

СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

MARCH/APRIL

1986

50 ¢

ETUDIANT

CANADA'S NEWSPAPER FOR UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

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Студент

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BUSINESS AS USUAL



Edmonton monument defaced second time

by Michael B. Bojurkiw

Reprinted from Ukrainian Weekly

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — For the second time in less than five months an Edmonton monument dedicated to the victims of the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33 was defaced by vandals.

Sources in the provincial capital say the words "Nazi ties" were painted across the face of the monument sometime on the evening of April 6.

The three-year-old monument stands in front of City Hall in downtown Edmonton, also the site of a statue erected on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Ukrainian pioneer settlement in Canada.

The defacement of the monument has outraged members of Edmonton's Ukrainian community. Said Andrij Semotuk, president of the provincial Ukrainian Canadian Committee: "It was a very childish act for someone to do."

The incident occurred just one day after the conclusion of a Ukrainian community conference on the participation of Ukrainians in World War II.

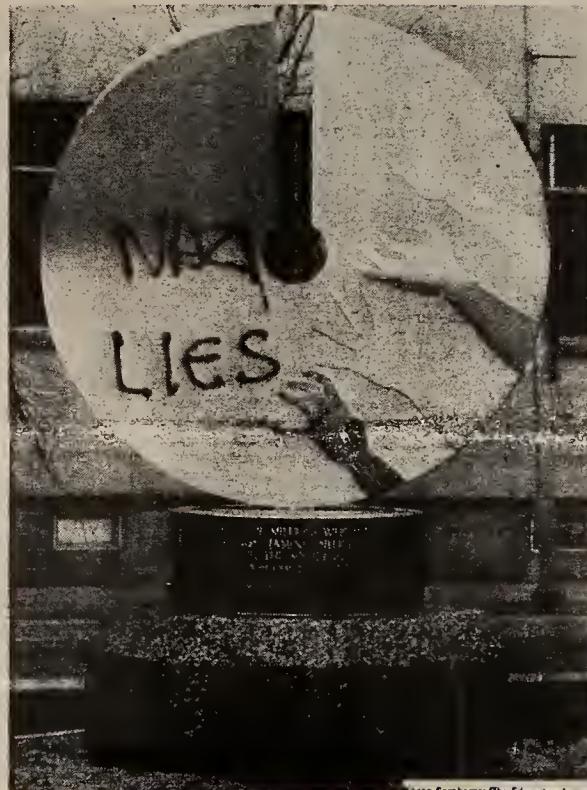
Myron Spolsky, a spokesperson for the provincial office of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, said the incident is "very probably" a response to the conference by some unknown group.

The three-day conference, organized to present the Ukrainian role during and after the second world war, drew a standing-room-only crowd to a downtown Edmonton hotel. It was modelled on conferences held over the past 12 months in Winnipeg and Toronto.

A release issued jointly by the UCC and the Jewish Federation of Edmonton condemned the act as "an outrageous act of political vandalism" that brings back memories of an era when Jewish synagogues and cemeteries were defaced.

"It is an insult to the Ukrainian community and to the memory of the millions of innocent victims who died in 1932-33," the statement said.

The statement continued: "This act of vandalism undoubtedly reflects the views of an insignificant sector of our society. Yet it serves as a reminder that



Karen Somberger/The Edmonton Journal

The famine monument, as it appeared after vandals defaced it last week.

there are still those who would revise history and deny the fact that the man-made famine of 1932-33 took place. This act demonstrates once again why such monuments are necessary."

The statement was released April 8 and was signed by Bohdan Krawchenko for the UCC and Shelly Maerao of the Jewish Federation of Edmonton.

Edmonton Mayor Laurence Decore

said he can't imagine who defaced the monument, but he cautioned that it would be a big mistake to make a big issue out of the incident since "one person shouldn't be allowed to create an uproar."

Said Mr. Decore, himself of Ukrainian origin, in a brief interview with The Weekly: "We all know that there are a few Bolsheviks around to make sure

that people don't know the history."

In response to the incident Mr. Decore says he has ordered the City Hall security forces to keep a closer watch on the monument.

Lance Benswick, the public information officer for the Edmonton Police Department, told The Weekly that no

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK) finds it both unfortunate and ironic that it has been labelled as a radical element for its role within the greater Ukrainian Canadian community on the Deschenes issue. STUDENT newspaper has also been cast in a similar light. Such a portrayal of both SUSK and STUDENT appeared in Murray Campbell's Saturday March 1 article in Toronto's Globe and Mail newspaper entitled: "War crimes probe raises community racial tensions."

Such a portrayal of both SUSK and STUDENT is most inaccurate, as anyone even remotely acquainted with these organizations' history and activities could tell you. Since its inception in the early 1950's, SUSK has always played an active role in the area of exposing and counteracting Soviet human rights violations and has collaterally promoted the interests of Soviet Jewry. SUSK has always recognized that, with respect to human rights violations behind the Iron Curtain, the Ukrainian and Jewish Canadian communities have common

objectives which can be served through joint efforts by members of both communities. STUDENT, since its inception in the late 1960's, has complemented SUSK's efforts in this area through its consistent record of speaking out on flagrant abuses of human rights and its support of Soviet Jewry.

SUSK has also taken an active role on the domestic front and has been proactive in the establishment of contacts between the Ukrainian and Jewish Canadian communities. Meaningful contacts had already been established before the appointment of the Deschenes Commission. The University of Toronto Ukrainian Students' Club and the Jewish Students' Union/Hillel formed the Jewish & Ukrainian Students' Dialogue in the spring of 1980 and proceeded to hold several jointly sponsored events, including a panel entitled "Human Rights in the Soviet Union" featuring Edward Kuznetsov and Nadia Svitlychna at the University of Toronto in March, 1981. More recently, on December 7 and 8,

1984, the Ukrainian Students' Club and the Jewish Students' Union at the University of Toronto co-sponsored a conference on human rights on issues of common concern to both communities.

In order to prevent the community and racial tensions described in the Globe and Mail article, SUSK invited Dr. Victor Goldbloom of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews to speak to its membership at the annual SUSK Congress in Toronto in August, 1985, and was involved in constructive discussion with B'nai Brith of Canada in Winnipeg in February of this year where possibilities for joint projects were discussed. If anything, SUSK has had a leading role in promoting harmonious relations between the Ukrainian and Jewish communities in Canada, continuing its efforts since the formation of the Deschenes Commission.

It was in this spirit that the University of Toronto USC invited Mr. David Matas to participate in an open discussion with Mr. John Sopinka and representatives of Toronto's Ukrainian

and Jewish STUDENT communities on the effects of the Deschenes Commission on Ukrainian-Jewish relations. This discussion was attended by members of Toronto's Ukrainian and Jewish communities, as well as by members of the general University of Toronto STUDENT body. Mr. Matas chose to use this forum as an opportunity to focus in on an article appearing in STUDENT'S Nov.-Dec. issue. STUDENT has always acted independently of SUSK as an open forum for fact and opinion reflecting the interests of Ukrainian Canadian students. STUDENT printed the article because it felt it provided a contribution to the Deschenes debate. The article was but one author's particular view on the Deschenes issue. Other articles have appeared in STUDENT giving differing viewpoints.

The article in question speaks of Mr. Matas' encounters with "hostile audiences", most recently at this USC

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As most of you know, a recent issue of STUDENT has caused some concern within the Jewish-Canadian community, and regrettably so. It is not the intention of STUDENT to create tensions or to exacerbate relations, but rather to create an open forum for constructive dialogue. The entire war criminals issue has stirred emotions in both the Ukrainian and Jewish Canadian communities. Our task as Ukrainian Canadian students is to alleviate tensions and to provide a meaningful contribution to issues of mutual concern to both communities.

Friction has been created between us and the Jewish community, friction that is not solely our doing. Accusations have been made that we have published anti-Semitic content, and in the eyes of certain individuals, this may be so. The editorial board of STUDENT did not see it as such, for had this been the case, the article in question would never have gone to print. The controversy stems from a question of oversensitivity on the part of the Jewish community, or under-sensitivity on the part of the Ukrainian community. If such is the case, then we are sorry that a situation of this nature exists. We would, however, like the Jewish community to be aware that inflammatory rhetoric, such as that used by Mr. Matas, Mr. Wiesenthal, and Mr. Littman, does not ease the situation any, and makes it difficult for us to accord them the respect they deserve.

We would also like to point out to the Jewish community that we have a common enemy; the Soviet Union. Moscow is largely responsible for the friction which exists between our communities. It is a well known fact that where two fight, a third benefits. The two communities must be willing to forge an alliance so as to serve common goals. As Ukrainian students we would be willing to embark upon projects of common interest.

There are a number of projects that could be co-sponsored by the two student communities: a Shcharansky speaking tour, research projects into the lives of Ukrainians and Jews in the Soviet Union, a lecture series where both communities will have a chance to clear-up misconceptions about one another, and a campaign to correct Soviet disinformation about Ukrainians and Jews, in the Soviet Union and around the world.

For years Ukrainians have been plagued by the effects of the Soviet propaganda machine, and as a result we react rather harshly when the Soviets employ new smear campaigns against us. At times this frustration tends to spill over into our dealings with other ethnic groups. We hope and believe that the Jewish Canadian community will not interpret this as an 'underlying anti-Semitism'. Through co-operation, both communities can reach an understanding and STUDENT wishes to take the initiative in reaching this understanding.

In conclusion, we would like to invite the Jewish community, in particular the Jewish students' community, to participate in active dialogue with us. Articles and opinions are always welcome here at STUDENT, and we would be delighted to hear them.

STUDENT

All signed letters of reasonable length which comply with Canadian libel and slander laws will be printed unedited (save for purposes of clarity) in this column. We will not print anonymous letters, but if for personal reasons contributors wish to withhold their names or use a pseudonym, this can be arranged. In all cases, however, we require both a genuine signature and a return address.

ON TARGET - UNDER FIRE

Editor
Student Newspaper
620 Spadina Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 2H4

Dear Sir,

We are writing you regarding the article "Deschenes Commission" by Boris Zayachkowski that appeared in your November/December 1985 edition, in the column On Target. Rather than being an informational briefing on the government appointed Deschenes inquiry into Nazi war criminals living in Canada, the article appeared to be a critique of two major ethnic groups, the Jewish community and the Ukrainian community.

Mr. Zayachkowski's criticism of his own Ukrainian community seemed to cast that group as naive and untutored, and unsophisticated newcomers who "are not able as yet to fully integrate into urban North American society and use the machinery of an urban society to its greatest advantage." Since the many activities of the Ukrainian community -- social, cultural and political -- make this statement obviously untrue, we can only assume that the Ukrainian community was presented in this guise to serve as a dramatic foil for Mr. Zayachkowski's characterization of the Jewish community as "urban" and an "influence peddling machine".

In fact, in the matter of the Deschenes Commission and in any other area in the general community, Jewish groups have no more collective influence than any other group. In the area of prosecution of war criminals, the Jewish community has reiterated that it is interested in individuals who prove to be Nazi war criminals being brought to justice. The community is interested in nothing more -- or nothing less.

Mr. Zayachkowski is bent on suggesting that the Deschenes Commission is somehow a

creation of the Jewish community. In order to do this, he has retreated to a common anti-Semitic practice -- that of identifying Jews by a code word or characteristic, in this case his identification of the group as "urban" followed by a damning definition of that word. After applying his label, he has built a jingoistic house of cards around his assumption. We must protest this strategy and insist that Mr. Zayachkowski apologize.

We must also protest the fact that your paper, Student, has published not only Mr. Zayachkowski's article, but also two very objectionable cartoons. Are we to assume that Mr. Zayachkowski's views and the cartoons that were run represent the view of the Ukrainian student community-at-large? If this is not the case, we would appreciate that the editor of Student clarify that in a statement in this issue of the newspaper.

If the Jewish and Ukrainian communities find that they are in disagreement over substantive issues from time to time, there is no great danger in that. All of us will have individual interests to pursue at given points of time. What is important however is that such disagreements be handled in a straightforward manner, on the issues, without deteriorating into name-calling and old, false labels.

A meeting between members of the Jewish student community and the Ukrainian student community (through its organization SUSK) was recently held at the Western Conference of SUSK in Winnipeg. That meeting and those that have followed have been fruitful, and have opened lines of communications between these two groups. More can be accomplished by honest dialogue than by any variation on old anti-Semitic stances.

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СТУДЕНТ STUDENT ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

Please address all correspondence to:

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Student is an open forum for fact and opinion, reflecting the interests of Ukrainian-Canadian students on various topics — social, culture, political and religious.

The opinions and thoughts expressed in individual signed articles are the responsibility of their authors, and not necessarily those of the Student staff. Student's role is to serve as a medium through which discussion can be conducted on given issues from every point of view.

Letters to the editor are welcome. We reserve the right to edit materials for publication.

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Tony Rocchi
Lesia Shymko
Jeffrey Stephanuk
Boban Stukalo
John Szczurko
Bob Zayachkowski



We look forward to this issue of *Student* setting the record straight and allowing meaningful dialogue to continue.

Most sincerely yours,

Brenda Barrie
Community Relations Director
Winnipeg Jewish Community Council

Gayle Charach-Norris
College/Campus Services Director
Jewish Students' Association of Winnipeg

"...Jewish groups have no more collective influence than any other group?" To quote Barbara Amiel (*Toronto Sun*, April 14, 1986): "A dozen letters to CTV from Ukrainian associations seems to count for little. One letter from the B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League has considerably more clout." Thank you for your letter.

-ed.

WE OBJECT

Editor *Student*

We object to the nature of the content of the column *On Target*. As a nation-wide Ukrainian student newspaper, derogatory and libelous remarks encountered in this column reflect negatively on Ukrainian Canadian students. Non-Ukrainian students reading the contents of such a column could easily misinterpret the character and opinions of Ukrainian students in general. If we are to be respected by other student groups,

particularly the Jewish Students' Union, with whom we share many common goals, how can we tolerate descriptions of the Jewish community as "an influence-peddling machine" with a "formidable presence in all areas of employment" such that intimidated Ukrainian spokesmen "avoid biting the hand that feeds them."

Under the cap of sweeping generalities, Ukrainians are portrayed negatively as "unmotivated" and the women, in particular, depicted as husband-hunting underachievers. Such remarks are subjective and unsubstantiated by fact. There are many Ukrainian success stories both in Canada and abroad. It should be noted that Ukrainians are listed as the fourth largest university-educated major ethnic group in Canada, surpassing both the British and French (Krawchenko 1977).

Certain freedom of expression is a democratic right which must be respected. However, the appropriateness of giving forum to such bigoted and chauvinistic commentary is questionable. We encourage the column but not the potentially harmful content.

Sonia Sławuta
University of Toronto

Lydia Soltyk
University of Toronto

Many people agree. Thank you for your letter. -ed.



The appointment of the Deschenes Commission in 1985 to investigate Nazi war criminals living in Canada clearly showed the Ukrainian community in Canada several things; that the Ukrainian community in Canada as a lobby group is largely ineffective and that the community should make the effort to improve its presently deficient lobbying skills in light of the damage the Ukrainian community in Canada has suffered over the past year.

Effective lobby groups utilize a certain methodology which ensures success; interestingly enough, this methodology is almost exactly opposite to that mastered by the Ukrainian community in Canada to date. A comparison of these lobbying strategies reveals some interesting points.

There are many different types of lobbies. One method of analyzing them is to set up a continuum with issue-oriented groups on one end and institutionalized groups on the other. Lobbying by Ukrainians in Canada has to date been almost exclusively of the former category. (eg. Committee for the Release of Valentyn Moroz, Civil Liberties Commission). Such groups are informal and are likely to be around only as long as their cause is. They have a tendency towards extreme action and believe that anything they might care to do is justified because their cause is good and they themselves are pure. Government hates to deal with these people because they are unpredictable and not likely to compromise. Another reason is that these people, being good and pure, generate large amounts of guilt and self-examination in the civil servants and politicians being lobbied. Such a feeling is unpleasant and thus contact with such groups is kept to a minimum. Institutionalized lobby groups, alternatively, are longer lasting and highly bureaucratic. They are led by people who are politicians themselves, quite similar to the people they are lobbying. This facilitates greatly their lobbying efforts; government likes who they are dealing with and is ensured of continuity in future dealings with this group. Such lobby groups develop long term lobbying strategies and a network of contacts which assist greatly in the successful achievement of lobbying

goals. Obviously an institutionalized lobby group is a necessity for a successful lobby effort.

The tactics used play a great part in determining a lobby group's success. Lobbying tactics can be divided into two categories; direct action techniques and ongoing, behind the scenes, lobbying activities. The Ukrainian community has to date employed almost solely the former. Direct action techniques involve picketing, holding demonstrations, blitzing politicians, the media, and bureaucrats, and engaging in general civil disobedience, with a level of intensity directly proportional to the group's ideological commitment to their cause. In terms of directly influencing government, such actions have little effect and if anything, demonstrate such groups' powerlessness. Anybody with real power and access would be utilizing the second lobbying tactic mentioned above, ongoing lobbying activity. They would be employing the quiet, behind the scenes techniques employed by the professionals in the influence industry. Government dislikes confrontation and conflict so that such tactics seem to stiffen government resistance to such a group's demands, achieving the exact opposite of what was sought. In addition, the primal scream quality of Ukrainian direct action techniques leads to difficulty for government to respond or even comprehend exactly what is being demanded of it. Direct action techniques are successful only with favourable media coverage and therefore rely totally on the media for success; without favourable media coverage, such techniques will be ineffective. Media coverage can give credibility and imply public support and strength which such groups may not really possess. However, the Ukrainian community does not consistently have the media on its side and thus should not rely solely on the ad hoc direct action techniques it has utilized to date. Only through successful manipulation of the media can the Ukrainian community cultivate consistent media support.

When lobbying activities are used is another important consideration. The timing of lobbying activity can be either reactive or anticipatory. Ukrainian lobbying efforts have to date been mostly reactive; the community's response to the Deschenes Commission is an excellent example. Lobbying for the punishment of Nazi war criminals living in Canada has been taking place since the term of Diefenbaker. Such efforts were extensively publicized. An intelligent response from the Ukrainian community would have been to ANTICIPATE the success of these lobby efforts and counter these efforts with lobbying of their own. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian community instead waited until the Deschenes Commission was established and then commenced lobbying efforts REACTIVELY, to try and defend itself. The Ukrainian community missed the boat here. One can only hope that we, in Canada, are spared the type of travesty of justice that

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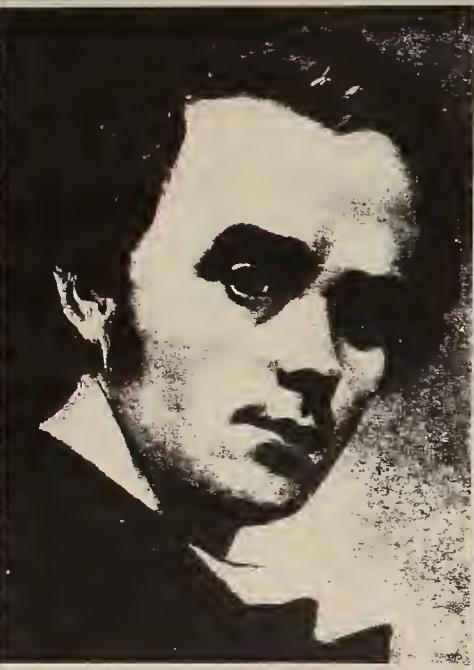
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TRIBUTE



Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), the poet laureate of Ukraine, is traditionally recalled on the anniversaries of his birth and death in March by Ukrainians around the world. That we continue to pay tribute to this man and his words attests to the everlasting genius of his poetry and the universality and timelessness of his ideas.

Shevchenko's works made a tremendous impression on all classes of Ukrainian society primarily because of its high quality as poetry. But, this beautiful poetry also bore a powerful message. Referring to Ukraine as "that land of ours that is not ours," Shevchenko called on his contemporaries to rise up and break the chains of serfdom imposed by the Russian regime.

With the power of his pen, Shevchenko re-awoke his dormant nation by using evocative descriptions and vivid imagery to capture the imaginations of his fellow countrymen. His major poems describe Ukrainian village life, and the beauty of Ukrainian culture and traditions. But, his most powerful works lament for an oppressed nation and its people.

Not all, however, understood fully what the poet and political thinker sought to convey, and even today, in our hasty readings of Shevchenko, we often fail to realize just how great his vision was. Shevchenko delineated a national program; he expressed his vision of Ukraine as a completely independent historical and political entity; he outlined his concept of the historical and social unity of the Ukrainian people.

And, all this, came from the pen of a poet who was once referred to by the noted Russian critic Vissarion Belinsky, as the non-existent poet of a non-existent nation, a non-existent literature and a non-existent language.

But Belinski was wrong. The power and strength of Shevchenko and those who followed entrenched Ukrainian as a living language, and placed it as an equal to the great literatures of the world.

Shevchenko's greatest impact was raising the level of national consciousness among his people, and re-awakening the spirit of the Ukrainian nation. Shevchenko gave Ukrainians the hope, pride and courage to overcome their oppressors. His words became the spark that lit the fires of a national revival, and an eventual, albeit brief, political independence.

Shevchenko has become immortal, and his immortality, to some degree, guarantees the Ukrainian nation's survival. But, though he has become the symbol of the Ukrainian national movement, his words know no national boundaries. They are an inspiration to all men who fight or hunger for justice, and social and political freedom.

REFLECTIONS ON A FORGOTTEN ANNIVERSARY

Bohdan Lechman

Every year around the beginning of March, Ukrainians everywhere celebrate the memory of Taras Shevchenko. Children learn snippets of his poetry to recite at concerts, choirs sing musical versions of his work, large auditoriums are rented for these events, and even churches hold services in his memory. We should remember the people and events that make up our history and that have contributed to our national self-understanding.

As Western Ukrainians - Galicians - however, we have sadly failed to remember one very important event, not necessarily a happy or glorious one, but one very important to who and what we are today. On the weekend of March 8-10, 1946 - the first days of Lent that year - a synod of clergy and lay people led by Fathers Gabriel Kostelnyk, Michael Melnyk and Anthony Pelvelsky liquidated the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church's union with Rome and united themselves with the Russian Orthodox Church. With this act, the Ukrainian Catholic Church ceased to exist legally anywhere in Ukraine and became an exile church, or better stated, a church of the immigration. The eparchies (dioceses) of Lviv, Stanislav (today, Ivano-Frankivsk) and Peremyshl were represented by 216 clergy and 19 laymen. Prior to the out-break of World War II, this ecclesiastical body had been the largest Eastern Church in communion with Rome, numbering close to 1200 clergy, a similar number of parishes and close to, if not over, five million faithful. Why did this happen?

Since Father Markian Shashkevych had first dared to preach in the language of the people in the 1830's, the Greek Catholic church had become a de-Polonizing and de-Germanizing factor in the life of Galician Ukrainians. By the turn of the century, it was in fact, a body expressing the religious and national aspirations of the Galician people. In the years immediately following World War I, Volodymyr Vinnichenko, a member of the Ukrainian national government, went so far as to say that Greek Catholicism was the natural religion of the Ukrainian people: by its rite (religious ritual) it distinguished itself from the Polish Catholics; by its political affiliation with Rome, from the Orthodox Russians. Under the leadership of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, who participated in the ecumenical movement growing in Western Europe in the 1920's, it was becoming what religiously it had always been meant to be -- a bridge between the Christian East and West. Through his personal emissary, Exarch Leonid Feodorov, Sheptytsky worked towards spreading the idea of Christian unity even among the Russian people. As far as nationalism was concerned, under

the Austrian Empire, but even more so under Polish rule in the 1920's and 30, to be Greek Catholic was to be Ukrainian.

Metropolitan Andrew died in November of 1944, shortly after the Red Army had reoccupied Galicia, leaving the church under the leadership of Metropolitan (later Patriarch) Josyf Slipyj. The Soviet government rightly perceived the Greek Catholic church for what it was -- a double threat. Firstly, it was a truly Ukrainian ecclesial body. Secondly, being in union with the Church of Rome, it had foreign connections, which does not sit well with Soviet Xenophobia. Furthermore, seeing as the Greek Catholics church had become more active in the realm of church unity, the possibility existed that its representatives might propagate the idea of ecumenism among Left Bank Ukrainians (who themselves had been Greek Catholics for 200 years) and possibly even to ethnic Russians (this had been, in fact, a trend among the nobility in the late 19th century), which carried with it the undesirable side-effect of international affiliations. From the Soviet point of view, the Greek Catholic church simply had to go. Thus, in April of 1945 the entire hierarchy of the church was arrested for "collaboration" and the church was left leaderless. Hundreds of faithful and clergy (most with permission form the hierarchy) had already fled to the west in 1944. The Church in 1945/6 was in disarray. Enter Fathers Kostelnyk, Melnyk and Pelvelsky.

History has judged these three clerics harshly. They have been viewed by many as traitors and cowards, men who were willing to reach a compromise with the authorities (read: enemies) rather than become martyrs and confessors of the faith as so many of our clergy and faithful did. However, we should at least take a look at what they faced and what the results of their actions as leaders of the "unite-with-Moscow" faction have been. Given the national significance of the Greek Catholic Church, the Soviet government could not have possibly allowed it to continue in its given state. If union with the Russian Church had been strenuously avoided it is not unthinkable that all the churches in Galicia would have been closed down. If one compares the situation with Great Ukraine, one will find that a far higher proportion of churches remained open in Galicia after the Soviet take-over than did in the eastern territories. All the major churches in Lviv are still open -- St. George's the Church of the Dormition (Uspensky Sobor) and the church of the Transfiguration (Preobrazhensky). The same cannot be said for Kiev.

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MONUMENT CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

group or individual has claimed responsibility for the vandalism. The monument, which is also within a stone's throw of the police station, will not be subject to increased police patrols, Mr. Benswick added.

The Edmonton famine monument was designed by Ludmilla Temertei of Montreal and features a broken wheel called "The Broken Life Cycle." It bears the inscription: "In memory of the millions who perished in the genocidal famine inflicted upon Ukraine by the Soviet regime in Moscow in 1932-33."

In related news, The Ukrainian Weekly has learned that the Taras Shevchenko monument in Winnipeg was defaced by vandals earlier this spring. The large statue of the Ukrainian poet was spray-painted with swastikas, and no group has yet claimed responsibility for the act, Canadian sources say. The statue sits on the north lawn of the Manitoba Legislature and has long been a symbol of pride to the province's large Ukrainian community.

The defacement of the monuments has been interpreted by some sectors as negative repercussions stemming from publicity generated by the Canadian government's Nazi war criminals probe.

Community leaders say there has been a noticeable increase in tensions between the Ukrainian and Jewish communities ever since the probe was created by the government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in February 1985. The animosity between the two communities, Canadian observers say, became particularly acute when it was announced late last year that the commission had requested to travel to the Soviet Union to collect testimony and documents. The Ukrainian community opposed the trip while Jewish groups applauded the decision on the grounds that all evidence concerning suspected war criminals need to be examined no matter where it comes from.

Mr. Semotiuk said that the Ukrainian and Jewish communities in Edmonton enjoy "probably the best relations in all of Canada," but that the Deschenes Inquiry has resulted in an increase in tensions between Ukrainians

and Jews in other Canadian cities.

Said Mayor Decore on the deteriorating state of Ukrainian-Jewish relations in Canada: "That's the worst thing: the backlash that has been created (by the Deschenes investigation) is tragic."

Mr. Decore said that calls by special interest groups to set up a war criminals investigation were wisely thwarted by the previous Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau and that the current probe is nothing more than "a creation of Mr. Mulroney that even he can't stop." He added that the commission's decision to travel behind the Iron Curtain for evidence is "the most absurd thing I have ever heard."

According to the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK), a coalition of Ukrainian students' clubs in Canada, Ukrainian youth have begun to feel "a considerable amount of hostility" from other Canadians — a result of "negative fallout" from publicity concerning the participation of Ukrainians in World War II, the group says.

In a brief submitted to the Deschenes Commission, SUSK officials cite several incidents which they say reflect the "combustible atmosphere" created by the publicity.

Among the reported incidents: a Ukrainian student in Montreal was subjected to verbal harassment at a Jewish community meeting after he identified himself as a Ukrainian; a Ukrainian student at the University of British Columbia was asked by a close Jewish friend why Ukrainians are "such murderers"; and a Toronto Ukrainian woman was slurried along with her children by people citing reports linking Ukrainians in Canada with the SS.

Concluded the student group: "Ukrainian Canadian youth are finding themselves in the midst of a campaign which is forcing them to defend the good name of all Ukrainians in Canada even though 90 percent of Ukrainian Canadians were born in this country and could not possibly have been implicated in Nazi atrocities."

RECORD CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

sponsored open discussion. Such a description can be best termed an exaggeration. While it is possible that such a delicate issue might result in an expression of emotions, one hopes that the inflammatory rhetoric used by Mr. Matas that evening is not representative of the attitude of the greater Jewish community, and will not hamper efforts aimed at a better understanding between the Ukrainian and Jewish Canadian communities.

The article also infers that Mr. Matas' comments that evening had some effect on the content of subsequent issues of STUDENT. In fact, the content of the January-February issue of STUDENT had already been finalized at that time, as the issue was in the process of being typeset. In addition, given that individual authors are responsible for their own submissions, STUDENT would feel in no way obligated to temper the articles of individual contributors.

In spite of this controversy, SUSK will continue to encourage the use of STUDENT as an open forum for the exchange of thoughts and ideas, while STUDENT will continue to conduct its

editorial policies based upon this principle. SUSK and STUDENT are committed to improve upon their proven track record and seek out openness in debate so as to have all viewpoints represented.

An abbreviated version of this joint statement was hand delivered to the editorial offices of the Globe and Mail on Monday, March 3, in the form of a letter to the editor from the President of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union. On Thursday, March 6, SUSK received a formal letter from the Globe and Mail thanking the organization for the letter but regretting that it would be unable to print the letter in question. A follow up phone call was made that afternoon requesting a further explanation for this refusal. The Globe and Mail promised it would reconsider. On Sunday March 9, SUSK was notified of the Globe and Mail's decision to print SUSK's letter after all. The letter was printed on March 18.

A joint statement by the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union and STUDENT newspaper.

STIRRING THE POT

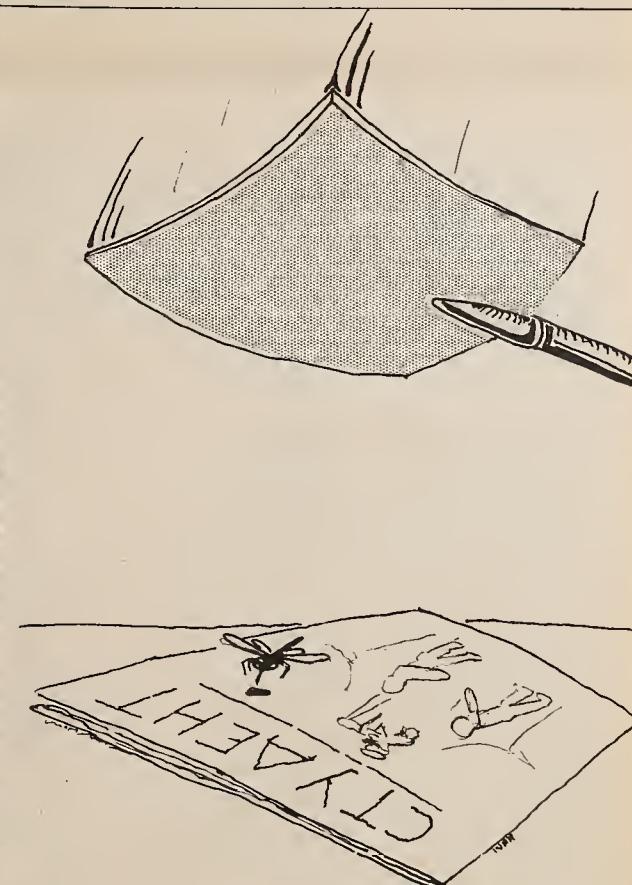
-LIBEL???

Ukrainian students have once again come under attack through a disinformation campaign waged via none other than the University of Toronto's campus newspaper, The Varsity. A letter to the editor, purportedly written by 1985-86 Toronto USC president Marta Yurcan appeared in The Varsity's April 10 issue, commenting on the USC sponsored panel discussion "The Deschenes Commission - Reactions of Ukrainians and Jews" held on February 3 at the University of Toronto. The letter strongly criticized Ukrainian students as "...willing to defend even those who are known Nazi war criminals and persist to persecute and to engage in name calling of Jewish Canadian students at the University of Toronto." The letter went on to imply that Ukrainian Canadian students are hostile, display anti-Semitic behaviour, and that greater effort should be made to keep these "radicals under control."

This slanderous disinformation campaign is feeble at best. Not only is Marta Yurcan not the author of this article, but she was not even present at the event in question. In addition, the function took place on February 3, not in late January, as the article claims. Ukrainian students engage in neither persecution nor name calling, let alone the preposterous notion of harboring and defending known Nazi war criminals. Unfortunately, this case of

disinformation is not an isolated incident. Similar tactics, crediting Ukrainian students with letters and articles which they did not write, have been employed using other campus newspapers across the country. Such tactics are particularly damaging to the image of Ukrainian Canadian students, creating unfounded, negative perceptions of this student group, thus exacerbating an already delicate situation.

Many issues are left unresolved. This letter appeared in the final issue of The Varsity for the 1985-86 academic year, leaving no opportunity for response or retraction. The Varsity staff was unable to produce the original copy of the letter when so requested. The Varsity's journalistic practices should be called into question here. It is standard procedure to confirm the source of letters to the editor selected for publication and to keep those letters on file: this was obviously not done here. As such, suspicion has arisen as to The Varsity's role in this entire affair. One question rises above all others. Whose purpose do such letters serve? For some reason there is a concerted effort underway to discredit Ukrainian students by inaccurately portraying them as radical, anti-Semitic fascists. It is clearly in somebody's interests to do so. But whose? We wonder.



"WORDS DRIPPING WITH BLOOD?"

BOOKS BOOKS BOOKS BOOKS BOOKS BOOKS



Ukraine during World War II

History and its aftermath.

Yury Boshyk editor,

Various authors.

University of Toronto Press,

Toronto, 1986, 291p.

\$12.00

Reviewed by M. Dzerowycz

In light of recent allegations in the Canadian media of supposed Ukrainian Nazi war criminals residing in Canada, a one day symposium was held in Toronto on March 2, 1985 to clarify this controversial matter.

The event attracted over a dozen experts and scholars who dealt both constructively and objectively with the matter of Ukrainian-Jewish relations during, and after the Second World War.

The marathon symposium, spearheaded by the University of Toronto's Prof. Yury Boshyk, has recently been released as a book aptly titled *Ukraine during World War II, History and Its Aftermath*. The book is divided into two parts. The first deals with Ukraine during the war years and covers both Soviet and Nazi occupations, as well as Ukrainian "collaboration" and armed resistance. The second section, History and its aftermath, deals with the timely matter of investigating alleged Nazi war criminals residing in Canada.

Overall, the book gives a very good overview of the Ukrainian experience during the turbulent war years, and should be required reading for anyone even remotely interested in the Deschenes issue. The photographs, extensive documentary materials, chronology of events as well as the detailed bibliography, make the book a comprehensive guide to one of the most complex aspects of modern East European history. In addition it offers an informed discussion about the issues related to the current investigation of war criminals.

As one who has both read the book and attended the symposium, I should point out that unfortunately, some important material presented at the conference is absent. As such the book falls short of its full potential.

The twelve hour symposium began with a historical overview of pre-World War II Ukraine, whereby prof. Roman Szproluk dealt with the legitimacy of East European regimes in the inter-war period. In his work, the University of Michigan

professor succeeded in clarifying, and putting into context, the role of Ukrainians as "Nazi collaborators", by pointing out that Ukrainians, after having struggled for years to establish their own independent state - were quite unhappy with the Versailles arrangement of 1919. In light of events such as the Polish passification, "Yezhovshyna" and the great famine of 1932-33, Ukrainians held little, if any, allegiance to either the Moscow or Warsaw regimes. Both the Poles and Russians were perceived as denying Ukraine its freedom in order to exploit her enormous wealth. Unfortunately, Szproluk's descriptions and analysis of Ukraine during the inter-war period are not included in the book. By recalling the reign of terror under Stalin's rule which left over ten million dead, both Prof. Szproluk and York University's prof. Subtelny argued that Ukrainians initially welcomed the invading German armies as liberators, who would allow Ukraine to establish itself as a sovereign nation. With such intentions and aspirations in mind, Ukrainian public figures and community leaders attempted to negotiate with the Nazis about establishing a sovereign Ukrainian government in Kiev. As such the Ukrainians "collaborated" with the German invaders for the purpose of securing a free Ukrainian state, not because they supported Nazi doctrines. Subtelny's arguments are published, but Again Szproluk's analysis is absent from the text. Printing all relevant works would have greatly enriched the book by providing a much greater diversity of viewpoints.

Later sessions dealt with the Nazi occupation of Ukraine in which papers were presented by prof. Taras Hunczak of Rutgers' University and on behalf of Dr. Bohdan Krawchenko. Dr. Krawchenko's paper addressed the ill-treatment of Ukrainians by the German occupiers, and their refusal to agree to the establishment of a separate Ukrainian state which resulted in defiance and armed resistance by 1942.

Prof. Hunczak on the other hand deals with the more sensitive internal issue of Jewish-Ukrainian relations during Soviet and Nazi occupations. In his presentation, the American professor discusses the

Soviet Dissent: Contemporary Movements for National, Religious Rights.

By Ludmilla Alexeyeva

Translated by Carol Pearce and John Glad Wesleyan University Press, 521 pages, \$52.50

Reviewed by Tony Rocchi

A double tragedy unfolds in this detailed book by Soviet human rights activist and emigre Ludmilla Alexeyeva. Western readers will have little difficulty condemning the Soviet government's brutal treatment of dissidents. However, a more shocking tragedy emerges from this chronicle by a founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group.

The various Soviet human rights, religious and national groups never formed a mass unified movement largely because disagreement on ideology and goals were inevitable. Alexeyeva's book is undoubtedly the first comprehensive study revealing the suspicion, hatred and intolerance that poisoned relationships among dissidents. *Soviet Dissent* clearly demonstrates that a totalitarian regime can corrupt its bravest opponents.

Soviet Dissent offers a panoramic view of various dissident groups between 1954 and 1984. Separate chapters examine nationalist dissent in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; the Jewish and German emigration movements; the repatriation movements of the deported Crimean Tartars and Meskhi; the struggle of Baptist, Pentecostalists, Seventh-Day Adventists, Russian Orthodox, Roman Catholics and Ukrainian Catholics for religious liberty; the samizdat network and activities of human rights activists in Moscow and other cities; the neo-socialist and free trade union movements; the various forms of Russian nationalist dissent. Other non-conformists described by Alexeyeva include independent peace activists, feminists, Leningrad writers and artists, "hippies", and even young neo-fascists. *Soviet Dissent* unfortunately does not examine national and religious dissent among the 50 million Moslems.

Alexeyeva's chapters in separate movements move back and forth in time, but she skillfully uses one theme to avoid a simple chronicle. She examines each movement's relationship with Moscow, human rights activists and their two associations--The Initiative Group For The Defence of Human Rights In The U.S.S.R. and the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group. The two Moscow groups basically gathered information about other movements and distributed samizdat petitions, appeals, letters and other documents through the Soviet Union and to the West.

Alexeyeva estimates that 500 000 people, mostly petition-signers, participated in dissident activities between 1968 and 1983. The Soviet government sentenced hundreds to labor camps, exile and imprisonment in psychiatric hospitals, but Alexeyeva concludes that the dissidents' activities prevented a complete restoration of the Stalinist system.

Although the courage of the dissidents was undeniable, Western readers will be shocked to realize the extent of the intolerance and tension which plagued dissident circles. Alexeyeva's book unfortunately demonstrates that the human rights activists, often seen by Westerners

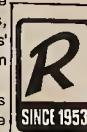
as democrats, scarcely bother to respect the opinions of other non-conformists. Alexeyeva makes no attempt to hide her contempt for Russian Orthodox activities, the Leningrad literary and artistic circles, and Russian nationalists. She grudgingly concedes that the supporters of rights for non-Russians, religious freedom, free trade unions, easier emigration understood the importance of human rights, but she chides them for concentrating on single issues. By contrast, advocates of reformed Marxism-Leninism, often scorned by other dissidents as "the last true believers" receive sympathetic descriptions from Alexeyeva.

One can agree with Alexeyeva's argument that the human rights activists broke new ground in the history of Russian dissent. They emphasized the rights of the individual unlike previous generations of liberals and socialists who emphasized the role of the collective. However, the Moscow dissidents were mostly members of the intelligentsia and they inherited both the virtues and faults of the pre-1917 revolutionaries. Along with bravery went a firm conviction that the dissidents represented the conscience of Soviet society and knew society's best interest.

One cannot entirely agree with Alexeyeva's explanation of the government's reactions to the dissident movements. Alexeyeva suggests that the government had two choices--lose control at home by letting dissident activities flourish or lose face in the West by persecuting non-conformists. The government chose the second option. But one suspects the dissident movements bewildered the leadership because it could not find a historical precedent. The Soviet government has triumphed over armed uprisings, strife within the Communist Party and foreign invasions. Historians may never know what the Soviet leaders thought about oppositionists who simply asked them to abide by the constitution and the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Treaty. Not even the tsarist government faced this type of dissent.

Despite the above criticism, *Soviet Dissent* is required reading for anybody interested in Soviet affairs. Alexeyeva's book is an improvement over Western studies which invariably concentrate on one movement or individual. *Soviet Dissent* undoubtedly will remain the standard text on the subject for many years. Western readers may dismiss the dissidents as insignificant because only 500 000 people in a nation of 260 million citizens publicly declared their opposition to the Soviet System. Alexeyeva reminds skeptics that the Bolshevik Party had less than 50 000 members before the October revolution of 1917.

CONTINUED PAGE 15



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CONTINUED PAGE 14

SUBMISSION TO DESCHENES

UKRAINIAN CANADIAN STUDENTS' UNION (SUSK)
SUBMISSION TO THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON
WAR CRIMINALS
September 3, 1985
OTTAWA ONTARIO

ABSTRACT

The submission rejects the acceptability of Soviet evidence by the Deschenes Commission in linking the legitimization of such evidence with Soviet intentions of destroying the Ukrainian Canadian community, and especially its youth. The three-pronged approach which is taken in the submission delineates Soviet motivations and processes involved in reaching the objective of Ukrainian Canadian community destruction. The submission reveals the manner in which unsubstantiated and unprincipled Soviet accusations against Ukrainian Canadian groups and individuals (Part One) foster widespread animosity towards Ukrainian Canadians including youth (Part Three). The Soviet campaign at promoting ill will stems from a fear of the effects of the Ukrainian Canadian community's exhortations and activities which serve to redefine Ukraine's interests vis-a-vis the Soviet political community and regime (Part Two).

The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK) has existed as an organized body of Ukrainian Canadian university and college students and alumni since 1953. The SUSK National Executive currently represents 18 separate local Ukrainian student club affiliates across Canada with a total membership approaching 1 000.

As part of its mandate, the National Executive of SUSK speaks out vigorously on issues which we feel may be of overwhelming importance to the Ukrainian Canadian student community. Presently, we believe that there is a pressing need to address the Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals (Deschenes Commission), regarding its acceptance of Soviet evidence. We feel that the inclusion of such evidence in the Commission's work will have a long-term detrimental effect on the Ukrainian Canadian community, including negative repercussions on present and future Ukrainian Canadian students.

The National Executive of SUSK is deeply offended by developments which we believe may compromise Canadian liberal democratic values and principles. We are, of course, referring to the possibility of

the Deschenes Commission legitimizing all forms of Soviet evidence. As Ukrainian Canadian youth, we have acquired democratic values through our socialization in the Canadian socio-political and educational systems. Moreover, because of our ethnic background, we have been encouraged to acquire an awareness of the fundamentally different nature of the Soviet polity. Consequently, we value our Canadian democratic beliefs highly and will not readily countenance what we believe may be their violation.

We are especially anxious, as younger members of the Ukrainian Canadian community, that the Commission uphold our Canadian democratic beliefs. To accept Soviet evidence is to open the Commission to possible manipulation, which may end in the destruction of the Ukrainian Canadian community as a whole. We believe that young Ukrainian Canadians will be forced to flee from organized Ukrainian Canadian life in order to secure a successful personal future for themselves and for their children.

Our purpose is to express our objections regarding the admissibility of Soviet evidence. The brief consists of three separate parts which give a unique youth and student perspective as to why we believe that Soviet evidence should be made inadmissible. The first section deals with the Canadian political principles that we all know and cherish, and which we feel are being violated through the acceptance of Soviet evidence. The second part describes the Soviet Union's campaign to discredit Ukrainian Canadian youth and the motivation behind this campaign. The third segment documents negative fallout affecting young Ukrainian Canadians from developments surrounding the Commission's work thus far, and how this reflects Soviet intentions.

PRESERVING JUSTICE

The SUSK National Executive believes that the Soviet Union is making unprincipled accusations against groups and individuals residing in Canada, and basing these allegations on their ethnic origin. These unsubstantiated and damaging accusations greatly offend us since they violate the traditional Canadian democratic values of "political equality" and "rule of law", and because as Canadian youth of

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- Student used to have a distribution problem. It seems that we were never regarded by some as more than "fish wrap." Now, Student is widely distributed on Parliament Hill and in the National Press Building in Ottawa. Student is considering hiring its new promoters full time. Student acknowledges their help in making it one of the most widely read newspapers in the Nation's Capital.

- It seems that the already overly-organized Ukrainian community in Canada has another addition to its ranks. The Ukrainian Defence League (Toronto Chapter) has already been active in distributing "literature" in "little Ukraine" (Bloor West Village). Prominently displayed is a liar (oops, I mean flyer) entitled "Let my People Go-Stop Jewish Persecution of Ukrainians in Canada" which has not only hit every lamppost and delicatessen bulletin board in the "ghetto", but has also managed to grace the front page of a recent issue of the Canadian Jewish News. At least someone is taking these crackpots seriously. Applications for membership to this "influence peddling" organization can be obtained by writing:

Soviet Embassy
285 Charlotte Street,
Ottawa, Ontario
or, dial direct:
1-(613)-235-4341

- Peter Ustinov's "Russia" is drawing rave reviews from our comrades in the West. The Kremlin is pleased with Comrade Ustinov's efforts in helping us rewrite history. The "little Russians" are mad as hell and this makes us very happy. It seems that the Order of Lenin has been well earned. Remember Peter, "Don't leave 'home' without it!"

- "Ivan the Terrible" or "Ivan the Horrible?" Is there a difference? Does it matter? In the March 13 edition of The Jewish Post, John Demjanjuk's fate is discussed in the column "Israel This Week." There seems to be some debate as to the length of his trial. Some think "A character like Demjanuk (sic) deserves only a short trial." Others "question...whether the trial should take place at all." We hope that the trial, if any, will be a fair one.

- CESUS has bitten the dust, as expected. Our "apparatchiks" have done their job. Moscow triumphs once again and Munich is crying in its beer. (No pun intended). All that SUSK back-room politicking went for naught but the shower-room politicking was quite effective.

- Senator Jacques Hebert decided to give up food for Lent.
What are you giving up?
Some hope that the federal government will give up the Deschenes Commission for Lent.
It is hoped the Deschenes Commission will give up Soviet "evidence" for Lent.
It is hoped the Soviet Union will give up Ukraine for Lent.
Then, those who never unpacked their bags can go home.
If so, the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches may extend Lent indefinitely. Fish seven days a week is a small price to pay (again, no pun intended).

- Moscow also celebrated Shevchenko Month this past March. As a tribute, the Kremlin issued a recall order on all issues of 'Kobzar'. The order stated that Shevchenko was to be brought up to date with social realism with the following correction:

"Святої брати мої, не думайте, пропнівайтесь,
своє цуратись, цартіаного научаїтись."

Moscow requests that all Ukrainians live by the words of their great poet.

The following is a written transcript of the address by Lisa Shymko delivered on Monday February 3, 1986 as part of a debate on the implications of the Deschenes Commission's decision to travel to the U.S.S.R. to gather Soviet evidence against alleged war criminals living in Canada:

In speaking to you tonight, I shall put forth the concerns of Ukrainian Canadian students relating to some of the key issues surrounding the Deschenes Commission's so-called "fact-finding" trip to the Soviet Union. It is my hope that I shall be able to dispel some of the unfortunate myths which have been created in the media over the past year.

The concerns which we voice are not those of a paranoid East European community which is making a lot of noise "because we hate commies". We seek to protect Canadian standards of justice. We are not fanatical "Rambos". Nor are the Ukrainian students part of a guilt-ridden community whose opposition to the proposed means of gathering evidence in the Soviet Union is intended as a camouflage to hide war criminals. The main point of this debate is the issue of justice--are we endorsing a process which adheres to the principles of justice or are we taking part in a poorly monitored fiasco?

Messieurs Matas, Littman, Meighen and others have said that if a thorough and proper job is to be done, we must go behind the Iron Curtain. Sure there's a risk that the evidence may be tainted, falsified or fabricated, but that's a risk we must take!

Well, my response to this type of absurd reasoning is clear--what began as an honourable quest for war criminals has developed into a media. If this is the control exercised by the Soviets over their citizens in the know it. It would appear that what persons such as Mr. Littman and others are implying is that it is better to take citizens on Soviet soil from telling the contaminated evidence from the Soviet truth.

If, on the other hand, Mr. Littman and his company do not feel that this is a matter worthy of serious concern, but rather part of a misguided bugaboo, then I suggest that people such as Irwin Cotler (the representative of the C.J.C. before the Deschenes Commission) make up their minds when criticizing witness intimidation by the KGB in the Shcharansky case. You are forcing us to conclude that representatives of the Jewish community are endorsing a most biased double standard.

Messieurs Matas, Littman and others have stated that we cannot assume that all Soviet evidence will be false or that the Soviets have already decided that a person is guilty even before they are tried. Well, let me tell you, we don't have to assume, guess or presume. The facts speak for themselves, as Amnesty International recently wrote, there is no known case of a Soviet court ever acquitting a defendant after being accused of an alleged political activity.

And since the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* (see Associated Press dispatch Feb. 26, 1983) has repeatedly stressed that the main purpose of Soviet involvement in war crimes cases is the "Soviet State interest", as

the dangerous implications of using Soviet evidence, we are not raising some sort of emotional bugaboo. What we are doing is emphasizing that there are too many crucial questions which remain unanswered.

such, there is nothing to prevent the U.S.S.R. from doctoring evidence against people whose guilt had been pre-determined. Is this paranoid fiction? Definitely not!

As proof, I would like to refer



First--if we're bragging about adhering to the Canadian Justice System, why aren't the witnesses travelling to Canada to testify? Are they all too old or too sick to travel?

Second--why not have the gathering of evidence take place on neutral territory, such as the Canadian Embassy? Is it because we might have defections and this would make things complicated and diplomatically messy?

Third--since only witnesses provided by the Soviet Government are allowed to testify, how are we going to ensure that the Soviet regime and the KGB have not terrorized, threatened, or orchestrated these people into giving false testimonies? Is this just a paranoid worry? Let's not forget that Elena Bonner, even while in the West, was forced by the Soviet

specifically to a war criminal trial which took place in Tartu, Estonia.

In the January 1963 issue of *Soviet Legality* (which, by the way, is the official gazette of the Prosecutor General), in his article, a reporter gave an extensive description of the proceedings. He described of the cross-examination of the witness, and the Prosecutor's remarks. The reporter especially noted that the passing of the death sentence was met by the unanimous approval of the public.

There was just one problem. At the time that the story appeared in print, the trial had not yet taken place! You see, the trial had been moved to a later date, but the reporter had not been informed. Naturally, having been told in advance what the outcome of the trial would be, the reporter and his editor dutifully proceeded to print the story.

Surely this example illustrates how useless our so-called safeguards would be in these circumstances. Of course, people such as Mr. Matas and Mr. Littman have attempted to deflect criticisms of the process of gathering Soviet evidence by stating that even if some evidence is false, Justice Deschenes is such an outstanding jurist that he would surely recognize the difference between good and false evidence. Well, I'm sure Justice Deschenes deserves and welcomes such flattery. And certainly, no one questions his sincerity. However, the fact that Justice Deschenes is an intelligent and all-round nice guy is not the point. The real issue is, in travelling to the U.S.S.R. to gather evidence, are we conducting an investigation which upholds Canadian standards of justice or, by failing to take the crucial legal precautions, are we, in fact, extending to the Soviets an open invitation to smear whomever they have targeted?

Ironically, some of the sternest criticisms of the Commission's proposed activities have come from Ladislav Bittman, a Czechoslovak Jew now living in the United States. Prior to defecting to the West, Bittman worked for the Czechoslovak intelligence service and was responsible for using Soviet evidence to destroy the reputations of several

prominent persons from West Germany, Italy, France and Austria.

In his most recent book entitled *The KGB and Soviet Disinformation: an Insider's View*, Mr. Bittman describes how the Soviets planted so-called Nazi original documents as part of the highly successful operation, code-named "Neptune", in 1964. These documents were placed by Bittman into four large asphalt-coated cases and dropped into Czechoslovakia's Black Lake. Within a few weeks, they were "accidentally" discovered by a Czechoslovak underwater archaeological expedition. As a result, there was a big hoopla in the Western media since this so-called evidence compromised numerous Western European politicians. This, consequently, resulted in the West German government's extension of the Statute of Limitations for the prosecution of war crimes. Bittman describes this as one of the most successful disinformation operations ever carried out by the Soviets.

Well, it looks as if we're in for more of the same, only this time we've got the Deputy Commissioners going on the same type of fishing expedition.

In fact, as Bittman recently observed, how can the Commission lawyers refer to their visit to the Soviet Union as a legitimate "fact-finding mission" when not one of them is a forensic expert capable of recognizing doctored data? We can all recall the celebrated case of the so-called "Hitler Diaries" which were proven genuine even by a number of experts before being dismissed much later (after months of unhindered investigation) as a total fraud.

So why have all of these questions not been properly addressed? Why have the necessary conditions not been met?

We all know that in Canada, any other non war criminal investigation or trial would require the strictest adherence to all Canadian rules of justice. Yet why is it that when it comes to a war criminal investigation which takes us behind the Iron Curtain, there is a willingness to dismiss key safeguards necessary for a full and proper investigation? Why is there no concern over whether the entire process of gathering Soviet evidence is done in a way that ensures its reliability? Why haven't these safeguards been met?

Is it because we're in such a hurry to get evidence that stopping to adhere to all of the necessary safeguards would slow things down?

Is it because Mr. Littman, Mr. Matas, and others are afraid that the Soviets would never agree to adhering to all of our democratic legal rules? So rather than being too demanding we've sold out our strict standards of justice.

Or, one wonders whether it is because the World Jewish Congress is engaged in delicate negotiations with the Soviet Union, and any strong demands for democratic safeguards might irritate the Soviets and possibly jeopardize their exodus of Soviet Jews?

Or is it that in the frenzy to get evidence, the question of whether we

DESCHENES

DEBATE

I want to talk about Jewish Ukrainian relations in the context of the Deschenes Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals. My first comment is that, originally, I was surprised that the issue arose in the context of the Deschenes inquiry, at all. Although I have been involved in the issue of war criminals for a few years, my perspective was always a legal one rather than an ethnic one. I was concerned with what legally could be done to bring any Nazi war criminal that might be in Canada to justice.

The Government of Canada has been legally inactive on the issue of Nazi war criminals in Canada ever since the war. The Government, indeed, took the position that nothing could be done under present law, or even under new legislation. The R.C.M.P. had a policy of not investigating any allegations. The only exception to this policy of inactivity was the arrest in 1982 and the extradition to West Germany in 1983 of Albert Helmut Rauca some 31 years after he entered Canada. The Deschenes Commission is the first systematic attempt, more than forty years after the War to look at the whole-issue. Part of the mandate of the Commission is to look at "what legislation might be adopted by parliament." My efforts, both before the appointment of the Deschenes Commission and since, have been directed to establishing that bringing Nazi mass murderers to justice is a legal possibility.

When I say I was surprised by the Ukrainian interest in the Deschenes Commission, I do not mean to say that I was unaware of the difficult history of Jewish-Ukrainian relations. Nor was I unaware of the mass loss of life during the Holocaust of Jews from the Ukraine, organized by the Nazis, and assisted by the local population.

The Holocaust simply could not have happened without the active assistance and support of the local population in Nazi allied and occupied countries. The German manpower and equipment dedicated to the holocaust was small. The ratio of Jewish victims to German perpetrators was about 100 to 1. German battalions were unable to communicate easily with the local populations. They were unfamiliar with the countries in which they were stationed. And the Jewish victims sought, in every possible way, to avoid capture.

Active assistance by local populations in sheltering Jewish refugees would not have been necessary to save their Jewish compatriots. Merely passive refusal to cooperate with the Nazis would have been enough. In Denmark, where the local community refused to be involved in the Holocaust, its entire Jewish community was saved. While there are many notable cases of local people helping Jewish refugees everywhere the Nazis were stationed (in the Ukraine the efforts of the head of the Uniate Ukrainian Church, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptitsky, are particularly worthy of note), these efforts were overwhelmed by those local authorities and private individuals who collaborated in the Holocaust.

As I say, I am aware of this history. But, I was aware, as well, that it was not unique to the Ukraine. The

Holocaust led to the death of Jews virtually everywhere the Nazis went. Statistics show that the loss of life, through the Holocaust, of the Jewish population, for instance, in Poland was 3 million out of a population of 3 300 000, or 90%. In what is now the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the loss of life to the Holocaust was 900 000 out of a population of 1 500 000, or 60%. Take a Western European country: in the Netherlands, the loss of life was 105,000 out of a population of 140 000; or a percentage of 75%. Why are we here discussing today Jewish Ukrainian relations, rather than, say, Jewish Polish relations, Jewish Dutch relations, or, indeed Jewish German relations?

There is, as well, the individual focus of justice. Bringing criminals to justice is a matter of individual innocence and individual guilt. In principle, it should

Baltic communities in Canada: the Estonians, the Lithuanians, the Latvians. But it is virtually alone.

The whole thing became a puzzle to me. Why should the Ukrainian and Baltic communities in Canada show such an interest in the Nazi war criminal issue, more than any other community, more than, say, the Polish Canadian community, more than the Dutch Canadian community, more, even, than the German Canadian community?

The answer, I believe, comes from what those communities, the Ukrainian and Baltic, have in common and that differentiates them from every other group. What they have in common is repression by the Soviets of their nationalities in the U.S.S.R. It is not just military and political repression, as in Poland or Hungary or the other Iron Curtain States. It is national repression, cultural repression,

REASON OR RHETORIC?
David Matas

Rights of B'nai Brith Canada had been that the legal embargo that Canada has imposed on action against war criminals must be lifted and our legal system must be made to work to bring Holocaust murderers to justice. The approach of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, at least in my perception, is one that, while acknowledging in principle the need to bring Nazi war crimes (sic) to justice, rejects out of hand any emanation of the Soviet Union as fundamentally tainted. Rejection of the Soviet Union is the first priority.

While the organized Jewish community does not have concerns about Soviet repression as its first priority, it is a concern to which the community is sympathetic. After all, the Soviet Union is even more repressive of the Hebrew language and culture than it is the Ukrainian language and culture. The teaching of Hebrew is illegal. Hebrew works are confiscated. Hebrew teachers are arrested. Anti-semitism and anti-Zionism are official Soviet policy. Jewish would-be emigrants are denied the right to leave, to be reunited with their families overseas. Jewish human rights activists, like Shcharansky, are amongst the Soviet Union's best known political prisoners. It is a measure of the tragedies the Jewish community has suffered in the recent past and the dangers it faces elsewhere in the world that this bitter Soviet repression cannot be the Jewish community's only or even main concern.

These different Jewish and Ukrainian perspectives can be seen in the different court actions the League and the U.C.C. have launched in response to the Commission. I was just in court on behalf of the League asking the court to order the Commission to release some legal reports outside consultants had prepared for the Commission. These reports are legal analyses of the remedies available, whether through extradition, prosecution, or denaturalization and deportation, to bring Nazi criminals in Canada to justice. The League was concerned that these reports might contain arguments against bringing Nazi war criminals to justice, which, kept secret, would go unanswered. Mr. Justice Cullen of the Federal Court has reserved judgment on the League request.

The U.C.C. has launched its own court action, about Soviet evidence. The action asks the court to order the Commission not to go to the Soviet Union to examine the evidence, unless it goes with counsel either for those under investigation or with counsel for those bringing the court action. It is worthy to note that the U.C.C. has been joined in this court action by the Baltic Federation in Canada and the Lithuanian Canadian Community. The court action is yet to be heard.

So there are those different perspectives. I do not regret them. I do not think it is harmful to the Canadian National fabric. On the contrary, this whole debate about Nazi war criminals can be handled in such a way as to contribute to national unity. The worst possible result, from the



not engage the interest of any group, except to the extent that they are concerned that justice is done. The workings of the criminal justice system are the antithesis of collective guilt. While the interests of the Jewish community in bringing Nazi war criminals to justice is clear, because the Jewish community is the community of surviving victims, there are no ethnic community of surviving victims of the Nazis were a group, the Jewish community. The perpetrators were individuals.

Statements of Sol Littman, of the Wiesenthal Center, have roused the ire of the Ukrainian community. He has been accused of slurs against the Ukrainian community. While I have not heard everything Sol Littman has said, what I have heard and read about does not justify the charges laid against him. What is more, the Ukrainian community in the U.S. has much the same concerns about the American Office of Special Investigation as the Ukrainian community in Canada has about the Deschenes Commission. Ukrainian concerns in the U.S. predate the statements of Sol Littman. As well, Sol Littman's statements were not widely publicized in the U.S. The statements of Sol Littman, about Nazi war criminals in Canada, are, I believe, more a focus of Ukrainian concerns than a cause of Ukrainian concerns.

The Ukrainian community is not alone in its visibility in this issue of Nazi war criminals in Canada. It is joined by the

linguistic repression. The Baltic and Ukrainian countries in Canada represent nationalities overseas that have been denied a country. They represent cultural and languages that have been subjected to forced russification. They are part of peoples that have been denied by the Soviets the right to self determination.

The point of contact of the Soviet repression with the Nazi war criminal issue is Soviet supplied evidence. At the organizational level, the Baltic and Ukrainian countries (sic) in Canada reject Soviet supplied evidence because of its source, because it comes from a territorial rules by a government whose legitimacy they contest.

Indeed, at the Deschenes Commission, that has been the only point of conflict between the Jewish community representatives and the Ukrainian community representatives. At the Deschenes Commission, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee took the position that the Commission should not go overseas to the Soviet Union to examine the evidence there. The League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada, and the Canadian Jewish Congress took the position that the Commission should look at all the evidence, wherever it might be found.

The Jewish and Ukrainian countries (sic) in Canada approach the Nazi war criminal issue not so much directly opposed. It is rather that they approach the issue from different angles, and with different priorities. The approach of the League for Human

CONTINUED PAGE 18

DESCHENES TENSIONS

The war crimes debate in Canada has gone through difficult times in the last few months which merit discussion and analysis.

This difficulty stems from an apparent lack of understanding on the part of certain individuals who are playing key roles. The Jewish community is wondering what "all the fuss is about?" and Mr. Matas recently stated at a public debate on the issue that he was surprised the Ukrainian community has reacted the way it has, and that he doesn't quite understand why.

This is very disturbing. An understanding of Ukrainian concerns is extremely important, and all involved should look into the matter thoroughly, and take their findings into careful consideration.

For outsiders to understand "what all the fuss is about", and fully comprehend the reaction of the Ukrainian community, it would be necessary to view all the developments which have transpired since the Second World War from a Ukrainian perspective, based on the Ukrainian experience. It is hoped that this article will provide a greater understanding of perceptions, concerns and fears prevalent within the greater Ukrainian- Canadian community regarding the Deschenes issue.

ANTI-UKRAINIAN CAMPAIGN

First and foremost one must set the stage. The Ukrainian community perceives itself as under a state of siege, surrounded by unfriendly forces, and under fire from all sides. Ironically, in a recent *Globe and Mail* article Mr. Matas was quoted as saying "that care had to be taken that anti-Semitism did not taint the debate about war criminals." Anti-Semitism? What anti-Semitism? The Jewish community can hardly be viewed as being under attack in the war crimes issue. The Ukrainian community, on the other hand, has been viciously maligned in recent years with an entire series of slanderous and unsubstantiated allegations. Most perceive that anti-Semitism is not the issue here, but that anti-Ukrainianism is.

The main perpetrators of this anti-Ukrainian campaign, in the eyes of the community, have been Mr. Littman and Mr. Wiesenthal. These two gentlemen have acted in an irresponsible manner by using their positions as spokespersons for Jewish organizations to misrepresent events and relay historically inaccurate information to the media. The events in Eastern Europe and Ukraine during World War II are generally little known and often misunderstood. Mr. Littman and Mr. Wiesenthal contribute to this misunderstanding through the use of slanderous allegations in their statements to the Canadian press.

The most prominent example is a February 10, 1985 story in the *Toronto Star* which "quoted Mr. Wiesenthal as saying he believes 218 former Ukrainian officers of Hitler's SS (elite guard) which ran death camps in Eastern Europe are living in Canada." This story smacked of sensationalism and contained all the main elements of a smear campaign: "Hitler", "SS", "Elite Guard", "Death Camps", and, of course, worst of all, "Ukrainian". Some months later Neil MacDonald, an Ottawa Citizen reporter, stated on May 14 1985 that: "History has recorded that the Ukrainian SS were amongst the most bloodthirsty of the Nazi collaborators" (Has history really recorded this Mr. MacDonald? Show us where?) These are but two examples in what seems to be a constant barrage of accusations linking Ukrainians in Canada with Nazism and the extermination of Jews. They have no basis, and no-one in the media seems to be demanding any. They are false and defamatory yet they continue despite academic efforts to refute them through the provision of evidence and documentation to the contrary. Why?

For the record, The Ukrainians which served in the SS did so for the Galician division which was not an elite guard but a "Waffen" or combat unit. It was

used once on the Eastern Front against Soviet forces, and was never used to guard concentration camps. Both Soviet and British screening teams cleared the division of any participation in war crimes as did the RCMP prior to their immigration to Canada. Regardless of this truism the Ukrainian community has been under attack; accused of acts that never transpired and of crimes it never committed. Justifiably, Mr. Matas says the League for Human Rights has no interest in collective guilt. "The victims and intended victims of the Nazis were a group, the Jewish community, but the perpetrators were individuals." Unfortunately, individuals have not been named but their ethnic origin has been identified. Furthermore, the entire Ukrainian-Canadian Community is being accused of harboring these alleged killers. As a result, Mr. Matas' statement, although admirable, is not applicable here.

HUNT NAZIS, NOT HEADLINES

The press is guilty of not demanding substantiating documentation, and both Mr. Wiesenthal and Mr. Littman are guilty of sensationalism by providing information which they know paints a distorted and inaccurate picture. It is incomprehensible for someone who has been researching the Nazi period for as long as Mr. Wiesenthal has not to have his facts straight. Information regarding the role of the Ukrainian combat division is readily available to researchers such as Mr. Wiesenthal, and should be used constructively to portray an accurate account of events rather than to exacerbate and inflame relations through the use of unsubstantiated slurs and hearsay. May I point out that Mr. Wiesenthal's job is to hunt Nazis, not headlines.

Prof. Roman Serbyn, a leading academic in this field, best describes the reasons for the frustration and anger within the Ukrainian community. At a symposium held last year in Toronto he stated the following:



"When all the pieces of the unfolding saga of alleged war criminals in Canada are put together a pattern emerges. There is a shift in emphasis and focus. "War criminals" are reduced to "Nazi war criminals" and "Nazi war criminals" become strongly identified with "Ukrainians". The Galician division's identity as a combat unit (Waffen SS) is ignored and a false identity as Hitler's elite guard is forged. The distinction between "war criminals" and "alleged war criminals" is completely blurred, and the two terms have been used interchangeably. Ukrainians are never mentioned as having suffered from either communist or Nazi oppression. They are rarely credited with saving Jews from extermination, and never is it mentioned that many Ukrainians lost their lives for giving shelter to Jews. In this way the Canadian media contributes to the emergence of a new image of Ukrainian-Canadians."

This is indeed true. Gone are the stalwart, hard working pioneers in sheepskin coats which settled the west and helped build Canada, and enter a new breed of sinister, bloodthirsty, criminal collaborators, lurking in the shadows of every Ukrainian church and community hall.

To understand the reaction of the Ukrainians and the apparent tensions between the two communities one must understand that certain strong perceptions are being forged. There is an anti-Ukrainian campaign going on in this country and the Ukrainian community knows who the perpetrators are. The community is angry, confused, and extremely suspicious. The confusion arises as to why the slander is being perpetrated in the first place. The suspicions arise when Ukrainians learn of Soviet involvement, and anger arises from the constant misrepresentation of facts and the lopsided nature of the issue. When one looks at certain incidents and developments over the years, their concern and anger can hardly be considered unfounded.

TRIAL BY MEDIA

1. The first perception is that Ukrainians feel they are being treated unfairly in the Canadian media. They can't help but wonder why Mr. Wiesenthal's unsubstantiated allegations stated in a radio interview, in Israel, are covered on the front page of the nation's newspapers while, documented evidence provided at a Ukrainian sponsored news conference held some days later, in Canada, refuting some of those same allegations is ignored by the Canadian media. Not only do these allegations contain gross exaggerations, but their inconsistency seriously puts their credibility into question.

Initially Mr. Wiesenthal claimed that Canada was a haven for thousands of Nazi war criminals. After some scrutiny the number was worked down to 660. After further scrutiny the number was worked down to thirty or so. Today the Deschenes Commission is investigating eight persons. Hardly a haven.

The methods employed to account for these numbers are also highly questionable. Apparently Mr. Littman acquired his list of suspects in a most rudimentary manner. It seems his allegations are based almost solely on his ability to open a telephone book. In an Ottawa Citizen article (Feb. 11, 1985) it was reported that Mr. Littman tracked down his suspects "by using phone books and social security numbers" Are we to take this seriously? Where did Mr. Littman manage to obtain access to social security numbers? Isn't that illegal? Why isn't anybody questioning this?

Ukrainians perceive that strangely the media seems only interested in "facts" and "information" supplied by Mr. Littman. They feel their side is rarely, if ever, accurately presented. Letters to the editor are written, phone calls are made, meetings and press conferences are held, but with little result. The defamation continues.

2. Ukrainians are also angry and rather irate with the defamatory way the word "Ukrainian" is used in the media. It has almost become an adjective of Nazi and a synonym for evil. Constant references are made to Mr. Demjanjuk's ethnic origin, but the ethnic origin of the newly crowned Miss Teen Canada: - Lisa Sawka is omitted. This is also the case with Ed Lukowich, Mike Bossy, Roy Romanow, Justice Walter Tarnopolsky, or Conservative House Leader Ray Hnatyshyn. Clearly the term "Ukrainian" is reserved solely for describing "bloodthirsty Nazi war criminals". It seems it is not applicable when referring to beauty, talent, skill, or any other positive attribute.

ANGER, FEARS, SUSPICIONS

3. Ukrainians are very suspicious as to why the commission was set up in the first place; to find war criminals, or discredit Ukrainians in the west under that guise. These suspicions are further reinforced when it is learned that the Soviets have offered to supply the 'evidence.' Millions of Ukrainians have been exiled to Siberia, incarcerated or executed since the revolution on trumped up charges supported with fabricated evidence. Most feel there is little reason to doubt this tradition will not continue.

- CAUSES AND CURES

MARKIAN DZEROWYCZ

4. Ukrainians are also very suspicious about the reasons behind the proposed restoration of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union. Many believe a deal has been struck, where Moscow has offered to restore relations and allow a mass exodus of Soviet Jews in exchange for Jewish co-operation in a campaign to slander and defame Ukrainians in the West, by charging prominent Ukrainian nationalists and community leaders with Nazi war crimes. Such suspicions are strongly reinforced when it is reported in The New York Times that representatives of the Soviet Embassy in the U.S. and the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Los Angeles met recently to discuss the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel, and Jewish emigration from the U.S.S.R. To Ukrainians, and most other people, it is not clear why the Soviet diplomat would be interested in discussing diplomatic relations and emigration with a representative of the Wiesenthal Centre, which is concerned primarily with studying war crimes.

PERCEPTIONS FORGED

5. Furthermore, the Ukrainian community generally feels it doesn't know where the Jewish community stands on this issue. When Jewish representatives are asked to speak they are often ambiguous or evasive. Recently at a panel discussion on the Deschenes Commission, "Reaction from Ukrainians and Jews", Ukrainian speakers lawyer John Sopinka and student Lesia Shymko laid Ukrainian concerns on the table. Jewish representatives lawyer David Matas and student Colin Ripsman spoke of the horrors of the holocaust and the need to find and prosecute the individuals guilty of those crimes. Ukrainians are all too well aware of holocausts and so are able to empathize entirely with Jews. Ukrainians fully support the Jewish community in bringing such criminals to justice. But, Ukrainians want assurances from the Jewish community that they also reject suspect, tainted and circumstantial evidence provided from behind the Iron Curtain. Ukrainians want to hear from Mr. Matas that he will do everything in his power to ensure that all of Canada's legal safeguards regarding admissibility of evidence will be upheld, and that all Canadian standards of justice will be met. Ukrainians also want to know if the Jewish community supports the allegations of Mr. Littman. If not, why aren't greater efforts being made by the Jewish community to distance themselves from Mr. Littman and his remarks? Ukrainians generally perceive that Mr. Littman's slurs represent the feelings of the greater Jewish community. If this is not the case the Canadian Jewish Congress should speak with Mr. Littman and the media and request that disclaimers be issued and printed following such remarks. Failure to do so implies to Ukrainian-Canadians that the Jewish community tacitly supports his actions.

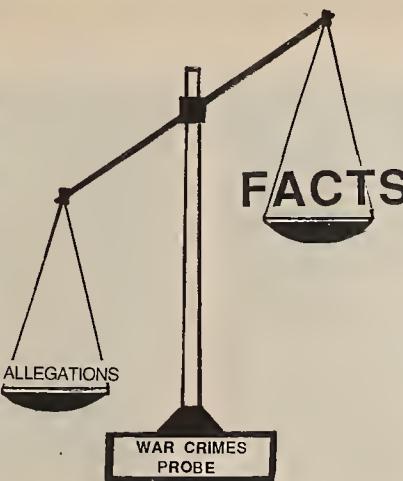
SOVIET INVOLVEMENT?

6. Ukrainians are quite dismayed and have become increasingly irritated with the witch hunt approach being conducted in the media, based on statements made by Mr. Littman and Mr. Wiesenthal. There has been talk of the Jewish community having "evidence" since 1950. Such talk has resurfaced again recently in the form of a McCarthy type approach of 'waving lists of names in the air'. When the Ukrainian community asks that this evidence be presented, it is not. Excuses are made that the lists have been lost, as though we are expected to believe that Simon Wiesenthal had only one copy. The Ukrainian community feels that if the Simon Wiesenthal Centre has evidence then it should act on it and let justice be done. If not the community would appreciate Mr. Wiesenthal refraining from baseless allegations.

7. Ukrainians are also worried that the use of Soviet "evidence" in Canadian courts will serve to legitimize the Soviet legal system, the same system which has incarcerated millions of innocent people including Anatoly Shcharansky, Andrei Sakharov and Yuri Shukhevych. After closely monitoring events in the U.S., Ukrainians are concerned that the Deschenes Commission not follow a similar path of the American OSI (Office of Special Investigations), which has clearly become a travesty of justice.

One must understand that by travelling to the Soviet Union and condoning their legal system, we would in fact be condoning the activities of the KGB. It is important to realize that all political cases in the Soviet Union are under the exclusive control of the KGB, not the courts or the judicial system. Trials against dissidents are considered political or state security cases. The Soviet Union also views OSI cases as political or security cases, and these are also under KGB supervision. Thus OSI collaboration with the Soviet legal system is in effect co-operation with the KGB. This would have a demoralizing effect. By sending people to the Soviet Union to use their court system, the message Canada would be sending to dissidents and "refusniks" is that we respect the system that convicted them. Many feel this is unacceptable.

8. Many strongly suspect that this recent rift between the two communities is being perpetrated and fueled by the Soviet Union. It is felt that Moscow has a vested interest in driving a wedge between the two strongest opponents to the Soviet regime in the West, rather than allowing them to unite and thus become a more effective opposition. The old Machiavellian rule of divide and conquer seems to apply well here.



9. More feel that Moscow, by slandering prominent Ukrainian nationalist leaders such as Bandera and Lebed, will discredit the Ukrainian cause for political independence. By equating Ukrainian nationalists and Ukrainian nationalism with fascism and Nazi war crimes, the Soviet Union can deflect attention from its own miserable historical record. It no longer needs to be held to account for the years of terror under Stalin's rule. Similarly, with the Ukrainian and Baltic communities in the West under attack, the story of what the Soviets did to these people in the past is less likely to be believed or even heard.

Surprisingly, this recent allegedly Soviet orchestrated smear campaign began in 1982, just as Ukrainians were revealing the atrocities of the Moscow induced famine of 1932-33 to the world; a holocaust that claimed at least seven million lives.

10. Finally, if anyone wants to know what "all the fuss is about" it is the Ukrainian community. Ukrainians who came to the United States and Canada after the war have already gone through an elaborate investigation process before being allowed to emigrate. Every applicant under the Displaced Persons Act was checked by I) the FBI (the RCMP in Canada after 1948), II) the Counter-Intelligence Corps of the U.S. Army - which included twenty-one separate investigating steps, III) the OSS, IV) the Provost Marshal General of the U.S. Army in Germany, V) the Berlin Document Center, VI) the Fingerprint Center in Heidelberg, VII) various consular officers especially assigned for the DP program, VIII) the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice stationed overseas and IX) Special American Investigators assigned to screen escapees from communist countries. The former chief of Canada's immigration



УД-УНА

mission in Germany, Joseph Robillard, told the Deschenes inquiry, that he was amazed at RCMP stringency during the 1950's. He complained in 1954 that Mountie security checks were infact "too strict", and caused "unnecessary hardship for those hoping to settle in Canada." *Montreal Gazette*, (May 16, 1985). All of the individuals were cleared of having participated in any war crimes whatsoever. Neither the Soviets, British, Americans or the CJC possessed evidence to the contrary. Now the Soviets claim that there are thousands of "new documents" and hundreds of "new eyewitnesses" available to testify. All of a sudden they are again faced with being under investigation. Why? How do you think they feel?

It is interesting that these "eyewitnesses" were unable to implicate Displaced Persons in crimes against humanity 5 years after the war, but surprisingly (not really), 40 years after the war they are able to 'remember' (vividly may I add), and more than "willing" to testify. Logic takes a new twist. (Perhaps being held at gunpoint has cured this 35 year memory lapse). If real evidence could not be produced in 1950 any talk of "new evidence" can only be construed as having been fabricated, most probably by the Soviet Union which wants to punish certain individuals, who, through their activities and advocacy of a homeland free from communist oppression, have fallen out of favour with the regime in Moscow. The Soviets feel such individuals must be silenced and discredited. What better way than by slandering these persons as perpetrators of heinous war crimes, with "evidence" provided (read fabricated) to back it up?

A House Committee on the Judiciary submitted the following statement to the American Congress on January 20, 1950. It best describes this new predicament.

"The number of screening agents, screening sessions, interrogations, and checks that a displaced person must pass before reaching the United States (in our case Canada) is so extensive that the chance of a fraudulent statement or a forged document to slip through are practically nil." Based on their findings Subcommittee members concluded that "The majority of allegations regarding misrepresentation can safely be classified as either rumours or as a deliberate misrepresentation intended to serve a definite purpose." Amen!

CONTINUED PAGE 14

STUDENTSKA KHRONIKA

WINTER-PEG CONFERENCE

Reprinted from U of A USC newsletter.

The Ukrainian Canadian spoke on various topics. These are approximately 15). It will recently held its annual gap in the Ukrainian community weekend of February 14-16 in ethnicity, mixed marriages, Winnipeg, Manitoba. The natives and Ukrainians and the Conference was hosted by the Ukrainian Work Study Program, University of Manitoba. A Banquet-Zabava was held on Ukrainian Students' Club and Saturday evening (the 15th), at was co-ordinated by Mykola the Delta Inn on Portage Ave. Teterenko, the Club's The banquet featured Peter Newsletter Editor. The Savaryn, head of the World Western Conference served as Congress of Free Ukrainians a complement to the Eastern (WCFU), as it's keynote Conference, which was held in speaker. November, in Montreal. On internal matters, the Western Conference, which had purchase of an Apple Macintosh as its theme "Communicating", computer was announced. The was attended by approximately computer, due to its word 75 delegates, most of whom processing and communicating were from Western Canada. capabilities, will help The majority of the events took place in the Fort Gary Hotel. information between the Conference featured a Executive and the various wide range of speakers who individual clubs (of which there

The next major gathering of SUSK is scheduled to take place at its 27th Congress to be held August 21-24 near Edmonton.



Seeing light at the end of the tunnel

BROCK BASEBALL VOLLEYBALL

Johnny the 'Uke'



Every year volleyball comes to Brock. A particular high point of the finals Roman Dubczak explained that "... I Marika Krasilowez, the team fashion University. This year was no exception. occurred when Andrij Chabursky almost thought that we had paid off all of the co-ordinator, assured Student that she sent their teams to battle to the death in with the ref. Andrij was heard to As a result of their victory SUSK has with the addition of designer sports Kitts quaking (or was that yawning?) in was doing for dinner! The event was competitive division. SUSK had better nice pairs but I still haven't come up its boots.

I, like you, hate to listen to all the was able to find the local pub (except of to be taken lightly. All of Canada will Boris for advice.) This reporter has as small stuff that goes on at events like course for this trusty reporter, who doubtlessly be watching their yet not been able to figure out that last this, so lets cut through the ----- would like to say that it was very nice.) performance next year and whether remark. and get right to the point, SUSK won. It SUSK's perfect record was marred they win or lose they had better make wasn't a particularly graceful victory, isn't always?) by a loss to St. Vlads, sure that the guys are once again although the guys from Toronto looked who to this day, still don't know what sporting fashionable spring and summer cute in their multicoloured shorts. happened. In a post-game interview, wear.

A banquet was held after the tournament at the Black Sea Hall. SUSK had to be reminded that it was scheduled all along and not just an impromptu event held in their honor.

OVERWORKED

Danylo Dzikewicz

Funding? Funding? Funding?

This is the question that every non-profit organization must answer. This year SUSH has made a valiant attempt to raise funds from within the Ukrainian Canadian community, however, the Ukrainian Canadian community has made nothing less than a pathetic attempt to sponsor Ukrainian Canadian students.

Back in October, The SUSH Fundraiser began sending out thousands of letters to organizations, businesses, professionals, churches and credit unions around the country. The response to this public appeal for funds has been about 6%. There have been major disappointments:

Among the numerous Ukrainian Canadian Credit Unions, only Buduchnist (in Toronto) has made a substantial contribution of \$500.00. St. Mary's Toronto Credit Union and Community Trust Ltd. (Toronto) have made \$100.00 and \$50.00 contributions respectively. The other major Credit Unions in Canada continue to remain silent. To say the least, this is a very meager representation of the actual assets and revenues Ukrainian Canadian Credit Unions possess and distribute in the form of donations annually.

The Professional and Business Associations across Canada have also been slow to respond. Only the Oshawa P's and B's have made a contribution of \$500.00 while the Vancouver P's and B's made a contribution of \$50.00.

What makes this predicament even worse is that despite not providing any financial support, not one other Ukrainian-Canadian organization (KYK, CYM, PLAST, UNA, MUNO, etc) has bothered to acknowledge or send a letter of support toward SUSH-planned activities throughout the year.

Not only have organizations been slow to respond, the community has been slow to sponsor SUSH, as well. Of the funds collected, a greater portion comes from East of the Manitoba-Ontario border. In fact, the Ukrainian community in Oshawa has managed to contribute about 30% of all funds. Not all that bad for a city which has no university or Ukrainian Students' Club. Maybe other Ukrainian Canadian communities will see this as an inspiration to act and will extend their



support.

Ukrainian churches have passively extended support to SUSH and STUDENT. At least one Ukrainian Church, from Western Canada, showed initiative when it took a collection from its congregation and sent \$210 in support of SUSH initiatives. However, it is sad to say that more Ukrainian churches and their spiritual leaders have not seen it important enough to support Ukrainian students - members of their own congregations.

Apathy is abundant amongst the SUSH Alumni and/or parents of current SUSH members also. It would be interesting to take a survey (this census year), noting how many Ukrainian Canadians exercised the income tax deduction available for charitable donations. Without taking a

survey, I would estimate that less than 10% of the Ukrainian community has capitalized on this option. Why?

Every so often, we come across another Ukrainian individual who stuffs his or her mattress with his or her life savings and passes away leaving no will to properly dispose of his or her savings. Canadian government and Soviet embassy lawyers, like parasites and maggots, quickly descend from Ottawa to register properly documented claims on such estates. It is rumoured that Soviet embassy coffers in Canada contain millions of dollars (estimated at around 50 million) collected from our now departed Ukrainian Canadians. Who knows what causes this money is being used for? Maybe, Soviet embassy officials, after reading this letter will offer SUSH or STUDENT sponsorship; after all, they can well afford it.

Although funding is somewhat of a problem, if we are to continue to evolve as a distinct Ukrainian Canadian culture, the attitude of the community must change -- otherwise the choice is obvious: we pack our bags and return to Soviet Ukraine or assimilate into Canadian society -- that's where all the money is.

The fact remains that an organization or a group of people can have many plans and ideas, but that these ideas and plans are nothing but hot air without community support. Without funding, an organization like SUSH or a publication like STUDENT cannot survive, let alone thrive, in the material world built around them. The question remains: Why should anyone make plans if all we really want is for apathy to rule the world?

If you would like to make a contribution, please make cheques payable to Ukrainian Canadian Committee (STUDENT FUND) and mail directly to:

SUSH
620 Spadina Ave.
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 2H4
...or
STUDENT Newspaper
620 Spadina Ave.
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 2H4

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USC ALUMNI BANQUET

The present executive of the U of T Ukrainian Students club announces an "Alumni Banquet" to be held on May 23, 1986. Present addresses of USC alumni from all years are required so that invitations can be sent out. Please complete the form below and mail it to the following address:

USC Alumni Banquet
c/o Jeffrey D. Stephaniuk
620 Spadina Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 2H4

Name _____
Address _____
Postal Code _____
Years in USC: 19 _____ to 19 _____

TENSIONS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

Lacking concrete proof, the accusers have resorted to initiating a 'trial by media'. They have successfully managed to take the war crimes debate into the savage arena of public opinion, rather than keeping it in the courts where it belongs. The accompanying prejudice, inaccurate and unfair media coverage has already taken its toll. For some strange reason the onus seems to be on the Ukrainian community to prove it is innocent of the allegations. An unprecedented development in a country where, under the law, the burden of proof is on the prosecution. (Ukrainians are having trouble keeping up with these new rules.)

Whatever comes of this entire debate is really meaningless. The damage has already been done. Mr. Littman, Mr. Wiesenthal and others, through their irresponsible and slanderous remarks, have succeeded in staining the good name and reputation of the Ukrainian community. Clearly, anyone accused of Nazi war crimes, or any community accused of harboring such criminals, will carry that unsavory label forever due to the highly emotional and repugnant nature of the accusation. It is a truism that people always remember the accusation of a heinous crime, but rarely note or believe the withdrawal of charges, or an absolute acquittal.

The accusers can't prove Ukrainians are guilty - but that doesn't matter, they are already presumed guilty. The Ukrainian community has been documenting its innocence - but that doesn't matter either - nobody's listening and nobody cares.

The Ukrainian community is caught between a rock and a hard place. If it sits quietly and does nothing, the charges of Nazi collaboration seem reinforced through a conspiracy of silence. If, on the other hand, the Ukrainian community speaks out to defend itself, it is perceived as having something to hide. Both communities had individuals which besmirched the honour of their people by collaborating with the enemy. But, these were individuals and few in number. As such Ukrainians have no more to hide with regard to Nazi collaboration than the Jews do. However, in light of Soviet supplied "evidence", they have much more to fear.

These are the perceptions and such is the situation. The Ukrainian position and subsequent reaction should be easily understood by the Jewish community seeing as it was recently faced with the Zundel and Keegstra trials. Both communities have reacted in a similarly defensive manner when dealing with perceived hate and slander.

Regardless of the hardship the Ukrainian community has endured over this whole issue, it has tried to remain calm and keep the channels open between the two communities. Ukrainians have invited Jewish representatives to speak at their conferences, symposiums and a panel discussion held recently at the University of Toronto. Mr. Matas, a participant, was quoted in the *Globe and Mail* (March 1, 1986) as having encountered a "hostile audience" at this forum. While in light of recent

events the crowd could hardly have been expected to be cheerful, they did allow Mr. Matas to speak and were generally polite and attentive. However, hissing and groaning as well as the occasional outburst of laughter can only be expected when an audience which has lived through Soviet induced famines, cultural repression, deportations, mass executions and general run of the mill terror, are entertained with remarks made by Mr. Matas that he trusts the Soviets will not fabricate evidence, or by Mr. Ripsman that Jewish collaboration with the Nazis is excusable, but Ukrainian collaboration is criminal. Double standards are rarely more blatant.

While Ukrainian students will continue to promote a better understanding and strive to alleviate tensions, it is hoped that Jewish students will strive to do the same. To date Ukrainian student clubs across the country have sponsored events where representatives of the Jewish community have been invited to attend and participate. To SUSK's knowledge the same courtesy has not been extended to Ukrainian student representatives during Jewish sponsored events. As Ukrainian students are willing to participate in any debate on this issue, it is an unfortunate oversight which we hope will be rectified in the future. Honesty, open communication, and close contact are the only way for both communities to reach mutual understanding and respect for one another. Let us begin now by building on the process already initiated by Ukrainian students to ultimately achieve this end.

BOOKS, WWII CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

positive role which Ukrainians had played during the Nazi occupation. He outlines that Ukrainians hid thousands of Jews from the Nazis, fully conscious that such action was punishable by death. To support his statements Prof. Hunczak presents copies of authentic German documents listing the names of hundreds of Ukrainians condemned to death for harboring and assisting Jews during the war. Hunczak also stresses a fact which has been avoided during this whole issue. The head of the Ukrainian Catholic church, Metropolitan Andrij Sheptitskij, was the only church or political leader to openly criticize and condemn the actions of both Hitler and Himmler regarding the final solution to the Jewish question. While the Pope remained silent, the Ukrainian metropolitan dared to speak out, and called upon all Ukrainian Catholics to harbor and protect Jews from the Nazis. The Jewish community has yet to recognize this great man.

In presenting documents such as the condemned persons lists and Metropolitan Sheptitskij's open letter entitled "Thou shall not kill", Hunczak dispels the popular myth that all Ukrainians stood idly by or collaborated in the attempted extermination of the Jewish race. In fact it was pointed out that many Ukrainians risked their own lives and those of their families to save these people from certain death. This positive aspect of Ukrainian-Jewish

relations counteracts the image that all Ukrainians were bloodthirsty anti-semites as some would like to have us believe.

The controversial topic of the 14th SS Grenadier Division "Galizien" is discussed at length by Professor Myroslav Yurkevich who defends the division, accused recently in the Canadian press, of running "death camps" in Eastern Europe. Yurkevich outlines the division, accused recently in the Canadian press, of running "death camps" in Eastern Europe. Yurkevich outlines the fact that the division; was formed in the later stages of the war, under the condition that it would fight exclusively against Russian communists on the Eastern Front. By presenting substantiating documentation, Prof. Yurkevich supports the fact that the Galician division of the Waffen SS was a front line fighting unit and in no way, nor at any time, participated in any anti-Semitic activities whatsoever. Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk discussed the emigration of the Galician division to North America at war's end, adding an important element to the discussion. Unfortunately, this too was omitted from the book.

The final session dealt with the most controversial topic of all - the investigation of war criminals in North America. This last session which ran well over three hours, and covers over half the book, was divided into two sections - "Canadian perspectives" and "The U.S. experience." The American OSI was seen as a example of what can happen if safe guards are not strictly adhered to.

Both parts of the session were presented in the form of a panel discussion consisting of nine academics. All parties agreed that any individual found guilty of war crimes should answer to the fullest extent of the law. However, to smear the name of an entire community or conduct witch hunts aimed at a specific ethnic group should not be supported or endorsed.

The book provides an interesting and much needed balance to the entire issue. Although some important contributions are missing, the book is nevertheless an impressive work which has been long overdue. Although the issue of implicating Ukrainians in alleged war crimes has not yet been fully resolved, the March 2, 1985 conference and follow up book have played an important part in clearing up certain misconceptions, and placing historical events into context. Now that the facts surrounding Ukraine and Ukrainians during World War II have been brought to the public's attention, there is hope that better informed Canadians will ensure that in the future, unsubstantiated allegations and historical inaccuracies, not reappear on the pages of the Nation's newspapers.



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TWILIGHT OF THE ALIEN GODS

Tony Rocchi

"Not until freedom of assembly, speech and the press is declared will we see the end of this shameful Russian inquisition that persecutes the profession of any faith and the expression of all opinions and teachings not supported by the state."

Those were the words of Vladimir Lenin in 1903 as he criticized the tsarist government for persecuting the non-Orthodox faiths in the Russian empire. Ironically, Lenin's words take on a bitter relevance when one examines the reasons why the Soviet government liquidated the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1946.

The liquidation of the church was not an isolated incident in Soviet religious history. In fact, it would have happened even if the Ukrainian Catholic Church didn't have a mass membership topping four million.



Soviet religious policy runs on two tracks. Along with an attempt to wipe out religious beliefs, the government also tries to harness the churches. If there must be churches, then the churches must be centralized institutions with no room for local autonomy.

Nowhere is this attitude more apparent than in Soviet policy toward the religious groupings of non-Russians. One suspects Soviet leaders regard national churches as a dangerous threat to the nation's unity and one should never forget that the Soviet Union is home to 100 nationalities. A national church can (and did) become a rallying point for minority nationalists. And the Soviet leaders fear a national church can spell the first step to political separatism.

The liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was only one of several liquidations of national churches during the 1930s and 1940s.

The Soviet government destroyed autocephalous Orthodox Churches during the 1930s and 1940s in Ukraine, Belorussia, Estonia and Latvia. The Georgian Church survived only thanks to Joseph Stalin's sentimental attitude to the church of his native people. Ironically, the destruction of national faiths took a curious path among the Udmurts, Maris, Yakuts and other peoples of the Volga region and Siberia. A pagan

revival, encouraged by the Soviet government in the 1920s, sparked national movements. Hence the regime in later years tried to make these people atheists or, at least, Russian Orthodox.

One should also remember Western Ukraine-the center of Uniatism-was part of the new western territories annexed between 1939 and 1945. Integration of these areas into the Soviet Union also meant destroying any institutions which could spark separatist demands. Hence the destruction of autocephalous Orthodox Churches and their unification with the Moscow Patriarchate. It is interesting to note that Baptists, Pentecostalists and Seven Day Adventists and other evangelical Protestants were forbidden to retain local organizations. All were forced to

leaders faced explosive religious issues. Volyn is not only a stronghold of Orthodox sectarian groups, it is also a center of Pentecostalists, Baptists, Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses. Ethnic separatism combined with an apocalyptic mood among sectarians to make an explosive situation.

As well, Soviet leaders believe it is much easier to control a "native" church than one with "foreign connections". The Russian Orthodox Church (and to a lesser degree the Old Believers and the traditional Russian sectarians) is a lesser evil than Roman and Byzantine Catholicism, Protestantism, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism and Bahaiism.

The resulting policy shows itself in different ways. Uniate and autocephalous Orthodox Churches are merged with the Russian Orthodox Churches. Ties of Roman Catholics, Protestants, Moslems, Jews, Buddhists and Bahai's with fellow believers abroad are reduced to the bare minimum. Other groups-particularly Jehovah's Witnesses-are banned on the grounds that the religion is merely a guise for anti-Soviet activities. Others, particularly Armenian Gregorians, are used to split the diaspora.

Ironically, this means the Soviet government has committed itself to protecting "preferred religions" (the Russian Orthodox Church is the main beneficiary) and minimizing or destroying "non-preferred religions" for the sake of protecting national unity. History has probably never recorded a similar large-scale attempt by an atheistic regime to harness religion for its own ends.

Note-The title of this article "The Twilight Of The Alien Gods" is taken from an anti-Uniate pamphlet by Yaroslav Halan. Halan, a Ukrainian Communist writer, published a series of anti-Uniate pamphlets as part of a hate campaign against the Uniate Church before its liquidation in 1946. One suspects Halan meant Catholicism as the alien God and regarded Russian Orthodoxy as the "true God", ironic for an atheist to have a preferred religion, but wholly logical in light of Soviet policy toward "non-preferred religions".

join the central Protestant Churches or go underground as unregistered congregations.

Most dangerous to the Soviet government were those churches which were "bridge builders" between East and West and which could be rallying points for separatists. The Uniate Churches in Ukraine and Belorussia clearly distinguish Ukrainians and Belorussians from Poles by the rite and Russians by the denomination. Soviet ideologists have always argued the Uniate Churches were designed to tear away the Ukrainians and Belorussians from the kindred Russians.

Not surprisingly, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was seen as particularly dangerous because if had a mass membership. But even if it had been much smaller, it still would have been destroyed because the Soviet leaders feared its potential attraction to oppositionists.

The 30 000 Belorussian Uniates were also forced to join the Russian Orthodox Church during the late 1940s. The Soviet government also liquidated the minuscule Ukrainian Evangelical Reformed Church which had about 20 000 members. Not only did this church have a German origin, but its members were more nationalist than the Uniates.

One should also remember that Halychyna isn't the only West Ukrainian land where the Soviet

PERSPECTIVES

Jeffrey D. Stephanuk

There appeared in the November-December issue of *Student* an article of mine which the editors entitled "Abortion : Changing Reality". My point then was to indicate that our Ukrainian culture, and the attitudes and world-view it embodies, is a worthwhile resource to refer to in struggling with this issue.

My purpose here, is to examine some of the assumptions underpinning North American societal values often used in this dilemma. For example, "whatever happens between a doctor and a patient is a private affair" is cited in defence of general abortion practises. This is a corollary of a more general value that can be expressed thus: "whatever two people do in private is their business." The assumption here is that such an individual and private realm exists. But does it really?

First, there is a social character to elements as simple as language, which people inherit from other generations by virtue of being in that society that points us beyond the merely individual and private. No one creates their own language out of nothing, and the language we inherit embodies the attitudes and values of other people.

Second, psychologists speak of the social element required to develop as persons: we need interactions with others in order to really grow as humans, to bring to life our uniquely human faculties of intelligence, emotion, self-awareness, other-awareness, etc.

Third, the media en masse is a modern vehicle for transmitting certain values. We may not agree with those values, or they may be foreign to us, but we cannot avoid their influence. The reason is because of the subliminal transmission involved: we are being influenced to think in certain ways, value certain values, without even being aware that it is happening. Thus, when it comes time to evaluate and decide, who is it that is really deciding, the reasonably informed person, or the subliminally influenced person? No matter how outwardly "non-cultural" North American society may seem, the values and attitudes that underpin explicitly cultural expressions are still communicated, only in different ways. Mass media, from the art of advertising to the programs aired, attest to this.

That is why our Ukrainian heritage is worth tapping into. It provides an alternative source from which to derive values. One value our heritage expresses in many different ways, is the communal, social nature of being human.



perspective of national unity would be Semitism, as well, tainting this debate that the murderers of one group would be left unpunished because of the supposed pressure from another group. Before I present to you an incident of anti-semitism, I want to say a word

To my knowledge, there is no group in Canada that takes the position that Nazi war criminals in Canada should be allowed to go free. Every group accepts the principle that Nazi war criminals in Canada should be brought to justice.

A systematic policy to attack allegations about Nazi war criminals in Canada can dispel the rumours and the suspicions. Instead of the widely fluctuating estimates of murderers, we would know how many there were, and who they were. Until a working policy is put in place we are left with fears and doubts. When the guilty go free, there is nothing to distinguish them from the innocent, and the innocent come under suspicion.

I see a parallel between Ukrainian-Jewish relations and the history of anglophone-francophone relations. Recently, in Canada, we have gone through a trying period for anglophone-francophone relations. The two linguistic communities started off as two solitudes, with little understanding of each other. There was the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission, the Official Languages Act, the referendum and repatriation. They were difficult times with a good deal of heated debate. The result, however, was positive, with each linguistic community understanding more of the other, and Canada more united.

The Ukrainian and Jewish communities, too, at least at the organized level, have been functioning as two solitudes. There has been virtually no organizational contact between the two communities. We are now going through trying times with some heated exchanges as the result of initial contacts. But the result here, too, I believe will be a better understanding by each community of the other and a more united Canada.

I know, myself, because of the Deschenes Commission and the concerns Ukrainian Canadians and Baltic Canadians have raised, I have become more aware of the Soviet imposed forced famine in the Ukraine in the '30's. I have learned of the forced repatriation of the Ukrainians and Baltic nationals from Western Europe back to the Soviet Union and the Gulag Archipelago after World War II, because of the Yalta Accord. I have become informed about the national, linguistic, and cultural repression of the Baltic states and the Ukraine by the Soviet Union.

So the exchange can be a positive one. It can also, if care is not taken be negative. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith U.S. put out a report in June 1985 titled "The Campaign Against the U.S. Justice Department's Prosecution of Suspected Nazi War Criminals." The report notes that, at times, the campaign against the O.S.I. has been marked by ill concealed anti-Semitic propaganda themes. When that report came out, I, on behalf of the League, issued a press release in Canada urging that anti-Semitism not be a part of the debate in Canada about bringing Nazi war criminals to justice. Regrettably, there has been anti-

Before I present to you an incident of anti-semitism, I want to say a word about what anti-semitism is. Anti-Semitism is more than racial slurs, or racial hatred directed against the Jews. It is an "ism", an ideology, a philosophy of power. It is the belief that the Jews are ruling or trying to rule the world, and should be stopped.

The fact that its converse, Semitism, a belief that Jews should rule the world, is held by no one, does not bother the anti-Semite. Blind to reason and experience, he sees a world Jewish conspiracy where it does not exist, and nothing can convince him otherwise. In the words of Jason Paul Sartre (sic), in his work "Anti-Semitic and Jew", if the anti-Semite is impervious to reason and to experience, it is not because his conviction is strong. Rather, his conviction is strong, because he has proven first of all to be impervious.

The example of anti-Semitism to which I wish to refer, is anti-Semitism of the classic form. It is in the November-December 1985 issue of the newspaper titled *Student* and subtitled "Canada's National Newspaper for Ukrainian Students". The periodical contains an article that attributes the appointment of the Deschenes Commission to clever manipulation by the Jewish community of the P.C. government, to the Jewish community's influence peddling machine, to the great financial resources of the Jewish community. The article claims that the "formidable Jewish presence in all areas of employment" prevents Ukrainians from speaking out on the Nazi War criminal issue, for fear of biting the hand that feeds them.

"Clever manipulation", "influence peddling", "formidable Jewish presence" these are words that have reverberated through the ages, first inciting and then justifying discrimination, pogroms and genocide. They are words dripping with blood.

The author of the article is impervious to the reality that the Deschenes Commission represents not a success of the Jewish community, but a failure. It is more than forty years after the War. And still Canada has done nothing comprehensive about Nazi War criminals living in Canada, except appoint a Commission to study the matter. The League for Human rights welcomed the appointment of the Deschenes Commission, though we did not ask for it. We would have much preferred a government policy of action, and not in 1986, but in 1946.

The author opf the article is impervious to the reality that a policy of action on Nazi war criminals in Canada is not a benefit to the Jewish community in Canada. Bringing to justice of Nazi War criminals in Canada will not bring back to life one person killed in the Holocaust. All it can do is redeem a remnant of honour for a Canadian justice system that has been prepared, for forty years to turn a blind eye to murder, and let Canada be a war criminal haven.

The League intends to ask the periodical Student to publish an

apology for the article I quoted. What is more, I expect that they will do that.

I want to quote to you from "Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl". Anne Frank was a Dutch Jewish girl, killed in the Holocaust. In her diary, shortly before she was taken away to Bergen Belsen concentration camp and death, she wrote: "It's really a wonder that I haven't dropped all my ideals because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry out. Yet, I keep them, because in spite of everything, I still believe that people are good at heart.

Today, I feel that we have even more cause for optimism and idealism than Ann Frank did. We live in an era of human rights commissions, the Bill of Rights, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It is this enhanced respect for human rights that led, in my opinion, above all to the appointment of the Deschenes Commission. We could not, in good conscience, show punctilious concern for all other rights, and ignore the most basic right of all, the right to life.

I believe that this anti-Semitic article I quote you is an isolated incident rather than a wide-spread phenomenon. I believe the Jewish-Ukrainian relations will improve, and not deteriorate because of the Deschenes Commission, and that Canada will be a stronger and more united country in the end.

are ensuring the gathering of reliable evidence has been dismissed in favor of the belief that any evidence brought back to Canada, even falsified evidence is better than no evidence at all?

One could speculate endlessly, but the reality remains the same--what began as a noble cause has resulted in a violation of Canadian justice as we know it.

This is not a simplistic debate about good guys and bad guys or Commies and anti-Commies. This is a debate about justice. And what is disturbing is the fact that, in the eagerness to nab war criminals before time runs out, very little has been done to guarantee that the process of gathering evidence and testimonies in the U.S.S.R. is monitored effectively so that no innocent Canadian is libeled, smeared or framed due to Soviet practices over which we have no control.

If the Cotlers and Littmans of the world accept this highly unreliable process of gathering Soviet evidence against Canadians, then they must follow this logic and accept Soviet evidence and witness testimony against Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky. If, on the other hand, their rejection or acceptance of the gathering of Soviet evidence fluctuates depending on the purpose for which it is used, then they have destroyed the reputation of their own community by endorsing the worst double standard in justice.

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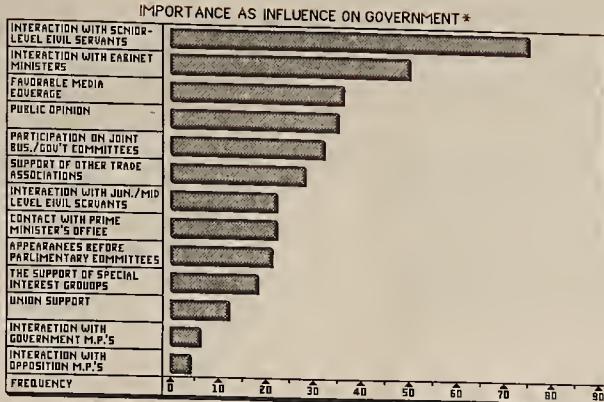
is presently underway in the United States as the OSI conducts its investigations.

The composition of a successful lobby group is another issue that warrants discussion. As mentioned previously, government prefers dealing with institutionalized lobby groups whose spokespersons are greatly similar to the people in government they are lobbying. Highly motivated and committed individuals who lead mass organizations and who are full of purity upset government; all that democracy and grass roots involvement means that their leaders are less likely to be coaxed into changing their position. Governments like to deal with groups like themselves - distant from those governed, highly bureaucratic, behind the scenes, and led by people whose primary preoccupation is their own career for which they would happily sacrifice their members' wishes if it came to that. The National Action Coalition on the Status of Women (NAC) is a prime example of such a group; behind the scenes and consultive in style (no picketing for this group), with authority vested in a few to make decisions on the behalf of all. Its leaders are doubtlessly fighting for the rights of women while enjoying material goods and the exhilaration of the national limelight. All in all, a bureaucrat's "wet dream"; being lobbied by people much like themselves. Any opportunists in the Ukrainian community take note; a wonderful chance to promote the Ukrainian cause and line your own pockets at the same time.

Another aspect of a successful lobby effort is knowing what to lobby for. Ukrainians in Canada have constantly been attempting to force the Canadian government to meddle in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, usually through campaigns for the release of political prisoners behind the Iron Curtain. This is a hopeless task if there ever was one. Aside from the occasional release of a political prisoner (we all know what a shot in the arm we got when Moroz was released, don't we), about the only result of such lobbying is to enhance the nationalistic sentiments of the group's members who unfortunately haven't been able to discard their emotional baggage of several decades ago. Efforts instead should be concentrated on improving the ability of the Ukrainian community in Canada to speak as a unified, credible voice for the benefit of Ukrainians in Canada as a whole.

Knowing who to lobby is another integral part of an effective lobby effort. A typical example of the Ukrainian community's attempt at influencing government in Canada is the letter-writing campaign to MPs undertaken by various community organizations attempting to block a potential trip by the Deschenes Commission to the Soviet Union and, having failed there, an attempt to ensure compliance with Canadian standards of justice during the evidence gathering excursion slated for early 1986. Relying on the influence of legislators means defeat, as the following table shows.

Lobby anybody but MPs because they count for nothing as far as influence and power are concerned. As former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau put it, MPs are nobodies twenty minutes from Parliament Hill. Only lobbying a Cabinet minister can potentially prove worthwhile. It should be noted that lobbying government is the first important step. Once you get the government's stamp of approval, it facilitates greatly your legitimacy with other influential factors in Canadian



* DEFINED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS WHO RANKED CATEGORY AS 'VERY IMPORTANT'.

society, including the media and other lobby groups. Also notice the high ranking given to favorable media coverage. Surprisingly enough, the media can be fairly easy to manipulate and can help pressure government for you if properly handled. The media's presentation of your views as those of the vast majority of the population will make government far more willing to give you what you want. Using the media to your advantage can involve something as basic as providing the media a good story, scheduling your events at the appropriate time when seeking television coverage, approaching the right people when informing the media of an event, providing written reference materials in advance when organizing a press conference, and submitting letters to the editor in large numbers to give the impression of widespread public support. This is a very brief list as the topic warrants a separate article of its own.

Several trends have emerged over the last decade in the real world of politics, including a significant decline in the importance of MPs and the legislature in Canadian politics, the increasing influence of organized interest groups in the policy-making process, and a decline in the importance of the individual in the decision making of government due to the increasing size of government institutions and complexity of society. The Ukrainian community in Canada has only recently become aware of even the most

rudimentary of lobbying techniques available to interest groups in Canada, without noticing that most of these techniques are rapidly becoming obsolete. It is of vital importance that the Ukrainian community in Canada identify these changing trends and organize itself into interest groups which give the community a chance to be heard. In order to provide apparent equality for all, government funding is available to increase the effectiveness of such interest groups, since it is becoming more evident that money talks. Ukrainians in Canada can take special note of the Multiculturalism directorate which funds many lobby groups representing Canada's multicultural mosaic. The government essentially funds such "reverse interest" lobby groups to tell government what it wants to hear. The Ukrainian community as a whole must now jump on the bandwagon or risk being left by the wayside in a cloud of dust while the already powerful lobby groups in Canada become even more powerful and influential.

The author regrets that the article appearing in this column in the Nov.-Dec issue of Student was interpreted by some as being of an anti-Semitic nature. There was no intent to convey, either directly or indirectly, any type of anti-Semitic feelings whatsoever.

REFLECTIONS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

As far as the national aspect is concerned, although the sign on the door has changed from "Ukrainian Greek Catholic" to "Rus'kij Pravoslavnyj", the church is still very much Ukrainian. In Lviv -- once very much a Polish city -- the ethnic Russians will not set foot in any of these churches, but rather have their own, truly Russian church, to go to.

Finally, again referring to the religious dimension, it has been suggested by some visitors to the Soviet Union that in the three legal seminaries at Odessa, Leningrad and Zagorsk, students from Galicia constitute a majority. Other visitors and testify to the fact (as can the members of Kenston College, a group in England that think that it may have been the studies religion behind the Iron Curtain) that the churches in wish to have a witness to the

Galicia are packed for all services. By making these observations, I do not want to suggest that what happened under the leadership of Fathers Kostelnyk, Melnyk and Pelvestsky was a morally good thing. However, I do not believe that they were ambitious utilitarians out only to secure their own success. They certainly did not gain by their actions. Father Kostelnyk was felled by an assassin's bullet as he stood on the balcony of his parish in Lviv, the Uspensky Sabor, in 1948.

Although Soviet sources insist that this was the action of a member of the Ukrainian insurgent Army who wished to punish Kostelnyk for his treason, it is not unreasonable to think that it may have been the the Iron government itself, which did not care that the churches in Galicia were witness to the

events of 1944-46 around for too long. Fathers Pelvestsky and Melnyk both became bishops of the Russian church for the diocese of Ivano-Frankivsk and Drohobych in Galicia, but both died early deaths under mysterious circumstances in the 1950's -- neither of them had yet reached the age of 60.

Regardless of what individual opinions may be on their actions, the churches that many of our parents and relatives attend in the middle of this century are still open. We cannot dismiss the legal church in Galicia today as irrelevant or simply a tool of the Soviet government. The first step in dismissing it is not to remember it. March 8-10 of this year was the forty-fifth anniversary, but as far as I can tell, it was one most people did not even choose to mourn.

SUBMISSION CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Ukrainian origin we are finding that it is our ethnic group which is being specifically targeted in these attacks.

The SUSK National Executive believes that above all else the principles of "political equality" and "rule of law" be respected, consistently and unequivocally, throughout the Deschenes Commission's full mandate. By "political equality" we mean those political freedoms such as freedom of assembly, association, conscience and expression which are tied inextricably with democracy as a governmental form. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms stated that these rights and freedoms are to exist in Canada, "without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, colour, religion, sex, or age." By "rule of law" we mean that,

...Canadian tradition (which) asserts that any interference with the freedom of any individual must be performed only according to the legal process and carried out by legitimate authorities. No one is exempt from the law, and no one can affect the rights of any individual except by the legal process. (Underlined our emphasis).

Furthermore,

...the relationship of the individual to the political system becomes to some extent, fixed and impartial... (it) is presumed to be coldly impersonal, predictable, and rational rather than emotional. (The Canadian Political System pg. 97)

The SUSK National Executive fears that the Soviet Union is working to undermine these two principles of "political equality" and "rule of law" in Canada in their methods of accusations of war crimes against Canadians, specifically labelled as being of Ukrainian ethnic origin. As a result we have witnessed unsubstantiated Soviet accusations against entire groups of Ukrainian Canadians who are alleged to have participated in atrocities committed by Nazis during the Second World War. The following examples cited represent but a few of the allegations.

1. In the summer of 1984, a thirteen page leaflet, drawn up partly from Soviet sources and entitled "Winnipeg's Nazi Suspects - Do Nazi Criminals Live on Your Street?", suddenly began to be circulated in and around Winnipeg.

2. More recently, the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa has been wantonly distributing a list of purported Ukrainian Canadian war criminals entitled "War Criminals Residing in Canada."

Two members of the Concordia University Ukrainian Students' Association, Andrij Hluchowecy and Adrian Chomenko, requested information regarding war criminals residing in Canada at the Novost Press Agency in Ottawa in May of 1985. The aforementioned bulletin and a Soviet list of suspected war criminals were promptly forwarded to them with no questions asked.

As well, there has been a recent onslaught of Soviet disinformation published in book form in both the Ukrainian and English languages where names are cited of Ukrainian groups and individuals that are now said to be residing in Canada. The Soviet disinformation campaign against Ukrainians also continues in the form of periodicals which are disseminated across Canada including Ukraine monthly, and News from Ukraine and Visti z Ukrayino weeklies.

Hence the SUSK Executive believes that the Soviet Union is violating the two Canadian principles of "political equality" and "rule of law" in the following fashion: first, by making blanket accusations against the Ukrainian Canadian community and thereby attacking its ability for freedom of conscience and freedom of expression; and secondly, by acting as an illegitimate authority in Canada and interfering with the individual rights of Canadian citizens outside the Canadian legal process.

II. SOVIET ATTEMPTS AT DISCREDITING UKRAINIAN CANADIAN YOUTH

The Soviet Union in its exhortations and

publications resorts to the most ludicrous and malicious misstatements of fact in order to impugn the good name of Ukrainian youth in the West. In the Soviet view, organized Ukrainian Canadian students pose a double threat, in that as a whole:

1. We do not recognize the political community known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which has incorporated Ukraine as a republic; and,
2. We do not subscribe to the Soviet Communist political and economic model.

It is true that SUSK does believe in, and does work toward, the establishment of an independent Ukraine through peaceful means. In addition, SUSK has demonstrated an overwhelming commitment to individualism and to individual liberties, ideas which are associated with the concept of liberal democracy. Therefore, SUSK supports Ukrainian dissidents who have been incarcerated for their beliefs on Ukrainian national and individual human rights.

The Soviet will, of course, not countenance any groups which work towards diminishing the territory of the U.S.S.R., or which espouse the belief that individual liberties should take precedence over collective state objectives. It has been proven time and time again that those Soviet citizens who place individual rights over collective ones, or who place nationalist demands over pan-Soviet ones, will inevitably be incarcerated in Soviet prisons.

In light of Soviet orientations regarding the inviolability of Soviet borders and of the political ideal of collectivism, there is no value placed by Soviet authorities on the Western political tradition of protecting the rights of the individual. This has clearly been the case with respect to their own citizens, and there is no reason to believe that the Soviets would not attempt a similar treatment of any extraterritorial opposition if provided with a chance to do so. For this reason, the Soviets cannot be trusted with presenting evidence before the Deschenes Commission. They are certainly intent on indiscriminately attacking the Ukrainian ethnic group on the basis of the group's opposition to the Soviet state.

While most Canadians probably share the same sentiments as Ukrainian Canadians in their opposition to the injustices in the Soviet system, it is the Ukrainian Canadian groups which are particularly active in speaking out forcefully against the U.S.S.R.. Consequently, the Soviets are eager to strike out against such groups in an effort to silence them. Most recently, Soviet attacks on Ukrainian Canadian groups have been centered around accusations of war-mongering and the threat to peace. For instance, a recent issue of Ukraine magazine states, "...Ukrainian nationalists are all out for building up the arms race, for further enhancing the 'imperialistic' position of strength politics, and for a steady deterioration of relationships between countries with different social systems."

The Soviet Union is especially perplexed by the fact that Canadian-born youth of Ukrainian origin continues to speak out against the Soviet system, be it on its record of human rights violations or its policy towards national minorities. To exemplify the Soviet concern, one of their recent publications states the following:

Having been thoroughly brainwashed in the spirit of hatred against the Soviet Union and the Ukraine's social and political order, these people regard themselves as 'Ukrainian patriots' and 'fighters for a better destiny for the Ukraine'. In reality they are victims of some extremely treacherous falsehood."

Moreover, the Soviets are attempting to equate present-day Ukrainian Canadian youth efforts at revealing the current injustices of the Soviet system with an underlying fascism and Nazism. The Soviets attempt to establish a link between the efforts of Ukrainian youth, born in the Western democracies, with the generation of Ukrainians who were caught in the throes of the Second World War.

Thus, according to Soviet thinking, a young Ukrainian American who fought in the Vietnam war, "...was decorated with medals by the Pentagon generals for the extermination of the Vietnamese a 'degenerate' and 'inferior' race, from the viewpoint of American racists." Additionally, according to the Soviets, this particular Ukrainian-American's Ukrainian born father is to be held responsible for instilling in his son "...a fascist education and (he) took it as a guide to action."

The Soviets do not hesitate to construct a similar fascist linkage with the entire associations of Ukrainian Canadian youth. Our own organization, SUSK, has not been left untouched. In a Ukrainian language publication entitled Pastka dlja Molodi (Pitfalls for Youth), O. V. Kartunov declares that, in the 1960's and the 1970's, SUSK was somehow able to avoid fascist and neo-fascist ideological thought. However, "in the ensuing years, especially after members of TUSM (another Ukrainian student organization in the west-writer's addition) crawled into the leadership of SUSK, the latter started to openly slide onto the platform of neo-fascism." This statement is nothing short of absurd. SUSK, apart from its other goals in cultural and social endeavors, has always provided a pluralistic forum for Ukrainian Canadian students to debate differing points of view.

The Soviets will resort to any means to discredit Ukrainian organizations in the Western world including youth organizations, inasmuch as they are perceived to present a threat to the very existence of the Soviet state, in terms of competing goals regarding the territory of Ukraine and its political ideology. The Soviets attempt to label all Ukrainian non-communist youth groups as being fascist in orientation, and claim that these groups, in their current manifestation, are tainted with the same Nazi fascism as existed during the Second World War. In general, then, the Soviets will not hesitate to exploit the combustible atmosphere surrounding the Deschenes Commission Inquiry in order to foster animosity against present-day Ukrainian youth and student associations.

III. EXAMPLES OF NEGATIVE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE DESCHENES COMMISSION ON UKRAINIAN YOUTH

Since the start of the Deschenes Commission's hearings in early 1985, feature stories started to appear in the Canadian media discussing specific groups and individuals of Ukrainian ethnic origin that were accused of being implicated in Nazi atrocities. Since then, case by case evidence has been accumulating from all over Canada describing how the Ukrainian community's good name is being smeared in this country.

Among the groups named by the media were the "Waffen SS Division Galizien", which received prominent attention as a military unit comprised of Ukrainians. Feature stories also appeared in the media concerning individual Ukrainians who were being implicated in Nazi war crimes. The persistent attention devoted by the media to the ethnic identity of the alleged perpetrators of these atrocities served to establish a negative image of Ukrainian Canadians as a cultural community in Canada. The Soviets contributed significantly to this process by making readily available lists and literature purportedly implicating Ukrainian Canadians in war crimes.

Ukrainian Canadian youth, which obviously had no involvement at all in the Second World War, began to feel a considerable amount of hostility from the Canadian populace at large. The negative fallout can be illustrated by citing numerous incidents which have occurred since the media began its reporting on the Deschenes Commission.

- A Globe & Mail report from February 1985, describes how a man had his son tell him that fellow

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students were accusing him of having a Nazi father. The same *Globe & Mail* report quote Joanna Jaciw, a Toronto resident as having been slurred along with her children by people who cite reports linking Ukrainians in Canada with the SS.

- In May 1985, CBC Radio broadcast an interview with Mike Maryn, 26, a former law student at the University of British Columbia and former National President of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union, indicating that a close Jewish friend told him the following: "I didn't know that your Ukrainian people were such murderers."

- A Winnipeg Free Press report from May 1985, quotes Professor Ostap Hawaleshka of the University of Manitoba as saying that his son Adrian, 15, was hearing negative remarks from his playmates concerning Ukrainian history.

- A *Globe & Mail* report from May 1985, cites a submission from recent University of Manitoba graduate, Bohdanna Dutka, 21, in which she describes how she has been personally affected by

the Deschenes Commission and how she feels it will affect her children and their descendants.

- Gregory Smolyne, 19, a CEGEP student in Montreal was heckled at a March 3, 1985 meeting of B'nai B'rith of Canada (Montreal Chapter) that was devoted to the subject of war criminals in Canada, when he identified himself as a Canadian of Ukrainian descent while asking a question while asking a question concerning Soviet evidence before the Deschenes Commission.

As can be witnessed from the preceding experiences, Ukrainian Canadian youth are finding themselves in the midst of a campaign which is forcing them to defend the good name of all Ukrainians in Canada even though over 90% of Ukrainian Canadians were born in this country and

could not possibly have been implicated in Nazi atrocities. Through their invidious publications, the Soviets are assisting in the generation of negative feelings and outright hostility towards all Ukrainian Canadians, including youth.

IV SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our brief has attempted to show the reasons and methods behind the Soviet campaign to discredit Ukrainian Canadian youth. The SUSK Executive strongly believes that the Soviets are manipulating the environment surrounding the Deschenes Commission Inquiry in Canada in order to wage an all out campaign of disinformation that is intended to destroy the Ukrainian community in Canada forever. By including youth in their attacks, the Soviets hope that younger Ukrainian Canadians will flee the community and that organized Ukrainian Canadian life will cease to exist in this country in the near future.

The main points which we have stressed in this brief are the following:

1. Canadian political principles of "political equality" and "rule of law" are being violated by the Soviets in their indiscriminate accusations against Ukrainian Canadian groups and individuals. Acceptance of Soviet evidence by the Deschenes Commission will serve to sanction this violation.
2. The Soviet Union is waging an all-out attack on Ukrainian Canadian youth groups including SUSK inasmuch as these groups do not recognize the political community, nor the regime, of the Soviet Union.

Soviet evidence presented to the Deschenes Commission will have as its goal the destruction of the Ukrainian community in Canada as well as its youth component. The lack of a political tradition of

protecting individual rights, suggests to us that the Soviets would see no harm in targeting individuals and groups which belong to the Ukrainian Canadian community as war criminals, since that community is seen to pose a threat to the continued existence of the Soviet state.

3. Ukrainian Canadian youth, born and raised in Canada, and in no possible way associated with the atrocities perpetrated during the Second World War are being harassed, by virtue of their ethnicity, for alleged war crimes.

The above situation is being exacerbated by the Soviets through their unsubstantiated allegations and defamatory publications. The acceptance of Soviet evidence by the Deschenes Commission will give an undeserved legitimacy to these hateful attacks.

September 3, 1985

Respectfully submitted by the National Executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK),

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Canadians of Ukrainian background are enraged over the desecration of a monument commemorating the slaying of over 7,000,000 Ukrainians by the Soviet regime during 1932-1933 in Ukraine. On Sunday evening, April 6, 1986, unknown vandals defaced this monument in front of the City Hall in Edmonton, Alberta, by spray painting it with the phrase "Nazis lies". A similar incident took place on 9 November, 1985. Edmonton police were not able to locate those responsible. In Jerusalem, another monument consecrated to the Jewish and Ukrainian victims of the Holocaust and Great Famine was totally destroyed on September 29, 1985. Although committed by individuals known to the Israeli police, no action has been taken to prosecute those responsible to date.

The President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, John Nowosad, commented: "This cowardly desecration of a monument to

the victims of an unparalleled genocide is the most recent result of a Soviet inspired campaign to portray political refugees who came to Canada after World War II as "war criminals" and "Nazis". We expect the police will take resolute action to find those responsible. We also hope that Israeli authorities will reply soon to our requests for information on the action they will take to punish the criminals in Jerusalem who destroyed the Holocaust and Great Famine monument there."



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