peace, a democrat, and a defender of human rights. The United Nations Human Rights Commission honoured Lenin in 1968 as a great humanist of our times.

The true purpose of these world-wide celebrations, however, is revealed in a recent editorial in the Russian communist party newspaper *Pravda* (meaning "truth").

"In the minds of people everywhere, his (Lenin's) name is connected with the beginning of a new epoch in history — the epoch of the breakdown of the capitalist system, transition to socialism and building up of Communist society." The celebrations are obviously designed to paint the world red.

We, in the free world, must remember that Lenin is the founder of the Soviet Russian state, in reality an empire. Under his dictatorship, employing the methods of revolution, subversion, deception and brute force, a totalitarian state was established in 1917, which immediately proceeded to instigate a world proletarian revolution with the objective of dominating the world, which was only partially achieved. Honourable senators will recall that I spoke in the Senate Chamber on November 18, 1969 on the topic "The Russian Menace of World Domination and the Soviet Subversion of the United Nations", which, as commented upon in some newspapers, is a warning to all who cherish freedom.

Today, I would like to read into the record a section of a significant statement that was issued by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee of Winnipeg, the spokesman of some 600,000 Canadian citizens of Ukrainian ancestry:

"Under the rule of Lenin almost a million people lost their lives at the hands of the Cheka agents, the secret police of the U.S.S.R. These mass executions included 13,000 priests and monks, 70,000 soldiers and army officers, 400,000 peasants and more than 500,000 persons of other professions. At the same time millions of innocent people were exterminated in forced labour concentration camps. Opened at the time of Lenin, these concentration camps are still in operation today, the exist-

ence of which speaks in itself of the lack of respect for human life in the Soviet Union.

Under the leadership of V. I. Lenin, the Soviet Union conquered some 70 million of non-Russian peoples, including more than 30 million Ukrainians whose country was occupied by military force and the people decimated by the famine of the 1930's. These non-Russian peoples are not allowed to develop their language and culture in their own hands, their history is being distorted and their right to self-rule and self-determination denied although the constitution of USSR includes meaningless articles on freedom of religion, legal and human rights, as well as on non-existing right of the member-republics to secession.

Using these deceitful principles, the Soviet Union during and after the Second World War was able to extend its dominion over an additional hundred million peoples of the satellite countries of "...Europe and Asia which opened the way to establishing Soviet Russian strongholds on all continents.

While this new infiltration of the free world by the forces of the Soviet Union is under way, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee appeals to all Ukrainian Canadians to protest against the glorification of V. I. Lenin and to provide the Canadian public opinion with an objective interpretation of the fraudulent slogans and deceptive methods used by the

Soviet Union in its plans to dominate the free world. At the same time the Ukrainian Canadian Committee requests the Government of Canada and appeals to the opinion of all countries of the free world to preserve for the sake of history the true name of Lenin as the founder of the Soviet Russian empire of terror, fraud and dictatorship, and not to call him a humanist which history records he never was."

Free men throughout the world can always draw a poignant lesson from Lenin's "achievements". The price of the preservation of our precious heritage of freedom and democracy, wherever they still exist, including Canada, is the exercise of eternal vigilance.

## **TRUDEAU'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE USSR AND HIS DENUNCIATION OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE**

(Debate in the Senate, June 3, 1971, on the  
USSR-Canada Protocol and Communiqué)

As I intently listened on June 2nd to the speech of Senator Paul Martin, the Government Leader in the Senate and the former Minister of External Affairs, extolling the possible benefits that might accrue to Canada from the USSR-Canada Protocol and Communiqué that was signed by Prime Minister Trudeau in Moscow on May 19 this year, I tried to imagine what these "blessings" would be. We know from this Protocol that "the Soviet Union and Canada shall enlarge and deepen consultations on important international problems of mutual interest and on questions of bilateral relations by means of periodic meetings". These relations are to be improved by means of "high-level contracts, expanding ties and exchanges in the fields of economy, trade, science, technology, culture and northern development".

## **What are Canada's Benefits?**

To my knowledge, since the Canadian formal diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union the only evident benefits have come from trade, particularly the sale of wheat, which to a degree aided our economy but which of course helped to save the constantly faltering Soviet economy in agriculture. The cultural exchanges have been preponderantly one-sided; Canada has been receiving many Soviet ensembles, choirs, circuses, etc. together with propaganda and spies, but rarely do Canadian groups tour the USSR. I have never heard of the Communist regime in Moscow sharing advanced scientific and technological knowledge, experience and developments with the capitalist countries; furthermore, in this field we are getting more and will get more from the United States, Britain, Germany and Japan which in most respects are ahead of the Soviet Union. We therefore stand to benefit very little from the USSR but the USSR can benefit much more from us. Quo vadis, Canada?

Let us pay attention to the political motives of the Soviet Union. The Communiqué states that the two governments "emphasized the need for effective measures to further reduce tension and for the normalization and improvement of the relations among all European states on the basis of the independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, renunciation and the use of force or the threat of force, non-interference

in internal affairs and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means". Canada has always adhered to these principles for she has never had imperialist designs, but what is the record of the Soviet Union? Can the Russian communist leaders be trusted?

### **Assessment of Soviet Foreign Policy**

Having taught Russian and Soviet history at two Canadian universities for 20 years, I would like to present some facts which should help us to assess the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. In my speech to the Senate on November 18, 1969, I gave a documentary account of the Soviet subversion of the United Nations. In the pursuit of world communism and Russian imperialism the Soviet government has consistently employed the tactics of deceit, intrigue and subversion.

Lenin, the founder of the U.S.S.R., adhered to dictatorial control of his Bolshevik Party, but he did not hesitate to issue promises of "land, bread and peace" as well as freedom, which, as subsequent events proved, were not intended to be kept, but were merely a means of obtaining power. Take, for example, one of the first decrees of the Soviet of People's Commissars dated November 15, 1917, concerning the subjugated peoples of the Asarist Russian empire:

1. All peoples of Russia are equal and sovereign;
2. The peoples of Russia have the right of self-determination including the right of secession

- from Russia and of the establishment of independent national states of their own;
3. All national and religious-national privileges and restrictions shall be abolished;
  4. The national minorities and ethnic groups on Russian territory shall be given every opportunity to develop freely.

When the Bolsheviks were in power under the leadership of Lenin, the various subjugated peoples asserted their "right of self-determination, including the right of secession from Russia and the establishment of independent national states of their own". One after the other, the non-Russian peoples proclaimed their independent states, sixteen in number. Soon after, the Russian Communist regime subverted and conquered by force all those independent states, and these nations are again part of the Russian empire under totalitarian rule, not much different from the autocratic Tsarist regime.

Not only did the Russian communist government make a general declaration of self-determination, but we also have its formal acknowledgement of this right with respect to Ukraine, dated December 17, 1971:

We, the Soviet of People's Commissars, recognize the Ukrainian National Republic and its right to separate from Russia or to make an agreement with the Russian Republic for federative or other similar mutual relations between them. Everything that touches na-

national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, we the Soviet of People's Commissars, accept clearly without limitations and unreservedly.

### **Deceit — A Basic Tactic of the USSR**

This declaration proved to be deceitful and perfidious, for at the time of its announcement the Russian Communist Government immediately had a Ukrainian Soviet Republic established in Khar'kov, another city in Ukraine, in direct opposition to the democratic Ukrainian National Republic. This Ukrainian Soviet Republic claimed to possess the sovereignty of an independent state, but when it became a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922, it lost its sovereignty, including the rights of amending its own constitution, maintaining its own armed forces, conducting its own foreign policy, directing its own financial affairs, et cetera. Ukraine, as a consequence, became a mere province under the rigid control of the centralized Russian Communist Government in Moscow.

It was exactly the same with Lithuania. The peace Treaty in 1920 included the Soviet Union's declaration that the "recognized without reserve the sovereignty and independence of the Lithuanian State with all of the juridical consequences resulting from such recognition, voluntarily and forever renouncing all sovereign rights possessed by Russia

over the Lithuanian people and territory". Similar treaties were drawn up with Estonia and Latvia. This did not deter the same regime 20 years later from invading and occupying these small Baltic countries and establishing Soviet Socialist Republics under the domination of the Kremlin.

Deceit, as has already been noted, is a basic tactic of Soviet policy in the subversion of the free world. During the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the communist Soviet Revolution, and the "glorious" achievements of the Soviet regime, Alexey Kosygin, the Prime Minister, boastfully proclaimed, as reported in *Pravda*, June 20, 1967, that.

In the fifty years of her existence the Soviet Union has respected all other nations, great as well as small. Every nation is entitled to establish an independent national state of its own. This is one of the basic principles of Soviet policy. Supporting the right of self-determination of nations, the Soviet Union condemns and resolutely opposes the attempts of any power to conduct an aggressive policy and to work for the annexation of foreign countries . . . No country in the world could claim to have solved the nationality problem as successfully as the Soviet Union . . . No nationality in our country is discriminated against.

Consider the sincerity of the resolution introduced in the United Nations in December 1965 by Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister —

No state has the right to intervene directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal and external affairs of any other state. Consequently armed intervention and all forms of interference of the state or against its political, economic and cultural elements are condemned.

These declarations of Gromyko and Kosygin were obviously false, for it did not deter the Soviet Government from sending the Red Army, together with the forces of its satellite states, to invade and occupy its socialist satellite Czechoslovakia in August 1968, just as it had done during the uprisings in Hungary in 1956. The Soviet Russian Empire was established by force and will evidently be maintained by force under a totalitarian system which cannot allow "liberalization", democracy and freedom to make headway within its jurisdiction.

### **Can Soviet Government be Trusted?**

The grim record of the Soviet Union proves that it has constantly broken its treaties, agreements and protocols, all of which are purely means to achieve its imperialistic ends. How can any free nation have any confidence in the declarations of the Soviet leaders? Knowing the needs and designs of the Soviet Union, how can Prime Minister Trudeau have faith in the USSR-Canadian Protocol and Communiqué. I cannot see that Senator Martin can say with pride that the Canadian government

is charting a new voyage in new waters. If Canada in the pursuit of peace abandons the principles of freedom and justice to peoples and individuals, this new voyage will have disastrous consequences for the Canadian people. By the signing of this Protocol does Mr. Trudeau believe that Canada will become a partner with the U.S.S.R.? May this not be a partnership in the Soviet Russian crimes against nations and humanity? Will this step not weaken our alliances with our neighbour, the United States and other free states of the world? Why was this document drawn up in secrecy and not referred to the Canadian Parliament? Trudeau's boldness could turn out to be rashness.

### **Trudeau's Denunciation of Ukrainian Independence**

Immediately upon his return to Canada, Prime Minister Trudeau showed evidence that he had been brainwashed by Brezhnev, Kosygin and Gromyko and began toeing the Soviet line. On the question of the violation of human rights in Ukraine in the C.B.C. radio interview on Sunday, May 30th he stated the following:

My position in the Soviet Union or in Canada is that anyone who breaks the law to assert his nationalism doesn't get too much sympathy with 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 Ukraine. Why should you put your revolutionaries in jail and we shouldn't put ours?"

The Prime Minister told the House that just as he opposed separatism in Canada, he was "not supporting the independence of any part of any other country which is recognized under international law".

Here he outrightly admits that he does not want to offend Brezhnev and Kosygin but does not hesitate to offend the freedom-loving Ukrainians. The Canadian Prime Minister proves his utter ignorance, or else he wants to disregard the truth, when he compares the imprisoned Ukrainian intellectuals with FLQ leaders. These Ukrainian intellectuals such as Valentyn Moroz, Chornovil, Karavansky and others are not revolutionaries or nationalists; they did not throw bombs, kidnap or murder anyone; they did not wish to overthrow the State and change the Constitution.

Unlike the leaders of the FLQ, these intellectuals were using all legal means to have the law applied as set forth in the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Article 103, Section VIII of this Constitution guarantees: "Equality of the rights of citizens of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic irrespective of their nationality or race in all branches of economic, state, cultural,

social and political life.”. Article 105 guarantees the freedom of speech. Article 14 of Section 11 goes so far as to state: “The Ukrainian Soviet Republic reserves the right of free withdrawal from the Union of Soviet Republics”. These Ukrainian intellectuals in opposing the Russification policy of Moscow in Ukraine and in defending the cultural rights in their country demanded their rights guaranteed in their constitution and in the Charter of the United Nations. They were tried and sentenced in secret, closed trials and condemned for opposing the dictatorship of the Russian Communist Party. All democratic and freedom-conscious Canadians, who oppose arbitrary law, sympathize with these brave Ukrainian intellectuals and the Canadian government should come to their defence if it believes in the principles of freedom, truth, justice and the rule of law.

### **Is Trudeau Playing a Game?**

There is no excuse for Prime Minister Trudeau to be ignorant of the facts, particularly when he is dealing with the largest imperialist, totalitarian policy state in the world. He had received some time ago a booklet of documents entitled “Violation of Human Rights in Ukraine” published by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, composed of all free and democratic organizations in the world. Such books as *The Chornovil Papers*, published by McGraw-Hill and John Kolasky’s *Two*

*Years in Soviet Ukraine*, writtet by a former Canadian communist leader who learned the bitter truth when he recently visited Ukraine, are in the Library of Parliament and were recommended to Mr. Trudeau before his trip to the Soviet Union.

Letters and telegrams have been and are pouring in to the Prime Minister's office protesting against the insult. I wonder if Prime Minister Trudeau has the moral fortitude to apologize to the Canadians of Ukrainian origin who treasure above all the freedom and democracy that is guaranteed to all Canadians by our Canadian constitution?



## TRUDEAU'S APOLOGY TO THE UKRAINIANS?

(Debate in the Senate on June 28, 1971)

The Senate resumed from Thursday, June 3, the adjourned debate on the inquiry of Hon. Paul Martin:

That he will call the attention of the Senate to the Protocol done at Moscow, May 19, 1971, between Canada and the USSR respecting consultations on important international problems of mutual interest and on questions of bilateral relations, tabled in the Senate on Tuesday, 25th May, 1971, and to the Joint Communiqué on the visit to the USSR of the Prime Minister of Canada, tabled in the Senate on Tuesday, 1st June, 1971.

*Hon. Paul Yuzyk:*

Honourable senators, in the debate on the USSR-Canada Protocol in the Senate on June 3, I was strongly critical of the actions and certain statements of Prime Minister Trudeau. Among other points on which I took issue with him, honourable senators will recall that I condemned his com-

parison of the imprisoned Ukrainian intellectuals in Ukraine — who are legally struggling for the just rights and freedom of the Ukrainians but who were sentenced illegally and unconstitutionally in secret trials — on the same basis with subversive and revolutionary FLQ. Several daily newspapers, including the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, the *Windsor Star*, and others likewise denounced this unjust comparison, and urged the Prime Minister to retract this statement as well as other aspersions. Letters and telegrams of protest, from Ukrainian Canadian leaders, organizations and others, poured into the Prime Minister's office. Demands for an apology, including my request for one, were not favourably received by the Government Leader in the Senate, who spoke after me and tried to justify Mr. Trudeau's stand.

### **Ukrainian Brief to Trudeau**

In the meantime, the Prime Minister became aware that the situation was serious, and that perhaps he could be wrong. Accordingly, he invited for an interview to his office on June 7 the leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the co-ordinating body of over 30 organizations which in reality represents the vast majority of the over half-million Canadian citizens of Ukrainian descent in Canada, over 80% of whom have been born in this country and this year are celebrating the 80th

anniversary of their settlement. The delegation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, headed by the President, Monsignor Basil Kushnir of Winnipeg, presented a strong memorandum to Prime Minister Trudeau, part of which I want to put on record in this chamber, as follows:

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee urges the Prime Minister to correct the most unfortunate impression which his recent statements have created within the Ukrainian Canadian community, which has been deeply hurt by his failure to acknowledge the legitimate aspirations of the Ukrainian people, and by his comparison with the FLQ and the Ukrainian patriots struggling for the realization of the constitutional rights of the Ukrainian people.

The Committee expresses its intention to continue to bring to the attention of the federal Government those matters which affect Ukrainians in Canada and particularly the injustices of Ukrainians who find themselves under the totalitarian rule of the Soviet Union.

Firmly believing that this Government will uphold the well-established tradition of defending the cause of justice, that this Government will discharge its duty as a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that this Government will respect the deeply-felt concern of its citizens regarding the status of rights of nationalities in the Soviet Union, the Committee submits that this

Government use all peaceful means at its disposal in order:

1. To state to the United Nations and the government of the USSR the objections of the Canadian people to the continuing abrogation of constitutional and fundamental human rights which is being perpetrated by the Soviet authorities against Ukrainians and other peoples who have peacefully expressed their concern for the well-being of their peoples and their cultures, and to press for speedy rectification of these injustices. We particularly request that the Canadian Government inquire into the present treatment of prisoners, such as Valentyn Moroz.

2. To protest and to press for speedy rectification of the abrogation of constitutional and fundamental human rights being perpetrated by the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR in their continued and relentless repression and persecution of Christians and Jews, particularly exemplified in the recent illegal imprisonment of the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, Archbishop Wasyl Welychkowskyj\*, together with numerous members of the clergy and faithful.

3. To protest the continued and relentless efforts of Soviet authorities to stultify the free

\* The Archbishop arrived in Canada in June, 1972 and is now residing in Winnipeg.

development of Ukrainian culture and language, and the cultures and languages of other national minorities, in favour of an imposed Russian culture and language.

4. To request the removal of restrictions in the Soviet Union on the free flow of information, in all forms and in all languages, and in particular in the Ukrainian language, between the USSR and Canada.

5. To protest the imposition of travel restrictions in the USSR and Ukraine in particular, for Canadians who wish to visit relatives and friends and/or to pursue research and cultural development.

6. To press for the lifting of restrictions by the Governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, on the emigration of their citizens, and particularly of their Ukrainian citizens.

7. To initiate efforts at establishing diplomatic relations with the Ukrainian SSR, and the establishment of a Canadian embassy in Kiev and consular offices in the cities of Lviv, Kharkiv, and Odessa.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee reaffirms its offer to furnish additional evidence to corroborate the above-mentioned injustices. It is prepared to assist the efforts of the Canadian Government in implementing the above recommendations.

*Hon. Sarto Fournier:*

May I put a question to the honourable senator, before he proceeds further?

*Hon. Mr. Yuzyk:*  
Certainly!

*Hon. Mr. Sarto Fournier:*

As a senator, I would like to know exactly from the honourable gentleman what were the exact words pronounced by the Prime Minister of Canada while he was in the USSR?

*Hon. Mr. Yuzyk:*

In the first speech I made in the Senate on this question, I quoted the exact words of the Right Honourable Mr. Trudeau, and I will refer to those words a little later.

*Hon. Mr. Fournier:*

Very well.

### **Characterization of Trudeau**

At that time I was away in Edmonton and the Northwest Territories with the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution of Canada, but I was hopeful that Mr. Trudeau would clarify the situation. I kept in mind Senator Martin's characterization of him which is found at page 1086 of *Debates of the Senate* for June 3, 1971. I see that Senator Martin is unfortunately, not in the Chamber tonight, but I now quote his words:

We all know Mr. Trudeau. Everyone in Canada knows that he is a man of utmost frankness, who sometimes, to those of us who

have been in politics a long time, is overly frank. That is his method, that is the technique; I think that is one of the reasons why people have such confidence in him. They know that he looks at all aspects of a problem, fearlessly.

Personally I admire a man who is frank and even "overly frank", because I can be sure of his stand. I wondered what would be the outcome of this "utmost frankness" when he met the leaders of the Ukrainian group. Some of the headlines in the press after the meeting — such as "Trudeau apologizes to the Ukrainians" and "Trudeau makes peace with Ukrainians" — appeared to bear out this frankness, at least on the surface.

### **Trudeau's Explanation**

Careful reading of the Prime Minister's remarks to the press following the meeting with officials of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee throws a different light on the frankness. Here is his official reply regarding the controversial issue of comparing Ukraine Nationals with FLQ, and I take this from a statement issued with the compliments of the Prime Minister. These are the answers the Prime Minister gave at that time:

Well, I told them I was sorry if I hurt their feelings but I was rather sure that their feelings had been hurt by people who misrepresented what I said rather than by what I said

in fact, and I read to them excerpts from my press statements and I think they are quite different from what they thought I said. So, on this ground, I don't like to hurt people's feelings but of course I can't be blamed for people who twist my words. What I did explain to them was that it is . . . Well, I read the quotes that I had said to you people of the press, that I wasn't comparing the two countries, that democracy in the Ukraine wasn't comparable to democracy in Canada, that any attempt to compare them was misleading, and therefore there was no attempt to put the FLQ on a parallel with the Ukrainian nationalists.

Q. Do you intend on trying to help out in any way in getting the jailed intellectuals out of jail?

A. What I told them is that on this and other like cases, our only chance of making any progress was by appealing on a humanitarian basis and not demanding as of right or as by the constitution of the USSR because the answer would be that they are able to apply their laws and their constitution without help from us. And I pointed out to them that this was a normal reaction we could expect from the Soviet Union, in the same way as we tell other countries who try to solve our constitutional and legal problems: "Look, stay out of it, we can do it ourselves". There-

fore, if there was any chance of making any progress on this, it would be by making appeal on a humanitarian basis, and I explained to them that I had made such appeals on reunification of families which concern a great many Ukrainians; I had made such appeals on the emigration of Jews which concern a great many Soviet citizens; that members of my party, like Walter Deakon, had raised the particular question of imprisoned intellectuals, and so on, but that we were making these representations as a country which wanted to have good relations with the Soviet Union, as a country which had many Ukrainian and Jewish Canadians who felt strongly on these and we were hoping that they would concede these things, once again, not as a matter of right but as a matter of good relations with Canada.

- Q. Do you still compare the Federal system of Canada with that of the Soviet Union and do you see Quebec in the same light as you see the Ukraine?
- A. No to both questions. You know, many Quebecers want us to put in the constitution the right of self-determination; I shouldn't say many, but some Quebecers, which is . . .
- Q. But the Ukraine is in the United Nations at the moment.

- A. Yes, so what are you arguing, that the Ukraine is more independent from Moscow than Quebec is from Ottawa?
- Q. Yes.
- A. Well you don't know much about the Communist Party and the way that...
- Q. (Inaudible)
- A. Well, yes, of course it's in the constitution that the Ukraine can exercise its right to self-determination. Why don't they?
- Q. It's the same thing as Czechoslovakia — the Brezhnev doctrine.
- A. Well, exactly. So the comparison is not right because the political apparatus in the Soviet Union can hold the country together even if the Constitution says it might fall apart. There is no comparison.
- Q. Do you know who Valentin Moroz is now.
- A. No, do you?
- Q. Yes.
- A. Good.

### **Newspapers Question Trudeau's Evasion**

Well, what did those remarkable remarks really mean? Was this an apology? For what? Apparently for "hurting people's feelings". It was certainly not an apology for making false comparisons and false statements, as was proven to him. Was this circumlocution and casuistry? Or was this one of Mr. Trudeau's fuddle-duddle exercises? Most leaders

and people whom I have spoken to in Edmonton, Calgary, Yellowknife, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa stated that the Prime Minister's clarification was evasion of the issues, and putting the blame on the press for misrepresentation.

The *Globe and Mail* editorial of June 9 entitled "Misinterpreted Again" tries to interpret the misinterpretation, and I quote:

One of the more intriguing — and often distressing characteristics of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau is what seems to be a complete inability to admit error. He may be misinterpreted, misquoted, misread, misunderstood, but never mistaken. The art of graceful retreat is one that he has yet to master.

Mr. Trudeau was recently very strongly criticized when he explained that he had avoided raising with Soviet leaders the question of jailed Ukrainian nationalists because this might have brought the rejoinder: "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."

It is understood, of course, that Mr. Trudeau was paraphrasing a hypothetical point that might have been raised by the Russian leaders — although it is curious that he should have considered himself vulnerable to such a proposition. The main point at issue, however, was Mr. Trudeau's comment—

"My position in the Soviet Union or in Ca-

nacla is that anyone who breaks the law to assert his nationalism doesn't get too much sympathy from me."

In other words, he is not prepared to make distinctions. His sympathies are reserved for those who remain within the law, no matter whose law it is or what shade of justice it defines.

Mr. Trudeau has told a delegation representing the Canadian Ukrainian Federation (Ukrainian Canadian Committee) he is sorry — sorry if their feelings had been hurt, that is. But, of course it was the fault of those ogres who are always out to make mischief.

"I was rather sure their feelings had been hurt by people who misrepresented what I said rather than what I said in fact . . . So on this ground, of course, I don't like to hurt people's feelings but of course I can't be blamed for people who twist my words."

What twisting? Which words? As we understand it, Mr. Trudeau made it plain enough that neither the Ukrainians nor the FLQ deserved his sympathy if they asserted their nationalism outside the law. Or are we still misrepresenting what he said?

If Prime Minister Trudeau does not want to recognize the grim facts evident under the Soviet totalitarian police regime, I am sure that we shall get nowhere by asking him to apologize for his apology. The people will be the judges of the justification of his stand.

## **Cornerstone of Canadian Foreign Policy**

Our paramount concern at all times in Canada, and particularly now when our nation is subjected to various stresses and strains, should be to cherish and uphold the freedom and democracy that have been won through the past generations. The Ukrainians and all the ethnic groups who have come to Canada from countries behind the Iron Curtain are ever conscious of the fact that the false propaganda followed by the military invasion of Soviet Russian communist dictatorship have destroyed the freedom and democracy of their people in the homeland. We must always guard against Soviet communist propaganda subtly engaged in undermining the democracy of the free countries of the world with whom we should always maintain a close alliance.

Canadians must be constantly vigilant in order to preserve our way of life. The defence of freedom, democracy, justice and honourable peace must always be the cornerstone of the Canadian foreign policy.



## **CANADIAN-SOVIET EXCHANGE**

(Debate in the Senate, November 2, 1971 on  
Canada-USSR General Exchanges Agreement and  
Canadian-Soviet Communique)

Honourable Senators; Invited by the government, Chairman Alexei Kosygin came to Canada saw some of our country, our leaders and our people, signed an important agreement and has gone. In some ways this visit reminds us of Caesar's famous three words, when he invaded Britain, — *veni, vidi, vinci*. I hope that the third word, *vinci*, will never be fulfilled. Kosygin, however, has left a strong imprint on the minds of Canadians.

In this chamber, the Leader of the Government, Senator Paul Martin, on October 26th explained the stand of the Canadian government vis-à-vis the Canadian-USSR General Exchanges Agreement of October 20, 1971 and the joint Canadian-Soviet communiqué of October 26, 1971. As could be expected, Senator Martin was happy with the visit of Chairman Alexei Kosygin.

## **New Course**

There is no doubt that the present Canadian government has embarked on a new course in our foreign policy-closer relations with the communist powers — the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China as well as their satellites and the former satellite, Yugoslavia. Many Canadians are left wondering where this new course is going to lead our country.

Certainly the moves made by Prime Minister Trudeau are bold. Is Canada now a real factor in international relations or is she merely a pawn in the game of international chess? Much as I would like to see Canada an important factor in international affairs, I think we should remember that although we are a large and wealthy country, we are a relatively small nation with many weaknesses and drawbacks.

Prime Minister Trudeau has stated that we have had to learn to live with the United States elephant. Judging the recent moves, does he think that the Canadian beaver will be better off living with the Soviet bear and the Chinese dragon?

## **USSR — Police State**

My stand with regard to Canadian-Soviet relations is well-known in the Senate. Recently, I presented my views in the Senate debates on June 3 and June 28. I gave examples of how the Soviet

Government employed deceit, intrigue and subversion in foreign policy, while ostensibly paying lip-service to the principles of freedom, sovereignty, self-determination and equality of peoples. Most of the treaties made by the Soviet regime have been broken at the expense of the other contracting nations and states. In such a manner and by the use of brute force, Soviet Russia has emerged as the largest colonial empire in the world under a totalitarian system of government propped up by an extensive and efficient ruthless police machine. Kosygin's visit, which required the most intensive and extensive extraordinary security measures, with the co-operation of the Soviet police — the KGB, gave Canadians a taste of the police state, which is the last thing that we want in Canada.

### **Soviet Deceit**

In our own interests, it is only right to remember the boastful proclamation of Kosygin, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the communist Soviet revolution, as reported in *Pravda*, June 20, 1967:

In the fifty years of her existence the Soviet Union has respected all other nations great as well as small. Every nation is entitled to establish an independent national state of its own. This is one of the basic principles of Soviet policy. Supporting the right of self-determination of nations, the Soviet Union condemns

and resolutely opposes the attempts of any power to conduct an aggressive policy and to work for the annexation of foreign countries ... No country in the world could claim to have solved the nationality problem as successfully as the Soviet Union ... No nationality in our country is discriminated against.

This declaration in no way deterred Kosygin's government from sending the Red Army together with the forces of its satellite states, which in August, 1968 invaded its socialist satellite, Czechoslovakia, where "liberalization" was considered to have gone too far. It was the same case with the uprisings in Hungary in 1956. The Brezhnev doctrine, as applied in Czechoslovakia, was condemned by the Canadian government at the time.

### **Principles of Canadian Foreign Policy**

Consequently, it is extremely important to have the principles of Canadian foreign policy proclaimed very firmly. These can be only such principles as are basic to our way-of-life and which reflect the course of our history and the spirit of our people. The defence of freedom, democracy, justice, prosperity and honourable peace have been and must always be the cornerstone of Canadian foreign policy. To these principles we must always be dedicated and always be ready to co-operate with those countries which also uphold them.

A considerable proportion of the Canadian popu-

lation is composed of ethnic groups whose background and heritage stems from countries which have been conquered by Soviet forces and today are behind the Iron Curtain. These people have seen the freedom and democracy of their motherlands destroyed. The Ukrainians, Poles, Byelorussians, Czechs, Slovaks, Russians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Hungarians, some Germans, Bulgarians, Roumanians as well as Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Jews have settled in Canada to enjoy the freedom, democracy and opportunities which they had been deprived of before they came here. They have helped to build every aspect of Canadian life as loyal citizens. Above all, these ethnic groups cherish the freedom and way-of-life of Canada, which they would not like to see undermined or even threatened.

### **Demonstrations Against Soviet Colonialism and Repression**

During Kosygin's visit in Ottawa, Montreal, Vancouver, Edmonton and Toronto some of the organizations of these ethnic groups took the opportunity to demonstrate peacefully and with permits, for the national, cultural, religious and personal freedoms of their countrymen under the Soviet Russian domination. There were no extreme incidents caused by the organized members. Those that hit the headlines were carried out by individuals, for which the ethnic groups were not responsible.

The demonstrations were one democratic way of conveying their messages to the Soviet government, the Canadian government and to the world. Many of the ethnic groups used another method — they approached the Canadian government, particularly Prime Minister Trudeau, to plead their cases with Chairman Kosygin.

### **Trudeau's Apology?**

After his return from the USSR, Prime Minister Trudeau invited the Ukrainians to Ottawa to present their requests. On June 7, the President and other leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, composed of over 30 organizations, which represents the vast majority of the 600,000 Ukrainian Canadians, presented a memorandum, most of which I put on the record in the Senate in my speech of June 28. The Prime Minister appeared to have apologized for comparing the Ukrainian intellectuals in Ukraine who were demanding constitutionally-guaranteed rights — with the revolutionary FLQ, but shrugged off the brief.

### **Ukrainian Canadian Requests Regarding Soviet Violations**

The announcement of the visit of Chairman Kosygin to Canada caused the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to write a letter, dated October

5, 1971, to Prime Minister Trudeau. I shall quote the important sections:

The most urgent issue, as we feel, is to ask the Soviet Government to initiate the revision of long and hard prison terms imposed on Ukrainian priests for exercising their religious duties and those imposed on Ukrainian writers and intellectuals for expressing their free opinions.

Among the most flagrant cases of recent years is the case of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian historian and writer, who in 1966 was sentenced to five years of hard labour and in 1970, almost immediately after his release, has been again condemned to nine years of prison for his report on conditions in Beria labour camp which he dared to submit to Soviet authorities.

Another case is the imprisonment of the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop-, designate, Msgr. Wasyl Welychkowskyj, for having discharged his ecclesiastical duties at his home, converted into a private chapel.

In our report addressed to you on March 8, 1971 we mentioned 16 other names of Ukrainian intellectuals who have been reported by the international press as having been imprisoned without legal foundation.

The second important issue was the reunion of families with a request for the revision of Soviet emigration regulations.

The third question was a balanced exchange of Soviet Ukrainian publications and Ukrainian Canadian publications. It was stated that:

"Canadian Ukrainian publications are forbidden in Soviet Ukraine to such a degree that Canadian tourists are subject to arrest or deportation for having with them Ukrainian literary works, published in Canada.' In exchange for the Soviet consulate operating in Montreal, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee urges the establishment of a general consulate in Kiev "to help Canadian citizens with necessary legal, financial and moral protection in case of emergency". The letter also raised the question of the "free development of the Ukrainian language and culture on Ukraine's own territory" where it is discriminated against in favour of Russian.

The letter closes with a special appeal:

The questions that we raise are based on principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which the Soviet Union is one of the signatories, as well as on the principle of the reciprocity of privileges between Canada and the Soviet Union. Should Mr. Kosygin not be ready or willing to consider these questions, our permanent delegate to the United Nations should be directed to raise these matters before the forum of the present United Nations General Assembly.

This move may seem, at first view, as being diplomatically undesirable. Yet, it would serve

to put the message across in placing before world public opinion the reaction of Canadian people against violations of human rights under the Soviet regime.

All these matters were subsequently raised at the Tenth Ukrainian Canadian Congress, with delegates from all the important Ukrainian centres in Canada, which was held in Winnipeg, October 8 to 11. Prime Minister Trudeau spoke at the banquet where he explained his new policy of multiculturalism to a receptive audience. A group of students staged a four-day hunger strike prior to his arrival to protest the unfair treatment of Ukrainian intellectuals in Ukraine, and with support of the 700 delegates of the Congress, held a meeting with the Prime Minister. Mr. Trudeau agreed to intercede with Soviet Premier Kosygin on behalf of Valentyn Moroz and other imprisoned Ukrainian writers. This was reported in the daily press.

### **My Question to Kosygin and his Reply**

I considered the issue of cultural, religious and personal freedoms to be of such importance that I would raise these questions with Kosygin should I find an opportunity. Fortunately, it was announced that Premier Kosygin would appear at a conference of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate on October 20, which was held in camera. The members were restricted to only one question with no right of

discussion or rebuttal. My question dealt with Valentyn Moroz and the imprisoned Ukrainian intellectuals.

As expected, Kosygin's reply was that he never heard of Moroz and the imprisoned writers. He admitted that there was some dissatisfaction with the government in Ukraine, but he was also aware that there was some dissatisfaction with the government in Canada. He boasted that the Soviet Union has successfully solved her nationality problem. Stating that the USSR-Canadian Agreement provided for parliamentary exchanges, Kosygin invited me in the first Canadian delegation to familiarize myself with the true state of affairs in his country. Asking me whether I agreed to come, I stated that I agreed, provided I would be assured of free movement.

At this meeting, Dr. Stanley Haidasz of Toronto raised the question of the reunion of families, receiving a favourable reply. Senator David Croll pleaded for the right of the Jews to emigrate from the USSR; he received a negative reply.

### **Assessment of Canada-USSR Agreement**

We are too near the event of Kosygin's visit to assess it properly according to the effects on Canada and the Soviet Union. If managed wisely, the Canada-USSR General Exchanges Agreement should benefit both sides. The Mixed Commission

will be in a position to promote and facilitate exchanges on a fair basis and other forms of co-operation in scientific, technical, educational, cultural and other fields in accordance with the laws in force in each of the two countries. The Canadian government should see that experts who know Canadian needs as well as the Soviet reality should be appointed to the Mixed Commission, which should screen out Soviet communist propaganda and maintain a reasonable balance in the exchanges.

The memoranda and letters to Prime Minister Trudeau — who did intercede, and the demonstrations evoked the promise of Kosygin to ease emigration restrictions for Soviet citizens who wished to join their families in Canada, Chairman Kosygin is aware of the cases of the imprisoned Ukrainian intellectuals but there is no assurance that the USSR will heed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which it signed. It is hoped that Prime Minister Trudeau will keep his pledge and continue to pursue this matter on humanitarian grounds and in keeping with Human Rights. There are now guarantees of fairer cultural, educational, scientific, travel and other exchanges which should help to strengthen the ties between the citizens of the respective countries. It was unfortunate that the media made it appear that there was a conflict between the national goals and objectives of Canada and those of the demonstrators and the ethnic groups, when in reality there was none, except perhaps in tactics.

## Possible Effects of Exchanges

We should bear in mind that there were some beneficial effects of the exchanges between Tito's Yugoslavia and the western countries. As a result, Yugoslavia, although still a dictatorship, today is an independent country with a greater degree of democracy and prosperity than the USSR and the Satellite socialist countries.

Now that the Canadian Government has adopted a similar approach in its relations with the Soviet Union, we must be realistic and hope that the expansion of trade between the two states, the broad exchanges in various fields and the increasing tourism will bring about an interdependence, which could lead to liberalization in the Soviet Union and perhaps begin the gradual development of democracy in that country. Perhaps in this way Canada may make a contribution towards the easing of tensions and the prevention of a Third World War, which could destroy all of mankind. But it is certain that in the first place, it will require the continuing co-operation and concerted effort of the democratic states of the world which share our ideals.

*Contra spem, spero.*

The price of freedom and democracy is eternal vigilance. In the pursuance of our foreign policy, Canada must never sacrifice the principles of freedom, democracy, honourable peace, justice, progress and prosperity. Otherwise, we stand to lose our precious heritage, which accounts for the dynamis spirit of our Canadian nation.

## **PART C**

### **TARAS SHEVCHENKO: POET, PROPHET AND LEADER**

(Radio talk, CBW, Winnipeg, Manitoba,  
March 10, 1964)

Of all the great Ukrainian poets, none has won the hearts and minds of the Ukrainian people as has Taras Shevchenko. To them he is not merely a poet, but a prophet, who not only revealed the past and the present of his down-trodden people, but also charted their future. He is the embodiment of the spirit of his nation. It can, therefore, be stated in all truth that "Ukraine is Shevchenko, and Shevchenko is Ukraine".

His people honour his memory throughout the world on the anniversary of his birth or death in the month of March. There is scarcely a Ukrainian community or organization in Canada and the United States that does not pay tribute to the immortal poet, generally in the form of a well-attended concert in which choirs render his poetry that has been set to beautiful music; children and adults recite his poems; and an address is given on the life and significance of the beloved spiritual leader.

## Life an Career

Shevchenko's life reflects in part the tragic life of his people. Born in a little village near Kiev, the ancient capital of Ukraine, on March 9, 1814, he lived under the grinding tyranny of perhaps the most autocratic of all tsars, Nicholas I. He was born a lowly serf, in which state he remained until the age of twenty-four. When his master discovered the serf's talent for painting, he made him a personal servant and brought him to St. Petersburg, the capital of Russia, to give him a training in the Art Academy under the famous painter Charles Bryulov. Taras could not be accepted as a serf, and Bryulov, recognizing the gift of the young man, raffled a portrait of the Russian poet, Zhukovsky. Thus Shevchenko's freedom was purchased for cold cash.

For the next nine years he was a free man. During this time, he completed a university education at Petersburg and in 1845 became professor of art at the University of Kiev. Although he turned out to be a good painter, Shevchenko's heart was given over to poetry. While he was still in Petersburg, his fellow-countrymen living in the city. recognized even a greater talent of his — that of writing inspiring poetry. A Ukrainian landowner gave the funds necessary for the publication in 1840 of the first volume of Shevchenko's poems, bearing the title "Kobzar", meaning a wandering minstrel who sang of the glories of the Ukrainian Cossacks when Ukraine had been free. This volume, written

in the living Ukrainian language was received with tremendous enthusiasm, and he became revered in Ukraine almost overnight.

Shevchenko's poetry was tinged with the spirit of opposition to the oppressive tsarist government. He became associated with the founders of a secret society in Kiev, the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, composed of lofty idealists who advocated the education of the people, the abolition of serfdom, and the liberty and federation of all Slavic nations. The police were informed of the existence of the group and in 1847 arrested the members. Although Shevchenko was not an active member, his friends were, and he was implicated. He received the severest punishment for his poem "The Dream" in which he ridiculed the tsar, and what was worse, described the empress as a lean creature on long legs and as dry as a mushroom. He was sentenced to hard military service for life without promotion, on the Asiatic frontier. The tsar added with his own hand "with the express prohibition of all writing and drawing".

In the next ten years, the life of exile sapped the foundations of his health. He was released two years after the death of Tsar Nicholas I, but was kept under police surveillance. During the four remaining years, Shevchenko wrote such masterpieces as "Neophytes" and "Mary", which reveal his universal genius. He died at the age 47, on March 10, 1861 in Petersburg, just a few days before the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire. Cruel fate had not allowed the poet the supreme

joy of seeing his life's dream accomplished, as he died just before the Edict of the Emancipation of the Serfs.

### **Universal Appeal**

The depth of human feeling in Shevchenko's poetry has a universal appeal. During his lifetime his poems were translated into Russian by the best Russian poets, and were followed later by several new editions and translations. His poetry has been also translated into the Slavic languages, such as Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian and Czech, as well as French, German, Italian, Swedish, English and Japanese. The "Kobzar" in the English translation has been published in Canada and the United States. His complete works are studied at several universities in Canada and the United States.

The Soviet authorities, however, cannot make Shevchenko a forerunner of the communist revolution. He did appeal to his countrymen to break the chains of bondage, and to cast off the yoke of serfdom. He is the defender of the right of woman to a full human life, for he is the defender of all oppressed people. Shevchenko foresaw the coming of a bloody revolution as a result of justice and truth being trampled underfoot by the inhuman Russian despots. He appealed especially in his Epistle, to the whole Ukrainian nation, landlords and peasants alike, to bring about a good understanding between all classes. Furthermore, in such poems as the

"Neophytes" and the "Vagabond", his most tragic heroes forgive their oppressors. Because of his sincere faith in God, Shevchenko's whole work is impregnated with the high idea of love and mercy, which is entirely alien to the communist mentality.

### **Spirit of Liberty and Justice**

Shevchenko is a poet of liberty. He is sure that liberty, truth and justice will ultimately prevail for his own people and others. This is powerfully expressed in his "Caucasus", in which Truth is symbolized by Prometheus, the god who is chained to a rock and whose chest is ripped open by a vulture which feasts on his heart; the heart however, cannot be drained of its blood for it has the power to heal. Here is the translation of an immortal passage of this poem, which was made by Alexander J. Hunter, a doctor who worked among the pioneer Ukrainian settlers in the Teulon district, north of Winnipeg, Manitoba:

Our living spirit is not in chains  
The word of God in glory reign  
'Tis not for us to challenge Thee,  
Though we Thy purpose cannot see  
We cling to hope 'mid doubts and fears.  
Our cause lies sunk in drunken sleep  
When wilt strength to us afford?  
So weary, then art Thou, Oh God,  
Can'st life to us no longer give?

Thy Truth we trust beneath the rod,  
Believing in Thy strength we live.  
Our cause shall rise,  
Our freedom rise  
Though tyrants rage.

To his countrymen, Shevchenko is a symbol of national sentiment and the prophet who inspires them to struggle for their freedom. Like Shevchenko, Ukrainians have faith that the day of liberty will dawn upon Ukraine and upon the other nations subjected by the dictatorship of Soviet Russian imperialism.

Perhaps the greatest tribute to Shevchenko has been paid by another great Ukrainian poet, Ivan Franko:

“He was a peasant’s son and has become a prince in the realm of the spirit.

He was a serf and has become a Great Power in the commonwealth of human culture.

He was an unschooled layman, and has shown to professor and scholars newer and freer paths.

“... Fate pursued him cruelly throughout life, yet could not turn the pure gold of his soul to rust, his love of humanity to hatred, or his trust in God to despair.

Fate spared him no suffering, but did not stint his pleasures, which welled up from a healthy spring of life.

And it withheld till after death its best and costliest prize — undying fame and the ever new delight which his works call forth in millions of human hearts.”

### **Popularity in Canada**

Shevchenko's popularity and stature have immensely increased in Canada in recent years. Much in his poetry can be related to the Canadian scene.

The trans-Canada celebrations commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of the poet in 1961 received wide coverage in the Canadian press, radio and television. The culminating act of these celebrations sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (co-ordinating body of 27 dominion-wide organizations in Canada) was the unveiling of the Shevchenko monument on the grounds of the Manitoba Legislature. The \$115,000 bronze statue was unveiled by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker in July, 1961 in the presence of some 50,000 people from various parts of Canada. Lieutenant Governor E. Willis, Premier Ruff Roblin and many Canadian leaders participated in the celebrations.

The 150th anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko was celebrated in 1964 throughout Canada with two distinctive features. Shevchenko's collected works entitled *Kobzar*, translated into poetical English by Prof. C. A. Andrusyshen (Saskatchewan) and Dr. Watson Kirkconnell (President of Acadia University) was published by the Univer-

sity of Toronto Press, as was also an Anthology of Ukrainian Poetry, translated by the same professors. These two books give Canadians a good insight into and some appreciation of Ukraine's finest literature.

The greatest achievement of these two celebrations of the half-million Ukrainian Canadians was the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, which was incorporated by a federal act of Parliament. A campaign with the immediate objective of \$1,000,000 was launched and is gradually being realized. The annual accrued interest from this fund is designated to promote various aspects of Ukrainian culture as a component of the developing Canadian mosaic.

## **HOW TO RECOGNIZE AN EDUCATED PERSON**

(An address delivered at the Ukrainian Graduates' Farewell Banquet held on May 12, 1965, in Windsor, Ontario)

First of all this evening, I wish to join your friends and all those present in congratulating each of the Ukrainian Canadian university graduates, as well as those from other institutions of higher learning in Windsor, who are present at this farewell banquet that is sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Men's Association of Windsor. I would like to commend the Association for this gesture, which I am sure is greatly appreciated by the graduates, in particular by the Ukrainian community in general. The parents of the graduates have every reason to be proud of the achievement of their children and the Ukrainian leaders in Windsor and Canada are also proud of you on this occasion. Together with our congratulations go our sincere wishes for success in your chosen careers and happiness in life.

### **Significance of the Diploma**

Some of you have already received or shortly will be receiving a certificate or a university diploma, which is a documentary reward for your efforts

in your studies. Next perhaps to the marriage certificate, which some of you already may possess, but which for others has been responsible, shall we say, for their "premature graduation", the university diploma or the higher education certificate will be your most important single document which you will treasure for the rest of your life.

It might be a temptation for some of you, when you proudly hang up your diploma or certificate, to say: "I am glad that at last I have finished my education". When you make such a statement, my friends, that will be the day that you will have chloroformed yourselves. It may mean that you will die mentally, with tragic consequences to yourselves and to your society.

The diploma or certificate does not signify that your education has been completed. In reality, it means just the opposite, that your education is just beginning for each one of you. Let us remember that education is life and that life is education

### **Definition of Education**

Of the many definitions of education, I have been most impressed by the following one of a noted American educationalist: "Education is the development of those mental habits that enable a man to meet adequately concrete situations.". This makes the attitude of mind just as important, if not more so, than the facts in an encyclo-

pedia, in a text-book, or those derived from laboratory experiments without ever learning to apply the knowledge to useful ends. The motto "Knowledge is Power" is wholly meaningless until this knowledge stirs the will-power and conscience. In the words of another educationalist, "Knowledge is not power until it has furnished a man an attitude, a drive, an enthusiasm for life's real meanings, a not more so, than the more accumulation of knowledge in its true values so that readily and easily it enables him to force his mind into one groove of thought and keep it there until his will releases it".

Matthew Arnold's definition of culture as "a disinterested endeavour after perfection" is applicable just as well to education. Education, therefore, is a constant process of becoming better, happier, and more useful. The attainment of human perfection is impossible, yet if man strives for anything less than perfection, his endeavour and his education lose all their power. This ceaseless striving for perfection is the basis and the power of education.

### **The Three Heritages of Western Civilization**

It is our general attitude of mind that shapes the course of our civilization as well as the cultures of various peoples. The fundamental aspects of our life and our education have come down to us from the remote past. Three mighty streams of human

thought have joined together into one great stream which constitutes the course of Western civilization in our day. From the Greeks we have received their heritage with its passion for the true, the beautiful and the good, its sheer joy of living for its own sake but with its capacity for free criticism, which is the scientific approach. The Romans have given us their heritage of utilitarianism, power, law, social organization, regimentation, not particularly for the individual's good but rather for the good of the state, in which grandeur and pomp were the pride. The third great heritage is Christianity, which has contributed brotherly love, humility, tenderness, self-sacrifice, neglect of this life and this world and preparation for a better world to come. We are the heirs of these three great philosophies of life. A proper fusion of this combined heritage into our education can give us a better, a better, a truer and a more beautiful life than has ever been achieved by our predecessors. For a person to be thoroughly educated, he must adopt and adapt these three sets of values and make them a dynamic force in his life.

### **The Role of the University**

The university, and its affiliated institutions, provide the student with the facilities and the methods to understand and to reach solutions of the problems of life. As the highest institution of learning, it provides the basis of education, i.e. the tools and

techniques to do life-work, which is certified by a diploma. Whether the tools and information are going to be utilized properly however, depends upon the individual and will distinguish between his being an educated or a half-educated person.

How, then, can an educated person be recognized?

### **Open-Mindedness Leads to Truth**

The greatest achievement of an educated person is open-mindedness. This, of course, goes to the root of a person's character, for it colours all his views of life. There is a colossal difference between the way of open-mindedness in arriving at your beliefs and the way of tight-mindedness, between full vision and tunnel vision. To an open-minded person truth takes precedence over opinion, while to a tight-minded person his opinion or belief is more precious than truth. Tight-minders are half-educated people who have preconceived, often biased and prejudiced ideas, which they support and perpetuate by looking for evidence to prove that they are right. They close their minds to disproving facts. The open-minded person, on the other hand, is a scientific philosopher, whose attitude is not specifically to prove anything, but to weigh the knowledge and then see what it proves. Like the scientist, he may set up a hypothesis which he will try not to prove, but to test. The open-minded

person may make mistakes, but when he recognizes them he will attempt to correct them. Unlike the tight-minded person who is in constant fear when someone attacks his beliefs, the open-minded man, by surrendering himself to the truth, frees himself from such a fear, for he knows that truth will ultimately prevail.

An educated person knows that life is too complex and knowledge is too extensive for any individual to master. The best educational systems cannot produce expert doctors, lawyers, engineers, accountants, or artists fully equipped with academic training and experience. Therefore, when a graduate takes his place in life he will learn that he will be more successful if he will consult those with longer experience in the field. In his approach to any problem in life, the educated man will constantly seek out the best authorities for advice, either through personal contact or through a study of authoritative works, some of which should be found in his personal library.

### **Receptiveness to New Ideas and New People**

It is the mark of an educated person that he never scoffs at new ideas, nor does he aid in their suppression. You all know the story of the young man, who before he was invited to make a demonstration of his invention, was called "sort of cracked" and the guests were forewarned that the invention

was "pure moonshine". The "crackpot" was Alexander Graham Bell and the "moonshine invention" was the telephone. It is the new ideas that have improved the life of mankind throughout the ages.

One of the most valuable assets of an educated person is his ability "to win friends and influence people". Of what value are certificates, diplomas and degrees if the recipient of them does not know how to get along with other people? Human relationships are an exceedingly vital factor in life. Be graciously sensitive to the rights and feelings of your fellow mortals. Apply the psychology of the Christian "Golden Rule". Remember the following principle: "You will make more friends in a week by getting yourself genuinely interested in other people than you can in a year by trying to get other people interested in you."

## **Habit of Success**

The man of education cultivates the habit of success. The problems of life must be met with courage, which must become an integral part of the character. By acquiring the habit of succeeding in little things a person gradually builds up the habit of succeeding in big things. Hence the habit of success is cumulative. A well-performed task qualifies the person to assume more important undertakings and thus in time he becomes recognized as a respected leader in his field.

## **Development of Character**

The educated person knows that his thoughts determine his character, his actions, and his course in life. Solomon expressed the idea: "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he". By controlling or developing our thoughts we can help to mould our own characters and to guide our own destiny. We must constantly think of how to act in the various situations with which we are likely to be confronted and be prepared to act in the right way when we meet them. The great intellectual genius is rare, but most of us can become a great moral genius. Clear thinking about honour, truth, loyalty, devotion, kindness, generosity, brotherhood, justice and fair play will build up our moral power to achieve these virtues.

## **Promotion of a Great Cause**

The educated person associates himself with a great cause, not that he might do the cause very much good. Such causes as education, good government, charity, freedom of oppressed nations, promotion of culture through good literature, good art, the theatre, folk dances and music, aid to needy but brilliant students, prevention of crime, delinquency and alcoholism, and others of high purpose bring happiness to large numbers of people and welfare to the society in general; and to the workers they give a noble and highly respected personality.

## **Finding a Place in Society**

The truly educated person keeps busy at his highest natural level of successful achievement in order that he may be happy, useful and good. If we are to maintain a high level of Canadian democracy our citizens must recognize that their duties and responsibilities are proportionate to their ability and their temperament. True democracy provides equal opportunities in proportion to the capacity of each individual. The genius and the moron cannot have equal rights to wealth, social privileges, or knowledge. If democracy is to be effective, those with higher intelligence must bear greater responsibilities. The man and the woman holding a university degree must find the occupation and place in society for which he or she is fit and will be happy, and in which a maximum standard of achievement will be maintained with natural exertion.

## **Cultivation of the Beautiful**

Cultivation of the love of the beautiful is one of the most distinguishing marks of an educated person. There are very few people who really understand the essence of beauty. Beauty comes from within. Appreciation of it depends upon the extent of the individual's training of his perceptions and his emotions. If we but want to recognise it, there is beauty in form, in movement, in sound and in

thought which can be found in nature, in beings, in objects, in speech, in music, in art and literature. The beauty that a person gets out of life is the beauty that he puts into it, except that his returns will be much greater. He plants a seed and according to its quality he gathers either the sweet or bitter fruit from the tree. Cultivate your responsiveness to beauty, and the education that it will give you will fill all the days of your life with the priceless intellectual and emotional rewards of beauty.

### **Inadequacy of Science**

We are living in an age of science which has brought men speed, improved facilities, comfort, recreation, automation, television, atomic energy, space flights and the most diabolical weapons of warfare, such as the nuclear bomb and missiles. Science has mechanized civilization; it has found explanations for many mysteries of life and the universe, and has done much for the material welfare of mankind. But science cannot and does not explain the meaning and the purpose of life. It has done nothing to improve the morals of man and to give humanity a spiritual anchorage. Science and technology have done nothing to stop wars but in this respect leave before us the prospect of catastrophe and world destruction.

## **Religion Gives Meaning of Life**

What science cannot do, then religion must. The thing that gives life its meaning and its highest values is religion. The gradual development of the love of truth and beauty leads a person along the path to perfectibility and to religion. It is religion, and particularly the Christian religion, that inspires men and women with the lasting passion to lead noble lives and to serve humanity and God, the Creator of life.

The true scientist cannot be irreligious. He has penetrated into the real universe and has discovered the complex but systematic laws which govern it. He has explored the laws of infinity and has enlarged our concept of infinity within man and the greater infinity without. Thus through science he has come closer to an understanding of nature and God. To him life takes on a deeper meaning, a faith, a religion, through which makes an effort to become a co-worker with God, whom he will meet when he departs from this world. A religious life devoted to service, beauty, truth, perfectibility and to God is the greatest mark of an educated man.

## **Importance of Ukrainian Heritage**

A Canadian graduate of Ukrainian origin, in his endeavours to measure up to the ideal of an educated person, will not deny his birthright, nor the

heritage of his forefathers. He or she should be highly conscious that Ukrainian culture, with its rich heritage of literature, drama, song, music, dances, folk art and church architecture, which have come down to us mainly from a blending of Greek, Near Eastern and Christian traditions, and Ukrainian genius, adds the beauty, colour and vivacity needed in the developing pattern of Canadian culture. May the words of Lord Tweedsmuir, former Governor General of Canada and a great writer, be carved in your hearts: "You will all be better Canadians for also being good Ukrainians."

The education of the Ukrainian Canadian man and woman will be effective and useful when he or she will assume his or her proper place in Canadian life as well as in Ukrainian Canadian society. The fruits of your knowledge, insight and experience should be directed towards providing good leadership and promoting worthy causes and ideals. By preserving the best Ukrainian traditions and culture and by participating actively in organizations devoted to the welfare and progress of Ukrainian Canadians, you will be serving the best interests of Canada and humanity.

### **The Canadian Identity — Multiculturalism**

As citizens of Canada all those of Ukrainian origin have a constructive role to play in the building of a dynamic multicultural nation. Some of the Founding Fathers of the Canadian Confedera-

tion, whose centennial we are now preparing to celebrate in 1967, and subsequent Canadian leaders had the vision of Canada becoming a great nation composed of various elements and could foresee the shape of things to come. A great architect of Canada, Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, of French descent, a Liberal, under whose administration the Prairies and other parts of Canada were peopled by various ethnic groups, including the Ukrainians, left some 60 years ago, the following message for future generations:

I have visited in England one of those models of Gothic architecture which the hand of genius, guided by an unerring faith, has moulded into a harmonious whole. This cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. This is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here, I want the marble to remain the marble; the granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak; and out of all these elements, I would build a nation great among the nations of the world.

A similar concept of the Canadian nation was portrayed recently in 1961 at the unveiling of the statute of Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet, on the grounds of the Manitoba Legislature, by another prime minister, the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, of Scottish-German origin, a Conservative, in the following words:

I liken Canada to a garden . . . A mosaic is a static thing with each element separate and

divided from others. Canada is not that kind of country. Neither is it a "melting-pot" in which the individuality of each element is destroyed in order to produce a new and totally different element. It is rather a garden into which has been transplanted the hardiest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land.

### **The Challenge to Ukrainian Canadian**

I consider that it is the mark of an educated Ukrainian Canadian to accept this challenge and to enhance the many-sided contribution of the Ukrainians to the building of our great Canadian nation. Will each of the graduates here tonight accept the challenge of Premier Duff Roblin, of Manitoba, when he recited in excellent Ukrainian to an audience of some 50,000 people in 1961, before the attractive bronze monument of Taras Shevchenko, the following exhortation of this immortal poet?

*„Учіться, брати мої,  
Думайте, читайте;  
І чужого навчайтесь,  
Свого не цурайтесь.”*

Я вірю, що кожний абсолювент тут розуміє мову своїх родичів. Раджу вам, щоб

ви не тільки не встидалися української мови й свого походження, але щоб ви з гордістю уживали й плекали її. Українці зробили великий вклад у розбудову Канади в усіх ділянках життя. Вони відкрили мільйони акрів дикої пустині на степах заходу Канади й там принесли цивілізацію, заснували села й міста, внесли в різних місцях адміністрацію, розбудували економічне життя, вислали своїх синів і доньок в оборону Канади в Першій й Другій Світовій Війнах, дали Канаді 74-ох парламентаристів до провінційних легіслятур і федерального парламенту, включно з 3-ома сенаторами, одного федерального міністра й 4-ох провінційних міністрів, і тепер викладається українська мова в різних канадських університетах і в середніх школах (гай скул) в Манітобі, Саскачевані й Альберті. Задовго взяло б, щоб вичислити повний наш вклад. Сподіюсь, що ваша генерація буде продовжувати всі ці корисні надбання й додасть свій вклад для кращої будучности українців і Канади.



## **TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE**

(Address delivered at the Fifty-first Annual Dinner  
of the Manitoba Teachers' Society, Winnipeg,  
March 30, 1970)

As we look with bewilderment at the rapid technological changes and the affluence of society in our midst, and with perplexity at the prospects that the future has in store for us, it might ease our conscience if we looked for a moment to the past for some guidance and perhaps for inspiration. Let us not forget that hundreds and thousands of years ago philosophers and poets have pondered the destiny of mankind, leaving to posterity ideas of universal value. Here is a delightful Chinese verse that is still applicable to the situation in which man finds himself today:

If you give a man a fish,  
    he will have a single meal.  
If you teach him how to fish,  
    he will eat all his life.

(Kuan-tzu, 2600 years ago)

## **Genesis and Goal of the Scientific Revolution**

Canadians of today, along with the other advanced nations of the world, are the inheritors of the Scientific Revolution, which commenced in the Sixteenth century. In reality, we are living in an age of permanent scientific revolution, which in intensity and speed is producing continuous vast changes, unprecedented in history, and which in its train has unleashed several technological revolutions.

When the Scientific Revolution began its onward course in the 1500's, there were several great philosophers who already had fathomed its enormous potential and could foresee something of its future. Galileo (1564- 1642), one of the first early great scientists, gauged mans power over nature thus:

Philosophy is written in that great book which ever lies before our eyes — I mean the Universe — but we cannot understand it if we do not first learn the language and grasp the symbols in which it is written. This book is written in the mathematical language . . . without which one wanders in vain through a dark labyrinth.<sup>(1)</sup>

Galileo's contemporary in England, Francis Bacon (1561 — 1626), deplored the wasteful manner in which scientific scholarship was then conducted, particularly the haphazard observation and experimentation, which he stated contributed little to

factual knowledge and even less to the improvement of the human condition. Man could improve the world if he formulated "far-reaching goals and organized efforts in a more subtle and systematic way". In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon outlined a study of "natural philosophy" for the improvement of the health and the civil conduct of the citizenry. His work *The New Atlantis*, portraying a commonwealth which utilized technology in every department, was for a long time considered as utopian. Bacon defined the real purpose of knowledge in the following manner:

Knowledge is not to be sought either for pleasure of the mind, or for contention, or for superiority to others, or for profit, or fame or power, or any of these inferior things; but for the benefit and use of life... The true and lawful goal of the sciences is none other than this: that human life be endowed with new discoveries and powers.<sup>(2)</sup>

Another great scientist and philosopher, René Descartes (1596 – 1650), a contemporary of Galileo and Bacon, believed that the Scientific Revolution must be exploited for the betterment of man in general. Advocating a new approach to philosophy he stated:

It is possible to attain knowledge which is very useful in life, and instead of the speculative philosophy which is taught in the schools we may find a practical philosophy by means of which, knowing the force and the action

of fire, water, air, the stars, heavens and all other bodies that environ us, as distinctly as we know the different crafts of our artisans, we can in the same way employ them in all those uses to which they are adapted, and thus render ourselves the masters and possessors of nature.<sup>(3)</sup>

### **Extent of the Scientific Revolution**

In the three hundred years since the visions of these founding scientists and philosophers, science and technology have grown more rapidly than any other activity of Western man.<sup>(4)</sup> This explosive growth of the Scientific Revolution can be somewhat gauged from the increase in the number of scientific journals. The first such journal, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* appeared in 1665. By 1800 there were 100 journals, by 1900 some 10,000 and today over 100,000 scientific journals.<sup>(5)</sup> In his book *The Accidental Century*, Michael Harrington assesses the tremendous effect of the Scientific Revolution thus:

.....the modern West distinguished itself from other cultures by its Faustian assault upon reality, its relentless ambition to remake the very world. In a matter of a few hundred years, this drive created an industrial civilization and a standard of living that became the envy, and the model of the entire globe.<sup>(6)</sup>

At this point it should be noted that the only country outside the Western civilization which was colossally affected by the Scientific Revolution has been Japan. Her rapid industrial transformation in the latter part of the 19th century made Japan one of the world powers, which was able in 1904 to defeat disastrously the much larger armies and naval fleets of the Russian empire. Since the Second World War, Japan's systematic exploitation of science and technology has achieved the fastest economic growth in the world (based on the Gross National Product) and has made her one of the world's strongest technologically-developed countries, behind only the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Yellow Giant, China, which has displayed great scientific capabilities from ancient times, is now rapidly awakening and is exerting every effort to catch up with the West and Japan. Dictator Mao Tse-Tung's little red book, which is compulsory reading for the hundreds of millions of Chinese, has this quotation: "Natural science is one of man's weapons in his fight for freedom... For the purpose of attaining freedom in the world of nature, man must use natural science to understand, conquer and change nature and thus attain freedom from nature."<sup>(7)</sup> We are now witnessing the rapid Scientific and Industrial Revolution that is transforming China into a leading world power, which in the near future will change the balance of the power in the world.

## **The Technological Revolutions**

Briefly reviewing the effects the Scientific Revolution has had on society, we should bear in mind that it fostered and propelled the great Industrial Revolution as it is popularly known. In reality there were two major technological revolutions: the first which began in the early 19th century was primarily based on coal and steel, and the second which began this century was based on electricity and ushered in the age of electronics. Manual labour was increasingly replaced by new and better machines.

We are now living in the period of the third major technological revolution. This new era is called the atomic age, the space age and the age of Cybernetics, the joint application of automation and electronic brains, replacing the labour of human brains by a new kind of machine — computers. We must recognize that in association with all of these phenomenal changes we are on the threshold of an information revolution. Information is becoming an indispensable, vital social and economic force, comparable to energy and capital, which when fully utilized will transform the very structure of world society.

The greatest technological achievement, the landing on the moon, could not have been possible without this information revolution, with its sophisticated research and technological development. Through the rapid modernization of industry the gap between laboratory research and the produc-

tion line has been tremendously narrowing, as can be noted from the following table: (•)

112 years for photography (1727-1839)
56 years for the telephone (1820-1876)
35 years for radio (1867-1902)
15 years for radar (1925-1940)
12 years for television (1922-1934)
6 years for the atomic bomb (1939-1945)
5 years for the transistor (1948-1953)
3 years for the integrated circuit
(1958-1961)

Now the computers and other electronic developments have virtually closed this gap. We are in the age of very rapid change.

### **Technological Achievements**

Descartes' prophecy that by the application of science man would become "the masters and possessors of nature", and Bacon's statement that the exclusive goal of sciences is "that human life be endowed with new discoveries and powers" have already been realized, much beyond the degree that they could have envisioned. Since and technology in the last 300 years have completely transformed the life of man in those societies that have been under the influence of the Scientific Revolution, bringing better living conditions, freedom and affluence to them. The constantly increasing pro-

ductivity on the farm, which is now operated mechanically and in the factory, which is becoming more and more automated, has been greatly improving the standard of living and increasing leisure time. Life in the home has become much more pleasant and enjoyable with the reduction in domestic drudgery by machinery, developments in food technology, new compounds for cleaning, synthetic fibres and improve building and decorating materials, paints, dyes and means of designs. Coloured television has become an integral part of the home, providing information, entertainment and a means of education; likewise the telephone is a permanent feature of the home. Transportation technology has revolutionized travel on land, on and in the water and in the air, providing ever faster and safer cars, vehicles, ships, submarines and air planes. These and many other innovations have been instrumental in greatly improving the material and cultural quality of life.

Since the time of Galileo, Bacon and Descartes, medical science has tremendously improved the quality of the health of the human being. Epidemics of infectious or microbial diseases that wrought havoc with the population in the past have become rarities in our times. Such diseases as diphtheria, cholera, small-pox, measles, poliomyelitis, malaria, etc., have been drastically reduced by vaccines discovered by medical microbiology. Mortality rates of diseases have been substantially lowered, resulting in a large increase in the life expectancy of the child. Thanks to the

health sciences the life span of the individual has almost doubled in the last 300 years.

## **Prospects of the New Age**

At the dawn of this magnificent new atomic, space and cyberneticized age, ushered in by the third technological revolution, what does the future promise mankind? Succinctly, I would say marvels and even miracles. In a short while, life will again be completely transformed. The new technology will give man complete control of his environment and will greatly improve the quality of his life.

Let us take for example the new opportunities for man's use that will become available through the communications technology. Television will not only continue to be the universal entertainment and information medium, but will also become a great educational medium, providing a powerful means of continuing public education to prepare for a full life for all. It is a technical possibility for a conventional television channel to carry the contents of a 30-page newspaper each second and thus one channel could transmit continuously every page that is published in any newspaper, magazine, journal or book that is printed throughout the world.<sup>(9)</sup> Future homes will thus have available a complete information centre responding to the touch of a button. Dr. A. G. Hill claims that in the next two decades "with only modest improvements

in cables and television sets, as many as 82 television channels or their equivalent could be available in the home for a variety of services".<sup>(10)</sup> Space satellites now provide swift communications on a global scale and observational satellites are improving weather forecasting, which are providing sizeable long range economic benefits. What a potent medium this will be for education and for the wise use of leisure time!

Scientists and engineers are fully aware that the traditional energy resources that are needed to power production plants and facilities of the modern technological societies, namely waterfalls, coal, petroleum and gas are limited and are being rapidly exhausted. Fortunately for mankind the development of nuclear power has now removed the fear of the eventual exhaustion of energy sources. Countries lacking their own energy resources can instal their own nuclear power plants, which is a great boon to developing nations, with far-reaching social and political implications. A leading specialist states that "this new dimension results from the growing realization that a pathway now exists to the attainment of unlimited supplies of energy and to a technology which can release this energy at a fraction of today's cost".<sup>(11)</sup> Such low cost energy would bring about sweeping changes in the chemical industry and in agriculture, which would make it economically possible to desalinate sea water and produce introgenous fertilizers which could make barren deserts bloom.

## The Computer

By far the most important technological development of our new age has been the computer. It is 10 million times faster than the fastest man calculating by hand<sup>(12)</sup> Since their first appearance in the mid-1940's, computers have been enormously improved; their size has decreased by a factor of 100 and the cost by a factor of 100,000 while the speed has increased by factor of 100,000,<sup>(13)</sup> and further improvement are being constantly made. F. G. Heath in this year's February issue of the *Scientific American* reports that technology is now developing a high density of circuit elements per unit area with a capacity of 100,000 components per square inch, which would be "about a fourth the density of nerve cells in the human brain". With this potential he concludes that microelectronics should be able to produce wristwatch television, robots a few inches high, a computer terminal for every home and electronically guided automobiles. The computer thus eliminates much clerical drudgery and aids man to manipulate complex information systems, needed by scientists, engineers, architects and managers to make faster and better decisions. A political scientist states that the "availability of comprehensive information systems can today improve the quality and rationality of decisions reached in the political process"<sup>(14)</sup> and predicts that by the mid-1970's computer technology will be adapted for the personal use of government leaders, elected representatives and

public officials, which subsequently will be extended to the people, making it possible for them to participate in political decision-making. The application of the computer to automation and cybernation, with the promise of cheap and widespread energy, will gradually free man from servile labour and give him the freedom to undertake intellectual, cultural as well as creative pursuits.

### **"Year 2000"**

The use of computers makes it possible to forecast many changes that will take place in society in the future, provided that no widespread nuclear war will cause a catastrophe. Systems analysts have made forecasts for the United States government and private corporations for the "Year 2000", which the majority of the people in the Western World will live to see. According to the Hudson Institute, in the new society<sup>(18)</sup> in 2000 A.D.:

1. industrial revenue may be 50 times higher than in the pre-industrial period;
2. most economic activity may have shifted from the primary (agriculture) and secondary (industrial production) areas to the third and fourth areas (service industries, research institutes, non-profit organizations);
3. private enterprise may no longer be the major source of scientific and technological development;

4. the free market may take second place to the public sector and to social services;
5. most industries will be run by cybernetics;
6. the major impetus for progress will come from education and the technological innovations it utilizes;
7. time and space will no longer be a problem in communications;
8. the gap between high and low salaries may be considerably smaller than today.

Canadians will be particularly interested in the following forecast by the Hudson Institute study, which ranks the leading, advanced countries of the world 30 years from now.<sup>(16)</sup> "The post-industrial societies will be in this order: the United States, Japan, Canada, Sweden. That is all." To the full significance of this statement it will be necessary to realize that there will be as much difference between these four post-industrial countries and the others as there is at the present time between the Canadian standard of living and the standard of living of underdeveloped countries.

By the year 2000 the new society will reap many new benefits from the fruits of science and technology. Here are some predictions by a group of scientists:<sup>(17)</sup>

Economically useful desalination of sea water.  
Automated language translators.

New synthetic materials for ultra-light construction.

- Implanted artificial organs made of plastic and electronic components.
- Controlled thermo-nuclear power.
- Economic mining of the sea floor.
- Economic feasibility of synthetic protein for food.
- Increase by factor of ten in number of psychotic cases amendable to physical or chemical therapy.
- Bichemical general immunization against bacterial and viral diseases.
- Economic ocean farming to produce at least 20% of world food.
- Widespread use of sophisticated teaching machines.
- Automatic libraries looking up and reproducing copy.
- Widespread use of automatic decision-making at management level for planning.

It is obvious that scientific and technological progress is steadily exploiting and controlling nature, in which process the quality of life is steadily improving.

### **Technology's Threat to Man**

So far, we have noted the creative aspects of science and technology. But we must also look at the other fact of the coin — the destructive side of technology that was unforeseen by the founders and the prophets of the Scientific Revolution.

Many scientists have been warning about the dangers of uncontrolled technology. Mankind is well aware that a large scale nuclear war could result in the "ultimate disaster", exterminating all life on earth and reducing it to a cinder in space. Nuclear fallout has destroyed many human lives and strontium 90 and radioactive elements have endangered the lives of millions of people. The pollution from nuclear power plants that is dumped into the streams, the lakes and the oceans is continuing to have harmful effects on all water life and vegetation, upsetting the balance of nature, as well as on human beings dependent in any way on these waters.

Pollution has become the great enemy of mankind. The public is viewing its harmful effects with horror and is demanding action to stop the wide-spread destruction caused by it. Recently the *New York Times* in an editorial "Man the Polluter" (July 23, 1969) raised the whole problem in the U.S.A.

Americans have "jettisoned" their wastes into the waters and the skies. The rivers are cesspools and the cities slums. In three short centuries — to brief a time to be measurable on the scale of the universe — the inhabitants of this land have fouled their nest to the point to where it would take the major part of the country's money and resources and the redirecting of all its priorities to restore what has been spoiled.

Both countries have polluted Lake Erie to the extent that its shores are covered with decaying algae and no-swimming" signs. The *Montreal Star* publicized the fact that "the St. Lawrence river is in danger of becoming a fetid, stagnant body of water unsuitable for anything except continued use as a sewer".<sup>(18)</sup> The Rhine, collecting the pollutants from the potash mines of Alsace and the industrial plants of the Ruhr Valley to the North Sea, is called "Europe's Sewer".

The harmful effects of pesticides and fungicides, such as DDT and the mercury compound for the treatment of seed grain, has come to the attention of the public and government. Not only is the wild game affected, often containing in the meat 10 times the mercury content recommended by the World Health Organization, but many of these pesticides and fungicides are washed by the rains into the rivers and lakes, where fish is contaminated. For example, last fall the Alberta government net-cancelled the hunting season for Hungarian partridges, pheasants and grouse because of mercury contamination. In 1968 Sweden was forced to ban the sale of fish from many lakes because of chemical poisoning and recently banned DDT, as did Ontario.

### **Impending Ultimate Disaster**

If the immediate effects of pollution are disturbing to individuals, the long-range effects to humanity are of alarming proportions. Some

scientists claim that by the year 2000 the fuel-generated carbon dioxide that will have accumulated in the earth's atmosphere will hold back the diffusion of the heat rising from the earth to such degree that the Antarctic ice cap will begin to melt. The U.S. President's Science Advisory Committee reported in 1965 thus: "The melting of the Antarctic ice cap would raise sea level by 400 feet. If 1000 years were required to melt the ice cap, the sea level would rise about 4 feet every 10 years, 40 feet per century."<sup>(19)</sup> This would be disastrous for the lands with numerous sea-port cities. Dr. Haagen-Smith of the California Institute of Technology, and Chairman of California's Air Resources Board, has a different interpretation; he stated that the pollution blanket could become thick enough to exclude the sun's rays from the earth, which would cause a massive drop in temperature and a new ice cap.<sup>(20)</sup> This would cause the depletion of oxygen and the ultimate extinction of life on earth.

It is indeed a grim prospect for mankind when we realize that vast varieties of pollutants are constantly dumped into the oceans, thus upsetting the balance of marine life, while at the same time industry is constantly adding carbon dioxide to the atmosphere more rapidly than the oceans can assimilate it. This could bring about gradual decrease of atmospheric oxygen and even a possible rapid depletion, with disastrous results.<sup>(21)</sup> In his paper "Can Man Survive Pollution?" Dr. LaMont Cole, a biologist, states: "If we should

seriously attempt to industrialize all the nations of the earth after our own pattern, I think we would all perish before the transition was nearly complete.”<sup>(22)</sup>

The North American high consumption society is plagued with the problem of solid waste disposal, which greatly threatens our environment. The garbage business, grossing about \$5 billion annually, is growing as rapidly as the computer industry,<sup>(23)</sup> and it is estimated that by the mid-1970's North Americans will be spending 10 per cent of the G.N.P. on garbage disposal. The vast extent of this kind of pollution can be assessed when it is realized that with this solid waste thrown away each year it would be possible to build a 3000 mile wall 100 feet wide and 20 feet high along the Canada- U.S.A. border.

### **Pollution Predictions in U.S.**

The serious environmental problems with every kind of pollution that affect the United States inevitably affect Canada, which has a similar industrial and technological society. We can learn from the experience and mistakes of our large neighbour and try to prevent the harmful effects of technology and possible disaster. The following predictions of trustworthy scientists, as reported in *Life*, January 30, 1970, should serve as a warning to us:

In a decade, urban dwellers will have to wear gas masks to survive pollution.

In the early 1980's air pollution combined with a temperature inversion will kill thousands in some U.S. cities.

In 1985 air pollution will have reduced the amount of sunlight reaching earth by one-half.

In the 1980's a major ecological system — soil or water will break down somewhere in the U.S. New diseases that humans cannot resist will reach plague proportions.

Rising noise level will cause more heart diseases and hearing loss. Sonic booms from SST's will damage children before birth.

## **Dilemma of Mankind**

Mankind is faced with a great dilemma — what to do with technology. On the one hand, science and technology have brought great benefits to all the people and a steadily rising standard of living and quality of life. On the other hand, technological progress has brought mankind also overpowering pollution leading to the deterioration and destruction of life, and to the brink of disaster. It is obvious that technology cannot be abolished. We must therefore learn to live with and master the Frankenstein monster. The new technological environment, of which we are now part and parcel, has transformed the physical environment, de-

stroyed many old institutions and has shattered traditional values, leaving the world in a values crisis. Man's intelligence is responsible for this situation and crisis, and man's intelligence will have to find the solution.

Psychoanalyst Eric Fromm analyzes this situation in the following way: (24)

A spectre is stalking in our midst whom only a few can see with clarity. It is not the old ghost of communism or fascism. It is a new spectre: a completely mechanized society, devoted to maximum material output and consumption, directed by computers; and in this social process, man himself is being transformed into a part of the total machine, well-fed and entertained, yet passive, inactive, and with little feeling.

Fromm nevertheless is optimistic. This is conveyed in the title of his book *The Revolution of Hope; towards a humanized technology*, in which he writes: "We are at the crossroads: one road leading to a completely mechanized society with man as a helpless cog in the machine — if not to destruction by thermonuclear war; the other a renaissance of humanism and hope — to a society that puts technique in the service to man's well-being."

Scientists writers and political leaders have been expressing great alarm over the dangers to mankind of the developing technocracy and the apparent neglect and impotence of governments to control

the rapidly growing technology. Nobel physicist Max Born stated:

I am haunted by the idea that this break in human civilization, caused by the discovery of the scientific method, may be irreparable. Though I love science, I have the feeling that it is so much against history and tradition that it cannot be absorbed . . . Should the race not be extinguished by a nuclear war it will degenerate into a flock of stupid creatures under the tyranny of dictators who rule them with the help of electronic computers.<sup>(25)</sup>

President Dwight Eisenhower in his Farewell Address on January 17, 1961 remarked "Yet in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite."

Fear of the technocracy, the technocratic society and the dehumanization of man is at the bottom of student unrest in the West and in the East. The revolt against science is evident in Britain; the *Manchester Guardian* of December 21, 1967 stated "in spite of lavish financial prospects, large numbers of exceptionally able young people resolutely declined to pursue an orthodox scientific career". It is evident in the United States; Harvey Brooks reported that "what is more disturbing is an apparent revulsion against science by a whole society, and especially among young people".<sup>(26)</sup>

Theodore Roszak explain the opposition of the youth to the "technocratic society" on the grounds that "that society in which those who govern justify themselves by appeal to technical experts, who, in turn, justify themselves by appeal to scientific forms of knowledge, and beyond the authority of science there is no appeal".<sup>(27)</sup> Such youth condemns this type of society for its lack of human feeling, in which there appears to be no protection for the human being.

### **Science and Technology in the Service of Man**

In the interests of the survival of mankind this dilemma and crisis must be resolved. Although technology has unwittingly produced deleterious side effects, we must remember that our environment is rich in opportunities and that the benefits of technology have been substantial and can be much more substantial in the future if man accepts the challenge to improve the quality of his life on this planet. This challenge is vividly portrayed by Community Planner Paul N. Ylvisaker thus:

We have come to pass in the development of our industrial civilization where we are becoming publicly immobilized. Despite the bulk and bulging muscles of laws, regulations, appropriations and bureaucracies, our governmental Gulliver has been pinioned by the littler beings surrounding him — free to think and speak but not to act. We all are the little

people who have tethered Gulliver — and most of us are ambivalent about what we have done. We tremble when we think of Gulliver loose — knowing that his one false step could trample us. We grieve when we see him tied, wistful for the miracles he could accomplish beyond our strength and vision. Now the social engineers among us are pondering a new how to free the giant without enslaving ourselves . . . And still the nation, suffocating in its wastes, wonders whether it should release Gulliver.

We do release him to make war on the stars and on other people's territories. How are we to release him at home? Partly by domesticating Gulliver — but mostly by civilizing ourselves. (28)

Professor Jack McLoed of the University of Toronto defines the problem in the following manner: (29)

Just as we learned in the past to regulate and control markets, it is now imperative that we learn to control technology. Technological change can no longer be taken for granted. Shallow critics of contemporary society tend either to worship or to deplore modern technology, but neither response is intelligent, and neither response will suffice. How to control technology is *the* new political problem . . . Once again the name of the game is control, the ability to control gigantic forces which are imperfectly understood.

Dr. Emmanuel Methene, of the Harvard University Program on Technology and Society, states that the problems that technology faces us with "are ultimately political in nature"<sup>(30)</sup>. He believes that the "elaboration of new democratic processes more adequate to the realities of modern society will emerge as perhaps the major intellectual and political challenge of our time"<sup>(31)</sup>.

The scientists themselves are highly conscious that their role in society is changing. Their traditional strategy has been the advancement of basic knowledge in the conviction that it was in the vanguard of economic and political progress and that it was the obligation of governments and philanthropists to support science because of its indirect benefits to power and wealth. Until recently scientists fiercely defend the economic laissez-faire policy in the belief that if government did not interfere in their activities but would provide subsidies then scientific knowledge would further the progress of humanity. Don K. Price, science philosopher, warns that

... it seems possible that the new amount of technological power let loose in an overcrowded world may overload any system we might devise for its control; the possibility of a complete and apocalyptic end of civilization cannot be dismissed as morbid fantasy ...

If scientists wish to maintain the freedom of their science and, at the same time, play a rational and effective role in politics, they need

to adopt a strategy that is more modest in its hopes for the perfectibility of mankind and more pessimistically alert to the dangers of power — not only power that is obviously political but the power that calls itself private as well.

If everyone understands that science, as such, does not control policy decisions, scientists will then be free — and, in my view, will be morally obliged — to devote their synthetic as well as their analytic skills to the formulation and criticism of policies by which the nation may control technology and apply science in the public interest.

In an era which is beginning to be alert to the threats posed by modern technology to the human environment, the role of science in politics is no longer merely to destroy the irrational and superstitious beliefs which were once the foundation of oppressive authority. It is rather, to help clarify our public values, define our policy options, and assist responsible political leaders in the guidance and control of the powerful forces which have been let loose on this troubled planet.<sup>(32)</sup>

### **The people Must Make the Decisions**

In our new age, the effects of science and technology, both beneficial and harmful, influence not only humanity and society as a whole, but every

individual. Technology, like all power is neutral and the question is how do we use it wisely. It is the decision-making process that must concern us and how it can be best improved in our democracy. Before final decisions are made, people will need reliable information as well as time to assess not only short-term and long range technological projects but also to take into account the wider social and human consequences, which often can turn out to be more important than the original project. These wider implications must be examined by interdisciplinary groups composed of those who possess special knowledge and those with a wider range of human experience. These interdisciplinary groups, the members of which should be constantly changing according to the problem under study, would make independent assessments. Their recommendations, before being presented to parliament and the government, should be subjected to public discussion and debate.

Democratic control of technological change is advocated by the United Kingdom Minister of Technology the Honourable Anthony Wedgwood Benn, who recently expressed the idea thus:

Just as in earlier centuries the power of kings and feudal landowners was made subject to the crude and imperfect popular will as expressed in our primitive parliamentary system; and just as the new power created by the Industrial Revolution was tamed and shaped by the public which demanded universal

franchise, so now the choices we make as between alternatives opened up by technology have got to be exposed to far greater public scrutiny and subjected more completely to public decision especially by those whose interests are most intimately affected. The case can best be demonstrated by considering the effect of choosing the opposite course...

For our policy towards technology is now the stuff of government and that is either to be under democratic control or not. There is no middle course.<sup>(33)</sup>

Mr. Benn warned about the danger of underestimating the intelligence of the public stating:

Even with all its present, and unacceptable defects, the educational system and the mass media have enormously raised the level of public education and understanding in the course of a single generation. The genie of human genius has got out of the bottle and it cannot ever be put back in again and the cork replaced.

Differentiating between an expert as an expert and an expert as a citizen, the minister asserted:

You may have to be a brilliant aerodynamicist to design a space capsule that will land on the moon, but you don't have to have any qualifications before you express the view that some of the money spent in space research might be better employed in improving the

quality of public transport and the development of quicker, quieter, cleaner and more comfortable bus services and commuter trains. Judgements of this kind may be difficult to reach but if sufficient information about alternative strategies is more available the choice between objectives can be made by anyone...

The methodology of self-government based on the concept of talking our way through to decisions must now be clearly extended to cover the whole area, at all levels of the development of technology which is in our century the source of all new power just as ownership of the land or the ownership of early factories was in the nineteenth century.

### **The Challenge in Canada**

If Canadians realize the constructive and the destructive aspects of technological progress as it has affected the environment and the quality of life in the United States, Europe and Japan, they will no longer remain passive. They have a full right, which they should exercise immediately, to demand not only a comprehensive assessment of environmental problems in Canada but also the establishment of a national policy on environmental quality. To carry out such a national policy progressively, an appropriate science policy mechanism must be set up very soon within the federal government to ensure the maximum economic and social benefits from the resources expended.

In 1967, the Canadian Senate took the initiative to study this important problem by establishing a Special Committee on Science Policy, under the chairmanship of Senator Maurice Lamontagne, a former Secretary of State and a professor of economics. It was empowered to review our national science effort in the light of our needs and the experience of other countries and to make recommendations regarding the goals, the priorities, the budget and the organization of Canadian science policy. The terms of reference covered all scientific activities, including research in the physical, life and social sciences, development work on technology leading to innovation scientific manpower training programmes, grants to universities and industry, information services on science and technology, and research and development carried out by government establishments. The assignment was extensive and complex and therefore difficult.

The Senate Science Policy Committee made a thorough investigation of every aspect of science and technology in Canada.<sup>(34)</sup> It held 102 public hearings and 21 meetings in camera, having gathered 10,220 pages of evidence from 325 groups and individuals. At least 3,000 scientists and science administrators attended the meetings, either as witnesses or as members of the audience. Government agencies submitted 53 briefs and 38 government agencies appeared before the Committee; these included the Canada Council, Medical Research Council, Science Council, Science Secretariat, National Research Council, Atomic Energy of

Canada Limited, Defence Research Board, Bank of Canada, C.N.R. and such federal departments as Agriculture; Energy, Mines and Resources; Fisheries and Forestry; National Health and Welfare; Finance; Treasury Board; Industry, Trade and Commerce; Labour; and Immigration and Manpower. The Committee received the views of 44 universities and colleges and held a forum of all the university delegations in Ottawa, the first of its kin in Canada. Briefs were heard from provincial research agencies, Canadian learned societies, labour and industrial associations, 35 industries and commercial enterprises, and private individuals. Distinguished experts and authorities from the United States, Europe and Japan appeared as witnesses.

The Committee visited the United States where meetings were held in Washington with the Congress House Committee on Science and Astronautics, the Subcommittee on Science Research and Development, Dr. Lee DuBridge, the Science Adviser to President Nixon, and other top officials in the government; meetings were held with leading experts in Boston at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University and private corporations. Last fall, this Committee also visited the capitals of seven countries in Europe — Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland where intensive meetings were held with ministers in charge of science, government officials, scientists, experts, representatives of large industries and research institutions, and

parliamentarians. This year the United States Congress House Committee on Science and Astronautics sent a delegation to Ottawa, where a 2-day meeting was held with the Senate Science Policy Committee. It was decided that these two committees should hold joint meetings from time to time to discuss common problem and international co-operation.

The Senate Science Policy Committee will soon present its report\* containing comments and recommendations with respect to Canadian science policy and the environment. This will make available for the first time detailed facts and figures about various aspects of our national science effort, which has never been reviewed by Parliament or even Cabinet in any systematic way. Also, for the first time, the Committee has provided a public forum for the discussion of science policy, which is now affecting various departments, which have begun to make improvements in their scientific operations. As a result of the work of the Committee, a national debate on science policy has already been launched. With the appearance of its report, we expect and hope that this national debate will extend to all Canadians, who through participatory democracy will assist the Parliament

\* See the first two volumes of this report: Lamontagne, Hon. Maurice, et al. *A Science Policy for Canada: Report of the Senate Special Committee on Science Policy*. Vol. I *A Critical Review: Past and Present*; Vol. II *Targets and Strategies for the Seventies*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970 and 1972. English and French.

and the Government in formulating plans and projects to make science and technology work in the interests of the people by helping to improve the quality of living and the quality of our life.

Just as I commenced this paper with a charming Chinese poem written some 2,600 years ago, so I would like to conclude with a delightful modern poem, appropriate to the situation today, by Piet Hein: (35)

Put up in a place  
where it's easy to see  
the cryptic admonishment  
T.T.T.  
When you feel how depressingly  
slowly you climb,  
it's well to remember that  
Things Take Time.

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## **TRIBUTES TO THE SENATOR**

### **On the occasion of his Tenth Anniversary in the Senate**

A Testimonial Dinner, sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, was held in the new Four Seasons Hotel, Toronto, on February 3, 1973, attended by over 500 people, many representing Ukrainian and other ethno-cultural groups and organizations. The head-table consisted of Lieutenant-Governor M. Ross Macdonald of Ontario, Archbishop Gabriel Bukato (Yugoslavia), Bishop Isidore Borecky, Ontario Minister John Yaremko, Judge Michael Starr, representatives of the Government of Canada, the Federal Leader of the Opposition, the Government of Ontario, City of Toronto, City of Sudbury and leaders of several national organizations. Hundreds of letters and telegrams came from across Canada, the United States and Europe. Senator Yuzyk was presented with a large gold medal with the imprint of his image.

Here are excerpts from some of the tributes that were expressed:

**Lieutenant-Governor W. Ross Macdonald  
(Ontario)**

"What a wonderful tribute was paid to you on Saturday night which was so well deserved and so well done! I knew you had accomplished much during your 60 years on this earth but did not for one minute realize all that you had done. Normally I would have been bored to death at such a gathering listening to long dissertations mostly in Ukrainian and frequently in English but on this occasion I enjoyed every minute of it. Also I not only liked what was said but I thought those who made the speeches were not only intelligent and brilliant but also sincere in everything they said.

Also, may I commend you for your closing address and the manner in which you accepted all the praise which was betowed upon you. You certainly endeared yourself to everyone present and I hope that you will be blessed with good health so that you can continue your outstanding service to your own people and to Canadians generally."

**Honourable Dr. Stanley Haidasz, Minister of  
State for Multiculturlism**

"We welcome Senator Yuzyk's support of our government's policy because he is one of Canada's prominent citizens and leaders in the

Ukrainian community. Indeed, throughout his distinguished career as a scholar, teacher and politician, his vigorous efforts to promote equality of all peoples has earned a high place for him in the regard of those who know him personally, or who have heard him speak, or who have read some of his many writings.

I accepted your invitation to be here this evening, Mr. Chairman, so that I might have the opportunity to acknowledge Senator Yuzyk's support of our multicultural policy and to express the hope that in the next ten years of his service in the Senate, together we may have many opportunities to further in our country something which I do not regard as a political matter, but rather as a simple recognition of reality — namely, multiculturalism."

### **Senator Rheal Belisle**

"This venerable man that we are privileged to honour tonight is one of those too few persons who has enriched his life, the life of his family, his fellow-man, his people and his beloved country, Canada, by not letting the intellectuality of his mind be the sole spokesman of his heart. He has often demonstrated to me, not only by words, but by actions, that the sincerity of a man is recognized by the quality of the thoughts that are expressed

through the deepest feelings of his heart. In other words *la politesse de son coeur a toujours su controler le cordon vocal de sa bouche. Je crois que c'est clemenceau qui disait "que la voleur humaine de l'homme est mesuree par la pesanteur des qualites de son coeur"*.

Above all, you will be remembered in the Senate and by the people that you were the first to initiate the movement to have Canada be recognized as multicultural, which was finally adopted by the Government and all the party leaders in Parliament in October 1971. You recognized the equal rights of the French Canadians with those of British origin and through your efforts organized the other ethnic groups to assert their just rights.

Your intensive work in this field has helped to build a better Canada for citizens of all origins and makes you a great Canadian."

**Mr. Joseph Lesawyer, President, Ukrainian National Association (U.S.A.)**

"As an American Ukrainian, in comparison with Canadian Ukrainians, I am handicapped in tonight's ceremonies because I do not know as much about Paul Yuzyk as you do. However, I do know that his name is a household word throughout the United States wherever Ukrainians live. To us in America he has been growing in ever-increasing importance for the

past thirty or more years as news of his extensive activities kept reaching us with more frequency.

Paul Yuzyk as a Senator remained what he was all his life — a man of action. He was a doer. He threw himself into the arena of political, educational, cultural, social, economic and youth problems with the zeal of a missionary. He rapidly developed into one of the most dynamic Senators in Ottawa. No problem involving Ukrainians was too big or too small for his attention and follow-through. His complete and unselfish dedication to the welfare of his country and his people was remarkable in its perscrverance and intensity.”

**Mr. Leon Kossar, Director, Canadian Folk Arts Council**

“This neighborliness, and self-respect of the Westerners for one another’s principles and beliefs were the cornerstones of Paul’s eventual life-long devotion to elevating the lot of the Ukrainian Canadian who immigrated here on an agrarian plateau. They were the cornerstones of his lasting dedication to the principle of Multiculturalism — which was the everyday lifestyle out West — but only lately has become a fashionable word in the political Corridors of the nation — and a word to conjure with.

But in his dedication to affairs of the Ukrainian Canadian community, he did not forget the greater, equally-important, overview of the organizations that worked in the interests of Canada's ethno-cultural groups:

He was a member of the Canadian Centenary Council's Board of Directors — the national body (in private sector) that helped promote Canada's centennial celebrations.

He was one of the founding fathers, in 1964, of the Canadian Folk Arts Council — which today spans 10 provinces as an umbrella for cultural development of amateur and ethnic talent.

He barn-stormed and whistle-stopped across the West in the days of the ascendancy of Canada's most recent Conservative Prime Minister — John Diefenbaker — and polished this venerable statesman's pronunciation of such words as "kapusta", "barabolia", and "pshynicia", "Slava Kanadi" j "Slava Ukraini", "Khaili zhyve Voina Ukrainy", and other such phrases which Mr. Diefenbaker loved to throw into meetings in the farming heartlands of the West.

But he is equally at ease with political figures of all the other parties today, as he pulls them aside in the corridors of the Senate and Commons to discuss Senate business, multiculturalism, human rights for intellectuals in

the Soviet Union - - - or a dozen different topics.

He has been the most persistent advocate of Multiculturalism at Parliament Hill and across the land - - - almost a one-man self-appointed Royal Commission on the subejct.

Paul has been a familiar figure, — as a community leader, academic, then as a Senator, — at Italian, Polish, German, Baltic, Slavic conferences, anniversaries, speaking functions and special events across Canada.

I feel that Senator Yuzyk has earned the title, "SENATOR OF ALL THE PEOPLE", and we all wish him well in the many fruitful years ahead."

**SENATOR PAUL YUZYK**

*Curriculum Vitae — October, 1973*

Born in Pinto (near Estevan), Saskatchewan, June 24, 1913,  
of pioneer Ukrainian parents, Martin and Katherine  
(Chaban) Yuzyk.

Public and High School education in Saskatoon, 1924-32.  
Teacher training in Saskatoon Normal School, 1932-33.

Taught Public and High School at Hafford, Sask., 1933-42.

Volunteer in Canadian Army, N.C.O., 1942-43.

Appointed to the Senate of Canada for life by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, February 4, 1963.

*Academic Career:*

University of Saskatchewan, 1941-48:

B.A. in Mathematics and Physics, 1949;

B.A. Honours in History, 1947;

M.A. in History, minor in Slavic Literature, 1948;

M.A. thesis, "The Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic Church  
of Canada".

Fellowship, Manitoba Historical Society, to write history of  
Ukrainians in Manitoba, 1948-49.

University of Minnesota, 1949-51:

Ph.D. in History, minor in Russian Literature, 1958,

Ph.D. thesis "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church  
of Canada".

University of Manitoba, 1951-63:

Assistant Professor, Slavic Studies and History,  
1951-58;

Associate Professor, History and Slavic Studies,  
1958-63.

University of Ottawa, 1966— :

Full Professor, Russian and Soviet History and  
Canadian-Soviet Relations.

Manitoba Historical Society, Treasurer, Secretary, Vice-  
President and President, 1952-63:

Editor of annual transactions, 1953-58;

Member, Editorial Board of *Manitoba Pageant*,  
quarterly historical magazine for Public and High  
Schools, 1956-63;

Chairman, Ethnic Group Studies, granting fellowships  
and grants subsidized by the Manitoba Government.  
Books have been published on the Mennonites,  
Poles, Ukrainians, Icelanders, Jews and Hutterites of  
Manitoba.

#### *Books Published:*

*The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History.* Toronto,  
University of Toronto Press, 1953.

*Ukrainian Reader* (with Honore Ewach). Winnipeg,  
Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1960. Several editions.  
Text for Public and High Schools in Manitoba,  
Saskatchewan and Alberta.

*Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian  
Life.* Toronto, Ukrainian Professional and Business-  
men's Federation, 1967.

*Canadiens Ukrainiens: Leur place et leur rôle dans la vie  
canadienne.* Winnipeg, Prosvita, 1967.

*Ukrayintsi v Kanadi: Yikh Rozvytok i Dosyahnennya* (i  
Ivan Tesla) (Revised). Munich, Ukrainian Technical-  
Economic Institute, 1968.

Editor, *Concern for Canadian Cultural Rights: A Conference to Study Canada's Multicultural Patterns in the Sixties*; Proceedings of and response to Thinkers' National Conference on Canadian Cultural Rights held on December 13, 14 and 15, 1968 in Toronto, Ontario. Ottawa, Canadian Cultural Rights Committee, 1968.

Aird, Hon. John B., et al (including Paul Yuzyk), *Canada – Caribbean Relations: Report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs of The Senate of Canada*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970. English and French.

Davey, Hon. Keith, et al (including Paul Yuzyk), *Mass Media: Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media*. Vol. I *The Uncertain Mirror*; Vol. II *Words, Music and Dollars*; Vol. III *Good, Bad, or Simply Inevitable: Research Studies*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970. English and French.

Lamontagne, Hon. Maurice, et al (including Paul Yuzyk), *A Science Policy for Canada: Report of the Senate Special Committee on Science Policy*. Vol. I *A Critical Review: Past and Present*; Vol. II *Targets and Strategies for the Seventies*; Vol. III *A Government Organization for the Seventies*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970, 1972 and 1973. English and French.

Air, Hon. John B., et al (including Paul Yuzyk), *Canadian Relations with the European Community; Report of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate of Canada*. Ottawa, Queen's Printer for Canada, July, 1973. English and French.

*Articles (partial list):*

"The First Ukrainians in Manitoba" in *Papers Read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba*, Series III, No. 8, 1953.

"Orthodox Churches" and "Ukrainian Catholic Church" in *Encyclopedia Canadiana*. Ottawa, Canadiana Co. Ltd., 1958.

- "Canada: A Multicultural Nation", Maiden Speech, *Debates of the Senate*, March 3, 1964, subsequently published as a pamphlet separately by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Winnipeg; the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada, Toronto; Ukrainian Voice, English Series, Pamphlet No 5, Winnipeg, April, 1964.
- "Canada — A Multicultural Nation" in *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vill. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- "The 'Third' Nation — and Tomorrow's Canada" in *Canada Month*, January, 1967.
- "Un statut officiel pour 'la troisième force'?" in *La Presse*, April 22, 1967.
- Foreword to Peters, Victor, *Nestor Makhno: The Life of an Anarchist*. Winnipeg, Echo Books, 1970.
- "The Constitution of Canada" in *Debates of the Senate of Canada*, Second Session, Twenty-eighth Parliament, 18–19 Elizabeth II, February 17, 1970, Vol. I. pp. 557-570.
- "Freedom: Mankind's Common Heritage" in *Sudbury Star*, February 3, 1970; reprinted in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, March 26, 28 and April 4, 1970, Jersey City, N. J., U.S.A.
- "The True Canadian Identity — Multiculturalism and the Emerging New Factor in the Emerging New Canada", pp. 1-17, in *Report of the Conference MULTICULTURALISM FOR CANADA*, sponsored by the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State, the Students' Union of the University of Alberta and the Ukrainian Students' Club of the University of Alberta. Held at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, August 28–29, 1970.
- "Biculturalism or Multiculturalism?" pp. 2327, in *Report of the Multi-Ethnic Conference*, sponsored by the Ukrainian Students' Club of Ottawa in conjunction with the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State, at the National Arts Centre, Ottawa, November 1, 1970.

"Technological Progress, the Environment and the Quality of Life", delivered to The Manitoba Teachers' Society at the 51st Annual Dinner, Winnipeg, March 30, 1970. Published in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, June 6, 13, 20, 27, July 3 and 10, 1970. Jersey City, N.J., U.S.A.

"The Soviet Union and the United Nations", delivered to the Annual Meeting of the Lincoln County Women Teachers' Association, St. Catharines, Ontario. May 12, 1970, basically the speech delivered in the Senate — see *Debates of the Senate of Canada*, 28th Parliament, Second Session, November 18, 1969.

Reprinted in *The Ukrainian Quarterly*

Reprinted in *The Ukrainian Review*

"Le multiculturalisme canadien tel que le voient les éléments de la 'torisième force' au pays" *Le Soleil*, Quebec City, November 17, 1971.

"The Ukrainian Fact in Canada" in program book *The Future of the Ukrainian Canadians in Quebec*. Montreal Conference — June 9, 10 and 11, 1972, sponsored by the Federal Government of Canada, Prime Minister of Quebec and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee; pp. 11-25. English, French and Ukrainian.

### *Major Research Project:*

Director of five-year research project "*Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1971*", subsidized by annual grants amounting to \$75,000 from The Canada Council. This project which involves 8 authoritative researchers and 3 stenographers will be completed in 1975, after publication of the 1971 census. Facilities are provided by the History Department of the University of Ottawa.

### *Public Service:*

Senator Yuzyk is a dedicated parliamentarian who constantly works beyond regular hours and days. For example, he was member of the Steering Executive of the all-

party Special Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada, which held 145 public meetings in 47 important centres of all the provinces and territories of Canada from September, 1969 to June, 1970. The report of this Committee was tabled in both Houses on March 16, 1972, with the title *Constitution of Canada*; Joint Chairman: Senator Gildas Molgat and Mark MacGuigan, M.P., Ottawa, Information Canada, 1972.

After several years of cultivating good relations among the ethnic groups, he secured their co-operation and organized the Thinkers' Conference on Canadian Cultural Rights, which was held in Toronto, December 13, 14 and 15, 1968. The sponsors were the Secretary of State Department, a Senate Committee, Ontario Government, Canadian Folk Arts Council, the Canadian Ethnic Press Federation and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews. This was the first conference of ethnic groups in Canadian history. It received wide publicity and had a strong influence on future federal government policy which subsequently endorsed multiculturalism as did the Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution of Canada.

Participated as Resource Leader in conferences sponsored by the following provincial governments:

Manitoba Mosaic Congress, Winnipeg, June 11, 12  
13, 1970.

Heritage Ontario Congress, Toronto, June 2, 3 and  
4, 1972.

Alberta Cultural Heritage Conference, Edmonton,  
June 16, 17 and 18, 1972.

Speaker at conferences on biculturalism and multiculturalism sponsored by the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews in Sudbury, Toronto and Halifax.

Speaker at meetings in various cities of Kiwanis clubs, Lions' clubs, Canadian Women's Clubs, B'nai B'rith, student societies, various church societies, ethnic organizations, etc.

*Parliamentary Delegations and Committees:*

Canadian Delegation to the 18th General Assembly of the United Nations, Lake Success, N.Y., September — December, 1963.

Canadian Parliamentary Delegation to Poland on the occasion of the Millenium of Poland, July, 1966.

Canadian Parliamentary Delegation to the 18th Session of the North Atlantic Assembly, associated with NATO, Bonn, Germany, November, 1972.

Senate Special Committee on Science Policy to Congress of the U.S.A., Washington, May 7—9, 1969 and to Governments of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Sweden and Switzerland, September 1969.

Joint Parliamentary Committee on Centennial Youth Parliament (ad hoc), 1965-67.

Joint Parliamentary Committee on Canadian National Anthem (ad hoc), 1966-67.

Senate Special Committee on Science Policy, 1968 —

Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 1969-1970.

Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution of Canada, 1970-72.

Joint Parliamentary Library Committee.

Foreign Affairs, Senate Standing Committee.

Health, Welfare and Science, Senate Standing Committee

Legal and Constitutional Affairs, Senate Standing Committee

National Finance, Senate Standing Committee

*Important Positions:*

Founder and first President, Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada, Saskatoon, 1934-36

Editor, *Holos Molodi* (Youth Speaks), monthly, Winnipeg, 1948-49.

Associate Editor, *Opinion*, magazine, Winnipeg, 1948-49.

National Treasurer, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Winnipeg 1952-55.

Editorial Associate, *Ukrainian Directory and Year Book*,  
 Winnipeg, 1952-56.  
 Founder, Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union  
 (SUSK) Winnipeg, 1953.  
 Vice-President, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences  
 (UVAN) of Canada, Winnipeg, 1953-68.  
 Founder, first Secretary-Treasurer (1954-56) and President  
 (1963-64), Canadian Association of Slavists.  
 President, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre,  
 Winnipeg, 1955-71.  
 Member, General Curriculum Committee, Department of  
 Education of Manitoba, 1958-59.  
 Member, Y.W.C.A. Advisory Committee on Adult Educa-  
 tion, Winnipeg, 1958-63.  
 Vice-President, Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras  
 Shevchenko, Winnipeg, since 1964.  
 Member, Board of Directors, Canadian Centenary Council,  
 Ottawa, 195-667.  
 Director, Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra, 1926-68.  
 Director, Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Winni-  
 peg-Toronto, since 1963.  
 President, Higher Education Scholarship Foundation,  
 Toronto, 1966-71.  
 Director, Canadian Scholarship Trust Foundation, Toronto,  
 since 1971.  
 Vice-President, Ukrainian National (Fraternal) Association,  
 Inc., Jersey City, N.J., U.S.A., since 1970.  
 Chairman, Human Rights Commission, World Federation  
 of Free Ukrainians, New York, since 1967.  
 Member, Board of Directors, Radio Station CHIN, Toronto,  
 1972.  
 Vice-President, Canadian World University Committee,  
 Montreal, 1972.

*References in Directories:*

*Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, Ottawa, annually since  
 1963.

*Canadian Directory of Parliament, 1867-1967, Ottawa, 1967.*

*Canadian Who's Who, Toronto, since 1965.*

*The Blue Book, London, England, since 1968.*

*Directory of American Scholars, since 1969.*

*Directory of Educational Specialists, U.S.A., 1970.*

***Medals:***

Canadian Centennial Medal, 1967.

Manitoba Centennial Medal, 1970.

Shevchenko Gold Medal, 1968.

City of Sudbury, Gold Medal, 1972.

Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Toronto), Gold Medal, 1973.

Key to the City of Buffalo, U.S.A., 1966.

***Family:***

Married July 12, 1941 to Mary, daughter of John and Irene Bahniuk, of Hafford, Sask.

Four children: Evangeline Paulette, B.A., B.S.W., (married to George Duravetz, M.A., residing in Toronto); Victoria Irene, B.A. (married to Robert Karpiak, M.A., residing in Kingston); Vera Catherine, B.A. (Hon.), and Theodore Ronald, residing in Winnipeg.

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