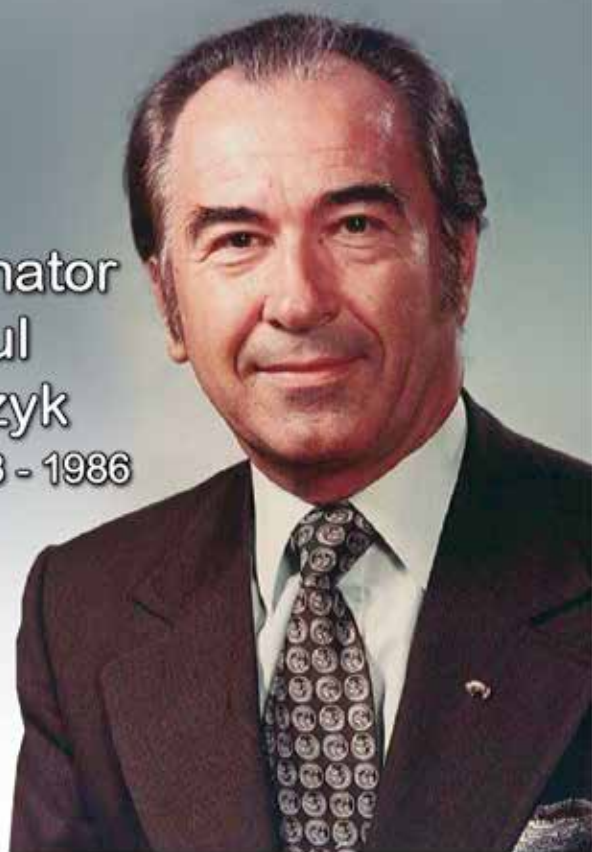




Senator  
Paul  
Yuzyk  
1913 - 1986



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Father of Multiculturalism





Paul Yuzyk appointed to the Senate by the then Prime Minister of Canada,  
the Rt. Honourable  
John G. Diefenbaker, February 4, 1963.

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*On the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of Canada,  
this commemorative book has been printed  
in recognition of the pioneering legacy of the  
late Senator Paul Yuzyk,  
for his role as a nation builder in changing the face of Canada,  
and for his prediction that Canada would become a  
role model for multiculturalism, in the world.*

The family gratefully acknowledges the on-going support of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC).

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We also would like to sincerely thank the biographers, Dr. R.B. Fleming and Dr. S. Cipko for their contribution in writing Chapter 6, included herein, from the unpublished biography of Senator Paul Yuzyk.

Additional acknowledgements go to Canada Post for granting permission to reprint the commemorative Paul Yuzyk stamp (2013), for use, as our book cover. The design of the stamp was provided by the Ukrainian Collectible Society. We also thank Heritage Canada for Registration #6571 (given to T.G.Grasza) by the Canada 150 Bureau, permitting the use of their logo for this commemorative book. The Manitoba Historical Society, MHS, has provided the profile of P. Yuzyk.

*This book was compiled by Victoria Karpiak (nee Yuzyk).*

# CONTENTS

Maiden Speech – Canada: A Multicultural Nation March 3, 1964 .....	5
Champion For Multiculturalism – Dr. R.B. Fleming, Dr. S. Cipko...	15
Memorable Manitobans: Profile of Paul Yuzyk (1913 - 1986) .....	43
Photographs .....	47



The Senate of Canada



CANADA

# 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

## SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

### MOTION FOR ADDRESS IN REPLY—DEBATE CONTINUED

The Senate resumed from Thursday, February 27, consideration of His Excellency the Governor General's speech at the opening of the session, and the motion of Hon. Mr. Cook, seconded by Hon. Mr. Denis, for an address in reply thereto.

**Hon. Paul Zuyyk:** 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 as 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, the honourable former Leader of the Government, the honourable Leader of the Opposition 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 paramountly nonpartisan 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.

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 (Hon. Mr. Brooks). 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 congratulations go to Senator White for the great honour that he received by his ap-

pointment 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.

I also would like to offer my congratulations to the mover, Senator Cook, and the seconder, Senator 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.

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 para-



mountly British-French, with a substratum of Indian and Eskimo cultures, to multicultural, with the immigration of many European and some 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 the new times.

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:

	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 decreased, 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.

For purpose of information, the following are the eight largest ethnic groups of the third element, according to the 1961 census:

		Canadian-born	Canadian Citizenship
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
Polish	323,517 (1.8 )	60	90
Indian	208,286 (1.1 )	100	
Jewish	173,344 (1.0 )	62	93

I should add that there are 254,368 of Judaic faith.

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, 40 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.

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.

Allow me, in a very brief summary, to present an example of the contribution to Canada of one of the non-British, non-French groups, namely, the Ukrainian Canadians, from whom I spring and about whom I have some knowledge as a result of my researches, which have been published in a book and several articles. In response to the appeals, the propaganda, and agents of the Canadian Government, the Ukrainians began coming to this country in large numbers commencing in 1896, from the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina, now designated as Western Ukraine. Mostly of peasant origin, they took up homesteads and farms throughout the prairies and brought under cultivation millions of acres of land, thus establishing civilization in large areas, many of which bear witness in over 130 Ukrainian place names. Consequently, their greatest contribution to Canada has been in agriculture. Ukrainian Canadians have been frequent winners of world and Canadian championships of wheat, oats and vegetables. The best varieties of grains are either of Ukrainian origin or hybrids of Ukrainian grains. This should not be surprising, for Ukraine has always been known as the "black earth region" and "the granary of Europe". Railroad construction, large building and housing construction, mining, various kinds of manufacturing, etc.,

have benefited from the labour, inventiveness and management of Ukrainians. They are found in large numbers in the teaching profession, including the universities, and play a fairly significant role in many other professions.

Perhaps the most important criterion of the integration of any group into Canadian society and life is its participation in public affairs. The Ukrainians have produced hundreds of reeves of municipalities, many aldermen of towns and cities, several mayors of large cities: Winnipeg, Edmonton, Windsor, Kenora; many members of provincial legislatures: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario; several provincial cabinet ministers: Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Alberta; several federal members of Parliament of all parties, one federal cabinet minister and three senators—altogether at least 74 parliamentarians. About 10,000 Ukrainians were in the Canadian armed forces during the First World War, one of whom, Philip Konowal, received the Victoria Cross, the highest award for bravery in the British Commonwealth; and about 40,000 voluntarily served in the Canadian military forces of the Second World War, many as officers, and many of whom paid the supreme sacrifice for this country. Ukrainians cherish Canadian freedom and democracy, as they are conscious of Ukraine's subjugation and bondage.

Their cultural contribution is known in most parts of Canada. Ukrainian folk dancing in colourful costumes, choirs, embroidery and woodwork have been winning the enthusiastic applause and praise of audiences, leaders, and monarchs, at local and national celebrations, since the Diamond Jubilee of Canada in 1927 and will be featured in greater magnitude at the Centennial celebrations in 1967. The Ukrainian language and literature is taught at the Universities of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa, and as an elective subject in the high schools of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta. These general cultural activities are directed by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, with headquarters in Winnipeg, which co-ordinates the work of 27 dominion-wide Ukrainian organizations, exclusive of the small communist associations.

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 the 150th anniversary of the birth 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.

Ne vmyraye dusha nasha,  
Ne vmyraye volya,  
I nesyt' ne vyore  
Na dni morya polya.  
Ne skuye dushi zhyvoyi  
I slova zhyvoho.  
Boritesya—poboryte!  
Vam Boh pomahaye!  
Za vas pravda, za vas slava  
I volya svyataya.

Translated:

So likewise shall our spirit never die  
Nor our dear freedom wholly van-  
quished 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 free-  
dom 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 stirring and noble words:

Vozvelychu  
Malykh otykh ravnymykh!  
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.

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.

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, Ottawa West), 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.

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 the vast majority of our citizens.

The great permanent British gift to the Canadian way of life is the establishment of 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 Brit-

ish 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 best contributions to the development of a general Canadian culture as essential ingredients in the nation-building process.

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 a cause.

In his opinion the Canadian system of multiculturalism 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 any 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.

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 is 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.

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 Speaker's 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."

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 appropriately 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.

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, dramas, 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.

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 eve of the celebration of the centennial of the Confederation of Canada, let us honour the memory and the deed 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, 1960:

I am a Canadian, 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.

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ROGER DUHAMEL, F.R.S.C., Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, Ottawa, 1964



## CHAPTER 6

From an unpublished biography of Paul Yuzyk

Authors: Dr. R.B.Fleming & Dr. S. Cipko



# CHAPTER 6

## Champion For Multiculturalism

“I can state with some pride,” Senator Paul Yuzyk wrote, on 1 October 1973 in the Introduction to *FOR A BETTER CANADA*, “that I am happy to have played some part in the evolutionary process which gradually crystallized the concept of Canada as a multicultural nation.” He had followed “all the relevant events closely,” and had spoken “on all these developments in the Senate, at conferences and at banquets in various Canadian centres as well as in the United States.” Through his “speeches and efforts and in cooperation with men and women of good will,” Paul noted, in the final paragraph of the Introduction, “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.”<sup>1</sup>

The senator was modest in his assessment of his contribution to the creation of a new Canadian identity, an all-inclusive identity, which is known today in many parts of the world as Official Multiculturalism. From the day that Paul stood up to make his maiden speech in the Senate, on Tuesday, 3 March 1964, until Friday, 8 October 1971, more than seven years later, when Prime Minister Pierre-Elliott Trudeau announced in the House of Commons that Canada was now officially multicultural, Paul was a determined crusader for the idea that Canada was, and always had been, a multicultural nation. It was Paul who first introduced the term “multicultural” to the Canadian Parliament, and it was he who led a crusade to make multiculturalism an official part of Canada’s identity. “The lasting contribution of Senator Paul Yuzyk,” noted Paul’s friend, political scientist Dr. Bohdan Bociurkiw, in 1977, “to the development and eventual governmental recognition of the concept of multiculturalism was to provide – in his 1964 maiden speech in the Senate – the first exposition of... multiculturalism, and to instil this concept into the public consciousness of Canadians.”<sup>2</sup> For his efforts in defining and promoting the concept of multiculturalism, Paul Yuzyk has been called the Father of Canadian Multiculturalism.<sup>3</sup>

Paul Yuzyk’s family was part of the greatest immigration that Canada had ever experienced. When he was about ten, his parents and their three boys moved into the multilingual and multicultural Riversdale

area of west Saskatoon. Until he found a teaching job in Hafford, Paul lived in Saskatoon, and he returned to Riversdale frequently throughout the rest of the 1930s and early 1940s. Riversdale was a living example of cultural diversity. Later, as a university student and a professor, Paul continued to be interested in the multicultural societies that had developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as a result of large scale emigration of Europeans to North and South America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. He was also intrigued by the fact that much of Europe, up to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, was dominated by empires that were culturally and linguistically diverse.<sup>4</sup> And as an historian, he investigated the phenomenon of Canadian immigration and the contributions made by Ukrainian Canadians and other ethnic groups to Canada.

While pluralistic societies were acknowledged, there was no agreed-upon term to describe the new societies that emerged at the turn of the century and early twentieth century. “Mosaic” was the term used by John Murray Gibbon to describe the Canada of the 1930s in his book called *Canadian Mosaic*.<sup>5</sup> In the late 1940’s and 50’s, the term “multicultural” began to be used. One of its first uses was in the *New York Times* on 22 June 1947. In 1957, the *Winnipeg Tribune* implied the term in its series on the Third Element.<sup>6</sup> In 1957, as well, “multiculturalism” was used to describe the multi-ethnic mix of Switzerland; and in 1959, the London *Times* described the population of Montréal as “multi-cultural” and “multi-lingual.”<sup>7</sup>

It was Senator Paul Yuzyk who first introduced the term “multicultural society” to the Canadian Parliament. In his maiden speech, given to the Senate in March of 1964, he outlined the evolution of multiculturalism and, at the same time, he argued in favour of officially recognizing it as Canada’s cultural identity. His speech was in reaction to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

In 1963, the government of John G. Diefenbaker had been defeated by the Liberals led by Lester “Mike” Pearson. Once in office, one of Prime Minister Pearson’s first acts was to call for the establishment of a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, in order to investigate the deteriorating state of English-French relations in Canada. While the mandate of the commission was also to examine the role played by what Paul called the Third Element, the focus was on the first two Elements. In fact, it struck leaders of ethnic groups that

their communities were relegated to a secondary level, an afterthought, so to speak. Their rejection of the Commission's preliminary premises were confirmed in statements such as "Our concern is the equality of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians as such, whatever their ethnic origins happen to be."<sup>8</sup> In other words, ethnic groups were assumed to form part of one or the other of the dominant linguistic groups, the English or the French. While it now seems perfectly clear that Canada was, as Paul argued in his maiden speech, a multicultural nation, during the early 1960s there was a pressing reason for dealing with the two dominant languages, English and French: extremists and *patriotes* were advocating an independent Québec, and some of them were threatening to use violence. Premier Jean Lesage, elected in 1960 under the slogan "*Maîtres Chez Nous*," was promoting Québec as an equal partner in Confederation, and for this concept of two nations/*deux nations*, he had the support of a majority of Québécois. Puzzled and sometimes vexed English-speaking Canadians mused "What does Québec want?" Angry *indépendentistes* asked "*Que veut le Canada?*" The B&B Commission was established to provide answers.

As Gertrude M. Laing, one of the members of the Commission, put it, the idea originated with André Laurendeau, editor-in-chief of the prestigious *Le Devoir*. He had charted Québec's growing discontent with Confederation, and he suggested that a commission might be an effective method of determining solutions. Along with Dr. Davidson Dunton, Laurendeau was appointed chair of the commission, whose mandate was three-fold: to examine bilingualism at the federal level; to investigate the roles of public and private institutions in facilitating improved relations between the two main cultures of Canada; and to discover ways of promoting bilingualism.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to the co-chairs, the B&B Commission was composed of eight commissioners, all bilingual, including three francophones, three anglophones, and, importantly, two members of Paul's Third Element, Dr. Paul Wyczynski of the University of Ottawa,<sup>10</sup> and, from the University of Manitoba, Dr. J.B. Rudnyckyj. "The inclusion into this body of two commissioners of Polish and Ukrainian origins," Dr. Bohdan Bociurkiw contended, "attested to the government's recognition of the importance of 'other groups' in the ensuing national debate."<sup>11</sup>

In his maiden speech, Paul challenged the premise of the B&B

Commission. "First of all," he announced, "the word 'bicultural,' which I could not find in any dictionary, is a misnomer. In reality Canada never was bicultural." Proof of that, he told the senators, was the fact that First Nations – the term then was Indians and Eskimos – "have been with us throughout our history."<sup>12</sup> Further proof that Canada had always been multicultural, Paul explained, was to be found in the *British Element*, which was composed, he noted, of "English, Scots, Irish, Welsh." Thus "biculturalism" was not an accurate reflection of the multicultural reality of Canada. What Canada needed, Paul went on, as "a firm basis of our nationhood which will unite all elements in our society," was official recognition and identification of the multicultural character of the country. Paul cited no less an authority than Prince Phillip, who, during a Commonwealth Study Conference held in Vancouver in 1962, had noted that the Canadian way was to acknowledge the principle of "unity in continuing diversity."<sup>13</sup>

Paul's speech was clear and well-documented, with historical facts and figures, which he used to demonstrate beyond doubt that, rather than being a bilingual and bicultural nation, it was, and always had been, a multicultural nation. Now there was a need to officially recognize that reality. Once that multicultural reality was recognized, he argued, unity, harmony and world peace would inevitably follow. "The contribution of the three elements side by side in our society," he added, "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." He went on to quote from a speech delivered by Dr. Charles Hobart, an American who was teaching at the University of Alberta. He told his audience, which included Paul, that Canada was "THE multicultural society of the world and this is your identity."<sup>14</sup>

Paul's maiden speech was not only factual but touched on his own experiences with discrimination during the 1930s when he was turned down seventy-seven times for teaching positions. He had vowed then, and he continued to vow, that if Canada treated a Canadian-born son of Ukrainian immigrants in such a discriminatory manner, then it was Canada that needed changing. And change it he was determined to do.

The 1960s was an auspicious decade in which to promote multiculturalism.<sup>15</sup> By 1960, the Ukrainian community in Canada

already had close to seven decades behind it. It had undergone social change and elected members to public office. The experiment of an umbrella organization in the form of the UCC was showing some success. Even if still politically fragmented, the Ukrainian community was well-rooted and self-confident. As Dr. Bohdan Bociurkiw explained, during the 1960s, the ideology of multiculturalism “acquired grass roots support among ethnic groups, and began to attract the attention of the politicians, the media, and scholars.” By 1960, Ukrainian Canadians were aware of, and influenced by, liberation movements around the world, including the American Civil Rights movement. Politics played a role. Ukrainians formed sizeable percentages in several key ridings in the West, in the Golden Horseshoe and in parts of Northern Ontario. During a good part of the 1960s, Canada was governed by minority governments.

As John Jaworsky, whose MA thesis at Carleton University was supervised by Dr. Bociurkiw, has pointed out, the B&B Commission provided “a convenient and timely forum for certain spokesmen of the ‘other’ ethnic groups to articulate some of their long-felt grievances...”<sup>16</sup> As the commissioners travelled across the country, it was Ukrainian groups who were the most forthright in pointing out that Canada was really a multicultural not a bicultural nation. Throughout the hearings, they made the most submissions, “and they actively discussed the issue in their community and in their newspapers.” In their submissions, letters to politicians, speeches and resolutions they demanded “participation, recognition and equality.”<sup>17</sup>

Paul played a key role in galvanizing Ukrainian Canadians and other groups to protest against the dominant assumptions of the B&B Commission and to submit briefs. He was both a senator and an academic, two vocations that drew enormous respect from his community. “In the hearings of the B&B Commission,” Paul noted in 1973, “extracts from the text of the speech were quoted by numerous witnesses from coast to coast.”<sup>18</sup> The speech so frequently cited was, of course, Paul’s maiden speech in the Senate. On 10 December 1965, the headline in the *Free Press* read “Ukrainians Dominate Winnipeg Bi-Bi Talks.” They demanded that the government take steps to safeguard Ukrainian language and customs in Canada, and they expressed the fear that the commission might lead to limitations on Canadian minorities. Paul was present at the hearings that day. He addressed

the commissioners, urging them to recommend the establishment of a Ministry of Culture. He also promoted the idea that the CBC should broadcast in Ukrainian and other ethnic languages, and that Ukrainian-language literature should be eligible for a Governor General's prize. He informed the commissioners that he had used Ukrainian on a local CBC radio station, though he had been told not to do so. "It didn't hurt anybody," he concluded. That day he represented the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre of Winnipeg, of which, since 1955, he was president. Two other Ukrainian organizations that day made the suggestion that a Ukrainian Canadian be appointed the next Governor General.<sup>19</sup>

"I remember Senator Yuzyk," Royce Frith once commented, shortly after Paul's death, "when I was a member of the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission." Shortly after the commission was launched, Paul appeared before it in order to explain what he meant by the Third Element and multiculturalism. "He and I disagreed," Frith recalled. "I did not think that the force he was referring to could be said to be a 'third force' in the sense that it did not have the linguistic homogeneity that the other two major language groups in the country have." In 1986, however, Frith was happy to point out that Paul's interpretation of Canada had won out. Paul had lived to see "multiculturalism recognized as the partner to bilingualism."<sup>20</sup>

The first volume of the Commission's reports, dealing with the question of two official languages, French and English, was published on 8 October 1967. One of the commissioners wrote a dissenting statement. Professor Jaroslav Rudnyckyj argued that "there is an objective need to recognize some extra privileges to larger linguistic regions where there is a concentration of speakers of one and the same mother tongue." He gave as examples Inuit and First Nations languages in the Northwest Territories and Yukon, German and Ukrainian in the Prairies, and Italian in Toronto and Montréal. In order to prevent what Rudnyckyj called "linguicide," these regionally official languages must be encouraged and funded in order that they might thrive in education, the media and for internal use in organizations and institutions.<sup>21</sup>

Rudnyckyj and Yuzyk were colleagues since the early 1950s when Paul joined the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba, where they shared an office. The idea of official regional languages was Paul's. In his memoir, *The Politics of Multiculturalism*,

Dr. Manoly Lupul refers to Paul's influence. Three months after Paul's maiden speech in 1964, Lupul met Paul, probably at the Bociurkiw's home, where they met from time to time.<sup>22</sup> To Lupul's surprise, Paul "revealed the language position that the national UCC in Winnipeg and Dr. Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj... would probably take." The "position," according to Lupul, "was essentially that of Rudnyckyj's 'Separate Statement' in the first *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism: Official Languages*, published in 1967."<sup>23</sup> In other words, Lupul was suggesting that Rudnyckyj was persuaded by Paul that Ukrainian and other Third Element languages be made official as regional languages, where numbers warranted. Years later, Lupul confirmed Paul's leading role in the B&B Commission and throughout the 1960s. In a letter-to-the-editor of the *Calgary Herald*, published on 5 May 1998, Lupul pointed out that it was Paul, and not Prime Minister Trudeau, who introduced the word "multiculturalism" to the cultural and linguistic debates of the 1960s, and Paul did so in reaction to what Lupul, in his letter, called the Royal Commission's "dualistic thrust."<sup>24</sup>

Paul had also been acquainted with Dr. Paul Wyczynski since the 1950s when they worked together on the first board of the Canadian Association of Slavists. Whenever they met, they spoke in Wyczynski's native tongue, Polish, and Wyczynski always found Paul "un parfait gentilhomme." While Dr. Rudnyckyj seems to have been in touch with Paul during the hearings, Paul Wyczynski was not,<sup>25</sup> even though, by that time, they were both members of the department of history, University of Ottawa.

After the release of Volume I, the UCC, early in 1968, published a White Book, perhaps also inspired by Paul, which promoted constitutional guarantees for Ukrainian and other Third Element linguistic groups.<sup>26</sup> To achieve formal recognition of the Third Element's important contributions to "the expansion of the Canadian economy and prosperity," their participation in the two Great Wars, and the conscientious performance of "their duties as citizens in every respect,"<sup>27</sup> Paul worked tirelessly throughout the mid- and late-sixties. He and his office assistants wrote letters. On 13 June 1966, to Borden Spears, editor of *Maclean's*, Paul wrote "Dear Sir, Upon reading your editorial 'How not to be a Separatist' in the June 18th issue of *MacLean's* [*sic*], it struck me that you are not aware of the

changing face of Canada.” To keep Spears up to date, Paul enclosed two speeches that he had delivered not long before, to the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, of which he had been a director since 1963, and to the Ukrainian National Youth Federation in Winnipeg. “The majority of the ethnic groups of the Third Element,” he informed Spears, “are Canadian-born and will continue to perpetuate their ancestral languages and cultures as an integral part of the Canadian cultural pattern.”<sup>28</sup>

Paul made scores of speeches all over Canada. He was in Toronto on 31 May 1964 to speak to almost six hundred members of the Ukrainian Cultural Centre on Christie Street. Canada, he told the audience, should recognize those who, along with the English and the French, have contributed to the nation’s growth. “New Canadians should be guaranteed the right to preserve their mother tongues and cultures,”<sup>29</sup> he added with enthusiasm. He was back in Toronto the following October, when he attended the first annual conference on Canadian Affairs, held on the campus of the University of Toronto. The conference’s theme was “The Changing Face of English Canada,” and the university students had gathered to discuss English-French relations. Speaking from the floor, Paul explained, to the fifty-two English- and French-speaking delegates from universities across Canada, that Canada was not a bicultural but a multicultural nation.<sup>30</sup> He spoke in Winnipeg in January 1965, October 1966 and March 1967. In September 1967, he was in Kingston to address the National Defence College on the “Third Element of Canadian Population and its Significance to Canada.” In Edmonton, on 28 August 1970, he delivered a speech entitled “The True Canadian Identity – Multiculturalism and the Emerging New Factor in the Emerging New Canada.” He also addressed audiences in St. Catharines, Halifax, Montréal, and even in Cleveland, Ohio.

Because Paul understood that education was constitutionally a provincial responsibility, and that culture was a shared federal-provincial issue, he kept in close touch with most of the provincial premiers. He arranged a meeting with Premier Ministre du Québec, Jean Lesage, in Winnipeg on Sunday, 3 October 1965, during Lesage’s western tour. The headline in *The Winnipeg Tribune* read “Lesage, Ukrainians speak same tongue.” Lesage was promoting education rights of French Canadians living in the four western provinces. In Winnipeg, he reached an agreement with the leadership of the Ukrainian Canadian



Committee (UCC), which represented twenty-nine groups. The three representatives who met with Lesage were Monsignor Wasyl Kushnir, John Syrnick, first vice-president of the UCC, and Paul. All four men agreed that French or English should be languages of instruction but that ethnic languages should be part of the curriculum of public schools, where numbers warranted. Lesage expressed a willingness to include both Ukrainian and Italian as subjects in the Québec curriculum. (Under Lesage, the province created its first Department of Education.) Paul pointed out that the agreement with Lesage was confirmation that Canada was both bilingual and multicultural.<sup>31</sup> He was using the meeting to put even more pressure on Ottawa to replace “biculturalism” with “multiculturalism.” Paul also communicated with Premier Ross Thatcher of Saskatchewan, and Premier Walter Weir of Manitoba.<sup>32</sup> Paul knew that if he could convince some of the provinces in the West to proclaim multiculturalism official, he would thereby be placing more pressure on Ottawa to adopt a similar policy. In July 1971, Harry Strom, Social Credit Premier of Alberta, announced that his province was henceforth officially multicultural.

Paul took to the air to promote multiculturalism. On 1 February 1965, he was a member of a panel that discussed bilingualism and multiculturalism on CBC Radio. Canada was a multicultural nation, he told the panel and listeners across Canada, and “‘the B and B Commission has come round to that stand’.” Later in the discussion, Paul said that he welcomed bilingualism, but he felt that French should be made available, but “not foisted on every school.” He insisted that other languages should be offered in schools.<sup>33</sup> This was not the first time that Paul had taken to the air to talk about multiculturalism. Two or three years earlier, Dr. Manoly Lupul heard him speak about multiculturalism. As Dr. Lupul says in his memoir, “I had earlier heard Paul Yuzyk on the radio, but (unlike bilingualism) I had not given it much thought.”<sup>34</sup>

Paul was in Edmonton on Sunday, 3 December 1967, urging Ukrainian National Federation members to challenge the concept of the two founding groups, and he called for a national conference of Canada’s Third Element, following the example of the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference/ *la Confédération de Demain*, convened that autumn in Toronto by Premier John Robarts. That conference, Paul argued, was an insult to the Third Element, because it dealt solely with

French-English relations.<sup>35</sup> Paul spoke in Sudbury, on Friday evening, 10 May 1968, at a two-day conference sponsored by the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews. The Third Element, he told delegates that evening, ““may be the binding force that will unite the Anglo-Saxon group with the French.”” He was pleased, he said, that Canada was a mosaic rather than a colourless melting pot.<sup>36</sup>

Amidst all these speaking tours, Paul managed to find time to write a book. To celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the first Ukrainian settlers in Canada, Paul wrote *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life*. Published in 1967, in both English and French, the book also celebrated the centennial of Canadian Confederation, and the roles that Ukrainian Canadians had played since 1891 in the development of the nation. The book, Paul surely realized, would not be overlooked by the B & B commissioners. Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II’s photograph appeared just before the Preface. Even the Queen, Paul claimed, could boast of Ukrainian heritage, by virtue of the fact that she was descended from Volodymyr Monomakh, Prince of Ukraine, who had married a daughter of King Harold, the Anglo-Saxon king who was killed at the Battle of Hastings in 1066.<sup>37</sup>

The book dealt with the achievements of the Ukrainian community in Canada in the fields of politics, culture, business, industry and so on. As usual, Paul’s research was meticulous. On 10 January 1966, he wrote to Mayor Stephen Juba of Winnipeg. “I am seeking information about the ethnic composition of the Police Force of our city,” he told the mayor, “which must be very cosmopolitan because of the cosmopolitan character of its population.” He went on to ask the mayor about “the contribution that the Ukrainians have made and are making in the City Police Force. How many and what percentage of Canadians of Ukrainian origin are ordinary constables as well as Officers?” Paul also wanted to know the percentages for the numbers of Ukrainians in training “and how many will graduate as officers by the end of June?” He concluded by asking Mayor Juba for the names of the officers of Ukrainian background.<sup>38</sup>

During the Senate debate on the Official Languages Bill, on 8 July 1969, Paul reminded the assembled senators what he had said in his maiden speech in March 1964, 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.”

He explained that ethnic groups were not seeking “to have their languages recognized as official,” but they did want those languages inserted into the curricula of all three levels of the Canadian education system where numbers warranted. On that day, Paul reminded his fellow senators of his speech to the Senate on 1 October 1968, when he expressed 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.” Because they were not consulted, members of the Third Element felt like second-class citizens.<sup>61</sup>

A good senator always functions better with the help of a good assistant. During his twenty-three years in the Senate, Paul was blessed with several excellent assistants, who took phone calls, typed letters, organized Paul’s schedules, and, sometimes, formulated speeches based on ideas presented to them by the senator. Near the beginning of his maiden speech, Paul had thanked Senator Connolly, chair of the Internal Economy and Contingent Accounts Committee, for acceding to his request for a secretary with knowledge of Ukrainian. In 1964, the *Toronto Star* sent a reporter to the Hill. He soon took note of one particular young woman. “Svenyslava Izio, an attractive 23-year-old secretary from Edmonton,” the reporter noted, “is one up on the capital’s bilingual civil servants.” This “energetic brunette,” reported the *Star*, spoke English, French and Ukrainian, and was studying Russian at the University of Ottawa. Slava’s Ukrainian-language typewriter was the only one of its kind on Parliament Hill. She was secretary to Senator Paul Yuzyk, the *Star* reporter added, and he represented 473,000 Canadians of Ukrainian origin.<sup>39</sup> The *Ottawa Citizen* also did a short piece on Paul’s new secretary.<sup>40</sup> She was, in the words of Paul’s friend, Senator Rhéal Bélisle, Paul’s “very efficient secretary.”<sup>41</sup>

Slava Izio was succeeded by Vera Bouffard, who worked with Paul from 1966 to 1976 in his first small cramped office. She established a filing system, and generally kept the office in good running order. Whenever research was called for, it was Vera Bouffard who did it. She recalls today that the senator’s office was the headquarters for all the ethnic groups in Canada.<sup>42</sup> In 1976, Bouffard moved on to the office of Steve Paproski, the chief opposition whip, and was replaced

by Teresa Luhovy, who held the position from 1976 to 1979. As well as French, English and Ukrainian, the Belgian-born Luhovy also spoke Russian and Spanish. Among her many roles was librarian, press secretary and researcher. She also organized the senator's clippings into scrapbooks.<sup>43</sup>

All Paul's assistants were proficient in several languages, which was of great benefit to Paul in his campaign for official multiculturalism. On 4 June 1964, Slava wrote, on behalf of Paul, to Claude Ryan, editor of *le Devoir*. "Cher monsieur Ryan," she wrote, "C'est avec grand intérêt que j'ai lu votre éditorial au sujet du 'troisième groupe' dans votre journal du 3 juin. C'est un pas de plus vers la bonne direction." The letter went on to explain that Paul was sending to Ryan a copy of his much celebrated ("accueils favorables à travers le pays") maiden speech in the Senate. The letter also thanked Ryan for having given Ukrainian Canadians recognition, in his editorial, "comme un groupe canadien vital." The letter ended by noting that "la coopération de tous les groupes fera du Canada un pays meilleur et plus heureux."<sup>44</sup>

Borys Sirskyj also served Paul Yuzyk. Borys was a highly competent and devoted executive assistant, often enthusiastically taking on additional responsibilities, above and beyond his job description, as well as working many long hours into the evening.

As a counterbalance to the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference, two conferences followed. The first was the International Conference of Christians and Jews, held at York University in Toronto in September 1968. Paul attended the conference, whose theme was "Overcoming the Barriers to Communication." The conference had come to the conclusion that, in all western societies, racism and ethnocentrism were pervasive, and that majority groups in all host societies believed that their value system was superior. The result was a power struggle between haves and have nots, and between the generations.<sup>45</sup>

On 10 September 1968, Paul issued a press release that announced a second conference, the famous and pivotal Thinkers' Conference. "People of every ethnic origin in Canada and the United States," he informed the media in North America, "will be glad to hear that the rights of minorities are gaining increasing attention and recognition." Participating organizations, fifteen in all, included the British Council of Christians and Jews, the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-

Defamation League of B'nai B'rith of both Canada and the United States, the Canadian Council of Churches, and *La commission pour l'oecumenisme des évêques catholiques canadiens*. Speakers from Israel, Britain, the USA and Canada addressed the theme "Ethnic Groups and Value Systems." Paul was one of an international panel of commentators on a paper given by Professor C.M. Turnbull, a New York anthropologist. Paul concluded that the conference and its printed report, which he attached to the press release, would be "most useful to participants in the Thinkers' Conference on Minority Rights in Canada to be held this fall with a view to pertinent constitutional changes."<sup>46</sup>

With the aid of the Secretary of State, the Senate Committee of Patrons, several national bodies and the Government of Ontario, Paul convened and chaired The Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights, held in Toronto from 13 to 15 December 1968. It was the most important conference in Paul's campaign to promote the concept of multiculturalism. It was the first time that most of the major ethnic groups of Canada came together under one roof. Representatives of the Baltic countries – Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania – had always been enthusiastic supporters of Paul's vision of official multiculturalism. From the beginning, Paul had also gained the support of Canadian Jews, who knew that fellow Jews in the Soviet Union were oppressed and rarely allowed to emigrate to Israel, Europe or North America.<sup>47</sup> The greatest representation at the Thinkers' Conference came from Ukrainians, Poles and Slovaks.<sup>48</sup> Until December 1968, several of the key ethnic groups had been disinclined to participate in Paul's vision.<sup>49</sup> Paul did manage to persuade German, Italian, Portuguese and Greek associations to attend, but only in small delegations.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, in a speech to the Senate on 1 October 1968, Paul referred to this apparent lack of interest on the part of some ethnic groups, whose membership consisted, in part, of "sceptics" who believed "that a united voice and action of the Third Element is impossible and even undesirable."<sup>51</sup> His greatest support was found in ethnic organizations whose homelands were part of the Soviet sphere of influence.

The conference aimed to deal with "the relevance and the relationship of this country's distinctive minority cultures to Canadian society as a whole, and in particular to Canada's multicultural heritage and its development of a new Constitution." Several senators, including

Norman MacKenzie, former president of UBC, Maurice Lamontagne, former Secretary of State, David Croll, the first Jewish senator in Canada, and James Gladstone, Canada's first Native senator, had agreed to join Paul in forming a Senate Committee of Patrons, in support of the conference. In a press release, Paul urged potential speakers to focus on several themes including "Constitutional recognition of minority cultural rights, and fundamental human rights." He suggested other themes such as "assimilation or ethnic identity in Canada," "Two Solitudes in Canada or a Multicultural approach," "Cultural pluralism in Canada and its relevance to future generations," and "the validity of the popular slogan 'unity in diversity'." The conference would also anticipate the publication of Volume IV of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The Commission had agreed to provide financial support for the conference.<sup>52</sup>

The Thinkers' Conference provided a platform for ethnic groups to explain their views to the media, and to invited guests such as Claude Ryan, and William G. Davis, Minister of Education in the government of Premier John P. Robarts of Ontario. Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier, Premier John Robarts and Provincial Secretary Robert Welch brought greetings to an estimated two hundred delegates, who gathered at the King Edward Hotel and also at the nearby St. Lawrence Hall to listen to papers and to discuss cultural rights and identity issues. The papers probed "the responsibilities and rights of cultural groups in Canada with respect to the current constitutional dialogue between federal and provincial governments." Speakers discussed "the relevance and the relationship of this country's distinctive minority cultures to Canadian society, and in particular to Canada's multicultural heritage." After Paul's opening address, at the King Edward on Friday evening, 13 December, delegates broke into small groups and discussed various issues such as the melting-pot metaphor versus the mosaic; linguistic and cultural rights; Indian, "Eskimo" and other minority groups; and rights and responsibilities of cultural groups in Canadian life.

The next morning, the delegates gathered at the St. Lawrence Hall to hear three papers on the theme of "Preservation of Cultural Traditions in Canada." At that session, William Davis presented a paper called "Role of Education in the Preservation of Cultural Traditions." On Sunday, Claude Ryan presented a paper entitled "Public Policy and the Preservation of Multicultural Traditions."<sup>53</sup>

Later, Paul edited the conference proceedings. On 17 September 1969, he sent a draft to Leon Kossar, Executive Director of the Canadian Folk Arts Council, in Toronto. "Would you be good enough," Paul wrote, "to check through the contents and give your suggestions for any additional material or changes." He had yet to include letters from Prime Minister Trudeau, Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier, Premier Robarts and Premier Strom, as well as copies of articles published in the *Montreal Star*. Paul asked that Kossar write an introduction, and he also asked Kossar for suggestions for a title.<sup>54</sup>

Almost four decades later, the Honourable William G. Davis, who succeeded the Honourable John Robarts as premier a few years after the conference, recalled speaking with Senator Yuzyk. Davis explained to the senator that Ontario had no problem with heritage languages in its curricula. In fact, he explained to Paul, Davis's Ministry of Education had already introduced many of those languages into the schools of Ontario. He went on to tell the senator that the Ontario Government supported recognition of the increasing diversity of Canada. Toronto, the minister pointed out to the senator, was already the multicultural capital of Canada. Today, the former premier remembers telling the senator that he understood the need and desire for some form of official recognition for the Third Element, in order that members might feel completely accepted in Canada. Davis also recalls that he expressed agreement with the senator that the old country, Ukraine, along with other members of the Soviet bloc, had every right to enjoy the same freedoms as the Third Element enjoyed in Canada.<sup>55</sup>

The proceedings, called *Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights – Concern*, were published by the Canadian Cultural Rights Committee, c/o Senator Paul Yuzyk, Chairman, which meant that it was published out of his office on the Hill. As well as including the several speeches given by Paul, Dr. Victor Szyrnski, the Honourable William G. Davis, Senator Andrew E. Thompson, Claude Ryan and others, the mimeographed publication included letters from several provincial premiers, from the Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier, and from Prime Minister Trudeau, who, on 4 February 1969, wrote to Paul thanking him for the material from the conference, and telling him that he was "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."<sup>56</sup>

Published on 23 October 1969 and tabled in Parliament on 15 April 1970, Volume IV of the Royal Commission focussed on the Third Element. The volume discussed the first non-Native Third Element groups to arrive in Canada, including the early Germans, Dutch and Scandinavians, Asians on the West Coast and “Negro” Loyalists of the 1780s. The report dealt with the cultural contributions of ethnic groups and their various histories. It devoted several pages to settlers in the Prairies, including the Ukrainians, Doukhobors and Asians. Subsequent chapters discussed patterns of settlement, times of arrival, immigrant and ethnic occupations, ethnic values, discrimination and exploitation, and language barriers. Other topics covered in Volume IV were the impact of radio and television on newcomers, maintenance of languages and cultures, the teaching of languages other than English and French, the teaching of Canadian history, the Canada Ethnic Press Federation and broadcasting in ethnic languages.

The final chapter of Volume IV investigated arts and letters as they related to the various ethnic groups. The volume made many recommendations, including 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.” The report also recommended “that the administrative costs of the Canadian Folk Arts Council... be provided for out of public funds through the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State.”<sup>57</sup> One of the recommendations of Volume IV was that the Public Archives of Canada “collect materials regarding cultural groups other than the British and the French.”<sup>58</sup> Among the scores of publications consulted by the commissioners for this fourth and last volume of the B&B Commission was Paul’s *The Ukrainians in Manitoba*.<sup>59</sup>

With the release of Volume IV, Ukrainian Canadians who had been aware of Paul’s crusade but remained on the sidelines, now grew interested. One of them was Dr. Manoly Lupul, who, in August 1970, decided to place his professional life at the University of Alberta on hold, and to commit the next year to do “whatever was needed to help obtain a national cultural policy appropriate to the needs of those ethnic groups that cared enough to articulate them.” He promised himself that he would work “with practically anyone” and travel



“almost anywhere” to achieve those ends.<sup>60</sup>

When Pierre Trudeau became prime minister in February 1968, he ushered in an exciting era of change and innovation. In Trudeau’s “Just Society,” all groups were to be equal and honoured. In 1968, the concept of the Just Society was announced by Governor General Michener, in the Speech from the Throne, the first one delivered after Pierre Trudeau was reconfirmed as PM in the election held on 20 April 1968. The following October in the Senate, Paul picked up the theme. “Honourable senators,” he told his fellows, “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’.” He noted that the government, following recommendations made in the first volume of the B&B Commission Report, planned to table an Official Languages Act, as part of a general constitutional reform. “Many of these wrongs, injustices and denied opportunities,” Paul went on, “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 minority.”

“This year,” Paul continued, “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,” he went on, “declared that ‘the maintenance of human rights should be the basic objective of the citizens of Canada’.” The solution, Paul concluded, was multiculturalism. “From the many reports that I have read,” Paul told the senators, “I have come to the conclusion that there is fairly unanimous opinion that Canada should be bilingual in some form,” but there was an equally strong opinion that, as far as culture was concerned, Canada was multicultural. Therefore 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.” Paul also had come to the conclusion, based on his reading of reports, that the CBC should produce programs that would “promote better understanding of our cultural heritage.” He also recommended “that ethnic groups should receive more representation in government bodies and national

institutions, and should not be discriminated against in the federal, provincial and municipal governments and services.” In other words, like all ethnic groups in Canada, Paul wanted “to see justice done in the proposed ‘just society,’ so that the Third Element would cease to be second-class citizens.”

Both Paul and the prime minister were advocating a similar version of “Just Society.” The irony of the situation probably escaped neither man. On the one hand was Paul, the bilingual (English and Ukrainian) Progressive Conservative whose parents had arrived in Canada in the early twentieth century; and on the other hand, there was Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, the multilingual Liberal whose ancestors had arrived in New France in the 1650s. The senator and the prime minister turned out to be a perfect fit. What Paul Yuzyk wanted, a Canada of many cultures within the bosom of one bilingual nation, was similar to what Trudeau had had in mind since at least the early 1950s. For Trudeau, multiculturalism was the formulation of his anti-nationalist stance articulated since the 1950s in *Cité Libre*.<sup>62</sup> On 15 December 1961, Trudeau told Peter Gzowski, Québec editor of *Maclean's*, that “by a historical accident, Canada has found itself approximately seventy-five years ahead of the rest of the world in the formation of a multinational state and I happen to believe that the hope of mankind lies in multinationalism.”<sup>63</sup> Although the term was not the same one that Paul introduced to the Hill, it is clear that Trudeau was advocating a multicultural form of society. He had long understood that Canada was a multicultural nation in which all cultures would be free to flourish.

When Trudeau stood up in the House at 11.05 on Friday, 8 October 1971 to announce that his government had accepted all the recommendations of the Royal Commission's Volume IV, he was in effect closing one chapter on multiculturalism, a chapter that had opened with Paul's maiden speech in the Senate, just down the corridor from the House, over seven years earlier. “For although there are two official languages,” the Prime Minister stated in the House that October day in 1971, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens,” he added, “is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly.” In effect, the Prime Minister was arguing, like Paul, that official multiculturalism would assure cultural freedom in Canada, it would

help to break down discrimination and “cultural jealousies,” and it would help to create “confidence in one’s own individual identity” without which there could be no national unity.<sup>64</sup> The speech had been approved a few days earlier by the B&B commissioners.<sup>65</sup>

“It seems,” Dr. Bohdan Bociurkiw pointed out, “that between 1968 and 1970, the prime minister and at least some of his senior colleagues reached the conclusion that general acceptance of the Official Languages Act and the far-reaching concessions to the French-speaking Canadians would be facilitated, especially among the so-called third groups, by the formal abandonment of the ‘bicultural’ formula that had evoked such sharp criticism from ethnic groups during the B&B Commission hearings.”<sup>66</sup>

At the tenth annual meeting of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Winnipeg, the day following his announcement in the House, the Prime Minister reiterated his proclamation. His choice of venue “may have reflected the vanguard role played by the Ukrainian-Canadian community in lobbying for Ottawa’s adoption of the policy”<sup>67</sup> Over 783 guests, including Ukrainian leaders and dignitaries such as the first Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan, Dr. S. Worobetz; the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, W.J. McKeag; Senator Paul Yuzyk; Judge J.R. Solomon (Chairman) and Mark Smerchanski, MP, attended the banquet at the Fort Garry Hotel commemorating thirty years of service of the UCC. Most of the delegates in Winnipeg, who included a contingent from the Ukrainian University Students’ Union (SUSK) of Ottawa, Paul’s daughter Vera among them, were pleased by Trudeau’s speech that evening. The Prime Minister noted that 1971 was the 80th anniversary of the arrival in the West of the first Ukrainian settlers. “We have no alternative but to be tolerant of one another’s differences,” he noted. “The fabric of Canadian society is as resilient as it is colourful. It is a multi-cultural society; it offers to every Canadian the opportunity to fulfil his own cultural instincts and to share those from other sources. This mosaic pattern,” the Prime Minister continued, “and the moderation which it includes and encourages, makes Canada a very special place.” Trudeau went on to reaffirm what he had said the day before in the House, that the Government of Canada had approved all the recommendations of Volume IV of the Royal Commission. He added that federal support would be available “to all of Canada’s cultures” that wanted to “grow

and contribute to Canada.” He thanked members of the audience for their “many briefs and submissions” to the B&B Commission. “I am more aware now than I was earlier,” he assured them, “of the special needs and aspirations of Canadians of Ukrainian origin, of your passion for the sustenance and flourishing of a culture which you have brought with you from a land which has since experienced considerable change.” He paid tribute to Ukrainian Canadian artists such as Leo Mol and William Kurelek, and musicians such as Steven Stryk and George Fiala. He quoted Taras Shevchenko on hope, and he also quoted Prime Minister Laurier’s concept of Canada as a great English cathedral, whose variety of building materials, from marble to granite and oak, retained their own particularity while, at the same time, they contributed to the creation of one great cathedral. In his speech at the Thinkers’ Conference of December 1968, Paul had also used the Laurier metaphor.<sup>68</sup> Since there are echoes of Paul’s speech in the Prime Minister’s address, one wonders if the PM’s office consulted Paul.

A few of the delegates were displeased that, while Trudeau was making that declaration in Winnipeg, he was preparing to welcome to Canada, a week later, Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin, one of the leaders of what Paul had called, in his maiden speech, “Russian communist imperialism.” Nor had some members of the audience forgotten that Trudeau, in an interview on CBC Radio on Sunday, 30 May 1971, shortly after his return from a visit to Moscow, implied a comparison between Ukrainian dissidents and members of the Front de Libération du Québec.<sup>69</sup> Fourteen youth delegates were conducting a hunger strike in the lobby of the Fort Garry, on behalf of Ukrainian political prisoners, and they hoped that the delegates at the congress would join them during the banquet. George (Yuri) Boshyk, a political science student from the University of Toronto, told reporters that the hunger strike might spread nationwide if the prime minister did not meet with the “Set Them Free” committee, in order to discuss Ukrainian political prisoners such as Valentyn Moroz.<sup>70</sup> Inside the hotel, the only interruption to the prime minister’s speech to the well-heeled audience came when the microphone system temporarily broke down.<sup>71</sup>

Paul’s pivotal role in moving the concept of multiculturalism from idea to official policy also drew American attention. A month after

Prime Minister Trudeau announced the policy, Professor Daniel P. Moynihan, then at Harvard University, communicated with Paul, via one of his graduate students, to ask about “the progress of the Third Element in Canadian life in effecting a multicultural society, particularly as this Third Element will/is making itself permanent in the evolving new Canadian Constitution.” Moynihan had ordered a copy of the B&B Commission Reports, and he asked for Paul’s CV.<sup>72</sup>

On the domestic front, his eldest daughters were married. During the summer of 1967, shortly after Mary and the family moved to Ottawa, Victoria married Robert Karpiak, a Slavic Studies major who, at the time, was a lieutenant in the Military Service (Navy), National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa.<sup>73</sup> At the dinner afterward, in the presence of fellow parliamentarians such as Dr. Eugene Forsey, the father of the bride spoke not only about his daughter but also about multiculturalism and Canadian unity. “Who could blame him?” the groom remarks today. “A person in politics has to be resourceful.”<sup>74</sup> On 10 October 1970, in a ceremony conducted by Bishop Isidore Borecky at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Evangeline married George Duravetz, a high school teacher. The reception was held in the West Block’s Confederation Room. Guests included the Honourable Michael Starr, Senator Rhéal Bélisle, Michael Wladyka, mayor of Port Hope, Steve Paproski, Progressive Conservative M.P. from Alberta, Colonel Joseph Romanow, and more than two hundred others from across Canada and parts of the USA.<sup>75</sup> News from Montréal intervened.<sup>76</sup> Just after 6 pm, Pierre Laporte, cabinet minister in the government of Premier Robert Bourassa, was kidnapped in front of his Montréal home by members of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ).

Among the French Element, resistance to and suspicion of official multiculturalism was perhaps strongest. Multiculturalism implied that the French Element was not a founding group but merely another ethnic group of Canada. As sociologist Guy Rocher pointed out, most of the Third Element was, or would eventually be, “almost exclusively within the orbit of the Anglophone community.”<sup>77</sup> And that was especially true in Montréal at the time. René Lévesque argued that multiculturalism was a Trudeau plot to win votes in the West. Others in Québec perceived it as part of Trudeau’s “political campaign against Québec nationalism and asymmetrical federalism, and in particular

against the Royal commission's recognition of Québec as a distinct society and the two-nations theory of Confederation sanctioned by the commission's reports."<sup>78</sup>

Nor was the policy universally popular among members of the British Element, some of whom grumbled that newcomers, to Canada and indeed to any country, should not expect to have their languages and cultures recognized as official. There was also criticism in the press that multiculturalism was perhaps the work of "a small elite group of Ukrainian Canadians and other disgruntled or maladjusted Canadians of Eastern European origin."<sup>79</sup> There were arguments about the cost of maintaining ethnic languages and cultures. The sociologist, John Porter, in his *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965), argued that a policy of multiculturalism and its encouragement of "ethnic group affiliation," would only serve to limit the upward mobility of newcomers.<sup>80</sup>

By 1971, however, Paul's detractors were in retreat. Multiculturalism had won the day. For Paul, the period from 1963 to 1971 was one of hard work, promotion and consensus building, for which he received many honours. In addition to his appointment to the Senate, he was appointed professor of Russian and Soviet History, as well as Canadian-Soviet Relations, at the University of Ottawa in 1966. In 1967, he was awarded a Centennial Medal, and the next year, 1968, the Shevchenko Gold Medal, an especially fitting reward since, in his maiden speech in 1964, he had quoted the great Ukrainian poet, Shevchenko, who had spoken out against tsarist tyranny. Shevchenko's protests inspired Paul. In his maiden speech, Paul hammered the Soviet Union, which he called "the largest existing totalitarian empire." He demanded that Canada and other free countries mobilize world opinion against Moscow in order 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." Paul's argument was two-fold: a free Ukraine in conjunction with some form of official respect for Ukrainians and other members of Canada's Third Element.

When Sandra Gwyn interviewed Paul for an article in *Saturday Night* in 1974, she remarked on his zeal. His "strength as a propagandist," she noted, "was not so much what he said as the fact that he never stopped saying it." By 1971, Paul told Gwyn, his ten year crusade "'to put multiculturalism on the map'"<sup>81</sup> had attained its goal. In

1971, two years after Canada was proclaimed officially bilingual, the country took on a more complex identity as officially multicultural within a framework of official bilingualism. Paul's mission had been accomplished. The 1960s had been his crowning decade. During those years, he had gained a reputation as a respected leader and Senator with a broad base of support in academic, political and other quarters, and particularly within groups and organizations associated with the Third Element. Because of that support, the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau was willing and happy to deal with him and to act upon his proposals. His next objective was the even more difficult task of finding the funding to convert multiculturalism from theory to reality.

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Yuzyk, "Introduction, The Emergence of Multiculturalism in Canada," in Paul Yuzyk, ed., *FOR A BETTER CANADA* (Toronto: Ukrainian National Association, Inc., Canadian Office, 1973), 9-17.

<sup>2</sup> Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community," Lupul, Manoly, ed., *Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1978), 99-100. Bociurkiw defines multiculturalism as a) Canada's demographic reality; b) the ideology of ethnocultural pluralism; and c) government policies that protect and nurture ethnocultural minority groups' cultures and languages.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.yuzyk.com/yuz-tribute1.shtml>, webpage of Senator Paul Yuzyk, prepared by Victoria (Yuzyk) Karpiak; LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 98, file 10, Howard Palmer to Paul Yuzyk, 26 May 1975; LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, vol. 111, file 23, Borys Sirskiy, "News and views: Canadian B&B Commission's legacy," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 22 December 1985, 5; LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 56, file 3, c.v. prepared by Senator Yuzyk for the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 13 September 1985; LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, vol. 99, file 22, Press Release, "Senator Yuzyk Continues Activities Under New Government," 11 December 1984, in which the senator's office states that he was "regarded as the 'Father of Multiculturalism'"; LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, vol. 88, file 6, Vera Dragasevich to Paul Yuzyk, 27 November 1974: "It is a well known fact to me that you are the 'father' of the Multiculturalism in Canada, therefore, I would like to obtain your comments on my essay"; <http://www.ukrweekly.com/Archive/1996/249616.shtml>, Christopher Guly, "The father of Canadian multiculturalism," originally published in the *Canada Courier*, 16 June 1996. The article was written after Guly had chatted with Victoria Karpiak about her father; and Earle McRae, "It was no time to die," *Ottawa Sun*, 16 October 2007. In the same article, McRae mentioned Paul. The occasion was the funeral of Chris Worden, RCMP constable murdered on duty. His funeral was held in Notre Dame Cathedral in Ottawa, which reminded McRae of other funerals there, including those of Gabrielle Leger, Yousuf Karsh and Senator Paul Yuzyk, who was, according to McRae, "acclaimed as the Father of Multiculturalism," a term that McRae discovered on [www.yuzyk.com](http://www.yuzyk.com), the webpage created by Victoria Karpiak. According to McRae, in an email, 28 February 2008, the title was confirmed by Vera Yuzyk.

<sup>4</sup> See Steven C. Roach, "Minority Rights and the Dialectics of the Nation: Otto Bauer's Theory of the Nation and Its Contributions to Multicultural Theory and Globalization," *Human Rights Review*, vol. 6, no. 1 (October 2004), 91-205.

<sup>5</sup> The Department of the Secretary of State of Canada deemed the book important enough to be included in the library of the Royal Train that carried the King and Queen across the country in May and June of 1939.

<sup>6</sup>See “How His Violin Shaped History,” *Winnipeg Tribune*, 27 April 1957.

<sup>7</sup>Serge Cipko, “The Man Who ‘Started All This Multiculturalism Business’: Paul Yuzyk and the ‘Third Force,’” fn. 2, a paper delivered at the Canadian Ethnic Studies Conference, Winnipeg MB, 28 September 2007.

<sup>8</sup>*Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Preliminary Report*, 1 February 1965, xl.

<sup>9</sup>*Gertrude M. Laing*, “Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Royal Commission on,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia, Second Edition*, vol. I (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers), 216. According to Davidson Dunton, the concept of biculturalism has long Canadian roots dating to the post-Conquest period. Perhaps because they did not want a rising on two fronts, in Québec and in the thirteen colonies, British authorities granted les Canadiens religious, legal and language rights. Later, during the period of the Union Government, from 1841 to 1867, French and English became official languages in the legislature of the Province of Canada, which was comprised of what is now southern Ontario and southern Québec. In 1867, by separating the united province into Ontario and Québec, the British North America (BNA) Act devolved some powers, including education, to the four new provinces, Ontario, Québec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. For Québec, with its majority francophone population, French as a language of education, and therefore culture, seemed assured. The BNA Act recognized the two languages for use in the Parliament of Canada and in the federal judiciary, as well as in the province of Québec. One of the rare occasions when it was used was in 1929. Graham Spry, in addressing the Canadian Club of Québec, described Canada as a bi-cultural nation. In 1963, when the B&B Commission was established, the two chairs and the commissioners could not find the term in a dictionary. Neither could Paul, as he noted in his maiden speech. “The commission concluded,” according to Dunton, “that the term referred to the existence in Canada of two principal cultures – that associated with the English language and that associated with the French.” As such, the commission recognized that its mandate was to examine “the state of each of the two cultures, and the opportunity for each to exist and flourish; and also the set of conditions that would enable members of the two cultures to co-operate effectively.” See Davidson Dunton, “Biculturalism,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia, Second Edition*, vol. I (Edmonton : Hurtig Publishers), 212-13

<sup>10</sup>Paul Wyczynski was born in Poland in 1921 and came to Canada in 1951. He taught at l’Université d’Ottawa, and his major research was on François-Xavier Garneau, and the iconic poet of Québec, Émile Nelligan.

<sup>11</sup> Bociurkiw, “The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community,” 101.

<sup>12</sup> First Nations, of course, had been in North America for thousands of years before European peoples began to establish themselves in what became Canada.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Yuzyk, “Canada, A Multicultural Nation,” in Yuzyk, ed., *FOR A BETTER CANADA*, 41. Of course the prince’s speech was written and approved by the Secretary of State in Ottawa.

<sup>14</sup> In 1963, Hobart addressed the sixth annual conference of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews. Hobart was a Californian who, during part of the 1960s, lectured in sociology at the University of Alberta. His topic in Winnipeg was the search for identity. “‘You are almost THE multicultural society of the world,’” Hobart told his audience, “‘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 a cause.’” Paul was in attendance that day. Not only did Paul refer to this important speech in his own maiden speech, but two years later he quoted from the speech in an article published in the *German Canadian Business Review*. That article is in LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 31, file 14, Paul Yuzyk, “The Canadian Vision,” *German Canadian Business Review* (Spring 1965). Herbert Frind also had an influence in Paul’s thinking.

<sup>15</sup>Bociurkiw, “The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community,” 101.



<sup>16</sup>John Jaworsky, "A Case Study of the Canadian Federal Government's Multiculturalism Policy," MA Thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1979, 48.

<sup>17</sup>Julia Lalonde, "The Roots of Multiculturalism – Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the "Third Force," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 38, no. 1 (2006): 49.

<sup>18</sup>Paul Yuzyk, "Introduction, The Emergence of Multiculturalism in Canada," in Yuzyk, ed., *For A Better Canada*, 12.

<sup>19</sup>*Toronto Star*, 10 December 1965.

<sup>20</sup>Royce Frith, Leader of the Opposition, Debates of the Senate, Hansard, 1st Session, 23rd Parliament, vol. 130, no. 159, Thursday, 24 July 1986. From 1971 to 1977, Frith was Commissioner of Official Languages. In 1977, he was appointed to the Senate where, among other things, he led the Liberals' filibuster against the GST, forcing Prime Minister Mulroney to call upon an obscure section of the BNA Act that allowed him to appoint eight extra senators. The rest is history.

<sup>21</sup>LAC, RG 33/80, box 187, "Prof. Rudnyckyj's Remarks," file 8.8.67: "Separate Statement by Commissioner J.B. Rudnyckyj," 11–12, 22. The authors would like to thank archivist Dominique Foisy-Géoffroy, for locating this file and others, and for making them available. Thanks also to archivist Myron Momryk for making initial contacts with Foisy-Géoffroy. See also RG 33/80, vol. 260, file "Rudnyckyj, J.B.," for Rudnyckyj's linguistic approach ("Formulas in 'Bilingualism & Biculturalism,'" 29 October 1965), which differed from Paul Yuzyk's more historical approach to multiculturalism.

<sup>22</sup>Manoly Lupul, *The Politics of Multiculturalism, A Ukrainian-Canadian Memoir* (Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2005), 259.

<sup>23</sup>Lupul, *The Politics of Multiculturalism*, 54.

<sup>24</sup>Manoly Lupul, "Trudeau didn't introduce multiculturalism to Canada," *Calgary Herald*, 5 May 1998, A 14.

<sup>25</sup>Interview with Dr. Paul Wyczynski, 18 March 2008.

<sup>26</sup>Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community," 106.

<sup>27</sup>The quoted phrases are from Paul's maiden speech in the Senate.

<sup>28</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 92, file 1, Yuzyk to Spears, 13 June 1966. Slava Izio made a copy of Spears' editorial, and Paul underlined what he found objectionable: "But the Chinese who came to Canada, like the Germans and the Ukrainians and the Italians and every other ethnic group, left their own country voluntarily for a country where they knew their own language would not be spoken or taught. They made the personal decision that every emigrant makes, to leave their ancestral language and culture behind them. They came here to become part of another culture, and they enjoy equality within it" (*Maclean's*, 18 June 1966).

<sup>29</sup>*Toronto Star*, 1 June 1964.

<sup>30</sup>William Stavdel, "Quebec Burning Issue at Student Conference," *Toronto Star*, 31 October 1964.

<sup>31</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 92, file 1, *Winnipeg Tribune*, 4 October 1965; and vol. 18, file 9, Ralph Miller to Paul Yuzyk, 4 October 1965.

<sup>32</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 27, file 5.

<sup>33</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 21, file 12.

<sup>34</sup>Manoly R. Lupul, *The Politics of Multiculturalism*, 48. By "it," he means "multiculturalism."

<sup>35</sup>*Toronto Star*, 4 December 1967.

<sup>36</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 92, file 1, *Sudbury Star*, 11 May 1968, 39.

<sup>37</sup>According to Paul, *Debrett's*, on 24 July 1966, explained that a daughter of King Harold had married the Grand Prince around the time of the Battle of Hastings in 1066. See Anne Tauté and John Brooke-Little, eds., *The Kings and Queens of Great Britain, A Genealogical Chart Showing their Descent and Relationships* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1970), which makes no mention of Queen Elizabeth II's Ukrainian blood.

<sup>38</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 17, file 20, Paul Yuzyk to Stephen Juba, 10 January 1966.

<sup>39</sup>Toronto Star, 11 February 1964. Slava was born in France in 1940 of Ukrainian parents, who brought her to Edmonton in 1949.

<sup>40</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 102, file 7, Norman Campbell, "Parliament," *Ottawa Citizen*, 26 October 1963.

<sup>41</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 16, file 16, Rhéal Bélisle to Paul Yuzyk, 13 December 1963. Bélisle had represented the riding of Nickel Belt at Queen's Park before he was appointed to the Senate in 1963.

<sup>42</sup>Interview with Vera Bouffard, 8 January 2008. Bouffard arrived in Canada in 1948. After living in Winnipeg and Toronto, she moved to Ottawa, where she heard "through the grapevine" that Senator Yuzyk was looking for an assistant.

<sup>43</sup>Interview with Teresa Luhovy, 31 January 2008.

<sup>44</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 92, file 1, Paul Yuzyk to Claude Ryan, le 4 juin 1964.

<sup>45</sup>Paul Yuzyk, "Minority Rights in the Just Society," 66-78.

<sup>46</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 92, file 4, "Press Release by Senator Paul Yuzyk, 10 September 1968.

<sup>47</sup>Irving Abella, "Multiculturalism, Jews, and the Forging of the Canadian Identity," in Andrew Cardozo and Louis Musto, eds. *The Battle Over Multiculturalism: Does it Help or Hinder Canadian Unity?* Volume 1. Ottawa: PSI Publishing, 1996, 54.

<sup>48</sup>Jaworsky, "A Case Study of the Canadian Federal Government's Multiculturalism Policy," 55.

<sup>49</sup>The Italian community of Toronto, for instance, resisted the senator's paradigm. See the *Toronto Star*, 5 April 1965 and 31 March 1965.

<sup>50</sup>Jaworsky, "A Case Study of the Canadian Federal Government's Multiculturalism Policy," 55.

<sup>51</sup>Paul Yuzyk, "Minority Rights in the Just Society," speech given in the Senate, 1 October 1968, reproduced in Yuzyk, ed., *FOR A BETTER CANADA*, 75.

<sup>52</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 90, file 14, Press Release No. 2, 1 May 1968.

<sup>53</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 91, file 1, press release. So successful was the Thinkers' Conference that Paul began to think of a second TC, which he hoped would take place five years later, on 30 March and 1 April 1973 at the Holiday Inn, Ottawa. It was a far less successful version of the first TC.

<sup>54</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 90, file 14, Yuzyk to Kossar, 17 September 1969.

<sup>55</sup>Authors interview with the Rt. Honourable William G. Davis, 10 October 2007.

<sup>56</sup>Paul Yuzyk, ed., *Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights – Concern* (Canadian Cultural Rights Committee and the Senate, 1969), 148.

<sup>57</sup>*Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, vol. IV (Ottawa, 23 October 1969), 220–21.

<sup>58</sup>*Royal Commission*, vol. IV, 222. The recommendation resulted in the establishment of an ethnic archives at what is now called Library and Archives Canada.

<sup>59</sup>*Royal Commission*, Vol. IV, 352.

<sup>60</sup>Lupul, *The Politics of Multiculturalism*, 117. True to his word, Lupul gave papers at conferences in several Canadian provinces, he formulated a position paper on linguistic policies for the Alberta government, he met with other interested people such as Watson Kirkconnell, Stephen Juba, William Kostash and Ed Schreyer, and he became active in Edmonton's P & B Club. For a record of Lupul's activities during his year off, and later, see *The Politics of Multiculturalism*, chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>61</sup>Paul Yuzyk, "Minority Rights in the Just Society," 66-78.

<sup>62</sup>See e.g. the November 1957 issue of *Cité Libre*, p. 17, for Léon Dion on nationalism. In March 1961, pp. 4-5, Pierre-Elliott Trudeau wrote that nationalism appeared to be "une forme d'aliénation" because it sapped energy from "notre propre réhabilitation nationale." Trudeau always argued that the province of Québec already had the tools, within Canadian Confederation, to reform itself.

<sup>63</sup>Peter Gzowski, "Portrait of an Intellectual in Action, *Maclean's*, 24 February 1962, 23, 29-30. The term "Interculturalisme" is used in Québec.

<sup>64</sup>*House of Commons Debates, Third Session – Twenty Eighth Parliament, 20 Elizabeth II, Volume VIII*, 8 October 1971.

<sup>65</sup>Interview with Dr. Paul Wyczynski, 18 March 2008.

<sup>66</sup>Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community," 108.

<sup>67</sup>Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community," 109.

<sup>68</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 87, file 3. See also vol. 113, file 8, for Paul's use of the metaphor in a Senate debate, 17 February 1970. The Prime Minister's staff were surely aware of what was said in the Senate, and perhaps one of them pointed out the metaphor, and included it in Trudeau's speech.

<sup>69</sup>The comparison, as quoted by Paul Yuzyk (*FOR A BETTER CANADA*, 248-49), was purely hypothetical. When asked why he had not brought up the subject of violation of human rights in Ukraine, the Prime Minister told the interviewer that he "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 Québec.'"

<sup>70</sup>*Winnipeg Free Press*, 9 October 1971. In fact, the prime minister did meet with the students, and promised to take a letter from them to Premier Kosygin.

<sup>71</sup>*Winnipeg Free Press*, 12 October 1971.

<sup>72</sup>LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 87, file 3, Halyna Duda to Paul Yuzyk, 27 November 1971.

<sup>73</sup>Karpiak was born in Berlin in August 1942. In 1978, his PhD thesis, at the University of Ottawa, was on "Don Juan in Slavic Drama." His teaching career took him to Queen's at Kingston (1972-77), and University of Waterloo, Waterloo (1977-2007). See LAC, Paul Yuzyk fonds, MG 32, C-67, vol. 82, file 18, Curriculum Vitae, Robert Igor Karpiak, 1978; and authors' interview with Robert Karpiak, 3 December 2007.

<sup>74</sup>Email from Dr. Robert Karpiak, 20 October 2007.

<sup>75</sup>"Ukrainske vesilia v murakh kanadskoho parlamentu," *New Pathway*, 23 January 1971.

<sup>76</sup>Email from Evangeline (Yuzyk) Duravetz, via Vera Yuzyk, 1 October 2007.

<sup>77</sup>Guy Rocher, "Multiculturalism: The Doubts of a Francophone," in *Multiculturalism as State Policy: Conference Report, Second Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism*, Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1976), 48-49, as cited in Jaworsky, "A Case Study of the Canadian Federal Government's

Multiculturalism Policy,” 83.

<sup>78</sup>Michael Temelini, review of Manoly Lupul’s *The Politics of Multiculturalism in Canadian Historical Review*, September 2007, 514–16. Dr. Richard Jones, Histoire, Université Laval, points out that while multiculturalism has never been welcomed in Québec, “third languages, as well as Aboriginal tongues, survive longer in Québec than outside, where the impact of English is overwhelming, far more so than the impact of French in Quebec” (Email, 5 November 2007).

<sup>79</sup>Jaworsky, “A Case Study of the Canadian Federal Government’s Multiculturalism Policy,” 55.

<sup>80</sup>John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 60-103, as cited in Jaworsky, “A Case Study of the Canadian Federal Government’s Multiculturalism Policy,” 53.

<sup>81</sup>The phrase is Paul’s, as quoted by Sandra Gwyn in “Multiculturalism: a Threat and a Promise,” *Saturday Night*, February 1974, 16. At the National Arts Centre one evening in the early 1980s, Luba Goy, a fellow Ukrainian Canadian, entertained a mostly Ukrainian Canadian audience, all of them familiar with Paul’s achievements. In the guise of Mme Benoit giving a recipe for Chicken Kiev, Goy pretended to mispronounce Paul’s last name as “lazyk” or “tongue.” Goy meant the joke as a compliment for Paul’s doggedness in accomplishing his goals, particularly his chief goal of official multiculturalism. (Interview with Luba Goy, 29 October 2007).

## Memorable Manitobans: Paul Yuzyk (1913-1986)

Historian, Senator.

Born at Pinto (near Estevan), Saskatchewan on 24 June 1913, of pioneer Ukrainian parents. He was an excellent pupil in public and high school, receiving 100% on the final exam in Grade 11 mathematics and physics. After attending the Saskatoon Normal School (Teacher's Training College) from 1932 to 1933 where he graduated with distinction, he taught public and high school from 1933 to 1942 in Hafford, Saskatchewan. In 1942 he enlisted in the Canadian Army where, as a non-commissioned officer, he trained officers until discharged in 1943 to return to university.



At the University of Saskatchewan Yuzyk completed a BA in Mathematics and Physics in 1945, BA Honours in History in 1947 and an MA in History in 1948 on "The Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic Church of Canada". He was then offered a fellowship from the Manitoba Historical Society to write a history of the Ukrainians in Manitoba. This work was published in 1953 as *The Ukrainians in Manitoba - A Social History*. In 1949 he entered a PhD program in history at the University of Minnesota completing his course work in 1951 and his PhD thesis in 1958 on "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada 1918-1951".

His academic career began in 1951 with an appointment to the University of Manitoba as Assistant Professor of Slavic Studies and History. In 1958 he was elevated to Associate Professor of History and Slavic Studies. During his tenure at the University of Manitoba he co-authored *The Ukrainian Reader* with Honore Ewach which was used as a text in public and high schools in the prairie provinces. He also served on the Manitoba Historical Society as Treasurer, Secretary, Vice President and President 1952-1963; Editor of the Society's annual Transactions of historical articles 1953-1958; Co-Editor on

the Editorial Board of the Manitoba Historical Society's quarterly historical magazine *Manitoba Pageant*, 1956-1963; Chairman of Ethnic Group Studies sponsoring several histories of Manitoba's Mennonites, Jews, Poles, Icelanders and Hutterites.

Yuzyk continued to teach after his appointment to the Senate (1963) as full professor on a part-time basis at the University of Ottawa from 1966 to 1978. There he taught courses on Central and Eastern Europe, Russian and Soviet History and Canadian-Soviet Relations. He became Director of a seven-year major research project culminating in the publication in 1980 of a large 840-page volume, *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada 1891-1976* and was a Co-Editor with William Darcovich.

Alongside his academic pursuits Yuzyk played an active role in numerous community organizations. To highlight a few:

- A founder and first President of the Ukrainian National Youth Federation 1934-1936 and editor of its monthly magazine "Holos Molodi" (Youth Speaks) 1948-1949;
- A founder of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union 1953;
- National Treasurer of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee 1952-1955;
- Founder, first Secretary Treasurer 1954-1956, President 1963-1964, the Canadian Association of Slavists (CAS);
- Founder and first President of the Progressive Conservative Club of Ukrainian Canadians 1958;
- President, Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, 1955-1971;
- Member of the YWCA Advisory Committee on Adult Education 1958-1963 and member of the General Curriculum Committee, Dept. of Education, Government of Manitoba 1958-1959;
- Director, Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra, 1962-1968;
- Board of Directors, Canadian Centenary Council, 1956-67

His profile in Manitoba as historian and community leader earned Yuzyk an appointment to the Senate on 4 February 1963 by the

Right Hon. John Diefenbaker whom he had known since 1935. Yuzyk's activities in the Senate have been primarily in the areas of multiculturalism, human rights, external affairs and national defense. For his role in shaping the policy of multiculturalism, he has been called the "Father of Multiculturalism."

He was also active in a variety of parliamentary committees as well as parliamentary delegations, particularly delegations to the United Nations, the North Atlantic Assembly (NATO) and the Review Conferences of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Belgrade, Madrid and Ottawa. As Rapporteur of the Subcommittee of the Free Flow of Information and People, 1977-1981, he was responsible for reports on the implementation of human rights on an international level and was editor of "The Bulletin" published by North Atlantic Assembly.

In the Senate Yuzyk was closely associated with cultural and human rights organizations particularly the following:

- Director, Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, since 1963;
- Acting Chairman, Canadian Parliamentary Amnesty International Group since 1974;
- Chairman, Human Rights Commission, World Federation of Free Ukrainians since 1967;
- Chairman, Canadian Folk Arts Council 1975-1980, President since 1980;
- Organizer of a number of successful cultural events on Parliament Hill such as Baltic Evening, starting in 1972, Ukrainian Evening in 1971 and 1981 and the 90th Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada.

As a Senator, his publications included *The Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life*, published in English, French and Ukrainian in 1967, *For A Better Canada*, a compilation of Yuzyk's speeches in the Senate, published in 1973 and *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951*, published in 1981. He was a member of the editorial boards of 18 investigative Senate reports published by the Queen's Printer since 1970 and has numerous articles published in magazines and newspapers.

Honours and medals awarded to Yuzyk include Keys to the Cities of

Detroit, Buffalo and Rochester USA, the Canadian Centennial Medal, Manitoba Centennial Medal, the Shevchenko Gold Medal, Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Toronto) Gold Medal, Knight-Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great and the Grand Cross of Knights of Malta.

Posthumous recognition: Senator Paul Yuzyk Scholarship, since 1991, Canada-Ukraine Parliamentary Program(CUPP) sponsored by Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation; Nation Builders Award 2003, Ukrainian Canadian Congress - Saskatchewan Provincial Council; Paul Yuzyk Award for Multiculturalism launched in June 2009 and awarded annually, by the Honourable Jason Kenney, Federal Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism.

Family: Paul Yuzyk was married to Mary Bahniuk (1914-2005), born in Hafford, Saskatchewan. He had four children: Evangeline Paulette Yuzyk, Victoria Irene Yuzyk, Vera Catherine Yuzyk and Theodore Ronald Yuzyk, who reside in Ottawa. He has six grandchildren: Tanya, Larisa, Paul, Thea, Lukash and Paula and one great grandson Gabriel. Yuzyk is survived by his sister Mary Brown.

Personal Papers: Yuzyk donated an extensive collection to the Library and Archives Canada (LAC) in Ottawa called the Paul Yuzyk Papers (MG 32 C 67), Finding Aid # 1592. It consists of 139 volumes of correspondence, publications and other printed materials associated with his family, education, organizational, academic and Senate life.

His articles for the Manitoba Historical Society:

The First Ukrainians in Manitoba

*MHS Transactions, Series 3, 1951-52 Season*

The Ukrainian Canadians

*Manitoba Pageant, April 1956*

A New Monument on the Legislative Building Grounds

*Manitoba Pageant, Volume 7, Number 1, September 1961*

Distinguished Descendant of the Selkirk Settlers

*Manitoba Pageant, Volume 8, Number 2, January 1963*

*This page was prepared by Vera Yuzyk, MA.*





Paul Yuzyk meets Pope John Paul II



The Queen and Prince Philip chat with Senator Paul Yuzyk at a reception at Government House in Ottawa on July 1, 1967.  
Photo taken from the Ottawa Citizen Newspaper, June 26, 2010



The Yuzyk family picture taken in February, 1963,  
when Paul Yuzyk was appointed to the Senate.

Ted Yuzyk in the front row.  
Back row, left to right: Victoria, Vera and Evangelina.





Senator Paul Yuzyk and his wife, Mary, speaking with Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau, after he announced the policy of multiculturalism at the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Winnipeg, October 9, 1971.

*Photo supplied by the Canadian Government Photo Centre.*



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