

THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE;
ITS ORIGIN AND WAR ACTIVITY

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Wasył Veryha was born on January 3, 1922 in Kolodribka, Ukraine. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in history from the University of Toronto in 1959 and his Bachelor of Library Science degree from the Library School of the University of Toronto in 1961.

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INTRODUCTION

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In addition to the two founding races, the French and the British, Canada as a country is composed of many other national groups which form the so called third element, or as they are sometimes referred to, the "third force". To this third element belong the Ukrainians who form the second largest group after the Germans and are settled mostly in the Prairie Provinces. They are considered to be the most dynamic and best organized ethnic group within that third element of Canada. However, before the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, their representative and co-ordinating body came into existence in the late 1940, this group was one of the weakest because it suffered from a detrimental internal dissension. This in turn, prevented the Ukrainians from defending their own Canadian interests and from giving effective aid to their brothers in Europe in their struggle for national liberation.

The issues that divided the Ukrainian Canadians were in the majority of cases derived from their homeland. In view of the complex matter dealt with in this study a brief outline of the Ukrainian struggle against the foreign domination should be useful in understanding the basis of the Ukrainian Canadian dissension and why they reacted as they did.

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After the fall of the Galicia-Volhynian kingdom in 1340, its territory was split into two parts. Galicia, after nine years of struggle, was submerged to the foreign domination of Poland while Volhynia with other Ukrainian provinces fell under the rule of Lithuanian princes. Soon after Poland, favouring the Roman Catholics at the expense of the Ukrainian Orthodox population, introduced her own laws in Galicia. The Lithuanian princes, however, respected the old laws of the country and transformed their vast territory into the Lithuano-Ruthenian commonwealth. The higher Ukrainian civilization as well as religion and language achieved a dominant position in this new state.

This situation, however, did not last long. When the conversion of Lithuania to the Roman Catholicism took place after the Union of Krevo, in 1385, and a Lithuanian prince Jagiello became a king of Poland, a personal union of Lithuania and Poland was established. From now on Roman Catholicism began to advance into Ukraine especially through the Jesuit educational system. The Jesuit schools attracted children of the Ukrainian nobility where they were educated in the Roman Catholic faith and influenced to renounce their Ukrainian heritage and to become zealous Polish patriots. Thus, in due time, the Ukrainians lost most of their upper class to the Poles.

The Union of Lublin of 1569 was another important

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event in the history of Ukraine. The Sejm convened of the Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian nobility, disregarding the opposition of the Ukrainian nobles, transformed the Union of Poland and Lithuania based on a personal union of the monarch, into a real political union of these two states. Moreover the Ukrainian lands were transferred under the direct Polish rule and the Roman Catholicism was used even more effectively as an instrument of the polonization of Ukrainians. The promises to respect the Orthodox religion guaranteed by the Union of Lublin were a dead letter right from the beginning. The Orthodox Church was deprived of all its rights and privileges and of its generous patrons - the nobility. In fact it found itself almost completely the Church of the burghers and peasantry.

The religious intolerance on the part of the Polish authorities forced the Orthodox hierarchy to conclude Union with Rome in 1596 in the city of Brest Litovsk, to become henceforth known as the Uniate Church. The Union of Brest was based upon the agreement that allowed the Church to preserve inviolate all its old slavonic rites and ceremonies but was obliged to acknowledge the dogmas of the Catholic Church and the supremacy of the Pope. The Pope in his turn was obliged to intervene before the King of Poland on behalf of the Uniate Church to secure for it the rights and privileges customary to the Roman Catholic Church in

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Poland. This however had never been realized. Although the Union of Brest was favoured by the majority of higher clergy it was rejected by many of the Orthodox lower clergy and laymen.

After the Union of Brest, the Orthodox Church was declared illegal within the boundaries of the Polish Republic and was, therefore, harshly persecuted. The religious discrimination and the unbearable serfdom led to the numerous peasants' and Cossacks' uprisings but all of them were mercilessly crushed by the Polish authorities until the revolution of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648. Hetman Khmelnytsky liberated from the Polish rule all the Ukrainian lands and established the Ukrainian Cossack State. But Poland, and especially the Polish nobility deprived of the extensive estates in Ukraine were not willing to concede their losses. The Polish-Ukrainian war brought terrible destruction to all of Ukraine where most of the battles were fought and the situation required Khmelnytsky to secure military aid against Poland. He turned to Muscovy which was of the same Orthodox religion and hostile to the Catholic Poland. In 1654 the Treaty of Pereyaslav was concluded between Ukraine and Muscovy which promised to Khmelnytsky military aid against Poland and protection of the young and exhausted Ukrainian Cossack State. However, instead of becoming an effective ally

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against Poland, Muscovy did its best to undermine the Ukrainian Cossack government and to replace the Polish domination with its own.

Before very long Muscovy and Poland divided Ukraine between themselves in the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667 with the Dnieper River as the international frontier. The Left Bank Ukraine east of the Dnieper River, remained under the Muscovite suzerainty and the Right Bank (i.e. west of Dnieper) under Poland. The Cossack State on the Left Bank enjoyed some autonomy for a while, but with ever increasing Muscovite interference. In 1685 the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was transferred from the nominal Jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople to that of the Patriarch of Moscow. This was the beginning of the end of the autonomy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

In view of this event the Ukrainian hierarchy in Galicia had but little choice either to submit to the Muscovite Patriarch and suffer political persecution and humiliation or to accept the Union of Brest of 1596 agreement and to submit to the Pope's jurisdiction. The preference was given to the latter choice and after a long struggle by 1700 the Uniate Church was officially accepted in Galicia. In the next century the Ukrainian Orthodox Church having been made a part of the Russian Orthodox Church ceased to exist as a separate ecclesiastical unit,

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and in time it was turned into a most effective instrument of the Russian domination in Ukraine.

The last effort to get rid of foreign domination in Ukraine, made by Hetman Ivan Mazeppa in alliance with Charles XII, king of Sweden, resulted in a complete failure in the battle of Poltava, 1709. By the end of the XVIII century the Left Bank Ukraine was totally subdued by Catherine II of Russia who introduced serfdom into Ukraine in 1785, and all remnants of autonomy were abolished.

The Right Bank Ukraine, as a part of the Polish Republic, experienced frequent peasant and Cossack uprisings, which protested the abuse of the rights and privileges of these people. These uprisings contributed a great deal to the downfall of Poland and her three partitions in 1772-1795.

During the third partition of Poland, in 1795, the western Ukrainian territories, with the exception of Galicia, Bukovina and Trans-Carpathian Ruthenia, which by then were already under Austria in rule, were occupied by Russia. A Russification policy was immediately introduced in the newly acquired territory. The Ukrainian Uniate Church was after a while abolished altogether and its adherents were forced to join the Russian Orthodox Church. All traces characteristic to Ukraine and the Ukrainians were ruthlessly eliminated by the Russian government in

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order to bring the Ukrainian people closer to their Russian neighbours, with an ultimate goal to russify all non-Russian elements of the empire into one Russian nation. Even the term "Ukrainian" was forbidden by the Russian authorities and replaced by the official one "Little Russian".

However, by this time the Ukrainian regeneration process was already in existence and its most striking vitality appeared in a modern Ukrainian literature. The leaders of this regeneration process suffered persecution and exile in Siberia but the movement kept constantly getting stronger.

During the first partition of Poland in 1772, Austria acquired the Province of Galicia and three years later the province of Bukovina from the Ottoman empire. The transfer of Galicia under the Habsburg rule brought little change in its social and political structure but the Uniate Church, now renamed the Greek Catholic Church, was granted more rights than it had ever had. In the meantime the Uniate Church turned out to be a most effective instrument in preserving the Ukrainian population from Polonization and was, therefore, justly termed as a Ukrainian National Church. The Polish nobility retaining all its privileges and most of the land of Galicia, remained in power as before. The Galician Ukrainian

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peasantry grew poorer every year and many of them, having been deprived of political freedom and economic opportunity to provide their families with the bare necessities, took advantage of the opportunity to emigrate to Canada and other countries of the New World.¹

After their arrival in Canada in the 1890's they did not intend to break all the ties with their homeland nor were they able to forget their own and their relatives' sufferings in the centuries-long political and religious struggle with their oppressors. On the contrary, having found a new political and economic freedom which could be exercised in every-day life, they attempted to make use of it and to preserve and cultivate their cultural and linguistic heritage in Canada. Moreover, they were determined to give aid to their brothers in Europe in their struggle for freedom and better economic life. Unfortunately the Ukrainian Canadians fell victim to their own internal dissension which proved to be detrimental, both for their own well being in Canada, and for aid to their brothers in Europe.

During the first World War and after, some of their

¹ For more detailed outline of Ukrainian history, see P. Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, Ch. I, p. 3-23.

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intellectual and political leaders began to realize that the dissension hurt only themselves. In the period of the 1930's the problem of unity turned out to be the main subject of discussion at all public conventions and of all Ukrainian Canadian newspapers. However, it could not have been realized before the date of 1940, and even then, with a substantial help of the Canadian authorities. The new central coordinating and representative body, known as the Ukrainian Canadian Committee came into existence with a twofold purpose: to aid Canada in her War effort and to be a spokesman of the Ukrainian Canadian community before the Canadian authorities on the one hand, and of the submerged Ukrainian nation in Europe, on the other.

The author took pains to investigate the centrifugal forces which produced a number of factions among the newly arrived Ukrainian settlers in Canada. This problem is analysed in the first part of the first chapter of this work. The second part of this chapter deals with the centralizing tendency of the Ukrainian Canadian community to form Dominion-wide organizations during the period of the 1920's and 1930's.

The second chapter called "The Struggle for Unity" analyses political events in Europe and especially in the Ukrainian lands occupied by four different powers, and their impact on the Ukrainian Canadians. It was these

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events that eventually lead to a consolidation of Ukrainian Canadian organizations.

"On the Road to Unified Representation" is the title of the third chapter, which describes the many endeavours to bring about a united Ukrainian Canadian representative body which was finally established in November 1940 and became known as the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

"The Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Canadian War Effort", the last chapter of this thesis deals with personal composition of the committee and unfolds the efforts of the Ukrainian Canadian community and its central representative body in the winning of World War II. This chapter deals of necessity chiefly with the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in the Canadian Armed Forces with an emphasis on the role of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in the War Effort.

The present work is an attempt to present the difficulties encountered by the Ukrainian Canadian community in the process of the formation of the Canadian nation and the complexity of the Canadian society at large. Since Canada is celebrating her Centennial year it seems to be a proper time to analyse the place and the role of the Ukrainian community in the process of the building of a Canadian nation. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee as a coordinating and representative centre, has contributed a great deal to

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the reduction, if not to the elimination, of the detrimental dissension among Ukrainians, which hurt not only the Ukrainian Canadian community but also the Canadian society in general, especially during the war years.

In spite of the importance of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and its significant role in the war effort as well as in its post-war activity, it has not as yet attracted any student willing to study, examine, investigate and evaluate its work and place it in the organized Canadian life. With the exception of a little pamphlet Our Ukrainian Loyalists by Prof. W. Kirkconnell, dealing with the difficulties of the formation of this institution, nothing as yet has been published either in Ukrainian or English language. And there is no wonder. All the material relating to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has been published in the form of articles in the Ukrainian Canadian newspapers and is, therefore, not easily accessible. Most of the printed material is to be found in the Ukrainian periodical press which do not have any indices. It was necessary, therefore, to check page by page numerous volumes and issues of the Ukrainian Canadian newspapers to assemble all the information.

The most valuable information about the life of Ukrainian Canadians and the difficulties encountered in the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was found in

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two Ukrainian newspapers: Ukrainsky Holos, the organ of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and Novy Shliakh the organ of the Ukrainian National Federation. Since these two organizations played the most important role in the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, their organs contain a real wealth of original material. Ukrainski Visty (Edmonton) the organ of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada, Kanadiyskyi Farmer allegedly independent and Ukrainsky Robitnyk (Toronto) the organ of the United Hetman Organization do not contain much original material since those organizations played only a secondary role in this process and usually repeated the ideas and arguments published in Ukrainsky Holos or Novy Shliakh. And again their original contributions were reprinted by the other two if they suited their point of view.

Another source of information about the activity of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is the Minutes of its Executive and Proceedings of the Ukrainian Canadian Congresses. In addition to the Ukrainian sources the English newspapers were also checked, especially the Winnipeg Free Press and the Toronto Daily Star and Toronto Evening Telegram which occasionally covered the activities connected with the War Effort.

Of a great help proved to be the pamphlets by Prof. W. Kirkconnell dealing with various Canadian ethnic groups,

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including the Ukrainians during the war. The Archives of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as well as of the Ukrainian National Federation were searched but they did not produce much information on account of their poor upkeep. Unfortunately the author was not allowed to see the personal archives of the individuals involved in the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and he was unable to locate the archives of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.

In addition to published material, there is also one unpublished M.A. thesis by H. Piniuta Organizational life of Ukrainian Canadians, presented at the University of Ottawa in 1952, which analyzed the organizational structure of the UCC and its component member organizations. While there is not as yet much published critical material about the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, there are several good works about the pioneer experiences of the Ukrainians in Canada in English such as Ukrainian Canadians; a study in assimilation, by Charles Young, Ukrainians in Manitoba; a social history, by Professor Paul Yuzyk, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, and a number of smaller studies by Dr. W. Kaye.

It must be stated that the limitations set upon this study did not permit the author to present all the interesting material. On the other hand the impossibility to compare some of the evidence with the archival material

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of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League as well as some private archives leaves some doubts as to whether the topic is fully exhausted.

Throughout this study certain terms were used which need some explanation. The one, most commonly used, is "dominion-wide" in application to all those organizations which had their branches in several different provinces of Canada and with their own Dominion Executive as their central organizational body. Another term often used is "nationally-minded" applied usually to organizations supporting the ideal of a free and independent Ukraine as opposed to international or Communist minded, supporting the Soviet regime in Ukraine with a Moscow-directed policy. There was also some difficulty with inconsistent use of the English name of the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics which is sometimes called Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood. For the sake of consistency the name used in this study is the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics or BUC in abbreviated form, a literary translation of the Ukrainian name "Bratstvo Ukraintsiv Katolykiv (BUK). All other abbreviations of names of organizations are to be found in a "Key to abbreviations and list of periodicals" (p. xx-xxi).

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF PERIODICALS xx

frequently mentioned in this thesis

- BUC - Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics
- CUYA - Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association
- LUKZh - Liga Ukrainskykh Katolytskykh Zhinok - See LUCW
- LUCW - League of Ukrainian Catholic Women
- LUNHA - League of Ukrainian National Home Associations
- LUO - League of Ukrainian Organizations
- OUK - Orhanizatsiya Ukrainok Kanady - See UWO
- RCUC - Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians
- SHD - Soyuz Hetmantsiv Derzhavnykiv - See UHO
- SUO - Soyuz Ukrainskykh Orhanizatsiy - See LUO
- SUS - Soyuz Ukraintsiv Samostiynykiv - See USRL
- UCB - Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood - See BUC
- UCC - Ukrainian Canadian Committee
- UCWC - Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee
- UCYA - Ukrainian Catholic Youth Association
- UHO - United Hetman Organization
- UKYu - Ukrains'ke Katolytske Yunatstvo - See UCYA
- ULFTA - Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association
- UNF - Ukrainian National Federation
- UNO - Ukrainske Natsionalne Obyednannia - See UNF
- UNYF - Ukrainian National Youth Federation

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frequently mentioned in this thesis

- UCSA - Ukrainian Canadian Servicemens' Association
 UCVA - Ukrainian Canadian Veteran Association
 USRL - Ukrainian Self-Reliance League
 UWAC - Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada
 UWO - Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada
 UWVA - Ukrainian War Veterans' Association
 BUK - Bratstvo Ukraintsiv Katolykiv - see BUC
 KUK - Komitet Ukraintsiv Kanady - see UCC
 SUKV - Soyuz Ukrainskykh Kanadiyskykh Veteraniv - see UCVA
 SUMK - Soyuz Ukrainskoi Molodi Kanady - see CUYA

Periodical Press:

Kanadiysky Farmer (The Canadian Farmer), Winnipeg, 1903
 Independent weekly.

Kanaditsky Rusyn (The Canadian Rythenian), later renamed to
Kanadiysky Ukrainets (The Canadian Ukrainian) Winnipeg,
 1911-1930; organ of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

Novy Shliakh (The New Pathway) Edmonton, -Saskatoon and
 lastly Winnipeg, 1930- organ of UNF, nationalist.

Ukrainski Visty (Ukrainian News) Edmonton, 1930- Ukrainian
 Greek Catholic weekly.

Ukrainsky Holos (Ukrainian Voice), Winnipeg, 1910- organ of
 the USRL, Ukrainian Orthodox weekly.

Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty (Ukrainian Labor News), Winnipeg,
 1919-1940; organ of the ULFTA, communist.

Ukrainske Zhyttia (The Ukrainian Life) Winnipeg, 1940-1965,
 organ of the United Ukrainian Canadians, communist.

Ukrainsky Robitnyk (The Ukrainian Toiler), Toronto, 1934-
 1960, organ of the UHO, monarchist.

CHAPTER I

TAKING ROOT IN THE NEW LAND

A. UKRAINIAN CANADIANS; THE BACKGROUND

On September 7, 1891 the ship SS Oregon arrived in the Canadian port of Quebec and the first two known Ukrainian immigrants landed on Canadian soil to settle permanently in this country. By 1894 the Ukrainians already formed a sizable group in Canada and the census of 1901 gave their number as 5,682 or 0.11 per cent of the total population. However, the figure mentioned in the House of Commons by the Minister of the Interior in 1899 was 12,950 "Galicians" in Canada of which 5,500 arrived in 1899 alone.¹

The confusion as to the number of Ukrainians in Canada which started in the early days of their settlement has not been cleared to this day and the census figures are constantly below what they actually should be. In most cases, however, this has not been the fault of the census takers alone but also of the immigrants themselves, who were unable to state their nationality clearly. In fact, the diverse nomenclature for the Ukrainian ethnic group

¹ Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Debates 1899, p. 8553, quoted by V.J. Kaye in his Participation of Ukrainians in the political life of Canada, Ottawa-Winnipeg, 1957, p. 5.

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caused a great deal of confusion not only at the turn of the century but also at a later period. The people of the province of Galicia and Bukovina, generally called themselves "Rusyny" (Ruthenians), Galicians, Bukovinians and Austrians. Even the Greek Catholic Church, to which at that time the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian immigrants adhered, preferred the term "Ruthenian". It was incorporated in Canada under that name in 1913 and the Church remained in the statutes with this designation until 1951.

The census of 1901 also showed that the Ukrainian immigrant group was remarkably uniform, 96.3 per cent being rural. This was exactly the kind of people the Canadian Government and its Minister of Interior and Immigration Clifford Sifton, wanted to settle on rough lands of the Canadian prairies.² But being rural, these immigrants showed also an extremely high degree of illiteracy, which was a handicap, especially in the new environment. The Ukrainian settlers upon their arrival differed from other Canadians in language, customs, dress and religion. Arriving in great numbers and settling in sparsely populated regions of the West, they formed new communities, built their

²'I think a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat', stated C. Sifton, - 'born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half dozen children is a good quality'. John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in relation to his times, Toronto, Macmillan 1931, p. 142.

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own churches and continued a life not much different from that in the Old Country.

1. Facing Adversity

It should be mentioned that many of these immigrants came to Canada as a result of favourable reports of the first two Ukrainian immigrants Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiw and of the campaign of Canadian immigration agents working in Central Europe. These agents painted Canada in attractive colours and then smuggled them to various ports contrary to the wishes of the Austrian Imperial authorities. These unusual emigration procedures led the poor and illiterate immigrants to believe that they really were wanted in Canada.

And indeed, the Canadian Government under the leadership of the great statesman and politician, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, welcomed the Ukrainian immigration and, in fact, subsidized their transportation. But public opinion, especially in the Western Provinces, opposed the governments immigration policy and the Ukrainian settlers encountered a hostile attitude everywhere with the notable exception of the government itself. However, even the "Canadian officials tended to treat Ukrainians with distrust. To many of the newcomers this was a bewildering situation"³. Their influx, caused by the Canadian immigration agents in Galicia, stirred feelings and antagonism, suspicion and fear of economic competition among their neighbours and other

³A.J. Yaremovich, "A review of 60 years of Ukrainian life in Canada", Ukrainian yearbook 1950/51, p. 12.

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settlers. A strong anti-foreign feeling was voiced not only in the Canadian press but also in the House of Commons.

I am told by men whom I can trust, - E.G. Prior, member for Victoria, B.C. told the House of Commons in 1899, - that these people [i.e. Ukrainians] are wanting in all principles of loyalty, patriotism, cleanliness - in fact, all principles that go to fit them for good citizenship... If government does not hold its hand and stop this class of immigrants now coming in, I think, the end will be disastrous to the posterity of the North West and Manitoba.⁴

While discussing the problem of the "Galician" immigrants, E.G. Prior quoted also Canadian newspapers like the Toronto "Globe" which objected to the admission of the "Galicians" to the Canadian cities but rather favoured their settlement of the vast prairies. More suitable to his own convictions was an article in the Montreal "Witness" entitled "The Hordes of Europe" which said:

... the various railways are prepared to handle the traffic, and will convey these people to the West, where, if permitted, they will settle together in large communities. It is of the utmost importance that this last should not occur, as only those who have travelled in the country they come from can tell what it would mean to have a new Galicia in Canada.⁵

The above examples of opinions and prejudice are sufficient to illustrate the environment in which the Ukrainians found themselves in their newly adopted homeland. In spite of all these difficulties the Ukrainian

⁴ Canada. Parl. H. of C. Debates, July 7, 1899, p. 6841.

⁵ Ibidem.

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settlers took good care of their own interests. Before long they accomplished exactly what the Montreal newspaper "Witness" feared they would do; they created in the Prairie Provinces a "new Galicia" with their own communities, churches, schools and institutions. They challenged the hostile attitude of their surroundings with hard labour, endurance and faith in their own and their children's future. Although many of them were illiterate through no fault of their own, they craved for the education of their children, and tried to secure it under the leadership of their intellectuals and other respectable citizens. When they discovered to their amazement that the government would not build any schools for them, they had their own municipalities established and built their own schools.⁶ By 1905 the first Ruthenian Training (Normal) school in Winnipeg was already established where, as well as in many other schools, the Ukrainian language was also taught.

2. Religious Life

The first decade of the twentieth century witnessed a continuous flow of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. The

⁶The registers of the Stuartburn school in Manitoba for the years 1895-1905 testify that the ages of the Ukrainian pupils "ranged from 10-21 years. Among them were married women attending grades one, two or three". Cf. V.J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian settlements in Canada : 1895-1900, Toronto, Univ. of Toronto Press, 1964, p. 173.

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census of 1911 showed the total number of Ukrainians in Canada as 75,482 or 1.04 per cent of the Canadian population. By this time the Ukrainian Canadians had completed the first twenty year period of their settlement in Canada. It was

a period of disorganization, of scrambling for a foothold, of experimentation and of extreme hardships and loneliness. In this phase the overwhelming majority of the people were born in the Old Land and Old Country, attitudes colored all shades of thought and action.⁷

Most of them originated in Galicia, where the Greek Catholic Church was predominant and had become almost identical with the Ukrainian, or Ruthenian nationality. As soon as they arrived in Canada, the immigrants began to organize their own parishes. Unable to communicate because of the language barrier, perplexed by circumstances in a new land, and distressed by loneliness and by a yearning for their native land, the Ukrainian pioneer settlers, be it on the farm or in the cities, were driven to social activities within their own circles. The hostile attitude of the older settlers prevented them from integrating into Canadian society and forced them to build another society of their own. They organized the institutions as they existed in the Old Country to which they had been

⁷ G.W. Simpson, "Sixty years and after", Ukrainian yearbook, 1951/52, Winnipeg, p. 9.

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attached. It was inevitable that the first community building was the church which not only attended to the spiritual welfare of its parishioners, but often to the cultural, social, economic and political needs as well. At first the Greek Catholic priests who toured the early Ukrainian settlements in Canada came from the United States but in 1902 the first ecclesiastical group consisting of three priests, one monk and four nuns arrived in Canada for a permanent stay. Soon they were followed by secular priests, but not enough of them came to satisfy the spiritual needs of the settlers. The shortage of Greek Catholic priests in the early stage of Ukrainian settlement in Canada had serious consequences for the later development of this Church on the one hand and caused the disorganization of the immigrants on the other.

Among the Ukrainian settlers there was also an Orthodox minority amounting to some twenty per cent of the total⁸. They came mostly from Northern Bukovina, a Ukrainian province of Austro-Hungary. The Orthodox Ukrainians found themselves in a worse position than their Catholic brethren. They did not have any Ukrainian priests whatsoever and therefore they became a ready prey for all other

⁸ Entsyklopediya ukrainoznavstva, Munchen, Molode zhyttya, 1955, vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 936.

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sectarian preachers. The most active among them proved to be the Russophile propaganda sponsored by the Russian Orthodox mission in the United States. A temporary but serious disturbance in the religious life of the Ukrainians of Canada was caused by Serafim, a Russian bishop who came to Canada in 1903 and began to organize the Orthodox Church. He stayed in Canada until 1908, and ordained at least a score of priests, who were neither prepared nor capable of performing their duties. With their help, he was able to enroll into his church several thousands of faithful Orthodox and even many Greek Catholics. In 1904 his church suffered a split and some of his priests left bishop Serafim and, in 1905 organized an Independent Orthodox Church, which soon after abandoned the Orthodox teaching and in 1911 became transformed into a Presbyterian Protestant Church. Unfamiliar teachings as well as the Presbyterian rite caused many of its followers to repudiate it.

Soon after the mass immigration of Ukrainians to Canada got under way, the Roman Catholic bishop Adelard Langevin of St. Boniface assumed jurisdiction over the Greek Catholics in the West. After some unsuccessful attempts to incorporate the Greek Catholics within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church he found it necessary to invite the Greek Catholic clergy from Galicia to Canada. Unfortunately, being unacquainted with the history of the

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Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, he barred the married clergy. This restriction was of a paramount importance in the later development of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada.

3. The Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church of Canada

In 1910, Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky crossed the Atlantic himself and visited Ukrainian settlements in Canada. As a result of this visit and with the approval of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Canada which showed a friendly attitude towards the Greek Catholics, by the end of 1912 the Ukrainian Greek Catholics of Canada had their own bishop, Nicetas Budka. Upon his arrival he found in Canada 20 Greek Catholic priests, some 80 churches and chapels, three schools, the "Little Seminary" in Sifton, Manitoba, a Ukrainian weekly "Kanadiysky Rusyn" (The Canadian Ruthenian) which began publication in 1911 and close to 80,000 of supposed Greek Catholics spread over six provinces. The new bishop immediately set to work on the difficult task of organizing his flock and giving his church legal standing. In 1913 a uniform charter was drawn up for the parishes of each province and was passed by the respective legislative assemblies. An episcopal charter was also secured through the Federal Parliament in the same year and the Church was registered as the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church.

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In the establishment of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada two controversial issues became evident. The first one was that the Ukrainian Catholic bishop was made responsible directly to the Pope and the second one that no married secular clergy were allowed to serve the Greek Catholics of Canada.

By making the bishop of the "Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church" in Canada directly responsible to the Pope without any specific reference to the Church Union of Brest of 1596, the Ukrainian intellectuals in Canada interpreted it as a subordination of their Church to an alien authority of the Pope. In addition to it Bishop Budka acquiesced to the introduction into the Ukrainian Catholic Church of some elements from the Roman Catholic rite. Owing to the fact that they had

... for centuries been held in political subjection by the Latin Poles, the Ruthenians are inclined to distrust all Latin Catholics,-wrote W.L. Scott.- To many of them, every Latin Catholic is a Pole, one of their hereditary⁹ enemies. They are in constant fear of being Latinized.

Hence when they settled in Canada the Ukrainians were suspicious of the Roman Catholic Church which began missionary work among them.

Moreover, Bishop Budka proved to be of a conservative

⁹W.L. Scott, Ruthenians in Canada, Toronto (n.d.) p. 28.

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nature and did not pay much attention to the spiritual and national regeneration which had taken place in the Ukrainian lands, both within the Austrian and the Russian Empires where the term "Ruthenian" and "Little Russian" respectively had begun to give way to the new, but at the same time old term, "Ukrainian", as a national designation. When the new bishop attempted to regulate the entire life of the Ukrainians in Canada, the intellectuals with a considerable following among the Ukrainian farmers of the Prairie Provinces, turned against his policy. Consequently a new source of friction among the newly settled Ukrainian community developed.

4. The Ukrainian Canadian Press

Along with the development of the religious, political and other organizational institutions it was necessary to establish a Ukrainian Canadian newspaper. The Kanadiysky Farmer (The Canadian Farmer) was founded in 1903 by Frank Oliver, later Minister of the Interior in the Liberal government of Sir W. Laurier. The paper was financed by the Liberal Party as its organ for the Ukrainian settlers. In 1914 the paper was bought by a Czech immigrant, Frank Dojachek. "In Ukrainian affairs it never had a fixed policy and varied with each editor but it has always

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supported the cause of Ukrainian liberation"¹⁰.

The second oldest newspaper Ranok (Dawn) was established in Winnipeg in 1905 by John Bodrug and other clergymen from the Independent Orthodox Church and in 1920 its name was changed to Kanadiysky Ranok (Canadian Dawn). It was subsidized by the Presbyterian Synod of Canada and as such was hostile to the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church.

In 1907 the Ukrainians of radical convictions known as social democrats founded their own paper in Winnipeg, Chervony Prapor (The Red Flag). Later it was renamed Robochyi Narod (The Toiling People). It was banned in 1918 and revived in 1919 as Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty (The Ukrainian Labor News). This paper with its editors and the leaders of the movement ridiculed clericalism, especially the Catholic variety and advocated Marxian socialism and atheism.

In 1910 a group of Ukrainian public school teachers led by Taras Ferley, then a socialist, founded in Winnipeg a Ukrainian Publishing Company with Y.V. Arsenych as its president and T. Ferley as its secretary. The company began publication of a newspaper Ukrains'ky Holos (Ukrainian Voice). The first editor of this paper was

¹⁰ P. Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953, p. 116.

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Wasył Kudryk. The paper was really a pioneer in transforming the "Austrians", Ruthenians", "Galicians" and "Bukovinians" into Ukrainians. It popularized the term "Ukrainian" as a replacement for "Ruthenian". In the early 1920's Myroslav Stechishin, one of the leaders of the anti-clerical Social Democrats in 1907-1908, became its editor and guiding light.

As is already evident none of these periodicals was designed to support the cause of the Greek Catholic Church but almost each of them was willing to see it destroyed. It was only in 1911 that Kanadiysky Rusyn (The Canadian Ruthenian) began its appearance as a Greek Catholic press organ and was financed for the Greek Catholic Church by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Adelard Langevin of St. Boniface, Manitoba. And again its title by this time was quite inappropriate and hindered the popularization of the term "Ukrainian" used by now as a national designation not only by Ukrains'ky Holos but also by Robochy Narod. Judging by its name, Kanadiysky Rusyn seemed to be rather reactionary and therefore caused a great deal of criticism among Ukrainian intellectuals. It was only in 1919 that the paper, under public pressure, changed its name to Kanadiysky Ukrainets (Canadian Ukrainian) and lasted until 1929 when its publication was suspended.

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5. The First World War

By the outbreak of the First World War the Ukrainian Canadians already had their own representation on several municipal councils, and in 1915 they managed to get Andrew Shandro elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta and Taras D. Ferley to the Assembly of Manitoba. Although they had begun to take root in Canada thus making themselves felt as an ethnic group, the seed of dissension, chiefly on the question of religion was also well ripened by then. The uncompromising stand of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic hierarchy was met by a similar stand of Ukrainian intellectuals of rather anti-clerical and socialist convictions centered around the weekly Ukrains'ky Holos. There was no room for a compromise between these two parties but rather a mutual desire to see each other destroyed.

With the outbreak of the First World War new difficulties arose. On July 26, 1914 the Austrian consulate in Winnipeg issued a notice about the general mobilization in Austro-Hungary with instructions that all the reservists of the Austrian army now residing in Canada should report immediately to the consulate for return to their homeland

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at the expense of the Austrian government. In accordance with consular instructions Bishop Budka issued on July 27, 1914 a pastoral letter asking all reservists to return home.

It is possible, - said the letter, - that it will be necessary to defend Galicia before Russia's greediness to dominate the Ruthenians and maybe it will be necessary to defend our parents, wives, children, brothers and our native land before the unsatiable enemy.¹¹

This letter was published in Kanadiysky Rusyn on August 1, 1914 and was read in all Greek Catholic churches in Canada. In response to it many reservists volunteered to go back to Austria being unaware as to their rights and privileges in Canada. Some volunteered in fear of forceful deportation and others, who intended to return home anyway in a short time, wanted to take advantage of a free trip¹².

When Great Britain and Canada entered the war on the side of Russia and France, Bishop Budka issued a second pastoral letter on August 6 in which he presented to his flock the Ukrainian Canadian stand towards the war in which Canada was one of the participants. Although the letter

11 M. Volynets', Zhovtoblakytyna dolarokhapna perezva, Vinnipeg, Nakl. Robitnycho-Farmers'koho tov-va, 1932, p. 251.

12 S. Kowbel', Propomjatna knyha Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Domu u Vinnipeg. Vinnipeg, UND, 1949, p. 291.

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contradicted the first one, it was not deprived of logic and was in the interest of both Canada and Ukrainian Canadians. It said in part:

Ruthenians, citizens of Canada, it is our duty to defend Canada because it is the country which accepted us thus giving us protection and freedom... Here we have found not only bread but also the possibility of our spiritual and intellectual development.

.
This is our homeland because here are our families, our children, our wealth. Here is our heart and our future.¹³

While the first pastoral letter expressed an anxiety for the interests of the Ukrainians in Europe, the second one was dictated by the vital interests of those Ukrainians for whom Canada was already an adopted homeland in which they fared even better than in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was also published in the Kanadiysky Rusyn on August 8, 1914. Unfortunately this letter was disregarded, both by The Canadian Government and especially by the hishop's opponents who concentrated their attention on the first pastoral letter and used it as an example to prove that the Greek Catholic Church hierarchy was in no position to lead its flock safely through the dangerous war years. The problem became especially acute when the Canadian Government interned all those who volunteered to go back to Galicia or Bukovina as well as many others for

13 M. Volynets, op. cit., p. 254-255.

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their alleged pro-Austrian sentiments. The internment camps of Kapuskasing and Spirit Lake alone had over 1,300 Ukrainian prisoners. There were more in the camps of Lethbridge, Alta., Vermillion, B.C. and Brandon, Man.

In 1916 the Borden Government introduced the War Time Election Act which disfranchised all European Canadians who immigrated to Canada after 1902. The Act alienated thousands of new voters in the Conservative ranks and some left the Party in protest. The editors of the Ukrainian newspapers, although antagonistic enough among themselves, came together and, having lost hope in justice from the Government, wrote "An address to the Canadian people" and published it in the Winnipeg Free Press. It said in part:

While in Canada the Bohemians and Slavonians, though Austrian by birth, are treated as welcome settlers, for unknown reason the Ukrainians in Canada are treated as enemy Austrians. They are persecuted by thousands, they are interned, they are dismissed from their employment and their applications for work are not even entertained.¹⁴

And yet amidst the persecutions and sufferings the Ukrainians did their best to help Canada in her war effort and contributed to it more than their share.

More than 10,000 of them voluntarily enlisted from Western Canada and actually served 'somewhere in

¹⁴ Ch. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians, Toronto, T. Nelson [1931], p. 244.

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France". Two Alberta battalions were composed entirely of these settlers. More than one newspaper in England praised especially the work of Galician forestry units. One of the 66 Canadians who received the Victoria Cross for outstanding valour and decorated by King George V was a Canadian Ukrainian (P. Konowal).¹⁵

On the other hand their mistreatment by the Canadian Government which included even indiscriminate, though short lived, suppression and censorship of the Ukrainian newspapers, did not cease. At the end of the war, the returning soldiers demolished public institutions of the "foreigners" among which the Ukrainian Prosvita Reading Association hall in Winnipeg happened to be the first victim. Nothing was spared, books, musical instruments, pieces of furniture flew through the windows to the accompaniment of laughing and jokes of the street crowds. The city police did not pay any attention to it, by avoiding the places of disturbance.¹⁶ The cost of the damage, of course, was borne by the sufferers themselves.

The discriminatory policy of the Canadian Government in regard to the Ukrainian ethnic group contributed a great deal to the disintegration of the organizational life of the Ukrainian community in Canada. The differences

¹⁵ Young, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁶ Kowbel, op. cit., p. 293.

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among various religious and political groups increased and the gap widened splitting even those who up till now had clung strongly to their Church and its hierarchy. Heated controversy covered the pages of the Ukrainian newspapers and dissension among the Ukrainians grew rapidly during the war years. Criticism of the Greek Catholic hierarchy was sharp and bitter, sometimes just, sometimes not, which contributed a great deal in lowering its prestige in Canada. But in spite of all the efforts of various religious sects to win over the believers of the Greek Catholic Church, the Church managed to survive without any serious losses. It was only in July 1918 when the representatives of various congregations in Western Canada, dissatisfied with the policy of the Greek Catholic hierarchy in Canada, assembled in Saskatoon and organized a Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. The initiative in this act was taken by Wasyl Swystun and Michael Stechishin, law students of the time, who attacked the Greek Catholic Church for its "alien ties and lack of nationalistic response".¹⁷

The conference was attended by some 200 delegates and unanimously decided in favour of a new Church which should avoid all the shortcomings of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada. In December 1918 the first Church

17 P. Yuzyk, op. cit., p. 116.

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Council was convened which confirmed and approved the establishment of the new church. The split, not only of the Greek Catholic Church but also of the Ukrainian Canadian community at large, was an accomplished fact. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church grew rapidly by gaining adherents from the Independent Greek Church, and the Russian Orthodox Church but mostly from the Greek Catholic Church. The weekly newspaper Ukrains'ky Holos became the organ of the new converts to Orthodoxy, who with typical convert zeal hampered the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church from which they had separated. All the years of the 1920's were marred by a bitter struggle between these two groups. The events that followed do not indicate that some serious steps had been taken by Bishop Budka to meet the challenge of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, which had become a powerful competitor of the Greek Catholic Church.

6. The Impact of the Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920

The destructive war that was going on in Ukraine, where the armies of the newly created Ukrainian National Republic were fighting their enemies, had a great influence on the Ukrainian Canadians although it did not contribute to their unification. After the war ended, with the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic, the Ukrainians of Canada did not believe that the war settlement was final.

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In Canada and in the U.S. there were still official representatives of the Ukrainian government, who appealed to their countrymen for financial assistance. In December 1919 the Ukrainian Red Cross was organized and during the following fifteen months collected \$32,343.13 in donations to help the Ukrainian armies.¹⁸

From the end of September 1922 to September 1923 all over the Western Provinces 118 public meetings were organized where the representatives of the Western Ukrainian government encouraged their compatriots to contribute to the National Defense Loan of the Western Ukrainian National Republic. This Loan brought \$33,290.38 contributed by 6,078 persons.¹⁹ Considering the limited financial resources of the Ukrainian Canadians, the amount of money collected was quite significant. Furthermore, one must bear in mind that the contributions were given despite hostile counter-propaganda by the group of Ukrainians favouring the Soviet regime in Ukraine. At the same time it cannot be overlooked that the Western Ukrainian government appealed to subsidize a noble but, unfortunately, lost cause. Nevertheless, those public meetings organized in

18 S. Kowbel, op. cit., p. 315.

19 Ibid., p. 304.

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the Ukrainian settlements of Canada as well as in the cities played an important role in spreading among Ukrainian Canadians the ideal of an independent Ukraine and contributed a great deal to the growth of national consciousness.

In the immediate post-war years official discriminatory practices against the Ukrainians in Canada continued more than against any other ethnic group.

It was only in 1923 that the clause respecting enemy aliens was rescinded and the Ukrainians were admitted to naturalization on the same terms granted to other aliens. The lot of Ukrainian Canadians turned for the better and in 1926 they managed to send Michael Luchkovich from the Vegreville riding in Alberta as the first representative to the Parliament of Canada. When in 1925 the Canadian immigration policy was revised allowing new immigrants from Continental Europe, many Ukrainians took advantage of it, thus inaugurating a second Ukrainian immigration wave to Canada. A large number of these new immigrants had fought in the Ukrainian armies and could not reconcile themselves to the foreign domination of their homeland. They were to a large extent political refugees. In contrast to the high percentage of illiteracy among the pioneer Ukrainians, the second immigration wave not only included a very high percentage of literate men, but also many with university

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education. All of them were nationally conscious Ukrainians.

The impact of the new immigrants was immediate.

The population of the Ukrainians for the Prairie Provinces in 1921, according to the census was 96,053. In 1926, it had jumped to 150,506 - a phenomenal increase of over 50,000 or over 50 per cent in five post-war years, which according to the census for 1921, had only totalled 96,053 for the preceding 25 years. There is no reason to believe that the increase was due only to an exceptional influx of Ukrainian immigrants during the five years in question. As a matter of fact it can be easily accounted for in part by a corresponding loss for the so called 'Austrians', namely a loss of nearly 40,000 for the same period, 90,203 in 1921 to 46,450 in 1926. The majority of the Austrians appear to have been Ukrainians.²⁰

But in spite of the rapid growth of national consciousness among the Ukrainian Canadians a factional conflict, especially between the Orthodox Ukrainians and the Greek Catholics, the struggle was growing even more bitter. Inflammatory articles regularly filled the pages of the press. The hostility which developed at times broke out into fighting. In 1927 Bishop Budka left Canada and the bitter controversy slightly subsided, but it was to the advantage of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church which has emerged as the second largest religious group among the Ukrainians of Canada. Prof. W. Kirkconnell compares the cleavage which existed between these two groups with the split between the English Catholics and Protestants of the 16th century England.²¹

²⁰ C.H. Young, op. cit., p. 11-12.

²¹ Cf. W. Kirkconnell, The Ukrainian Canadians and the War, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1940, p. 11.

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B. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF UKRAINIAN CANADIANS

The organizational Life of the Ukrainian Canadians up to the 1920's was based chiefly on the local principle and there were no Dominion-wide secular organizations with central executives. Even the Ukrainian National Homes, in some places called Ukrainian People's Homes, were not centralized and therefore, completely independent local institutions. The only exception to this practice was the Ukrainian communist organization.

1. The Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA)

In the early 1920's the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association was the only secular centralized organization (not counting fraternal societies) among the Ukrainians. Its organ Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty, edited by Myroslav Irchan, stood strongly on the position of the Soviet Ukraine and ridiculed the Ukrainian national movement. The origin of the ULFTA could be traced as far back as 1907, when a vociferous atheist element among the Ukrainian immigrants established a weekly newspaper called Chervony Prapor (The Red Flag) in Winnipeg and formed a Ukrainian group of the Canadian Social Democrats. Under the influence of the Russian Revolution of 1917 they went Communist and became so active that they were suppressed by

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Order-in-Council early in 1918. On March 1, 1918 some survivors met in Winnipeg and organized the Ukrainian Workers Temple Association and in 1925 its name was changed to Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association. When in the 1920's the temporary favourable policy for the Ukrainians (known as "Ukrainization") was introduced by the Soviet Ukrainian government, ULFTA became even more attractive to persecuted and disappointed Ukrainians and its ranks were swelled, in some cases even by former members of the Ukrainian armies. This fact was not a result of changed convictions but rather a desperate move caused by disappointment at every step in regard to the Ukrainian question. The "Ukrainization" in their homeland, reinforced by intensive propaganda in which they believed simply because they wanted it to be true, lead them into the Communist camp.

Thus, when the second Ukrainian immigration began to flow into Canada after 1925, it found the Ukrainian Canadians split into three important factions: The most numerous were the Greek Catholics, followed by the Greek Orthodox group and the third faction, the least numerous but the most active, the Communist ULFTA. Both religious groups fought each other bitterly but at the same time they fought the Communist-minded ULFTA. Thanks to new immigrants an intensive Ukrainian spirit was instilled into the activities of organizations. The majority of Ukrainian

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Canadians came to feel it their duty to support the cause of Ukrainian independence in Europe and to combat the spread of Communism.

2. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL)

In 1927 the intellectuals grouped around the newspaper Ukrainsky Holos, who also founded the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, established a secular organization, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL) headed by Wasyl Swystun, a Winnipeg lawyer as its first president.

The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL) has been an organization closely connected with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. The significance of the League's name

is that it repudiates all associations with Ukrainian organizations abroad, claiming rather that its first duty is to perpetuate Ukrainian culture in Canada. It yields to no one, however, in its insistence on the importance of liberating the ethnographically Ukrainian areas of Europe.²²

USRL also had its affiliated organizations, like Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC) with branches in about 140 parishes and the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (CUYA) founded in 1930 and controlled the Ukrainian Fraternal Society (Vzayimna Pomich), which was founded in 1931. USRL with its affiliated organizations has carried on an extensive educational program associated with its Peter Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon and M. Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton.

22 W. Kirkconnell, op. cit., p. 13.

With the foundation of the Self-Reliance League the newspaper Ukrains'ky Holos, at the time edited by Myroslav Stechishin, became its official organ. It is necessary to point out that although the League was founded in 1927 as a Dominion-wide organization, the Ukrainian intellectuals grouped around Ukrains'ky Holos had disseminated their ideas not only through their newspaper but also through some sixty of local institutions called the Ukrainian Peoples Homes which were the oldest Ukrainian institutions in Canada. They were, however, only loosely associated with each other, and only in 1930 they formed the League of Ukrainian National Home Associations. Usually the members of the board of directors of these community halls were also the leading force of the USRL. Although the work carried on by all the organizations centred around USRL was of a great importance for Ukrainian educational work, it was handicapped by its hatred of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to which the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian Canadians belonged.

3. Ukrainian National Federation (UNF)

The Ukrainian veterans having arrived in Canada, soon found out that the existing circumstances required a separate organization, not connected with any of the Churches, in order to form the basis for a wider community

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regardless of the religious leanings of its members. Thus, in January 1928 under the leadership of E. Wasylyshyn, Dr. Ivan Gulay, and Vladimir Kossar with the active help of other ten veterans the first Ukrainian veteran organization (the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association - UWVA) was founded in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The new organization set for itself the aim of giving financial support to societies and institutions like "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) and "Ridna Shkola" (Native School) in the Old Country to aid in their educational activities and to help the invalids of the Ukrainian armies who were left with no support from alien governments. But, above all, they wanted to give their assistance to the liberation movement in Ukraine lead by an underground society, "Ukrains'ka Viys'kova Organizatsiya"-UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization), which was engaged in terroristic activities in Western Ukraine under Polish occupation.

The total attention they dedicated to the Old Country as well as some personal antagonisms lead to disagreement with older organizations like the socialist-minded Narodny Dim, Prosvita Reading Associations and others. The relations between USRL and the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association were at the beginning quite friendly and it was only later that they rapidly deteriorated. USRL insisted that Ukrainian Canadians have their own organizations and their own needs, which should get primary attention. The Ukrainian Canadian educational and cultural institutions

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which take care of the welfare of Ukrainian Canadians cannot be neglected on account of the Old Country. Before very long Ukrains'ky Holos refused even to publish lists of contributors to Old Country purposes. As the years progressed, the older Ukrainian Canadian institution began to expel UWA members from their ranks and refused to rent their halls for War Veterans' meetings. Such circumstances lead Michael Pohorecky, a former officer of the Ukrainian Army to establish a separate newspaper in 1930, in Edmonton, called Novy Shliakh (The New Pathway) of which he became the editor.

Novy Shliakh was right from the very beginning, a supporter of the revolutionary nationalist movement struggling to expel enemies from the Ukrainian lands and establish an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state. Since the UWA membership was restricted to the former members of the Ukrainian armed forces on July 17, 1932, the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) was founded in Edmonton with Alexander Gregorovich as the first national president and Anthony Hlynka, later a member of Parliament (1940-1949), was its first secretary. Soon after the Ukrainian Women's Organization (UWO) of Canada for women was established. A youth organization, the Ukrainian National Youth Federation (UNYF) with Paul Yuzyk, one of the founders, as the first president, came into existence in 1933 in Saskatoon. With the establishment of UNF the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association became just its affiliated organization on the same status as UWO and UNYF.

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As a Canadian organization, UNF with its affiliated groups "have always insisted on a primary British loyalty, and have from the outset been closely associated with branches of the Canadian Legion".²³ The UNF won immediate popularity and in five years a network of 70 branches sprang up throughout Canada, in addition to a larger number of branches of its affiliated organizations. However, its success has been primarily in the urban centres. The popularity of UNF could perhaps be best illustrated by the expansion of its press organ Novy Shilakh which, in spite of the dreary years of the depression, grew from an eight page to a twelve-page weekly in 1933 and in 1938 it became an eight page semi-weekly. In 1933 the paper was transferred to Saskatoon, the seat of the Dominion Executive of UNF and in 1942 they migrated together to Winnipeg. As an organ of UNF, it has denounced religious intolerance, urged Ukrainian Canadian unity and aggressively attacked the Communist movement.

The founders of the Ukrainian National Federation hoped that they, by preaching tolerance similar to that existing among Anglo-Saxon Canadians, would be able to achieve unity among all the nationally-minded Ukrainians of Canada and thus bring an end to the religious cleavages among

²³ W. Kirkconnell, Our Ukrainian loyalists, Winnipeg Ukr. Canadian Committee, 1943, p. 18.

their countrymen.

4. The Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC)

At the time when secular organizations were founded based on a Dominion-wide system, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, was forced to introduce some innovations and as a result, in 1932 the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC) was brought into existence at a convention of Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon largely through the efforts of Rev. Stephen Semchuk and Fred Mamchur, a teacher. The slogan adopted by it was: "The Catholic religion, Ukrainian culture and the Canadian state". In 1934 it claimed 20 branches throughout Canada and in 1941 - 77. The Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics has also had its affiliated Ukrainian Catholic Youth Association (UCYA) founded in 1938 by Rev. M. Horoshko. In addition to these organizations, BUC has its own beneficial fraternity called the Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas, founded in 1905. BUC with its affiliated organizations is part and parcel of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. BUC also sponsors amateur concerts and dramatics in the parish halls and published its own semi-monthly press organ called Buduchnist' Natsiyi (The Nation's Future) up to 1950.

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5. The United Hetman Organization (UHO)

There was among the newcomers to Canada also a group of monarchists called the United Hetman Organization (UHO) who advocated a hereditary monarchy for Ukraine as it was established in April, 1918 by Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky with a traditional Ukrainian title "Hetman". Hence, they were popularly called "Hetmantsi" - Hetmanites. While all other organizations have had a large following among the older immigrants and their children, the United Hetman Organization consisted mainly of post-war immigrants who served under the Hetman. UHO also specified that Pavlo Skoropadsky, the deposed Hetman of Ukraine, should be the founder of this new hereditary dynasty. Its origin could be traced back to December 1924 when the organization "Sitch" was founded by Dr. O. Nazaruk, once an official representative of the Ukrainian National Republic in the United States. The UHO was a comparatively small organization which in 1943 claimed 22 branches, 21 women auxiliaries and six youth sections. The United Hetman Organization - UHO also operated dramatic clubs and published since 1934 its organ "Ukrains'ky Robitnyk (The Ukrainian Toiler) in Toronto, which happened to be the oldest Ukrainian newspaper in Eastern Canada. Its editor was then E.M. Korchinsky. Their ideas were also expounded, at least for a while, by Kanadiysky Farmer edited in the

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years 1932-1942 by Dr. T. Datskiv, one of the leading Hetmanites in Canada.

6. Ideological Strife

In the early 1930's the Ukrainian community in Canada completed its transformation from a fairly amorphous or rather loosely organized state, based on the local churches or Ukrainian Peoples Homes, and shaped itself into five nationally centralized organizations. According to their strength the national minded organizations could be listed in the following order: BUC, USRL, UNF, UHO and all of them could find a common language in most of the issues relating to Canada and Ukraine. The fifth organization - ULFTA based on communist ideology and controlled by an outside power, defied all others and was defied by them. In fact it was Ukrainian in name only and in all its activity it acted against the interest of the Ukrainian nation in Europe.

The UNF which had been established with the intention to serve as the medium of national unity based on the Ukrainian nationalist ideology proved to be a real moving force toward this goal. However, it failed to achieve all-Ukrainian unity in Canada. First of all it had little effect on farm settlements and having placed too much emphasis on the European problems, and therefore appealed mostly to the post-war immigrants and alienated the older Ukrainian

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intellectual group. On the other hand, a great number of Ukrainian Canadians interested in community life had already affiliated themselves with one or another group or organizations established long before UNF came into existence. The fact that BUC was founded later than UNF did not actually reflect the real state of affairs, because its members gravitated and, indeed, were well engaged around the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and followed the lead of the clergy.

The final outcome was that the UNF found itself under attacks from all sides. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Churches defied the UNF because it pledged religious tolerance and above all for the slogan: "Nation above all" and "Our strength lies in ourselves". They were interpreted as a lack of religious belief and placing the nation above God with an emphasis on human strength. The UNF was also attacked by the United Hetman Organization because it was in favour of a republican system of government in Ukraine and its prominent members had actually taken part in the coup d'etat in late 1918 which dethroned Hetman P. Skoropadsky.

And finally, the UNF was bitterly attacked by the Communist ULFTA for its nationalist ideology and strong opposition to the Moscow installed Soviet regime in Ukraine as well as to Communist propaganda in Canada. The

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UNF Executive and its members did not accept all the blows with pious humility. On the contrary, they fought back with printed and spoken words and at times even with wooden stakes, especially when the ULFTA was in question which was not too choosy in its means of attack either. In fact, UNF was the most successful Ukrainian organization in combatting communism, especially in Eastern Canada, where UNF branches were established generally at the expense of communist organizations. This was one of the main reasons why the ULFTA concentrated its attacks the most visiously against UNF.

Most of all these varied activities of different groups were centered in their halls where religious and political problems were discussed. The only exception to this rule was in the UNF halls in which all discussions on religious matters were strictly prohibited and well observed. And this policy appealed to quite a few people in each locality, who could quietly discuss the political and cultural problems of mutual concern even if they were unable to agree on their religious views. But in spite of all this the Ukrainian National Federation was unable to bring unity to all Ukrainian Canadians which in the early 1930's seemed to be as far away as ever.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

It would be a gross injustice to say that Ukrainian Canadians did not want unity. On the contrary, every single group and organization preached unity and on every occasion stated that for the benefit of the Ukrainian community in Canada as well as for the benefit of the Ukrainian people in Europe they all should unite. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic hierarchy believed that a real unification was possible only when Ukrainian Canadians return to the fold of this Church. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, consisting chiefly of the former Greek Catholics and now a powerful guardian of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, believed that it had represented the real Ukrainian national movement and justly prided itself that its members were the pioneers of the Ukrainian cultural movement in Canada. It also viewed the post-war immigrants as newcomers and therefore unfit to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian Canadians.

The Ukrainian National Federation and United Hetman Organization were not, in the eyes of USRL, truly Ukrainian Canadian organizations because of their close associations with similar organizations outside Canada and because they consisted of an overwhelming majority of the post-war immigrants. Since UHO was the smallest of all Ukrainian

Canadian organizations and its prospects for future growth were rather slim, USRL could afford to disregard it whenever it saw fit. The only real competition which worried the USRL leaders was the UNF which, as has been shown, had a very ambitious goal: to unite all Ukrainian Canadians and to become their spokesman. Its press organ Novy Shliakh was always very sensitive to ideological deviations of all other groups and did its best to expose their "un-Ukrainian" activities. This was especially true with regard to such groups as USRL and UHO. Since the United Labor-Farmer Temple Association was not considered a Ukrainian organization on account of its marxist-bolshevik ideology, and yet claimed the right to represent all Ukrainian Canadians, it was the first and main target of attacks not only of UNF but also of all other Ukrainian Canadian organizations.

1. Ukraine and Ukrainian Canadians in the 1930's

The 1930's were unusually tragic for the Ukrainians in Europe and the need for unity was more pressing than ever for Ukrainian Canadians to speak in one voice on their behalf. Worst of all fared the Soviet Ukraine which in 1932-33 survived the Kremlin engineered famine with a loss of several millions of population¹ and was now in the

¹ Cf. D.G. Dalrymple, "The Soviet famine of 1932-1934", Soviet studies vol. 15, No. 3, March 1964, p. 250-284.

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throngs of terror created by various purges, stage trials, mass arrests, wholesale deportations, and a notorious "liquidation of the enemies of the people".

In Western Ukraine, under Polish occupation, the "pacification" was followed by the colonization of the overpopulated and economically backward Ukrainian lands by the Poles, and the government, began the destruction of Ukrainian Orthodox churches in the Kholm and Podlakhiya regions. Some 175 churches were levelled to the ground and about 150 converted to Roman Catholic services and a conversion of Ukrainian Orthodox population to Roman Catholicism was vigorously enforced. Ukrainian political leaders and intellectuals were condemned to the concentration camp in Bereza Kartuzka.

At the same time the Rumanians also closely followed the Polish policy towards the Ukrainians by completely disregarding their existence in Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia. The Ukrainian schools, as in Poland, were closed and Ukrainian newspapers were confiscated or their publication forbidden. In the second half of the 1930's even the Czechoslovak government inaugurated a policy of persecution of Ukrainians in the so called Ruthenia, which was supposed to be an autonomous component of the Czechoslovak Federation. It seemed that the conquerors of Ukraine were acting in a united way in order to annihilate

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the Ukrainian spirit of independence.

The rise of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, which had successfully battered their economic depression on the one hand, and increased their prestige in international politics on the other, gained wide interest not only among the oppressed nations but also among the statesmen of the world. All the European nations which considered themselves wronged by the post-war peace settlement raised their voices for the revision of their frontiers. But perhaps no other people longed more for the revision of the political map of Europe than the Ukrainians. It was no wonder, therefore, that Hitler's slogan for a New Europe evoked in them new hopes for a brighter future. While the world powers feared the war, the Ukrainians wanted it in which they hoped to free themselves from foreign domination and to re-establish their national independence.

The Ukrainian Canadians, at least in part, shared the view of their compatriots in their native land, but although very much in sympathy with their brothers in Europe, they were not moved to a concerted action on their behalf.

The ULFTA supported the Soviet Russian propaganda about the "joyous and happy life in the country of the Soviets" and denied all the sufferings caused by the Kremlin regime in Ukraine. At the same time Ukrainian

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nationally minded organizations were engaged in fruitless mutual accusations. Every group saw itself as the only one fit to carry out the unification of Ukrainian Canadians on its own terms.

The rapid growth of UNF and the influence exerted by Novy Shliakh caused its leaders to lose a sense of reality as to their power. They still believed that the unity of all Ukrainian Canadians could be achieved by the Ukrainian National Federation. The problem of unity was a constant topic discussed on the pages of Novy Shliakh and was a subject of consideration at the UNF national convention held at the end of July 1938 in Toronto. The convention passed a number of resolutions, one of them dealing with the problem of Ukrainian Canadian unity.

... since the cooperation of all Ukrainians in Canada is imperative, the Convention appeals to the Ukrainian Canadian community to join en masse the Ukrainian National Federation and its fraternal organizations.²

Unfortunately this resolution not only failed to achieve its objective but it evoked harsh comments from Ukrainsky Holos which labelled the UNF as a totalitarian organization. Ukrainsky Holos, on the other hand, took a more realistic approach to the Ukrainian Canadian unity

² "Rezolutsiyyi V. Krayevoyi Konferentsiyyi UNO" Novy Shliakh, vol. 9, No. 38, Sept. 20, 1938, p. 3, col. 5.

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problem and published a series of articles dedicated to the solution of this difficult task. In its review of the Ukrainian Canadian organizations Ukrainsky Holos stated that

the basic differences among the Ukrainian Canadian groups derive from Old Country issues and not on the issues which are facing us right here in Canada. Why not come together and discuss our common Canadian problems which hurt us all equally strong and painfully? There is no doubt that the remedy which would help one would help all of us. Why not agree among ourselves, at least on certain problems, and say: so far we go together, and from here on we will have to go each his own way. We hope that with such an understanding we may achieve a great deal of good not only for the Ukrainian Canadians but also for the Old Country. We believe that a congress of all Ukrainian groups (with the exception of the Communists who are traitors to their own people) is necessary and desirable.³

A week later Ukrainsky Holos cited news from the Old Country, where all Ukrainian parties united in self defense against the Polish encroachments. And again, commenting on the pastoral letter of Metropolitan Sheptytsky which condemned Polish atrocities and the destruction of Ukrainian Orthodox churches in Kholm and Podlakhia regions, the editorial asked:

Is it not worthy of our attention that the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church stood up in defense of the Ukrainian Orthodox population and their churches.⁴

³ "Nashi rizhnytsi", editorial in Ukrainsky Holos, vol. 28 No. 33, Aug. 17, 1938, p. 4, col. 1.

⁴ "Kayine, de tviy brat?", editorial in Ukr. Holos, vol. 28, No. 34, Sept. 7, 1938, p. 4, col. 2.

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The events in Poland caused a wide and loud outcry all over America and the Ukrainians of Winnipeg at last came together and agreed to organize a mass rally in protest against the Polish persecutions and, above all, to protest the destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox churches, some of them - precious historical monuments. The outset was quite promising since both religious groups, Catholics and Orthodox agreed to cooperate, but the outcome was rather disappointing. Instead of one rally as originally planned, two separate rallies took place on September 18, 1938. One organized by USRL and BUC in the City Auditorium and another organized in the spacious hall of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral by the parishioners of the Cathedral and three branches of UNF.

2. Carpatho-Ukraine: a Cause for Unity

By now political events began to move faster in Europe and after the Anschluss, Czechoslovakia was the next victim of German imperialism. The Sudetenland became the news of the day. In October 1938, Germany and Poland made the first partition of Czechoslovakia by occupying Sudetenland and Teschen region respectively. As a result of this crisis the autonomy of the other two component parts of the Federation was increased. Slovakia received its own government in Bratislava, while the Ukrainians of

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Ruthenia, numbering some 700,000, formed a government of their own on October 9, 1938 in the city of Uzhorod and re-named their little country Carpatho-Ukraine. The governments of Poland, Rumania and the U.S.S.R. saw in it a direct threat to their internal and external security. At the same time Hungary voiced her own claim to the southern strip of Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine on the ethnographical principle, asserting that the Hungarians formed the majority of the population there.

On November 2, the Vienna Award of Germany and Italy satisfied, at least in part, the demands of Hungary and gave her a strip of land which included the Carpatho-Ukrainian cities of Uzhorod, Mukachevo and Berehovo with 194,000 people of whom the Hungarians amounted to 94,000 (mostly urban) or 48.5 per cent of the total. A large segment of the Ukrainian population was also given to Hungary mostly in the rural areas totalling some 37,400 or 19.3 per cent of the total⁵. This transaction was very painful for Carpatho-Ukraine especially the loss of the cities of Uzhorod and Mukachevo its cultural and administrative centres. Nevertheless, since most of the Carpatho-Ukrainian territory remained intact and its inhabitants showed their

5 "Nashi vtraty" in Nova Svoboda (Khust, Carpatho-Ukraine) vol. 1, No. 9, 1938, quoted in Novy Shliakh, vol. 9, No. 55, Dec. 12, 1938, p. 2, col. 3-4.

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unbroken will to uphold their newly achieved freedom, the Ukrainians all over the world were only too willing to help them within their means. The action of the Axis powers cooled off Ukrainian sympathies for Germany because it was quite clear that all of the Czechoslovak Republic was but a pawn on Hitler's chess board and the idea of a New Europe was designed for the benefit of the Third Reich alone.

Commenting on this event, Novy Shliakh made another appeal for unity among the Ukrainian Canadians, stating that

at this important time for Ukraine even the shadow of dissension from among us should disappear. Now all of us must bring aid to our fatherland in its struggle for freedom and independence.⁶

Meanwhile the autonomous government of Carpatho-Ukraine headed by its Premier Monsignor A. Voloshyn, appealed to the Ukrainians in North America for financial help and, even more, for moral support by stirring up public opinion in their own countries in favour of this little autonomous state. The appeal of Premier Voloshyn found a favourable response among the Ukrainian Canadians and UNF with its organ Novy Shliakh took a lead in this action.

They began to organize mass rallies and inaugurated a collection of money for the Carpatho-Ukraine Fund. In the absence of a central Ukrainian Canadian body, each

⁶ "Bat'kivshchyna klyche", editorial in Novy Shliakh vol. 9, No. 45/2, Nov. 8, 1938, p. 4, col. 1.

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organization and each church appealed for contributions to this Fund. In many localities (especially in Toronto, Winnipeg and Edmonton) joint committees of all organizations were formed (excluding the Communists) to carry out the collection of funds. As a result, the Winnipeg Committee, which represented the largest Ukrainian community in Canada, appealed to all Ukrainian Canadians, and especially to those in the Province of Manitoba for contributions to the Carpatho-Ukraine Fund. The hierarchy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, and the Executives of all the Dominion-wide organizations appealed to its faithful and members respectively for contributions which were to be sent to their own offices. In some localities collections were made without any committees at all. Some individuals, to be sure, sent their donations directly to the Carpatho-Ukrainian government. The generosity of the Ukrainian Canadians was remarkable, some individuals giving all their savings for many years to the Fund. "It was a spontaneous movement, without much propaganda or personal persuasion".⁷ Each organization tried to do its best and no nationally conscious Ukrainian Canadian wanted to remain behind. Reviewing this situation Ukrainsky Holos, cautioned its

⁷ "Treba yednosty", editorial in Ukr. Holos, vol. 38, No. 52, Dec. 28, 1938, p. 4, col. 1.

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readers by asking a very apt question: "Is it a collection of funds or a competition in patriotism?"⁸ In the same editorial, entitled "Unity is needed", Ukrainsky Holos appealed once again for a central coordinating body for all activities of Ukrainian Canadian organizations. The chaos which existed in connection with raising funds for Carpatho-Ukraine created a golden opportunity for dishonest persons for fraud and misappropriation of funds which, for all practical purposes, were beyond control.

In the meantime the Hungarian government raised a new claim to all Carpatho-Ukraine, this time on historical grounds. Poland proved to be Hungary's best ally, and sent to Carpatho-Ukraine armed soldiers disguised as civilians for subversive activity in order to create such conditions which would require the armed intervention of Hungary and Poland.⁹ This, of course, would mean the end of Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomy. The Polish-Hungarian agitation for the liquidation of Carpatho-Ukraine found a favourable response even among the statesmen of the Western democratic countries. It was clear that the Ukrainian question in East Central Europe was as embarrassing now as it was in 1918-1920. Ukrainians all over the world resented this attitude of the

9 Cf. Shandor, "Carpatho-Ukraine in the international bargaining of 1918-1939", Ukrainian quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1954, p. 24.

8 Ibid. (See ftn. p. 45).

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western democratic countries which cherished their own freedom but denied it to the Ukrainians in Europe.

Some very influential individuals and newspapers in various democratic countries, - wrote Ukrainsky Holos, - spread propaganda in favour of giving up Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary. And these individuals consider themselves to be the defenders of democracy which is menaced by Hitler and his Germany. But Ukraine, with her 45 millions of population, they use as a dead object which could serve as a means to buy Russia, Poland, Rumania or Hungary in order to keep them on the side of the democratic countries. This is a hypocrisy of the highest degree. If democracy to-day has enemies, then the greatest of them all are neither Hitler nor Mussolini ... but those hypocrites who discredit democracy before the Ukrainians and other wronged nations for the benefit of their own egoistic aims.¹⁰

3. Unsuccessful Attempts

The pressure for a united Ukrainian Canadian representation grew proportionally to the growing political tension in Europe. Rev. W. Kushnir, D.D., a chancellor of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Canada, admitted that he received a number of letters and telegrams from the leading members of the Ukrainian communities from Saskatoon, Edmonton, Sudbury, Toronto and Montreal, urging him to do something about a central representation of Ukrainian Canadians.¹¹ Although his letters were received mostly from the

¹⁰ "Vorohy demokratiyi", editorial in Ukr. Holos, vol. 38, No. 51, Dec. 21, 1938, p. 4, col. 2.

¹¹ W. Kushnir, "Chy diyde do obyednannia ukraintsiv Kanady", Ukr. Visty (Edmonton), vol. 11, No. 4, Jan. 23, 1940, p. 4, col. 5.

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faithful of that Church, there could be no doubt that similar requests were also directed to the Dominion Executives of USRL, UNF and UHO.

All the newspapers advocated an early formation of a central Ukrainian representation which would coordinate the activities of the Ukrainian community and represent its interests wherever necessary. As a result, the first informal discussion among BUC, USRL and UHO representatives took place in Winnipeg in September 1938. It was attended by Rev. W. Kushnir (BUC), Dr. T. Datskiv (UHO) and Y.V. Arsenych, T. Ferley and Myr. Stechishin (all three from USRL). At this time all participants agreed that a central Ukrainian representation should be formed as soon as possible. Although UNF representatives were not invited, the problem of its participation on such a central body was discussed. UNF's persistent demands for united Ukrainian Canadian action as well as its strength and influence in the Ukrainian Canadian community could have hardly been disregarded by BUC, USRL and UHO. But, because of its nationalistic approach to all Ukrainian problems in Europe as well as in Canada, none of these organizations really wanted UNF. Therefore, while discussing UNF participation there were even voices that it is useless to invite UNF - and Rev. W. Kushnir suggested that UNF be invited

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but conditions for its admission should be so styled that it would refuse participation in the central representation.¹²

The USRL delegates, on the other hand, insisted that the presence of UNF on a central representative body may lower its prestige in the eyes of the Canadian authorities.¹³ The final outcome was a general agreement that for further discussions should be prepared a draft of a constitution for the central representative committee. It was also agreed that a constitution should be based on all four Dominion-wide organizations and its drafting was entrusted to Rev. Kushnir.

Rev. Kushnir dutifully prepared a draft constitution and sent copies of it to all delegates of USRL and UHO and, without waiting for their reply, published it in the BUC organ Buduchnist' Natsiyi on Dec. 1, 1938. USRL, however, did not approve the draft because

it contained a condensed theory of a peculiar fascism for Ukrainian Canadians. It proposed the formation of a special leadership which should be obeyed by all Ukrainian Canadians, disregarding even Canadian authorities.¹⁴

12 M. Stechishin, "Sprava spil'noho tsentru", Ukr. Holos, Vol. 30, No. 6, Feb. 7, 1940, p. 4, col. 4.

13 W. Kushnir, "Chy dijde do obyednannia ukraintsiv Kanady," Ukr. Visty, No. 4, Jan. 23, 1940, p. 4.

14 M. Stechishin, "Sprava spil'noho tsentru", Ukr. Holos, Vol. 30, No. 6, Feb. 7, 1940, p. 4, col. 6.

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But the most interesting objection to the draft was that it was styled in such a way that UNF and UHO would have to break their links with their mother organizations in Europe.¹⁵ This was a rather strange statement because USRL, with Myr. Stechishin as its spokesman

was in principle against the presence of UHO and UNF on the central Ukrainian Canadian representation on account of their headquarters in Europe.¹⁶

But in spite of these dialectics, none of the parties was pleased with the publication of the draft without prior consultation with them. Rev. Kushnir explained his unauthorized move as a desire to speed up the formation of a central representation. But the result was such that the recipients of the draft copies did not reply at all and, for at least the next couple of months discussions were discontinued.

4. The UNF initiative

In view of this unexpected "moratorium" on the discussions of BUC, USRL and UHO, the initiative was taken over by UNF, namely by Prof. T.K. Pavlychenko an ecologist of the University of Saskatchewan, on behalf of UNF, Dominion Executive of which he was one of the leading members. He approached all the Ukrainian

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ W. Kushnir, "Chy diyde do obyednannia ...", Ukr. Visty, No. 4, Jan. 23, 1940, p. 4.

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Ukrainian organizations with a request to form a Ukrainian representative committee and to issue a joint declaration in defense of Carpatho-Ukraine around which tension was mounting every day.

The effort of Prof. Pavlychenko bore a fruitful result and by the end of December 1938 a committee was formed in the city of Saskatoon. It was named Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians and was formed of the representatives of UNF (Prof. T.K. Pavlychenko and A. Gregorovich), USRL (Julian Stechishin), Rev. M. Pelech (of the Greek Catholic Church). The UHO did not delegate anybody to participate in the Committee, however, it agreed by correspondence that the declaration should be published and the name of their president M. Stuss could be signed along with the other representatives.

In recognition of the efforts of Prof. Pavlychenko during the formation of this Committee he was elected its chairman and J. Stechishin a deputy chairman. Under the sponsorship of UNF, a first draft of a declaration was prepared whose final version had to be approved by the Committee and then presented for the signature of many influential individuals in Canada as well as of Ukrainian Canadian national organizations. It was also agreed that the Committee would report in the Ukrainian Canadian press about the progress of its activity. Although there was no special

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agreement that this Committee would be a permanent one, there was not any special prearrangement that it would have to disband after the publication of the declaration. This fact caused some circles, especially in UNF, to believe that it would serve as a first step in furthering Ukrainian Canadian unity.

USRL, however, was of a different opinion and Ukrainsky Holos carefully avoided giving any publicity to this "UNF committee". They simply ignored its existence and did not expect it to live much longer after the publication of the Déclaration.¹⁸ It is no wonder, therefore, that the work of the Committee did not keep pace with political events in Europe. On March 14, 1939 the Hungarians invaded Carpatho-Ukraine whose meager voluntary military forces bravely defended their little country's independence. The atrocities committed by the Hungarian army in the Carpatho-Ukraine as well as active support given to Hungary by Poland intensified Ukrainian nationalism everywhere. At this moment the USRL Dominion Executive disregarded the existence of the Representative Committee on which their leading member, Julian Stechishin served as a deputy chairman, and on March 16, 1939 sent telegrams to various governments, including that of Great Britain, protesting the Hungarian

¹⁸"Mymokhodom", Ukr. Holos, No. 4, Oct. 24, 1940, p. 4, col. 3.

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invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine. Moreover, the telegrams were styled in such a way as to give the impression that USRL represented all Ukrainian Canadians.

On March 26, the "Declaration of Ukrainian Canadians and the Friends of Ukraine's Liberation" was published and sent to over seven hundred policy makers in Canada, the United States, Great Britain and other European countries. Although it was too late to help Carpatho-Ukraine and to relieve the sufferings of its people, it was not too late for the Ukrainian question in Europe in general. Mass rallies were held in all localities where Ukrainian Canadian communities existed and more financial contributions reached the Carpatho-Ukraine Fund, which was then reassigned to take care of political refugees.

But even now USRL did not publish that Declaration at all although Ukrainsky Holos claimed that it was dutifully sent to all USRL branches together with instructions to organize mass rallies. Despite the USRL coolness to the Declaration it was an outstanding document of Ukrainian Canadian history signed by all Ukrainian Canadian organizations, two bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholics and Greek Orthodox Churches and twenty-eight signatures representing federal and provincial legislatures, universities and municipal governments.

After the liquidation of Czechoslovakia, on Hitler's agenda came a new item: Danzig and the Polish corridor. The

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storms were gathering heavily in Europe but even Hitler's revocation of the German-Polish non-aggression treaty on April 28, 1939 did not convince Poland that her minority problem should be settled by peaceful means. All this was reflected on the pages of the Ukrainian Canadian press which hurled verbal stones not only at their national enemies in Europe but also against other Ukrainian factions in Canada. Instead of helping the cause of Ukrainian nationalism they had seriously discredited it in Canada in the eyes of their non-Ukrainian fellow citizens.

Amidst such an internal Ukrainian Canadian press war, at the end of August 1939 ominous news shook the world. Two of the greatest enemies, Hitler and Stalin concluded the so called Ribbentrop-Molotov non-aggression treaty which threatened both, a realization of Neville Chamberlain's dreams of permanent peace and the Ukrainian dream of independence. The consequences of this treaty were not long in waiting. On September 1, 1939 Hitler attacked Poland and Great Britain, bound with Poland by a treaty, declared war on Germany two days later. France followed Great Britain and so did Canada on September 10. The second World War had begun. On September 17, the Soviet Union broke its non-aggression treaty with Poland and occupied her eastern parts inhabited by the Ukrainians in the south and the White Russians in the north. Within three

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weeks Poland ceased to exist as an independent state. This turn of events surprised the world but even more so the Ukrainian Canadians. Ukrainians all over the world denounced the Russian invasion of Western Ukraine which the Soviet official propaganda called the "liberation of Western Ukrainians and White Russians from the Polish yoke".

Up till now it was chiefly European politics that provided a stimulus to the attempted coordination of Ukrainian Canadian politics, but from now on the situation changed. Now it was Canada that was in war herself and demanded the united effort of all her citizens regardless of their ethnic or religious background. In view of the changed situation the UNF Dominion Executive held its meeting on September 4, 1939 and brought out a unanimous resolution that no effort should be spared in order to form a united representative body of all Ukrainian groups in Canada with the exception of the Communists. Should their effort encounter any difficulties on the part of some individuals or groups, it was decided that UNF would proceed to do it alone with the help of people of good will.¹⁹ This stand of the UNF Executive was reflected on the pages of Novy Shliakh which stopped all the polemics with other Ukrainian Canadian factions and also in instructions issued to individual branches.

¹⁹ Ukrainian National Federation, Dominion Executive. Minutes, Sept. 4, 1938, vol. 2, p. 118. UNF Archive.

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5. Rev. W. Kushnir in Action

But the real central figure in the process of coordination of Ukrainian Canadian activity at this point became Rev. Wasyl Kushnir, the chancellor of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Canada. Since he represented the largest Ukrainian Canadian Catholic group it was quite natural that its lay organization BUC should be the initiator in the endeavours to form a central Ukrainian Canadian representative body. In September Rev. Kushnir made his first attempt by calling a meeting of representatives from USRL and UHO in Winnipeg. All these three organizations were unanimous that a Ukrainian Canadian united representation was necessary and Kushnir's draft constitution was revived and discussed. The most tormenting problem of this draft was its provision that all four Dominion-wide organizations should form a united central representation. The BUC representatives, including Rev. Kushnir insisted that UNF should be included in such united body hoping that the traditional antagonism between USRL and UNF would automatically place UNF on the side of BUC. USRL did its best to prevent the admission of UNF as an equal partner in the central representation of Ukrainian Canadians.

Rev. Kushnir convinced USRL and UHO in Winnipeg that letters be sent to all four Dominion-wide organizations

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requesting their Dominion Executives to express their opinions on participation in a central representative body. This task was entrusted to Andriy Pavlyk, the secretary of the USRL Dominion Executive. A. Pavlyk duly complied with his assignment and mailed letters to all but the UNF Dominion Executive in Saskatoon. The copy which was not mailed to UNF was handed in to them by a private individual.^{19a} This unusual way of correspondence was resented by the UNF Dominion Executive as inappropriate in such a serious matter and, therefore, refused to answer it. This was exactly what USRL wanted UNF to do in order to prove their argument that UNF did not want to cooperate. However, Rev. W. Kushnir on a visit to Saskatoon on October 8, 1939 managed to soothe the leaders of UNF and arranged a conference with them.

The Saskatoon conference, attended by Mr. W. Kossar and Prof. T.K. Pavlychenko, the president and a member of the UNF Dom. Executive and Rev. W. Kushnir and Rev. Andriy Truch from BUC, resolved to form the Initiative Group for the formation of the representative committee of private individuals. The main point of this conference was that in view of the difficulties in forming a representative body on the basis of the four Dominion-wide organizations, another attempt should be made to form a central representation as well as its initiative group on a personal basis with outstanding Ukrainian Canadian personalities, Rev. A. Truch was entrusted with discussing the matter with Mr. Peter Lazarovich, the president of USRL residing in Edmonton and Rev. Kushnir

^{19a} W. Kushnir, "Chy diyde do obyednonnia ...", Ukr. Visty, no. 4, Jan. 23, 1940, p. 5, col. 5.

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with Dr. T. Datskiv, editor of Kanadiysky Farmer of Winnipeg. It was also decided that, should Mr. Lazarovich or Dr. Datskiv, or both of them decline the invitation, the four participants would proceed with the formation of a representative committee on their own.²⁰ This necessary step was to be taken in case the Winnipeg discussions conducted by Rev. Kushnir failed. Nevertheless, in order to facilitate the endeavours of Rev. Kushnir in Winnipeg, Mr. Kossar and Prof. Pavlychenko handed him a written statement that UNF was willing to join in the forming of a central representative body with BUC, USRL and UHO.

Within the next week Rev. Kushnir informed Mr. Kossar in Saskatoon that Dr. Datskiv agreed to join the initiative group, thus enlarging its membership to five persons who informally represented three organizations, BUC, UNF and UHO. Rev. Truch upon his return to Edmonton discussed the matter with Mr. P. Lazarovich who agreed to the proposal in principal but advised a short waiting period to find out what his Winnipeg representative had to say. But soon after Mr. Lazarovich changed his mind, and brought out two objections against the proposed plan. First that USRL was against the formation of a central representation based on a personal basis, stating that this was the matter of

20 U.N.F., Dom. Exec. Confidential circular letter of Oct. 13, 1939, in UNF Archive, RCUC file.

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organized bodies, and second that USRL decided that no leading member of UNF could enter the central representation on account of their past activity.²¹

6. BUC - UNF Alliance

On November 23, the Initiative Group in Saskatoon had a meeting at which the latest developments were discussed and worked out with two alternative lists for the composition of the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians. One list headed by Prof. Pavlychenko and another by Rev. Kushnir, without a provision for USRL participation. Having received these two lists in Winnipeg, Rev. Kushnir, in spite of his promise to go along without USRL, if necessary, hesitated and preferred to continue the discussions with USRL representatives in Winnipeg. But this time he was no more successful than before and Rev. W. Kushnir wrote a personal letter to Mr. Lazarovich in Edmonton asking for a BUC-USRL summit meeting. Mr. Lazarovich agreed to Rev. Kushnir's proposal and a conference was arranged in Winnipeg on Dec. 25, 1939. It was attended by Rev. W. Kushnir, Rev. A. Truch and J. Rudachek representing BUC, P. Lazarovich

²¹ UNF Dom. Exec., Confidential circular letter of Oct. 31, 1930 in UNF Archive, RCUC file.

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and Myr. Stechishin representing USRL, and Dr. T. Datskiv on behalf of UHO. At this conference Mr. Lazarovich stated that the USRL representatives in Winnipeg acted according to his "clearly defined instructions" issued in consultation with Mr. P. Stuss, chief commissioner of the UHO. Furthermore, Mr. Lazarovich openly declared that "USRL will under no conditions join such a central representation in which UNF will participate".²²

In view of this situation cooperation between BUC and UNF was the only solution. An alliance between the two was not unusual because a large UNF following was from among the members of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and a few UNF members were also members of BUC. This fact also contributed to a better understanding between the two factions. In fact UNF also had members of the Orthodox faith even in the Dominion Executive although none of the Orthodox UNF members could belong to USRL. USRL, on the other hand, consisted chiefly of the new converts from the Greek Catholic faith and would not tolerate any members within its ranks who were not Orthodox or who would like to be also members of another organization.²³ When it became evident that

²² W. Kushnir, "Chy diyde do obyednannia ukrainsiv Kanady" Ukr. Visty (Edmonton), no. 4, Jan. 23, 1940, p. 4, col. 3.

²³ Two Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priests, Rev. Volokhatuke and Rev. Mayevsky were expelled from the Church because they dared to criticize USRL policy and were members

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USRL had tried to block the formation of a central representative body composed of all four organizations by changing its views and objections as soon as the old ones proved ineffective, BUC. and UNF decided to make the composition of their own Initiative Group public. It was thought that such publicity might influence USRL to change its opinion and join the other three organizations. Subsequently, before the year ran out this Initiative Group issued an appeal to all organizations inviting them to form a

united representative committee of Ukrainian Canadians which would include the representatives of the four national Ukrainian organizations of Dominion-wide significance and some outstanding Ukrainian personalities.²⁴

7. USRL Goes Alone

Novy Shliakh, bearing the news about the creation of the Initiative Group of RCUC, appeared just at the time of the USRL national convention which was held in Saskatoon, Dec. 28, 1939. In reply to the news the USRL convention confirmed once again the need of a Ukrainian central representative body and passed its own special resolution stating that such a

representative body should consist of persons of undoubted loyalty who had not maintained any connections, or sympathized with principles of ideals hostile to the interests of Canada and the British Empire.²⁵

of UNF. Cf. W. Swystun, "Vidpovid' na ataky Ukr. Holosu ...", Novy Shliakh, Vol. 11 No. 41, May 20, 1940, p. 3, col. 3-5.

24 "Do vsikh ukrainskyh orhanizatsiy" in Novy Shliakh, vol. 10, No. 99, Dec. 28, 1939, p. 1, col. 3-4.

25 "Representatyvne tilo", editorial in Ukr. Holos,

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Furthermore the resolution stressed that

only such organizations and individuals should participate in that body which uphold the democratic principles and in their political activity are not dependent on orders or instructions of an authority outside Canada.²⁶

In regard to the newly formed Initiative Group of the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians the resolution stated that

it has been formed of private individuals without public approval at large and therefore it is self-appointed and does not represent anybody except the individuals of which it is composed.²⁷

Furthermore, article Five of the resolution stated that

such a representative body should be formed in a democratic way and supported by the will of the Ukrainian Canadian community, therefore it has been resolved to bring into existence a representative committee composed of Myroslav Stechishin, Y.V. Arsenych J. Solomon ... entrusting them to enlarge the Committee's membership through the representatives of other organized Ukrainian Canadian citizens.²⁸

The RCUC appeal was published by all Ukrainian national newspapers, except Ukrains'ky Holos. Ukrainsky Ropitnyk official organ of the UHO, in its editorial of Jan. 5, 1940 approved the ideal expressed in the RCUC appeal but criticized the

vol. 30, No. 2, Jan. 10, 1940, p. 4, col. 1.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

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fact that it was not signed by all those organizational representative who participated on the first RCUC formed for the publication of the Declaration.²⁹

Ukrains'ky Holos, however, could not see anything positive in the RCUC appeal. On the contrary, the resolution passed by the USRL convention was only a green light for its editor, Myroslav Stechishin, to start unscrupulous attacks on UNF and its organ Novy Shliakh. In its editorial on Jan. 10, 1940 Ukrains'ky Holos stated to the general amazement of its own readers that there was no need for a permanent representative and coordinative body but only one that "would from time to time speak on behalf of the Ukrainian Canadians before the Canadian public at large and the Canadian Government."³⁰ To make things worse, Ukrainsky Holos laughed off the ideal of a "Ukrainian Canadian united front", which was a phrase coined by Novy Shliakh, and ironically asked: "Against whom are we to form a united front, against Canada or the Canadian Government?"³¹ Further on it also stated that if the representative committee

29 "Vazhna sprava - stvorennia natsional'noho komitetu", editorial in Ukr. Robitnyk, vol. 7, No. 1, Jan. 5, 1940, p. 4, col. 1.

30 "Representatyvne tilo", edit. in Ukr. Holos, vol. 30, No. 2, Jan. 10, 1940, p. 4, col. 1.

31 Ibid.

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should be formed, it should consist of individuals who would be well regarded by the Canadian Government. Although the USRL resolution did not mention by name those who were supposed to be disloyal to Canada, this information was revealed in another editorial of Ukrains'ky Holos on January 24, 1940 entitled "We do not want to hurt ourselves". Here it was stated that it would be foolish to appoint to a representative body people

who defied democracy and praised dictatorship as an ideal form of government. These people neither repented nor manifested in any way that they had changed their outlook.... Their organ, Novy Shliakh enthusiastically wrote about the "trinity" Mussolini-Hitler-Konovalets'.³²

and concluding its editorial Ukrains'ky Holos declared that the

Ukrainian Self-Reliance League worked long and hard to earn for itself a good name in Canada, and now it cannot afford to splatter its own face by stretching out its hand to UNF. Such an act would not help the Ukrainian cause but hurt it.³³

Strange as it may be, the UNF Dominion Executive did not reply to these accusations and ordered its organ Novy Shliakh to keep silent on the subject to avoid unnecessary and detrimental polemics. There was a slight hope that USRL might join the RCUC Initiative Group because its own

³² "Ne khochemo sobi shkodyty", edit. in Ukr. Holos, Vol. 30, No. 4 Jan. 24, 1940, p. 4, col. 1.

³³ Ibid.

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Initiative Committee to organize a Ukrainian Central Committee as resolved by the convention was, so far, completely inactive. Was there any reason behind this inactivity or was it just delusion and tactical maneuvering? Whatever the reasons were, the year 1939 ended with at least a partial consolidation of the Ukrainian Canadian national organizations and the total number of four groups was now reduced to two blocks: One the Initiative Group to form the Representative Committee with BUC and UNF as its founding members and another Initiative Committee to form the Central Committee which for the time being was the creation solely of USRL and therefore identical with it. The position of UHO was not as yet clear but being small it could not play any significant role by itself. Now it was safe to assume that sooner or later a unified Ukrainian Canadian representation, under whatever name, was bound to come into existence.

CHAPTER III

ON THE ROAD TO UNIFIED REPRESENTATION

1. Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians (RCUC)

The year 1940 is characterized by sustained efforts towards unity for which public opinion was ripe enough within the Ukrainian Canadian community at large. There was not so much a discussion about the necessity of a united representation but who should head it. Vigorous preparation for the formation of the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians by BUC and UNF showed that USRL was losing opportunities which it resolved to rescue at all costs in order to preserve its prestige. Yet, while Ukrainsky Holos denounced RCUC as a creation of individuals who did not represent anybody but themselves and published a number of articles indicating that unity may be achieved, it did not elaborate on it.

In reply to the accusation by Ukrainsky Holos Rev. W. Kushnir published a lengthy article in which he made public all his efforts to bring USRL and UNF to cooperate and unequivocally stated that it was the USRL that hindered unity by refusing to cooperate with UNF.¹

¹ W. Kushnir, "Chy diyde do obyednonnia ukraïntsiiv Kanady?", Ukr. Visty, vol. 12, No. 4, Jan. 24, 1940, p. 4, col. 3.

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By this time Dr. T. Datskiv switched his allegiance to USRL and joined Ukrainsky Holos in its attacks on RCUC and UNF. Dr. T. Datskiv published an article in Kanadiysky Farmer in which he stated that it was impossible to cooperate with UNF because it

until recently vehemently refused any cooperation with other groups on the grounds that only they are 100 per cent Ukrainians while all other organizations are of little value or even detrimental to the Ukrainian cause. It is a well known fact that until very recently UNF had been of an opinion that the only possible cooperation between the Ukrainian groups would have been through a complete submission to or even a fusion with UNF. The idea of cooperation on terms of equality with other groups was vehemently refuted by UNF.²

On January 25, 1940 the initiative group of RCUC issued a second appeal to all Dominion-wide organizations, asking them to send their representatives in order to form a united permanent committee whose constituent meeting would take place on February 3, in Winnipeg.

By this time the war in Europe was going badly for the Allies, which was proof in itself that this was no time for internal strife, particularly among ethnic groups in Canada. All these communities through their press and organizations, with the exception of Communists, had been consistently supporting the Canadian war effort. Yet, their corporate action was seriously weakened by a legacy

2 T. Datskiv. "Chy mozhlyva spivpratsia ukrain-skykh uhrupuvan' v Kanadī", Kanadiyskyi Farmer, vol. 36, No. 4, Jan. 24, 1940, p. 4.

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of political feuds from the past. Since the Ukrainian Canadians constituted one of the major ethnic groups, unity among them was of some importance.

The meeting of the Initiative Group took place as planned on February 3, 1940 and Prof. Watson Kirkconnell was invited to attend as an adviser. Unfortunately only BUC and UNF participated in this meeting because UHO maintained its loyalty to USRL and refused to take part in it. In spite of this, BUC and UNF decided to go ahead and formally founded a Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians (RCUC). The Executive of the Committee was to consist of twelve members - representatives of the four Dominion-wide organizations. Since USRL and UHO as yet had not agreed to participate on the Committee, places were reserved for them.

As a result the Executive was to consist as follows:

President: BUC - Rev. Dr. W. Kushnir; three vice-presidents: first USRL (reserved), second UNF - W. Kossar and third UHO (reserved); Secretary: UNF - Prof. T.K. Pavlychenko and three deputies: first UHO (reserved), second USRL (reserved) and third BUC - T. Melnychuk; Treasurer: BUC - Rev. M. Pelech with three deputies: first USRL (reserved), second UHO (reserved) and third UNF - W. Swystun.

The primary purpose of the establishment of the Committee at this time was to aid in Canada's War Effort and therefore a Canadian Red Cross section was formed of which

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O. Zerebko, MLA was placed in charge. Other technical commissions to be formed were entrusted to the Presidium of the Committee. At the same time some concrete steps were taken to form an Honorary Council composed of outstanding personalities from among the non-Ukrainian friends of Ukraine's liberation, and one of them was Prof. W. Kirkconnell. The Committee was "pledged primarily to the support of Canada and the British Empire but desirous also of keeping the liberty of Ukrainians in Europe as an issue not to be forgotten".³

This meeting had approved a constitutional draft and prepared a Memorandum to the Prime Minister of Canada in which the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians in the first article pledged on behalf of the Ukrainian community "to Canada and to the British Commonwealth of Nations" their fullest support in the present struggle against the aggressive violence of the Third Reich. In the second article the Ukrainians' unswerving belief in democracy was affirmed.

It was stated, moreover, that these democratic principles are thus categorically opposed to the regime of Adolf Hitler, whose racial theories have shown themselves incompatible with the freedom and rights of non-German nationalities and whose political perfidy

3 W. Kirkconnell, Our Ukrainian loyalists, Winnipeg, Ukr. Canadian Committee, 1943, p. 22.

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has proven all his earlier overtures to such non-German nationalities to be utterly false.⁴

The founding organizations of RCUC also agreed that from now on the problem of Ukrainian Canadian unity should be dealt with by the Committee and not by the individual organizations, BUC and UNF. One of its first tasks was to write letters to USRL and UHO inviting them to join RCUC.

Information about the founding of RCUC, its constitution and a statement of Prof. Kirkconnell were promptly published in the press controlled by BUC and UNF. Soon after a communique was published with a public invitation to USRL and UHO to join RCUC and an appeal was made to the Ukrainian community "to mobilize itself for the benefit of Canada, the British Empire and Ukraine".⁵

A great many Ukrainians applauded the fact of the formation of the Representative Committee and public meetings were held in Ukrainian communities across Canada and local branches of RCUC were formed.⁶ Soon after RCUC began to

⁴ W. Kirkconnell, Ukrainian loyalists, p. 22.

⁵ "Slovo Representatyvnoho Komitetu Ukraintsiv Kanady", Novy Shliakh, vol. 11, No. 12, Feb. 8, 1940, p. 4, col. 3-5.

⁶ The first of such meetings was held in Saskatoon on Feb. 11, 1940 and was attended by some 400 people with Prof. G.W. Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan as the main speaker. The meeting gave its enthusiastic support to RCUC and formed its own local branch.

publish its own "News" column in Novy Shiakh and Ukrainski Visty which contained organizational information as well as short biographies of each member of the Executive. The majority of the welcoming telegrams and letters to RCUC originated in BUC and UNF branches or among their sympathizers. Nevertheless, they proved that the rank and file of these two organizations was longing for cooperation and unity. The question still uppermost was whether the members and followers of USRL and UHO were of any different opinions.

2. USRL in Search of Partners

While Ukrainsky Holos continued to denounce the efforts of BUC and UNF, the USRL Initiative Committee began to act. First of all it issued an invitation to UHO to join them in forming a Ukrainian Central Committee. In reply to this invitation Ukrainsky Robitnyk, organ of UHO, issued its own statement warning that the Ukrainian cause will suffer if there are two committees instead of one, and declared that UHO would not join any of them unless they fuse into one. It further declared that:

until there is only a single representative body formed on mutual agreement, UHO denies any right for the committee representing BUC and UHO to call itself "Representative Committee of Ukrainians of Canada".⁷

⁷ "Potreba Representatyvnoho tila ukraintsiy Kanady", editorial in Ukr. Robitnyk, vol. 7, No. 7, Feb. 16, 1940, p. 4, col. 1.

But USRL did not give up its idea of founding another committee under its own auspices. Knowing that a committee consisting of its own and UHO representatives could not balance the power exercised by RCUC, it approached another association with a very pretentious name, the League of Ukrainian Organizations (LUO)⁸. It was heretofore little known among the Ukrainian communities of Canada, and was in no sense a Dominion-wide organization. LUO was considered to be Ukrainian Trotskyist and popularly known as "Lobayists" after their leader Daniel Lobay. LUO was viewed with suspicion by all other national organizations of Canada, believing that its break away from ULFTA was just another Communist trick to get into the midst of the Ukrainian Canadian organizational life for subversive activity.

On February 19, the RCUC Executive repeated its invitation to USRL and UHO to join RCUC but this time by letters sent to both organizations. In reply to this letter the USRL Dominion Executive issued a special statement in which it had declared that the formation of RCUC by BUC and UNF made it impossible to reach an agreement between USRL and BUC.

⁸ This organization was established in 1935/36 when a considerable number of Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association members broke away and founded their own anti-Communist labor organization.

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USRL believes that a cooperation of all organizations is necessary and therefore it is ready to join UHO and BUC on the democratic principle without reservation. But cooperation with UNF can not be realized until it has made a suitable declaration that its policy has been changed.⁹

Furthermore it stated that the writings published by BUC and UNF exposed USRL and UHO to moral debasement. Concluding this statement, the USRL Executive pointed out that a joint representative body of Ukrainian Canadians would have to confer with the Canadian Government and, therefore, the USRL "Executive must be very careful as to the quality of organizations and persons that would compose such a committee".¹⁰

In addition to this official statement, the USRL secretary general, J. Danylchuk wrote his reflections upon the failure to achieve Ukrainian Canadian unity. In his opinion, which no doubt reflected that of the USRL Dominion executive,

the lion's share for the failure of negotiations should be credited to Rev. W. Kushnir who showed too much egoistic inclination instead of sincerity and political equilibrium ... This man who hardly received his citizenship papers (he arrived in Canada in May 1934) was

9 "V spravi Ukrainskoho Representatsiynoho komitetu", USRL statement in Ukr. Holos, No. 9, Feb. 28, 1940, p. 4 col. 3-4.

10 Ibid.

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the first one to oppose the creation of a Council of the two Church organizations /i.e. BUC and USRL/ in spite of the fact that he is a priest himself.¹¹

Falling in line with general USRL policy, J. Danylchuk insisted that

the people who should head such a Council should be those who have acclimatized themselves to Canada more ¹² than those who are heading the Representative Committee.

While USRL was engaged in explanations why there was not as yet a joint committee of all organizations, RCUC had lost no time. It organized mass rallies of Ukrainian Canadians in all larger urban centres which served a two-fold purpose: encouraging Ukrainian Canadians to participate actively in Canada's War Effort and by publicising itself thus proving to the community at large that the Committee was doing work and therefore deserved general public support. Since a central representative body was a long time wish of Ukrainian Canadians, the RCUC rallies enjoyed solid attendance and thanks to the RCUC emphasis on Canada's War Effort they received, therefore, favourable coverage in the English language press.

¹¹ J. Danylchuk, "Dumky pro ukrainsku radu", Ukr. Holos, vol. 30, No. 10, March 6, 1940, p. 7, col. 3.

¹² Ibid.

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In order to counteract the initiative of RCUC, the USRL Initiative Committee convened another meeting of the representatives of USRL, UHO and LUO. The meeting was held on March 7, and all three organizations brought forward resolutions of their own. The accusations against UNF continuously raised by USRL and its organ Ukrainsky Holos were all of a sudden dropped, and USRL was now willing to extend its hand to it, but only at the price of admitting LUO as a founding member of the central representative body. They also resolved that

USRL, UHO and LUO under no conditions will agree ... on the completion of the already existing Representative Committee formed by BUC and UNF and they will never approve what had so far been done by it. Should BUC and UNF agree to all these conditions, then a single representative body may be formed.¹³

In addition, it resolved that after such a representative body is formed all organizations must sign and publish in the Ukrainian Canadian press a declaration of loyalty to Canada and the British Empire, to help the Canadian Government to win the war, that the headquarters of the representative body must be in Winnipeg, etc. All these resolutions were signed by the three delegates representing USRL, UHO and LUO. Among them was also the signature of Dr. T. Datskiv as a UHO delegate, who had signed

¹³ "Do istorii tvorennia spil'noho Representatsiy-noho Komitetu", Ukr. Holos, vol. 30, No. 15, April 10, 1940 p. 4, col. 3-4.

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the appeal of the Initiative Group of the Representative Committee a couple of months ago.

3. A "not-binding" conference

Next day the resolutions were sent to the Dominion Executives of BUC and UNF in Saskatoon with a request that a reply should reach Winnipeg not later than March 20. The BUC and UNF Executives having received the resolutions and a letter signed by Myr. Stechishin (USRL), T. Datskiv (UHO) and M. Kaschak (LUO), decided to get in touch with the USRL Executive which had also its seat in Saskatoon and arranged an informal meeting with them on March 12. The meeting was attended by Mr. Julian Stechishin, president, J. Danylchuk, secretary general of the USRL Dominion Executive and H. Slipchenko, chairman of the League of Ukrainian National Home Associations. From RCUC were present Prof. T.K. Pavlychenko, Mr. W. Kossar and Rev. M. Pelech. Prof. G.W. Simpson participated as a guest. The meeting discussed the resolutions of the Initiative Committee in Winnipeg.

The RCUC representatives objected to a point of the resolutions which stated that the League of Ukrainian Organizations should be admitted to the formation of the united representative body on a par with the other four organizations because LUO was not a Ukrainian national

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organization in character but marxist international. Furthermore it was stated that LUO was a tiny group practically unknown outside Toronto, therefore it could not be treated as a Dominion-wide organization.

But even more sensitivity was shown toward Article Two of the Resolutions which stated that, in addition to the organizational representatives, there must be coopted not more than five outstanding personalities by a unanimous vote of all organizational representatives. Moreover this must be done before the election of the Executive of the united representative body. The words unanimous and before the election of the executive were interpreted by RCUC as a deliberate maneuvering of USRL in order to prevent the formation of any central representative body.

Once they are not elected as specified, - commented Rev. W. Kushnir, - there will be no Executive and consequently no Representative body. And this could easily happen, because there is always a possibility that someone may say 'I don't want that person' ... and the case may continue indefinitely. For instance, USRL disliked UNF and because of it the discussions came to nothing for the last year and a half. It is this clause which speaks for itself that USRL is striving to prevent the formation of a committee at all.

There is yet another possibility that USRL, UHO and LUO would suggest such people that neither BUC nor UNF would agree, or even a single representative... Then everybody would be informed that it is the fault of BUC and UNF that there is no representative body.¹⁴

¹⁴ Pratsia i pravda peremozhe, by W. Kushnir and W. Kossar, Saskatoon, Representatsiyni Komitet Ukrain-tziv Kanady, 1940, p. 15.

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Article Three demanded that RCUC should be disbanded "to facilitate the formation of the representative committee of five organizations: USRL, UHO, LUO, BUC and UNF." The order of enumeration was also attacked by BUC and UNF, which resented being placed behind LUO. There was no reservation as to the loyalty declaration, since RCUC had signed one already and delivered it to the Canadian Government. In fact, Rev. W. Kushnir was of the opinion that the loyalty declaration was designed by USRL for LUO whom they did not trust at all.

Although the meeting in Saskatoon was called informal, considering, however, the fact that it was held with the top members of the USRL Dominion Executive and that it brought out some formal decisions it seemed that a united Ukrainian Canadian representation had good prospects and the stalemate was broken. Nevertheless the editor of Ukrainsky Holos and the chairman of the Initiative Committee declared that the decisions reached by this meeting were not binding and demanded formal confirmation of their acceptance from BUC and UNF.¹⁵

Another agreement that was reached with the mutual consent of the participants was that RCUC would cease its activity for the period of two weeks (from March 13-27, 1940) awaiting a decision pending from Winnipeg. For this

¹⁵ "Do istorii tvorennia R.K.", Ukr. Holos, No.15, 1940.

period Novy Shliakh would stop the publication of a recently started series entitled "Why has USRL not joined RCUC?" and Ukrainsky Holos would stop its polemics with UNF.¹⁶ Furthermore the Saskatoon conference decided that the final and formal discussions were to be continued in Winnipeg between the Initiative Committee and Rev. B. Kushnir the president of RCUC.

Rev. Kushnir, acting in accordance with the Saskatoon decisions, made several attempts to convene another conference with the Initiative Committee in Winnipeg but Myr. Stechishin, its chairman, after several evasive replies, on March 23 stated that there would not be another conference until BUC and UNF replied to their resolutions.¹⁷

BUC and UNF, however, considered the matter too delicate to make any statement on paper in regard to LUO which was regarded as a Communist group and BUC Executive feared that the USRL-UHO alliance with LUO could discredit all Ukrainian Canadian efforts towards unity. Consequently, preference was given to oral discussions with USRL-UHO representatives before any written reply could be forwarded to them.¹⁸ On the other hand, the problem of a unified

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ W. Kushnir, "Os' chomu shche nemaye spil'noho Reprezen tatsiynoho Komitetu", Novy Shliakh, vol. 11 No. 35, April 29, 1940, p.

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representative body was at that time entrusted to RCUC and, therefore, beyond their sphere of activity. Moreover they resented the term "resolutions" used by USRL-UHO-LUO group which implied that there was nothing to discuss but only to accept or to refuse.

In accordance with the resolutions adopted by this "informal conference" in Saskatoon on March 12 about the stoppage of polemics, Ukrainsky Holos dated March 13, and Novy Shliakh dated March 14 were already off the presses and the resolution could not apply to them. Novy Shliakh carried the second part of the series "Why has USRL not joined RCUC?" in which the alleged disloyalty to Canada and pro-Nazism on the part of UNF and Novy Shliakh was refuted. In fact, examples were cited from Ukrainsky Holos showing that it was just as much, if not more "anti-democratic" as Novy Shliakh when the Ukrainian question in Europe was involved. However, starting with the next issue, No. 23, dated March 18, 1940, the series was discontinued for the following six semi-weekly issues, that is for one week longer than the conference stipulated. It seemed that UNF and the editor of Novy Shliakh, M. Pohorecky felt that the Saskatoon conference as well as the agreements reached were binding. At the same time, the editor of Ukrainsky Holos attacked Novy Shliakh for its publication of the second part of the anti-USRL series claiming that it was a

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deliberate violation of an agreement which he himself declared as not binding.

The RCUC Executive, hoping for the eventual solution of the stalemate, fell into inactivity, although in various Ukrainian communities public rallies were held and new branches were formed. Since the Initiative Committee did not show the slightest desire to solve the problem of united representation, Novy Shliakh published on April 8, an editorial "RCUC must act" and resumed the publication of the discontinued series "Why has USRL not joined RCUC?" The RCUC itself renewed publication of its news column in Novy Shliakh (Winnipeg) and Ukrainsky Visty (Edmonton).

The RCUC activity found a favourable response among Ukrainian Canadians and its Executive received many letters and telegrams of approval. USRL and Ukrainsky Holos were also pressed by their rank and file to do something in order to bring unity among Ukrainian Canadians. This forced the USRL Executive to make known their own efforts towards this goal and at the same time to ridicule all members on the RCUC Executive.¹⁹ On April 10, Ukrainsky Holos published an article "To the history of the formation of a joint representative committee" by M. Stechishin²⁰ and

¹⁹ This was done usually in Ukrainsky Holos polemical column called "Mymokhodom" ("By the way") which always followed the editorial article.

²⁰ "Do istorii tvorennia spilnoho reprezentatyvnoho

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Kanadiysky Farmer published an almost identical article "Why is there not as yet a joint representative committee? signed by T.D. (T. Datskiv?).²¹ Both these articles blamed BUC and UNF for not having answered to their letter of March 8, thus blocking further proceedings towards united Ukrainian Canadian representation.

Both of these articles were replied to by Rev. Kushnir, the man in the centre of all this activity, who refuted all the statements by M. Stechishin and T.D. and brought forward four accusations against USRL. Starting from the fall of 1938, wrote Rev. Kushnir, - USRL a) permanently invented new measures of intrigue on the question of a Representative Committee; b) disturbed public opinion on the subject; c) prevented the formation of a joint representative committee, and d) supported artificially by its influence in Canada the work of the enemies of the Ukrainian cause abroad.²² After this he stated:

It is Ukrainsky Holos that plays the tune in all this affair designed to prevent the formation of a representative body. All others are just the satellites who

tsentru", Ukr. Holos, vol. 30, No. 15, 1940, p. 4, col.

²¹ T.D. "Chomu shche nemaye spil'noho representatyvnoho komitetu", Kanad. Farmer, vol. 36, No. 15, April 10, 1940, p. 4.

²² W. Kusnir, "Os' chomu shche nemaye"... Novy Shliakh, vol. 11, No. 34, May 10, 1940, p. 4, col.

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dance to the music of Ukrainsky Holos, and consciously or unconsciously aid this Cain's deed.

USRL and its organ Ukrainsky Holos are fully responsible for the fact that to this date we still do not have ONE joint representative committee. ... All through the long discussions on this problem ... the only obstacle in its solution was nothing else but oral or printed declarations that they will not join a committee on which UNF is represented.²³

4. Ukrainian Central Committee

In reply to these accusations, USRL organized another meeting with UHO, LUO and some local organizations in Winnipeg on May 9, 1940 which founded a representative body of their own - Ukrainian Central Committee. This Committee was to have an Executive and a Wider Council. The Executive consisting of nine members was as follows: Y.V. Arsenych (USRL) - President; T.D. Ferley (USRL) - Vice-president; Dr. T. Datskiv (UHO) - Secretary; G. Marian - Treasurer; S. Chwaliboga (LUO) - Financial secretary and Myr. Stechishin (USRL), P. Barycky (UHO), T. Kobzey (LUO) and Dr. M. Mandryka (LUO) as members at large.

The Wider Council was to consist of four members: Mr. J. Solomon (USRL), A. Zaharychuk (LUO), M. Kaschak (LUO) and N.V. Bachynsky (USRL).²⁴

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ "Pokladeno osnovy pid Tsentral'nyi Komitet", Ukr. Holos, vol. 30 No. 20, May 15, 1940, p. 4, col. 3-4.

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It is interesting to note that all the posts on the Executive were filled with members of the participating organizations and no vacancies were left for the eventual inclusion of BUC and UNF. And yet the fathers of the Ukrainian Central Committee after adopting a constitution for this Committee declared that

... the constitution provides a solid foundation for cooperation of Ukrainian Canadians, and if any organization should refuse to participate in the Ukrainian Central Committee it will do so on account of its own bad will and not because of some justified obstacles.²⁵

Now it was only natural to expect that the Central Committee would begin competition with RCUC, organizing its branches wherever the Ukrainian Orthodox parishes or UHO branches were located. Strange as it may seem the Central Committee did not even attempt to form any branches.

Ukrainsky Holos limited itself to ridiculing all the members of the RCUC Executive as well as its Honorary Council which was composed of non-Ukrainian Canadians, not sparing even Prof. W. Kirkconnell or J.T. Thorson, M.P. While Prof. W. Kirkconnell was invited as an adviser to RCUC, the Ukrainian Central Committee followed the same practice and invited Prof. G.W. Simpson as their own adviser.

After the Ukrainian Central Committee was created a frenzy of polemics descended on the newspapers of all

²⁵ "Do ukrainskoho zahalu v Kanadi", announcement, Ukr. Holos, vol. 30 No. 23, June 5, 1940, p. 1, col. 4-5.

factions. All possible and impossible accusations were raised in order to prove to their readers that only this party was completely right while the other was completely wrong. Ukrainsky Holos

went to the extent of accusing Messrs [Kirkconnell] and Thorson of wangling for themselves positions of honour in the 'future provisional independent government of the Ukraine'.²⁶

Now Ukrainsky Holos concentrated its attacks on Rev. W. Kushnir, the RCUC president and W. Swystun, RCUC treasurer. In reference to RCUC, Ukrainsky Holos abandoned its previous term "BUC-UNF committee" and introduced a new one - "Kushnir-Swystunian committee". In one of his polemical columns Myr. Stechishin suggested that the

Kushnir-Swystunian committee should change its name from 'representative' to a 'disgraceful' committee of Ukrainian Canadians. This name would be more appropriate to its character and likely to its aims, - claimed the editor. - Its disgracing activity began with the invitation of the President of the Polish-Canadian Society as its legal adviser and its honorary member on the very same day of the foundation of the committee.²⁷

This was a poor taste reference to Professor Watson Kirkconnell.

On May 28, 1940 the RCUC delegation consisting of its president Rev. W. Kushnir, its secretary W. Swystun,

²⁶ Kirkconnell, Our Ukrainian loyalists, p. 23.

²⁷ "Mymokhodom", Ukr. Holos, vol. 30, No. 21, May 22, 1940, p. 4, col. 3.

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three members of the Honorary Council J.T. Thorson, M.P., W.A. Tucker, M.P. and A. Roebuck, M.P. and three members of Parliament delivered a Memorandum to the Prime Minister of Canada, W.L. Mackenzie King in Ottawa. Copies of the Memorandum were also delivered to the British and French Governments through the British High Commissioner and the French Legation in Ottawa. The Memorandum urged all these three governments go give favourable consideration to the Ukrainian question in Europe and to put it on the agenda of the future peace conference. The RCUC delegation to the Prime Minister found a favourable response in the Ottawa Citizen. Judging by the contents of the Memorandum and by the press reports, it seemed that RCUC deserved credit for another commendable act.

The editor of Ukrains'ky Holos, however, thought differently and did not pay any attention either to its contents or to the favourable publicity it received. Following this event, he published an editorial entitled "The language of figures" in which he came to the conclusion that RCUC did not represent more than 30.22 per cent of Ukrainian Canadians while the Ukrainian Central Committee had a backing of 69.78 per cent. It seems that by all these calculations (or miscalculations) M. Stechishin went too far, not only in regard to RCUC but even in regard to the readers of

Ukrains'ky Holos.²⁸

On June 20, Novy Shliakh published a letter to the editor entitled: "RCUC: the voice from the masses" by Semen Kowbel, a general secretary of the Mutual Aid Society controlled by USRL, an active member of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and a respectable citizen in the Ukrainian Canadian community. His words are so characteristic that they deserve to be quoted at least in part:

The editor, of Ukrains'ky Holos, divided us by percentage, taking the number of readers of individual newspapers as a criterion. But he did not say what is the wish of 69.78 per cent and what of the other 30.22 per cent. What has the first group to say to the world and what the other group of percentage of Ukrainians.... If the question, what the Ukrainian Canadians want, could be decided by vote, then the request expressed in Memorandum ... of RCUC would get 100 per cent approval. What is then the difference or reason for discord on who delivered this Memorandum or on behalf of what percentage? This is how the masses see the problem and I, trying to be impartial, join them.²⁹

Although Ukrain'ky Holos was also filled with all kinds of information and letters against RCUC, BUC and most of all against UNF, it seems that there were also letters protesting its polemics and forced the editor to admit it, however, indirectly. Some readers pointed out that the polemics on the pages of the press should be given up in

²⁸ "Chysla howoriat'", editorial, Ukr. Holos, no. 24 June 12, 1940, p. 4.

²⁹ S. Kowbel, "Holos & myzu", Novy Shliakh, vol. 11 June 20, 1940, p. 6, col.

favour of a personal discussion between the editors of the two different papers, which implied that the readers had more than enough of it. Furthermore, the editor was forced to admit that there were voices advising "to stop subscribing to Ukrainsky Holos" until the polemics have stopped".³⁰

Now Ukrainsky Holos began its attacks on the president of RCUC, Rev. Kushnir, and Swystun its treasurer.

Meanwhile RCUC continued its organizational work. New branches were opened all over Canada and by the end of October there were at least 32 of them.³¹ All these branches took an active part in the Canadian War Effort according to the needs of the Government and their own localities. The Ukrainian Central Committee also issued its communiques to that effect and Ukrainsky Holos encouraged its readers to support all war efforts.

By now the Government attempted to mobilize all the Canadian resources and human power for the war effort. A number of revolutionary organizations engaged in anti-war propaganda were suppressed by order of the Government of Canada. Among them was also the ULFTA which centred its attention on the Ukrainian community.

³⁰ "Z. pryvodu obyednavchykh zakhooliv dekohto" ..., Ukr. Holos, vol. 30, No. 25, June 19, 1940, p. 4, col. 2-3.

³¹ This number was compiled from the "Visti RCUC" in Novy Shliakh, Feb.-June 1940, where each new branch was listed.

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5. Unity at Last.

The final stage of the coordination of Ukrainian organizations came in the autumn of 1940. But at this time the initiative came from the Federal Department of National War Services..... Lack of unity among the Ukrainians was regarded as inimical to the war effort and the government wanted action.³²

The task of bringing pressure on the two Ukrainian committees to unite was entrusted to Tracy Philipps, a European adviser to the Canadian Government since 1937. In October 1940, Philipps arrived in Winnipeg to begin the difficult task of finding the means and formula by which the Ukrainian Canadians could be coordinated for the war effort. When he got in touch with the two opposing parties, he found considerable difficulty in convincing them to arrange a joint conference to discuss his proposal. (It seems that his arrival in Winnipeg was prearranged by RCUC, namely by Rev. Kushnir and W. Swystun.) But even now Ukrainsky Holos continued to ridicule the RCUC and its polemical columns were filled with such names as BUC, UNF, Kushnir, Swystun, which certainly did not help Philipps in his difficult task. Philips, working together with Prof. Kirkconnell, thought it advisable to invite Prof. Simpson of Saskatoon, who was in the Central Committee in the same role as Prof. Kirkconnell in the Representative Committee, and to use his influence on the group

32 Kirkconnell, Our Ukrainian Loyalists, p. 24.

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to which he was an adviser.

The conference of the two Ukrainian committees was eventually arranged in Winnipeg on November 6-7, 1940 and consisted of four meetings. The first meeting was attended by nine members of the Ukrainian Central Committee Executive: Y.V. Arsenych, T.D. Ferley, T. Datskiv, A. Zaharychuk, M. Mandryka, P. Barycky, Myr. Stechishin, T. Kobzey, N.V. Bachynsky and also by Mr. Julian Stechishin, USRL national president. From the Representative Committee came four members: Rev. W. Kushnir, W. Kossar, Prof. T.K. Pavylchenko and W. Swydtun. Y.V. Arsenych, the president of the Central Committee was elected chairman of the conference for its duration. In the following sessions both BUC and UNF had more numerous representation.

After the introductory discussions the constitution of the future united body was raised. It was then confirmed that the constitutions of both Committees were identical, except that the RCUC constitution in its objectives stated that it represented all the Ukrainian Canadians while the Central Committee' represented only those organized. But it was unanimously agreed that the future united committee should represent all Ukrainian Canadians. Difficulty arose when the problem of participating organizations was discussed. Arsenych made a motion that all five organizations should compose the committee, i.e. BUC, USRL,

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UNF, UHO and LUO. The UNF representatives, Swystun and Kossar objected to the participation of LUO as a founding member, but as suggested by Prof. Pavlychenko it might be accepted by the committee after it was formed.

It was then agreed that since it was a conference of the two committees and not of the five organizations, and the distribution of posts should be considered along committee lines. One committee should get the post of president and treasurer; the other, vice-president and secretary. At this conference the USRL made its last bid to head the committee by proposing Arsenych as its president and Rev. Kushnir - the vice-president, but this motion did not find unanimous support even of all the representatives of the Central Committee. At last it was agreed that Rev. Kushnir (BUC) would be president but this fact placed UNF in an unfavourable position because it would have to take the post of treasurer while the much smaller and less important UHO would take the post of secretary. UNF proposed, therefore, that the posts should be distributed as follows: President - BUC, vice-president - USRL, secretary - UNF and treasurer - UHO. Such a distribution would reflect the real significance of these organizations in the Ukrainian Canadian community. But USRL would not hear of giving the two most important posts, the president's and secretary's.

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to the RCUC bloc.³³ Thus the fourth session had arrived at a deadlock. Arsenych, as the chairman of a session, suggested arbitration by Tracy Philipps and Prof. W. Simpson. All present reluctantly agreed to this in order to break the stalemate.

The recommendation of Dr. Philipps and Prof. Simpson were that the presidency of the committee should go to BUC. There were to be two vice-presidents, the first of whom was to act as chairman of the executive and this office was to go to USRL. The function of the other vice-president was to be that of coordinator and rapporteur of the committee, and that office was to be held by UNF. The office of secretary was to go to USRL and that of treasurer to UHO.

Although the arbitration decision favoured USRL, it was accepted in the interest of the Ukrainian community and of Canada as a whole even by UNF, to which the arbitration was the most painful.

The name of the committee was to be: The Ukrainian Canadian Committee - UCC (Komitet Ukraintsiv Kanady - KUK) and its headquarters was to be in Winnipeg. In addition to this arbitration settlement, the meeting agreed that LUC would have its own representative on the committee as well.³⁴

³³ Minutes of the Presidium of UCC, "Protokol perehovoriv z ludy dvokh tsenttral'nykh orhanizatsii", Nov. 7, 1940.

³⁴ Ibid.

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The Executive was to consist of 13 members, six of whom (President, two vice-presidents, secretary, financial secretary and treasurer) were to form the Presidium. In other words, the USRL had two representatives on the Presidium while the other four organizations, regardless of their size and significance, were accorded each only one member.

At 5:30 P.M. on November 7, 1940 the Ukrainian Canadian community received its long overdue united representation. Personalities were not dealt with at this time, since it was up to the member organizations to appoint their representatives to their respective posts. But it must be noted that this unity, achieved with the help of the outsiders, was to last only for the duration of war.

The formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as a united representative body was hailed all over the country. Ukrainian language as well as English language newspapers brought the news to the Canadian public at large. Commenting on this event, Ukrains'ky Holos declared that

if there is any reason to be ashamed of, then perhaps on the account that unity was reached so late while it should have been accomplished at the latest at the outbreak of war ... We can proudly state that for us, i.e. for Ukrains'ky Holos there was no need for an outside help. USRL all the time advocated understanding among the Ukrainian parties.³⁵

³⁵"Yednist'", editorial, Ukr. Holos, No. 46, Nov. 13, 1940, p. 4.

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Of a somewhat different opinion was Novy Shliakh, which expressed its satisfaction that at last the united representation was formed. It was less bombastic than Ukrains'ky Holos.

We, as well as the organs of other groups cannot appropriate the credit that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee came into existence. We wanted it and did our best to achieve it, but our wish remained but wishful thinking. All other papers could also say so much and no more ... The Committee was brought about by people from outside of our Ukrainian community.... Let us be open-minded and state that these people were Prof. Simpson and Mr. T. Philipps.... They conciliated two parties which were unable to come to an agreement by themselves.... We emphasize this as a warning for the future activity of the Committee, which should do its best to prevent another situation that would require us to call upon some "outsiders" to reconcile us.³⁶

The Winnipeg Free Press commenting on the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in its editorial, voiced similar ideas to those of Novy Shliakh.

Canada is very proud of its fellow citizens of Ukrainian origin who have brought so much of their cultural heritage to enrich and to endow the land of their adoption. But it has been a source of sadness to note how now and again and here and there, their strength has been somewhat dissipated by dissension.³⁷

The establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was welcomed also by Canadian officials, provincial and federal. It was believed, and there is no contrary evidence

³⁶ 'U zviazku KUK', editorial, Nova Shliakh, No. 94, Nov. 21, 1940, p. 4.

³⁷ "New found unity", editorial, Winnipeg Free Press, Nov. 19, 1940.

to deny it, that the Committee represented at least 90 per cent of the total Ukrainian Canadian population. The other ten per cent could be discounted as those supporting the ideals propagated by the disbanded ULFTA. The fourth largest ethnic group of Canada and the largest Slavic group was at last united with a primary objective to help the Government in the prosecution of the war.

The existence of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was felt almost immediately. Some two months later, Novy Shliakh was able to state that "as a result of the creation of UCC, the horrible inter-organizational misunderstandings which hampered every organization, disappeared".³⁸

The Ukrainian Canadian community looked to its newly formed Representative body for its leadership at a time of national peril, while the Canadian Government hoped to achieve better cooperation in its all-out war effort. Now it was up to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to justify all the hopes and expectations of the Canadian Government and public at large and the Ukrainian Canadian community.

³⁸"Zavdannia KUK", Novy Shliakh, No. 6, Jan. 23, 1941, p. 4, editorial.

CHAPTER IV

THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE AND
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1. Structure of the U.C.C.

According to the recommendations of Prof. Simpson and Dr. Philipps, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was to be headed by an executive body consisting of thirteen members. The Executive itself was to be divided into a Presidium and an Executive Council. The Presidium was to consist of six members, including a representative of the League of Ukrainian Organizations, with exactly defined functions for each member. The Executive Council was to consist of seven members, four of whom were to be the representatives from each of the four major organizations, and three members were to be co-opted.

These recommendations, however, were slightly modified at the constituent meeting held on November 15, 1940, when the Executive was enlarged to fifteen members. The adjustments were made in favour of BUC, UNF and UHO, which according to the recommendations, were supposed to have on the Executive two permanent members each, while USRL would have had three. The adjustment enabled the four major organizations to delegate two members each, BUC - one, and six instead of three were co-opted.

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The Presidium was established as follows: President: Rev. W. Kushnir (BUC); first Vice-president and chairman of the Executive: Rev. S.W. Sawchuk (USRL); the second Vice-president and coordinator: W. Swystun (UNF); Secretary general: Y.V. Arsenych (USRL); Treasurer: Dr. T. Datskiv (UHO); and Financial secretary: S. Chwaliboga (LUO).

The Executive Council had three permanent members representing BUC, UNF and UHO. Since USRL had already two members on the Presidium, it had no additional permanent member on the Executive Council; it had, however, double representation among the coopted members which were to serve for one calendar year. As a result the Executive Council was agreed upon as follows:

a) Permanent members: Rev. S. Semchuk (BUC), W. Kossar (UNF) and A. Zaharychuk (UHO). b) Co-opted members: Dr. B. Dyma (BUC), Dr. M. Mandryka (LUO), J. Rudachek (BUC), P. Pavlukevych (USRL), T.D. Ferley (USRL) and O. Zerebko, M.L.A. (For the personnel of the auxiliary bodies mentioned below - see Appendix III).

According to the constitutional provisions, other auxiliary bodies were established such as a Co-ordinating Commission headed by W. Swystun and an Advisory Council to which over twenty members were invited. Among these Council members were Ukrainian Federal and Provincial

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legislators, editors of the Ukrainian newspapers and principals of the Ukrainian educational institutions. There was also created an Honorary Council which consisted of non-Ukrainian Canadians. In short, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as formed in November 1940 could hardly have been more representative. There was no representative of the Communist group, but it was not considered a Ukrainian organization and at that time had no legal recognition.

At the same time a General Council was established, consisting of about twenty members of each of the component organizations that occupied prominent positions throughout the Ukrainian communities in Canada. It should be noted, however, that the members of the Executive, as well as of the Council, were elected or appointed by component organizations to their respective posts, and they could be replaced by their organizations at any time. The Committee, therefore, was not an organic unit of the member organizations. This was a part of its constitutional arrangement, which never has been changed:

On the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the five constituent Dominion-wide organizations did not fuse. On the contrary, they retained their autonomy and remained independently responsible for the development of their organizations.¹

¹ Proceedings of the First Ukrainian Canadian Congress, 1943, p. 39.

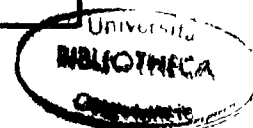
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On the other hand, the UCC was not intended as a permanent Ukrainian Canadian representative and coordinating institution. At this time it was agreed that the Committee should be kept in existence for the duration of the war only. There was no provision for any congresses of Ukrainian Canadians. The individual organizations agreed to join the UCC to coordinate their activities but they did not delegate any of their prerogatives for the benefit of this united representation. It was only later that the UCC was able to get general recognition as an indispensable institution. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee did not have its own personal membership to rely on, it was made dependent on the constituent organizations; therefore, any of those organizations was in a position to destroy the unity.

2. Ukrainian Canadians and the War

At the time of the founding of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee there were already a great number of problems to cope with but the most important of them all was the Canadian War Effort, which could not suffer any delay. On the date of the formation of UCC, Mr. Philipps agreed to give a series of lectures in all major centres of Ukrainian settlement. Orest Zerebko, who had been in charge of the war effort activity of the Representative Committee, continued his work as before. In fact, UCC was not to begin



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this work but rather to coordinate what had been already well advanced by various Ukrainian Canadian organizations since the beginning of the war.

It will be in place to mention at least the role of the major organizations in mobilizing public opinion in favour of the Canadian War effort. On July 28-30, 1939, the Ukrainian National Federation held its sixth national convention in Saskatoon where the dangerous situation in Europe was discussed. As a result the convention resolved that

the citizens of Canada of Ukrainian origin will fulfil their civic duties with an unswerving loyalty to their adopted country - Canada, her institutions and the government according to the interests and security requirements of this country and of the British Empire.²

After the war broke out all Ukrainian newspapers in Canada carried on their pages declarations of loyalty and editorials explaining the Ukrainian Canadian stand in the present struggle in Europe.

The Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics issued a declaration on behalf of all its members which, in part, stated:

we Canadian Ukrainians, as loyal subjects of Canada, await the command of our Government and stand on guard for our fosterland Canada and the whole British Empire,

²"Rezoliutsiyyi VI. Krayevoi Konferentsiyyi UNO", Novy Shliakh, No. 64, Aug. 28, 1939, p. 3, col. 1.

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by the side of other Canadian patriots. All our service for the King, for Canada and for the bright future of the invincible British Empire.³

The Executive of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League published its own statement on the front page of Ukrains'ky Holos in the English language under the title: "For Canada and British Empire".

On behalf of Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada we are happy to be able to assure everyone that all those many thousands of Canadian citizens of Ukrainian descent who are members of, or are in sympathy with the League and its affiliated organizations in Canada have never wavered in their loyalty and devotion to Canada and their faith in democratic institutions and that therefore all of them will without hesitation respond to the earnest appeal of their King and their Government and will faithfully serve and defend the vital interests of Canada and the British Empire side by side with other citizens by all means at their disposal and in every manner which may be demanded of them.⁴

Of a special interest was Novy Shliakh's editorial on Sept. 7, which discussed the entrance of Great Britain into war. It declared:

The time of urgency has come when our numerous declarations of devotion and gratefulness to Canada and the British Empire must be supported with our deeds. All of us must join the defense line in such a position which will be required of him or her or where his or her duties may be fulfilled best. We stand in defense of our adopted Fatherland without hesitation, voluntarily, in a joint action.⁵

³ Ukr. Visty, Vol. 10 Sept. 5, 1939, quoted in W. Kirkconnell, Ukrainian Canadians and the war, Toronto, Oxford Univ. Press, 1940, p. 15.

⁴ "For Canada and the British Empire", Ukr. Holos, Vol. 29, No. 36, Sept. 6, 1939, p. 1, col. 3-5.

⁵ "Chynom skrypymo zayavy", editorial Novy Shliakh, Vol. 10 No. 67, Sept. 9, 1939, p. 4, col. 1.

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In order to clarify the picture for all its readers who came to Canada after the First World War, the editorial posed the situation as it existed before the First World War in their native country.

Many of us fought in the World War on the side of our historical enemies, enemies of our people, the occupants of Ukraine. We were forced to take up arms and were driven to the front lines. This time we are in a completely different position. We stand up in defense of our adopted country, the laws of which are our laws, her need is our need and her destiny is our destiny.⁶

Similar declarations and opinions were expressed by all other nationally-minded organizations. In fact, even the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association, acting on its own, joined the echo of all Ukrainian organizations. It was only after the U.S.S.R. joined Germany in the partition of Poland that they switched their stand and began their "anti-imperialistic" war campaign.

Such was the general spirit among Ukrainian Canadians at the outbreak of the war. On the other hand, the fact that the U.S.S.R. stood on the other side of the fence contributed a great deal to the high spirit and high hopes for the brighter future of their brothers in Europe.

⁶ Ibid.

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3. Candian Armed Forces and Ukrainians

One of the most important factors in the successful prosecution of war is the armed forces. At the outbreak of the war Canada had not possessed any significant army even in proportion to her own population. To make things even more complicated, the government could not mobilize young men of military age because the Canadian army had a voluntary basis. This complicated situation could have been solved only by the speedy passage of a law through Parliament or by appropriate propaganda among young men encouraging them to join the army.

The latter solution was applied by the Government and all the Ukrainian Canadian organizations proved to be of great help in the Ukrainian communities. In response to the Government's call

thousands of individuals of Ukrainian origin wrote to Ottawa, offering their services in capacity and in the preliminary recruiting undertaken during the first six months the Ukrainians ranked high in the number of their volunteers. In Saskatchewan for example, the Ukrainian enlistments, in proportion to population were well above the Canadian average.⁷

A propaganda campaign encouraging young men to volunteer to the Canadian Armed Forces was conducted vigorously by the Ukrainian organizations themselves, in the

⁷W. Kirkconnell, Ukrainian Canadians and the War, p. 5.

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first place among their own members and sympathizers. For instance, the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, an affiliated organization of USRL, organized regional get-togethers for its members and other young people with special war effort programs. Speech competitions were introduced on the topic "How can we help Britain to win the war". Prizes were distributed for the best speeches, both in contents and rhetoric.⁸

Such an attitude was prevalent also in the Ukrainian Catholic Youth Association, the Ukrainian National Youth Federation and in all other nationally-minded youth organizations. Various encouraging media on the one hand and receptions in honour of those who had already enlisted, on the other, the young men were not only encouraged but even pressed by public opinion into military service. The Ukrainian Canadian newspapers were filled with pictures and short news items about those who joined the armed forces. Editorials as well as a great number of other articles were published in favour of enlistment.

The response to the call of arms among Ukrainian Canadians was tremendous, which was the best proof that the declarations of Ukrainian lay and Church organizations in

⁸ Cf. N. Kohuska, "Yuvilleyna knyha Soyuzu Ukrainskoi Molodi Kanady", Winnipeg, SUMK, 1956, p. 160-162.

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Canada were not just empty words. The first Canadian Overseas Division left for Britain early in December 1939 and in its ranks was a substantial number of Ukrainian volunteers. On February 13, 1940, the Director of Public Information stated that

ten per cent of Saskatchewan enlistments for active service are Canadians of Ukrainian origin, though this particular blood strain is less than 10 per cent of the Saskatchewan population.⁹

Ukrainian women organizations, in addition to their work for the benefit of the Red Cross, organized individually or in a common effort public receptions in honour of those already in uniform. In short, the Ukrainian Canadian commonly considered Canada his own country and was prepared; therefore, to bring the supreme sacrifice in her defense.

Unfortunately, in spite of all the efforts of the Ukrainian community, the Ukrainians of Canada were still regarded in some quarters as second-rate citizens. There were quite a few instances where the recruiting officers insisted on the young volunteers' changing their Ukrainian surnames to fit their Anglo-Saxon taste. Some did, and by doing so decreased the number of Ukrainian names on the enrolment lists and consequently made it difficult to check

⁹ Quoted in Proceedings of the First Ukr. Can. Congress, p. 41.

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for Ukrainian casualties appearing on the official casualty lists.¹⁰

Although there was factional discord among the Ukrainian national organizations, they all worked well towards the winning of the war. None of these organizations had direct control over the enlistment of Ukrainian youth but all of them did their best to promote it. All of them kept lists of their enlisted members and prided themselves on each and every member in uniform.

It should not be forgotten that all the constructive propaganda of the Ukrainian national organizations was counteracted by the Communist anti-war propaganda. During the election campaign early in 1940 the Communist party of Canada put up a slogan "No conscription! Return Canadian boys back to Canada. Not a single man should leave the Canadian shores to die in the imperialistic war".¹¹ But the result is the best proof that the Communist propaganda was of little effect on the Ukrainian Canadian youth at large.

¹⁰ Minutes of the Presidium of UCC, and R. England, Report on reorganization of Nationalities Branch, Ottawa, 1944, p. 2. (Unpublished. Canada Public Archives, R.26).

¹¹ P. "Yuzyk, "Uchast' ukrainskoi molodi u voyennykh zusyllyakh Kahady" Novy Shliakh, No. 84, Oct. 20, 1943, p. 5, col. 2.

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A more coordinate work for the Canadian War Effort started with the creation of the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians. A special subcommittee was formed, headed by Orest Zerebko, M.L.A., which was to aid the Government in all phases of the war effort. On May 30, 1940 the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians (RCUC) published an appeal to the "Ukrainian citizens of Canada and British Empire", which said in part:

The victory of Britain over Germany signifies hope for the liberation of a great Ukrainian nation in Europe. Therefore Ukrainian farmers, workers, businessmen and professionals, let us work more than ever just as if you were mobilized for the defense of Canada and for victory of Britain...

Ukrainian youth, keep in mind that the only sure way to protect freedom, so dear to our hearts, is to join the Canadian Army as many of you have already done. The present situation requires more and speedier effort and more resolute action.¹²

A number of public rallies were organized all over Canada where Ukrainian and Anglo-Saxon speakers discussed the war efforts and called upon the young men to join the army. In the memorandum delivered to the Prime Minister of Canada on May 28, 1940 the RCUC delegation stated that

this Representative Committee stands ready to further, in any way within its power, the great war effort of Canada and the Allies and support any just plan that these may approve for liberation of the Ukraine.¹³

¹² Visti RKUK, Novy Shliakh, Vol. 11 No. 44, May 30, 1940, p. 4, col. 5-6.

¹³ Memorandum, Novy Shliakh, Vol. 11 No. 58, July 18, 1940, p. 4, col. 7.

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However, the most effective work was done with the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, when the activity of all organizations was coordinated and centralized. At the beginning the Representative Committee was permitted to continue its activity in the field of collection of money for the purchase of an ambulance, which was to be handed over to the UCC Executive after the campaign ended.

At its first meeting on December 3, 1940 a plan for future activity was laid down in which the Canadian War Effort received priority. The second item was the Ukrainian question in Europe as well as Ukrainian Canadian problems.

For a while the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was the only Ukrainian centre which spoke on behalf of Ukrainian Canadians. All the organizations stood solidly behind the Committee and its war effort activity. But the Communist anti-war propaganda continued, and UCC did its best to reduce, if not to eliminate, its effect upon Ukrainian Canadians at large.

The attitude of the Communists rapidly changed after the German-Russian war broke out on June 22, 1941. The Communists in general and the Ukrainian Communists in particular performed an unusual switch in their attitude, all of a

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sudden they turned into very patriotic citizens and began to support the war effort. Not before very long they organized in Toronto, the Ukrainian Association for Aid to the Fatherland and issued an appeal to the Ukrainian Canadian community at large to join its membership and form local branches.

At the same time the Aid to the Fatherland organization began to publish its newspaper called Ukrains'ke zhyttia (Ukrainian Life), which began to attack the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. From now on, this new organization challenged the UCC in its right to represent the Ukrainian Canadians and did its best to undermine its prestige. This Communist activity required resolute counter-action, since the Aid to the Fatherland appeal could have been misinterpreted by uninformed Ukrainians. To this effect UCC issued in mid-September 1941 its communique No. 11, in which it warned the Ukrainian Canadians against the camouflaged communism.

The Communist paper Ukrains'ke zhyttia, viciously attacked and vilified all non-Communist Ukrainian Canadians, their press, churches, fraternal and cultural organizations - as enemies of the Ukrainian people in Europe. In labour matters it followed the party line of hatred and radical agitation.¹⁴ In short, the Ukrainian Canadian Communists

¹⁴ Cf. W. Kirkconnell, Our Communists and the New Canadians, Toronto, 1943, p. 14.

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remained faithful to the Manifesto of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Canada issued on June 22, 1941 which they entitled "Canadians, all out for Soviet victory over fascism". Not Canadian nor Allied victory, but "Soviet victory".¹⁵ While all the Ukrainian national-minded organizations under the leadership of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee worked hard for the Canadian and Allied victory, the Communists urged immediate Communist revolution in Canada and Britain. They argued that such an overthrow of reaction in these countries would encourage the Germans to throw off Hitler's yoke and usher in peace and a Soviet world order.¹⁶

The Ukrainian Canadian attitude towards their adopted country was best explained by Orest Zerebko, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan. He wrote:

We get 100 per cent better treatment here than we would get from the present rulers of our native land, and that is why we say that Canada is worth fighting for. Yes, more than that, it is worth dying for, for we do not want to run back into chains. We will help to fight and we are doing it now so that the liberties we are enjoying here may be preserved for us and our children.¹⁷

15 Cf. W. Kirkconnell, Our Communists and the New Canadians, Toronto, 1943, p. 10.

16 Ibid., p. 10.

17 O. Zerebko, "Canada is worth fighting for" Winnipeg Free Press, Oct. 1, 1940; Reprinted in Novy Shliakh Oct. 10, 1940, p. 6, col. 5.

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In some localities of Canada the Ukrainian Canadians took active part in the "Home Guard" units. In fact the Ukrainians were recognized as a valuable military element and in July 1941, Capt. Parks, a recruiting officer in Edmonton, suggested that

the Ukrainians in larger centres of Alberta should form Ukrainian military units of Reserve or even of active service. Such units would be subordinated to local commanding officers but the units themselves would be commanded by Ukrainian officers, if available.¹⁸

To what extent the Ukrainian Canadian Committee influenced this noteworthy support for the Canadian War Effort cannot be derived from statistics, nevertheless the general result was, to say the least, impressive.

There were districts in Alberta and Saskatchewan where nearly all the young people have volunteered for the armed forces, leaving behind only their parents.¹⁹

This statement was based on facts which prove beyond doubt that the Ukrainian Canadian young men answered the call of their government. A few examples may be in place here. The A. Mykulak family of Sarnia, Ontario originally from Bukovina, had ten sons with the Canadian Armed Forces: five were overseas with the Army, two in the Air Force, another two in the Navy and the tenth and the last son was an

¹⁸Minutes of the UCC Executive, vol. 2, Aug. 5, 1941, p. 244-245.

¹⁹Proceedings of the First Ukr. Can. Congress, p.42.

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artillery man. The P. Lopuch family of Transcona, Man. had seven sons in the Armed Forces; the Smashniuk family of Besanson, Alta. had six sons in the Canadian Armed Forces.²⁰ The list of all families who sent five, four or three sons to serve their adopted country, Canada, would be too long to be included here.

The Ukrainian Canadians fought bravely side by side with other Canadians on all the battlefields of Europe and Asia. Consequently the casualty lists issued by the Government contained a large number of Ukrainian names. For instance the Hong Kong expedition of about 1,000 Winnipeg grenadiers contained 104 (or over ten per cent) Ukrainians. After the Japanese Army occupied Hong Kong, only 66 of this group were reported as P.O.W., the remaining 38 must have died in action. Hence, while the total loss for the whole Canadian expedition amounted to about 15 per cent, the Ukrainian loss amounted to over 37 per cent.²¹

A similar story can be repeated for the unfortunate Dieppe raid. The exact number of Ukrainians participating

²⁰ Cf. I. Shpytkovs'kyi, Al'manakh kanadiyskykh voyakiv, Vinnipeg, Buduchnist' natsiyi, 1946, p. 14-23.

²¹ Proceedings of the First Ukr. Can. Congress, p. 50, and W. Kirkconnell, Our Ukr. loyalists, p. 27.

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in it is not known but

the casualty lists contained some 85 Ukrainian names, which constituted two and a half per cent of the total casualties, or about exactly the proportion of Ukrainians to the total population of Canada.²²

With the rapid influx of Ukrainian youth into the Canadian Armed Forces the Presidium of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee made all the necessary arrangements with the Canadian authorities to provide military chaplains for the spiritual care of those of Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox faith. In the first half of February 1942 Rev. M. Pelech was appointed military chaplain with jurisdiction over all Ukrainian Greek Catholic soldiers and Rev. S.W. Sawchuk for Ukrainian Greek Orthodox soldiers. Both were granted the honorary rank of Captain. Later on their numbers were increased to three in both confessions: Rev. T. Dobko and Rev. M. Horoshko for the Ukrainian Catholics and Rev. T. Kowalyshyn and Rev. S.P. Symchych for the Ukrainian Orthodox. All of these four priests served overseas with the Canadian Armed Forces.

In order to keep a high moral standard among the Ukrainian soldiers overseas, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee maintained for their use Canteen in Manchester and later in London, England. "Most of the food used in the

22 Proceedings of the First Ukr. Can. Congress, p. 50.

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Canteen has been supplied by churches, organizations and individuals in Canada".^{22a} The Canteen was opened in Manchester at the club quarters of the Ukrainian Canadian soldiers, who in January 1943 organized the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association (UCSA) Overseas headed by G.R. Bohdan Panchuk.^{22b} In 1944 the Ukrainian Servicemen's Association opened a new club in London. Because the services and the costs of the UCSA activity expanded rapidly, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee took upon itself the obligation to subsidize the Ukrainian Canadian Canteen in England at a rate of \$500 a month.^{22c} For the year 1944 the donations from the UCC, including some individual contributions, amounted to 1431.10.10 pounds sterling, from the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America 135.13.7 pounds, or about 5.725 and 530 dollars respectively. The club dissolved in November 1945 when there was no more need for its existence in England and for the eleven months of 1945 total

22a Steve Kalin, "From UCSA Overseas to UCVA in Canada", in Opinion, vol. no. 3, March 1955, p. 22.

22b UCSA after the war transformed itself into Ukrainian Canadian Veteran Association and on the 2d Ukr. Canadian Congress, which was held in Toronto in 1946, it was admitted to the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as a co-founding member.

22c Harry Piniuta, Organizational Life of Ukrainian Canadians, Sandy Lake, Sask., 1952, p. 64 (unpublished thesis).

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donations from the UCC amounted to 1106, 17.6 pounds and from the UCCA 156.18.11 pounds, or about 4.425 and 625 dollars respectively.^{22d} All funds supplied by the UCC were voluntary contributions of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

By maintaining the club houses in Manchester and later in London, (where all other non-Ukrainian Canadians as well as American Ukrainians were also welcome), the UCC helped the tireless Capt. G.R.B. Panchuk, the president and a moving spirit of UCSA, to establish "a home away from home" where Ukrainian Canadian soldiers could avail themselves of all facilities. While the women's organizations looked after the food supply to the UCSA club in London, member organizations of the UCC publishing their own newspapers or journals sent copies to the club reading room. Thus the Ukrainian Canadian soldiers stationed overseas were assured that not only their parents and relatives, but the entire Ukrainian Canadian community shared a concern for their welfare.

In order to keep a high moral standard among Ukrainian Canadian soldiers, the UCC Executive formed a special commission to look after their welfare. It consisted of Mr. J.R. Solomon, as its chairman, Dr. J. Gulay,

22d Cf. Steve Kalin, op. cit., Opinion vol. 11, no. 4-5, Apr.-May 1955, p. 22, col. 2, and p. 23, col. 1.

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Mrs. Maria Dyma, with Rev. M. Pelech and Rev. W.S. Sawchuk, the military chaplains representing both Ukrainian Churches.

In June 1943 the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, after long and arduous deliberations convoked in Winnipeg an All-Ukrainian Canadian Congress of which three days of debates were conducted under the slogans: War and victory, war and freedom and Victory and security; one slogan for each day respectively. The Congress had a two-fold purpose: (a) to stimulate the war effort, and (b) to prove to Canadian society and the Government that the communist Ukrainian Canadian Association did not speak on behalf of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

The war effort was thoroughly discussed and plans for the future were outlined. The communist propaganda that UCC did not represent Ukrainian Canadians was denied by an attendance of some 500 delegates from all over Canada.

Those who want to defame us by means of slander, - said Mr. W. Kossar, - and those who try to convince the general public that the Ukrainian Communists represent the majority of the Ukrainian Canadians should not forget that all spiritual institutions, namely Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Churches and also the religious communities affiliated with the Ukrainian Protestant Church (which altogether serve approximately 800 parishes and missions) support the aims of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. On the other hand not one Ukrainian church supports the Communists. Furthermore, those who state that they form the majority of Canadian Ukrainians should bear in mind that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee represents about 1500 organizations.

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units which own a total of 405 community halls, while this opposing group owns only about 100.²³

On the other hand, the USRL delegate Y.W. Arsenych, who was very sensitive on the point of a complete Ukrainian Canadianism stated that

the so called Ukrainian Canadian Association does not speak for Canadians of Ukrainian descent at all. It is not directed by Ukrainians ... the moving spirit behind this Association are Comrade Tim Buck and his companions of various racial origins who were not long ago conspicuously absent from our midst. They are continuously changing their "trade name" in order to suit the occasion.²⁴

The Congress was a tremendous success for all Ukrainian Canadians and especially for the Ukrainian Canadian Committee which took upon itself the role of its mouthpiece.

It was at this Congress that the Ukrainian Canadian leaders were able to summarize the efforts and activity of the Ukrainian Canadians Committee as a part of the general Canadian War Effort.

By this time it was estimated that between 30-40,000 Ukrainian Canadians served in the Canadian Armed Forces, and at least 250 of them were commissioned officers.²⁵

²³ Proceedings of the First Congress, p. 48.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

²⁵ W. Kirkconnell, Our Ukrainian loyalists, p. 27. Enquiries about the total number of enlistments for active service in Canada of the six largest ethnic groups: Anglo-Saxons, French, Ukrainian, German, Polish and Jewish were

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Taking an average of these two figures, the 35,000 would constitute over 11 per cent of the total Ukrainian population in Canada (The census of 1941 gave a total of 305,869 Ukrainian Canadians). The city of Winnipeg alone had at that time over 1500 Ukrainian Canadians in uniform, of which 21 were officers and 79 non-commissioned officers. By the time the First Ukrainian Congress was held in 1943 "thirty six of these men have been killed, ... missing or have been taken prisoners."²⁶

Some voices of criticism as to the treatment of Ukrainian Canadian soldiers by the higher authorities of the Armed Forces were also raised. Capt. Rev. W.S. Sawchuck pointed out that the incomplete information about commissioned and non-commissioned officers

tends to show that in this respect we do not rank in proportion to our numbers in the armed forces. It is interesting to note that Military District no. 12, comprising the Province of Saskatchewan leads all the Military Districts as to the number of Ukrainian Canadian officers... in the last two years about 45 Ukrainians were commissioned in that District.²⁷

made several times in the House of Commons but the Ministry of National Defence always stated that it would be too costly to keep such records.

26 Proceedings of the First Ukr. Can. Congress, p. 43.

27 Ibid., p. 51. See also Can. Parl. H. of C. Debates, June 8, 1943, p.3435.

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As to the officer rank in the army among the Ukrainian Canadians, W. Kossar stated that by June 1943 there were one Lieutenant-Colonel, five Majors, and 25 Captains ... In the Air Force two Ukrainians had the rank of Squadron Leaders, and at least one hundred Ukrainians were taking officers training courses at the Universities. There were also at least 15 doctors and dentists of Ukrainian origin serving with the army.²⁸ Of course it must be kept in mind that all this information does not represent a complete picture of Ukrainian participation in the Canadian Armed Forces since it was based on the data available in the first half of 1943. By the end of war this state of affairs must have been changed considerably in favour of the Ukrainian Canadians.

The Ukrainian Canadian participation in the Armed Forces was of a general interest to the Ukrainian Canadian community, to individual organizations, publishers and politicians in particular. Rev. Ihor Shpytkowsky, the editor of the BUC organ Buduchnist Natsiyi undertook the difficult task of checking through the casualty lists of the Armed Forces from 1939 to 1945 in search of the

28 Cf. Ibid., p. 43.

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Ukrainian names which were regularly published in this periodical. At the end of the war he published a book listing all the Ukrainian casualties

This casualty list, - he stated, - certainly is not complete on account of various reasons, the most important of which was the fact that many Ukrainian Canadians anglicized their names and thus made it impossible to identify them as Ukrainian.²⁹

Nevertheless out of this list it was possible to identify 3,830 Ukrainian names of soldiers killed, missing, wounded or those in P.O.W. camps. "Out of this casualty list some 1,696 or almost one half were killed or died of wounds."³⁰

The Ukrainian Canadian contribution to the Armed Forces is best illustrated by comparison with the Canadian Armed Forces as a whole. According to official statement, 1,086,771 Canadians served in the Armed Forces during the second World War. The 1941 Canadian census gives the number of the Canadian population as 11,506,665. Comparing the number of the Canadians in the Armed Forces it seems that 9.4 per cent of the total population wore uniforms. On the basis of the generally accepted statement that over 35,000 Ukrainian Canadians served as soldiers during the war, their proportion to the total of Ukrainian

29 I. Shpytkovsky, ed. *Al'manakh kanadiys'kykh ukrains'kykh voyakiv*, Vinnipeg, Buduchnist' Natsiyi, 1946, p. 119. 30 Ibid.

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Canadians would amount to over 11.4 per cent. In short, the Ukrainian Canadians were 2 per cent above the Canadian average. In comparison to the total Armed Forces they constituted 3.5 per cent, while the Ukrainian Canadians amounted only to 2.7% of the total Canadian population.

According to official statistics the Canadian Armed Forces suffered 41,992 fatal casualties during the war, which amounted to 3.8 per cent of Canadians in uniforms. At the same time, according to this incomplete list compiled by Rev. Shpytkovsky, fatal casualties among the Ukrainian Canadians amounted to 1,696 men, which constitutes 4.0 per cent of total Canadian casualties, or .2 per cent above the Canadian average. These 1,696 fatal casualties constituted 4.8 per cent of all Ukrainian Canadians serving in the Canadian Armed Forces, or 1 per cent above the Canadian average. There is no doubt that in this above average contribution to the Armed Forces, the role which Ukrainian organizations played in this Ukrainian Canadian contribution to the Armed Forces, both individually and collectively, under the name of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was of paramount importance.

4. The Red Cross and Victory Loans' Activity

But the vigorous propaganda for the enlistment in the Armed Forces was not the only activity to which the

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Ukrainian Canadian Committee in particular and the Ukrainian organizations in general dedicated all their attention. The Canadian Red Cross which went hand-in-hand with the Armed Forces received generous support from the Ukrainian Canadians, not only through the all-Canadian campaigns in which every branch of the UCC. and especially Ukrainian women organizations took an active part.³¹ Additional campaigns were conducted by the Ukrainian parishes of both Churches as well as the local organizations. This fact can be easily testified in the Annual reports of the Canadian Red Cross, Saskatchewan Division, which seems to be the only Province that listed individual miscellaneous contributions. Moreover, the Ukrainian organizations (Communists excluded) coordinated by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee organized concerts and other enterprises for the benefit of the Canadian Red Cross. Another field of Ukrainian Canadian Committee activity was in the campaigns of the Government sponsored Victory Loans. While the first Victory Loan was conducted almost a year before UCC was formed, the second

³¹ For instance, the Ukr. Canadian Women's Committee Toronto Branch reported its participation in the Red Cross campaign in April 1945 in the district assigned to them with a large Ukrainian population, collected over \$2,000 and received special recognition for the well organized job done ("Uchast' Zhinochoho KUK u zbirtsi na Chervonyi Khrest", Ukrains'kyi Robitnyk, no. 18, May 4, 1945, p. 8, col. 2-3.

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one was announced on Jan. 22, 1942. Soon after the Minister of War Services, J.T. Thorson sent a letter to Y.V. Arsenych, the secretary general of UCC, asking the Committee

to make an appeal to your members throughout Canada, urging them as members of Committees as potential purchasers of Victory Bonds to do their utmost to assure that the campaign will be an outstanding success.³²

This was an indirect recognition of the significance of the UCC in an all-Canadian effort to make the \$600 million drive a success and it received immediate response from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The Ukrainian Canadian community was never behind in all these drives but the crowning success was achieved in the fourth Victory Loan inaugurated on April 26, 1943 with a goal of \$1. billion. All Ukrainian newspapers under the leadership of UCC entered the campaign vigorously and the result was truly gratifying. One of the Ukrainian settlements managed to double its quota while many others were well above 100 per cent of the quotas assigned for them.³³

It is noteworthy that during the Loan drives, the government conducted vigorous publicity campaigns, appealing

³² Letter reprinted in Ukr. Holos, Vol. 32, No. 6, Feb. 11, 1942, p. 4, col. 4-5.

³³ Cf. Kirkconnell, Our Ukrainian loyalists, p. 27 and passim.

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to the public through the press, over radio and by means of various advertising. All this was done in the English language and therefore it was directed in particular to Anglo-Saxons. As far as the older Ukrainian generation of farmers was concerned who did not speak English, it was a lost effort and the propaganda among this kind of people was left to the Ukrainian newspapers which conducted official advertising in Ukrainian at their own expense.

The role of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and of the newspapers backing its policy could hardly be overestimated. As a result the Vice-president of the National War Finance Committee at the end of the campaign thanked one Ukrainian newspaper in Edmonton. (Ukrains'ki Visty?) for its help, thus recognizing its role in the campaign.

Your help to the Department that conducted the propaganda played a big part in presenting to the farmers the importance of the loan. It was the printing of appropriate material that brought such gratifying results.³⁴

There was a widespread and unceasing devotion to the Red Cross campaigns, sewing, knitting, packing parcels for overseas and conducting salvage campaigns. For example, the Ukrainian settlement of Myrnam, Alta., alone sent in several carloads of scrap metal and rubber.³⁵

³⁴ Quoted in Proceedings of the First Ukr. Can. Congress, p. ⁴⁴.

³⁵ W. Kirkconnell, Our Ukrainian loyalists, p. 28.

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Whatever relief action was inaugurated such as the Canadian War Service Fund of the Canadian Legion or War Victims Fund for the Britons, who suffered from German air raids, the Ukrainian Canadians always did their best to help those who were in need. It is practically impossible to state in figures the sum total of contributions of the Ukrainians to Canada's War Effort, because not all activity can be presented in statistics.

The attitudes of the Ukrainians during this present war, - stated W. Kossar, - is due mainly to those organizations which today are participating in the First Congress of the Ukrainian Canadians. By written word through their 12 newspapers, and also by means of pamphlets and books, by spoken word in their 656 churches, parishes and missions, through their 13 educational institutions, in their 405 community halls and through 1,429 other community centres throughout the rural and urban sections of Canada, these organizations have carried out constructive work among Canadians of Ukrainian origin.³⁶

The Ukrainian contribution to War Effort was well recognized by the English language press, by Canadian scholars, politicians, and all others who cared to study the activity of this ethnic group.

At the time when the Communist Ukrainians were trying to sabotage our War Effort at every turn, - wrote the Winnipeg Free Press, - the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was formed of the other elements ... It has done a real service to Canada ... 30 to 40 thousand young Ukrainians joined the Canadian Armed Forces, most of them long

³⁶ Proceedings of the First Ukr. Can. Congress, pp. 47-48.

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before Russia entered the war, is proof of the extent to which Canadianization has gone.³⁷

But perhaps the most exhaustive definition of the Ukrainian Canadian contribution to the War Effort was given by Mr. Paul Martin, Secretary of State in the Canadian Government, in his speech to the Second Congress of Ukrainian Canadians held in Toronto in June 1946. He said:

You and your sons have shown very clearly that you love this land of ours, that you are willing to sacrifice much - even all to defend this our country, our Canada. In the recent years you gave the equivalent of about two divisions to the Canadian Armed Forces. This is certainly magnificent when we consider that it was only 55 years ago that the first Ukrainian immigrant came to this country. In that comparative short time you have not only contributed much to the development of Canada but you have shown that you love this country, that you are willing to fight for it, and if necessary to lay down your lives in its defense.³⁸

Concluding his talk, Mr. Martin stated:
I cannot think of any phase of the war in which Canadians of Ukrainian descent were not taking an active part. By your actions in the war, you have shown ... that you love this, our Canada, and that you are worthy of being called Canadians.³⁹

The statement by the Secretary of State, Mr. P. Martin is a far cry from the statement made in the House of Commons by E.G. Prior in 1899.⁴⁰

³⁷ Editorial in Winnipeg Free Press, June 2, 1943 quoted in the Proceedings of the First Congress, p. 42.

³⁸ Proceedings of the Second Ukr. Can. Congress, Winnipeg, 1946, p. 44.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 45.

⁴⁰ See p. 4, (Chap. 1).

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The Ukrainians began to immigrate to Canada in the last decade of the nineteenth century and arriving "en masse" they were able to found their own distinct settlements in the Provinces and to continue their cultural and religious life. In addition to the hardships connected with the pioneering in the vast prairies of Canada, they encountered almost everywhere the hostile attitude of older settlers in their neighbourhood.

The majority of these immigrants came to Canada from Galicia where the Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest was generally a highly respected person and also a leader of his parish-community. Unfortunately, the Greek Catholic hierarchy in Galicia was not able to provide the masses emigrating to Canada with priests for their spiritual needs and they became, therefore, an easy prey for all kinds of religious sects among which the most active was the Presbyterian. Since these could not approach the Ukrainian immigrants directly because of the language barrier, they did it with the help of some Ukrainians, quite often very unscrupulous individuals eager to serve anybody who could provide them with a means of livelihood. In return they were willing to spread Protestantism in disguise among their countrymen. The Roman

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Catholic priests who began missionary work among Ukrainians were viewed with suspicion because they were associated with the Polish Roman Catholic priests in Ukraine who for centuries had endeavoured to convert them to the Roman Catholic Church and through it to polonize them.

The lack of Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests was also abused by some immigrants of socialist or even atheist convictions who did their best to destroy faith and confidence in the leadership of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy. Between 1905 and 1910 four different Ukrainian newspapers were founded and all of them were hostile toward the Catholic Church in general and toward the Greek Catholic Church in particular. It was only in 1911 that the first paper for the Ukrainian Catholics was founded by Adelard Angevin, the Roman Catholic bishop of St. Boniface. When finally in 1913 the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church was established, the harm done to the unity of Greek Catholics was already beyond repair. The socialist and sectarian activity had by now sown the seed of dissension on the religious issue and factionalism among the Ukrainian immigrants of Canada grew steadily. The slightest error of the Greek Catholic hierarchy was usually blown out of proportion and the conservative attitude of Bishop Budka with his lack of insight into the situation, undermined the

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prestige of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada.

The discriminatory policy of the Canadian Government during the First World War against all "aliens" and, most of all, against the Ukrainians as former Austrian citizens reinforced the centrifugal forces among them. At a time when unity was most essential for them to protect their own interests in Canada, as well as for them to give effective aid to the struggling Ukrainian people in Europe for their independence and freedom, the Ukrainian Canadians entered upon the most dangerous path of religious "warfare".

The inflow of new immigrants that followed after the First World War strengthened the process of national regeneration of Ukrainians in Canada but introduced a new dissension resulting from political ideologies. This in turn, promoted and hastened the process of the formation of large organizations of a Dominion-wide character. As a result, the 1920's and early thirties witnessed a complete transformation of the Ukrainian Canadian community from parishes and local Ukrainian institutions into five organizations. The oldest among them was the United Farmer-Temple Association which spread the Communist ideology imported from Moscow. The second oldest was the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League followed by the Ukrainian National Federation. The Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics was the

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youngest but the most numerous. The smallest of them all was the United Hetman Organization established in the twenties with an aim to promote Ukrainian royalist ideas. The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League was founded with a primary purpose to promote Ukrainian Canadianism and to cultivate the Ukrainian language and culture along with the Ukrainian Eastern Church rite in Canada. The Ukrainian National Federation set for itself a noble goal to unite all Ukrainian Canadians in order to give more effective aid to the Ukrainian liberation movement in Europe. To achieve its goal, the UNF preached religious tolerance similar to that among the Anglo-Saxons but unfortunately it lacked political tolerance toward other national minded organizations.

The pioneer of Ukrainian Canadian unity, however, was the USRL or rather its founders who published a Ukrainian newspaper Ukrainsky Holos since 1910 and who had attempted to bring about political unity starting from 1918, a unity which they themselves helped to destroy in the religious aspect. All their attempts proved to be futile since the majority of Greek Catholics refused to follow their lead, considering them untrustworthy because they ridiculed and tried to destroy the Church from which they themselves had separated.

In the late thirties when the UNF took the

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initiative in bringing together all the Ukrainian Canadian factions (except the Communists) in order to create a central representative and coordinating body, USRL did all it could to forestall this unity for fear that the UNF would take the leading role in Ukrainian political life in Canada.

In view of all these difficulties, the primary force in bringing about a united Ukrainian Canadian representation appeared to be Rev. W. Kushnir, the Chancellor of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada. He began his discussions with USRL and UHO on behalf of BUC with the idea of forming a representation out of the four Dominion-wide organizations. The fourth one was to be UNF, but it was strongly rejected by USRL which was willing to cooperate with BUC and, if necessary, with UHO, but never with UNF. Fruitless discussions were conducted for over a year starting in September 1938 but nothing was achieved. Disappointed, Rev. Kushnir turned then to UNF, which was willing to cooperate with every organization, except the Communist, for the sake of a united Ukrainian Canadian representation. In February 1940 the Representative Committee was formed consisting of BUC and UNF representatives, with vacant posts left for the eventual admission of USRL and UHO. In reply to this move USRL formed a Central Ukrainian Committee of its own with the help of UHO and LUO. In

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addition to them USRL was able to convince two local Winnipeg organizations to participate, which was not, however, consistent with a principle previously agreed upon that a central representative body should be formed by the Dominion-wide organizations only. By inviting LUO to participate in the formation of a central representative body, the USRL widened the gap between the RCUC and its own bloc, because LUO was neither a Dominion-wide organization nor a national-minded one in ideology.

The existence of two representative bodies was not a healthy phenomenon, nevertheless it reduced the multifactional discord to two opposing camps. Under public pressure and with the active aid of Canadian authorities, both these representative bodies fused into one, named the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, early in November 1940. The public response was nothing less than enthusiastic and resulted in the general cooperation of all Ukrainian organizations (Communist excepted) not only on the level of the Dominion Executives but even more so on the local level.

With the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee the activity of Ukrainian organizations was directed toward the War Effort although Ukrainian issues were not neglected. Since the war in Europe was going badly for the allies, it was imperative to give primary attention to the Canadian War Effort. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee,

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headed by Rev. Kushnir, conducted vigorous propaganda for voluntary enlistment in the Canadian Armed Forces, for the purchase of War Saving Bonds during the Victory Loans campaigns, and in all the activities of the Red Cross. The result was that over ten per cent of Ukrainian Canadians served in the Armed Forces which amounted to over 35,000 soldiers or about two divisions, as stated by the Minister of State, Mr. Paul Martin in 1946.

Such a loyal cooperation of the Ukrainian community lead by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was contrary to the expectations of some Canadian observers, - declared Professor Kirkconnell in his booklet The Ukrainian Canadians and the war, They believed that Ukrainian nationalism had left little room in the Ukrainian heart for Canada. Some of them suggested that these men were Ukrainian nationalists first, Ukrainian party zealots second, Ukrainian sectarians third and Canadian last, if at all.

It must also be pointed out that although the Ukrainian Canadian Committee conducted a propaganda campaign among the Ukrainians for the benefit of the War Effort, all expenses connected with it were paid either by the individuals concerned or from the UCC funds. The Government did not subsidize this work even to the extent of travel expenses.

But even here not everything went as smoothly as

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as one would have expected. Anglo-Saxon Canadians were unable to appreciate the Ukrainian Canadian contribution to the development of Canada and its War Effort and continued to practice a discriminatory policy against them not only in the political and economic life of Canada but even in the recruiting centres and in the Armed Forces. However, the Ukrainian national-minded citizens of Canada, lead by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, proved to be loyal citizens of Canada not only at the time when their historic enemy, Russia, was considered a hostile power, but even when the USSR became an ally of the Western powers. Even then Ukrainian Canadians contributed generously of their time, money and work to the War Effort, while their sons continued to fight on all the battlefields of the Second World War.

In view of all these significant results it is evident that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee justified its existence as a Canadian institution. However, its activity was not limited to Canadian issues only. It continued to support the struggle of the Ukrainian people in Europe for an independent and sovereign nation. When Ukraine turned into a battlefield of German and Russian imperialism, the Ukrainian people were silenced on the international forum. This activity was taken over and performed honourably by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

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On the other hand the existence of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has strengthened the Ukrainian Canadian community as an ethnic entity and promoted a better understanding between the Ukrainians and other ethnic groups of Canada. Furthermore, the formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee inaugurated the coordination of all Ukrainian activities. Since the UCC consisted of male organizations and, therefore, of male representatives, in 1944 according to a resolution of the first Ukrainian Canadian Congress held in 1943, the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee was founded, resembling in principle the UCC. For all practical purposes, it has been an independent body in the field of women's activities but in the political aspect it has always been an auxiliary body of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee served also as an example of unity for Ukrainian communities in Argentina and other countries. On the other hand, it stimulated more harmonious cooperation within the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the representative body of Ukrainians in the United States, which, although founded somewhat earlier than the UCC, had been for a while completely inactive. The influence of the UCC can be traced also in the Canadian foreign policy and in Canadian immigration policy. The UCC contributed a great deal to the humanitarian policy

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of the Canadian Government in the years after the war, especially in relation to the refugees from Communist dominated countries, among whom the Ukrainian refugees were in the most tragic position. While the United States Government and, in part, the British Government were willing to fulfill all the requests of their ally, the USSR, and to continue their policy of forced repatriation of all refugees, the Canadian Government under the pressure of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and other ethnic representations defended the principle of free choice for the refugees to repatriate or to emigrate to Western countries.

Furthermore, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, in addition to its political work, conducted an extensive relief work for the Ukrainian refugees through its affiliate organization, the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, formed early in 1945. All its activity in the political and humanitarian fields remains, as yet, unexplored, although the original sources are abundant and well preserved in the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's headquarters in Winnipeg. These two aspects deserve serious attention not only from the Ukrainian, but even more so from the all-Canadian point of view. The Ukrainian Canadians appeared during the second World War as a moving force among the other minor ethnic groups of Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian

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Committee had a much wider significance than its own community. To limit Canadian interest to the Anglo-Saxon and French groups would be to deny the right of self expression for about one third of all Canadians. Unfortunately, up till now this has been the general trend in Canadian universities as well as in federal and provincial agencies.

All these activities of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee deserve serious attention in order to evaluate the role of the Ukrainian community in Canadian life during the war and in the post-war period. This is also an excellent case study in how much a well organized and united ethnic group in Canada can influence and contribute to Canadian foreign and domestic policy in the name of freedom and democracy. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee in its war activity had done a commendable work and even more so in the post-war period, when it stimulated the Canadian Government to speak up in defense of those persecuted by the totalitarian regimes of Communist dominated countries.

As the years passed, the UCC grew in importance and prestige. This can be illustrated best by the increase of its member organizations, which by 1952 amounted to 27, among them veteran, professional, youth and even scholarly associations like the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences and the Shevchenko Scientific Society. It became a matter of prestige to be a member of UCC. The only Ukrainian

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Canadian organization which does not belong to UCC because of ideological grounds is the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, a Communist association formerly known as ULFTA. Another proof of the popularity and usefulness of UCC is shown by the rapid growth of its branches across Canada, from Halifax in Nova Scotia to Vancouver in British Columbia which by 1952 totalled 177 units.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee has honourably fulfilled its duties as a Canadian institution. It managed to transform the Ukrainian Canadian community into not only one of the best organized but also the most dynamic among all those groups which are termed the "third force" in Canadian political life. At the same time the Ukrainian Canadian Committee has bravely defended the interests of the Ukrainians under Russian imperialism and here also fulfilled its duty towards the submerged Ukrainian nation in Europe.

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1 Some of the articles which have self-explanatory titles to their contents, were not supplied with annotations.

THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE;
ITS ORIGIN AND WAR ACTIVITYABSTRACT

The Ukrainians began to emigrate to Canada in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Having been persecuted by foreign regimes in Ukraine, they set their heart on preserving their national identity and cultivating their cultural and linguistic heritage in Canada. They also wanted to help their brothers in the Old Country in their struggle for freedom. Unfortunately, the environment in Canada differed widely from that in Galicia, where the overwhelming majority of the immigrants came from, and they fell victim to their own internal dissension, based chiefly on the religious issue. The centrifugal forces were reinforced during the first World War, when the Canadian government introduced a discriminatory policy against former citizens of Austria-Hungary. The final split came in 1918, when the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was formally established.

Post-war immigrants intensified the existing dissension by introducing new political and ideological issues into the life of the Ukrainian community in Canada. At the same time, however, new ideologies produced also a centralizing tendency, which resulted in the formation of centralized Dominion-wide organizations. Thus, in 1927, the converts of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church formed

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the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL); in 1930, the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), based on Ukrainian nationalist ideology, was founded; and in 1932, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (BUC), as a Catholic lay organization, came into existence. The United Hetman Organization (UHO) was formed out of local groups, advocating monarchy for Ukraine, and the pro-Communist United Labor-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) was already in existence since the end of the war. Thus multi-factional discord was reduced to five groups, of which the first four were supporting Ukrainian liberation movement and thus differed from each other in strategy and tactics rather than in the final objective of their policy.

The introduction of new political and ideological issues intensified and embittered the existing religious differences and spread chaos and confusion among the Ukrainian community in Canada. By now it was becoming increasingly clear that, in order to protect their own interests in Canada and to bring an effective help to the Ukrainians in Europe, the Ukrainian Canadians must act in a united way and have a central coordinating body, which would represent all organizations except the Communists. Unfortunately, personal animosities prevented a united action and hindered the formation of a central representative body.

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Numerous conferences and discussions between individual organizations took place during the period 1938-1939. The main contest for leadership in the Ukrainian Canadian community was between the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and the Ukrainian National Federation. Early in 1940 the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians was formed out of BUC and UNF representatives, and later in the same year the USRL, acting together with UHO and three local organizations, founded its own Ukrainian Central Committee. In November 1940, the two Ukrainian representative bodies fused under the influence of the Canadian government into the one, named the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC).

The UCC directed all its activity toward the support of the Canadian war effort. It continued and coordinated the activities started by its constituent organizations and by the Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians, and its work was crowned by considerable success. Some 35-40,000 Ukrainian Canadians served in the Canadian Armed Forces, which amounted to over three and a half per cent of all Ukrainian Canadians, who comprised only 2.7 per cent of the total Canadian population. Similar successes were achieved in all other fields of war effort. Neither did the UCC neglect Ukrainian issues, thus proving that it was possible to reconcile

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loyalty for Canada with affection for the Old Country. The UCC gained a general recognition within its own community, enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian authorities, and exerted a great influence on other Ukrainian communities in the free world.

The research on the activities of the UCC and on the Ukrainian Canadian community as a whole can be regarded as a case study of the role, contribution, and significance of the so-called "third element" in the building of the Canadian nation, which has not yet received its due share of attention on the part of the Canadian authorities and Canadian academic institutions.

DECLARATION

of the Representative Committee, March 25, 1939

The grave danger to World Peace during the European crisis which resulted from internal minority problems in Czecho-Slovakia, has shown clearly to the Powers of Europe, as well as to the rest of the World, that minority problems within the artificial boundaries of post-war European states composed of several nationalities are dangerous sources of strife and are productive of great international conflicts. At this moment, we, the British citizens of Ukrainian origin, enjoying the privileges of free Government, feel that it is our supreme duty to raise our voice in the interest of World Peace, the British Empire, and a just and permanent solution of the Ukrainian problem. That problem involves the largest subjugated nationality in Europe of today. We are supported also by Canadian citizens who, though not of Ukrainian nationality, are friends of Ukrainian liberation.

The Ukrainian problem concerns the vital interests of over forty millions of Ukrainian people, a number equal to the population of France or Italy, who inhabit a solid area of more than one million square kilometers between the Carpathian and Caucasus Mountains in a great arc north of the Black Sea.

This entire territory and its people with state traditions dating from 862 A.D. were again united into one sovereign Ukrainian State by the Act of January 22nd, 1919, on the basis of the Wilsonian principle of self determination.

Blockaded and attacked from the North by Soviet Red armies, from the East by the Monarchist Russian armies of Generals Denikin and Wrangel, from the West by Poland, and from the South by the armies of Rumania, this newly created power in Eastern Europe, for three years without support from the Central Allied Powers, heroically endeavoured to defend its borders from these enemies and that at the same time to check the waves of Russian communism threatening Western Europe. However, under the weight of simultaneous and successive blows of overwhelmingly greater armies, and burdened with the outbreak of a deadly typhus epidemic, Ukraine finally collapsed before it was able to exert its stabilizing effect upon post-war Europe. This rich Ukrainian state, so important economically and

strategically, was nevertheless, partitioned, its people degraded to the level of "minorities" and divided between the nationally mixed powers, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Poland and the Soviet Union. By incorporating considerable parts of the Ukrainian territory and population within their political boundaries, all these states from the very beginning of their existence after the Great War and the Russian Revolution, became the breeding grounds of dangerous national struggles, oppressions, hatreds and fears, as well as potential sources of new world war.

During the past twenty years the Ukrainian people, under the four occupant powers have experienced various degrees of cultural, religious, economic and particularly political oppression, including mass pacifications and famine policies. Not the least of the grievances was the fact that this great nation was deprived, through censorship, suppression, and terrorism of an opportunity to speak freely of its Cause in the international forum.

It is for this reason that we, the citizens of Ukrainian origin in the free British Empire, together with the friends of the Ukrainian people in Canada, are moved on behalf of the Ukrainian Nation in Europe, to draw to the attention of the British Government and other World Powers the following points concerning the Ukrainian problem:

1. In the interest of the balance of power and of a lasting peace in Europe the creation of the Ukrainian Sovereign State in the spirit of the Acts of January 22nd, 1919, embracing all ethnographically Ukrainian territories, is a historic necessity of wide international significance.

2. The Ukrainian territories now within the political boundaries of Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Poland, and the Soviet Union, must be regarded as integral parts of the Ukrainian Cause as a whole.

3. To avoid further complications similar to that of the recent European crisis arising from the minority problems of Czecho-Slovakia, we strongly urge and earnestly request the Great Powers, signatories of the Munich Pact, to appoint without delay an International Commission for the final settlement of the Ukrainian problem in Europe.

This declaration has been endorsed by the representatives of the Dominion Executives of Ukrainian Organizations and Churches, members of the Dominion and Provincial Parliaments, and other prominent Canadians:

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Volodymyr Kossar, President of the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada.
The Right Rev. Basil Volodymyr Ladyka, Bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Canada.
Peter J. Lazarovich, President of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League.
The Most Rev. John Theodorovich, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America and Canada.
Dr. James Thomas Anderson, Ex-Premier of Saskatchewan.
Arthur L. Beaubien, Member of Parliament.
S.W. Calvert, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.
George E. Dragan, Ex-Member of the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan.
Theodor D. Ferley, Ex-Member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.
Nicholas A. Hryhorchuk, Ex-Member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.
Isidore Goresky, Ex-Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.
William Hayhurst, Member of Parliament.
J.S. Lamont, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.
William Lisowsky, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.
Michael Luchkovich, Ex-Member of Parliament.
James O. McLenghen, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.
Peter A. Miskew, Ex-Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.
James M. Popil, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.
Joseph T. Thorson, Member of Parliament.
William Tomin, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.
Walter A. Tucker, Member of Parliament.
William J. Ward, Member of Parliament.
Joseph Wawrykow, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.
Dmytro Yakymischak, Ex-Member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.
Orest Zerebko, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan.
Ernest C. Hope, Professor of Agricultural Economics, Univ. of Saskatchewan.
Edward La Pierre, Director Conservatoire National de Musique, Montreal University.
F.C. McCall, Principal, Alberta College.
The Right Rev. Gerald Murray, Bishop of Saskatoon.
James S. Thomson, President of the University of Saskatchewan.

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George W. Simpson, Professor of History, University of
Saskatchewan.

The Right Rev. Bohdan Shpylka, Bishop of the Ukrainian
Orthodox Church of America.

Nicholas Stuss, Chief Commissioner of United Hetmen
Organization.

Volodymyr Sikevich, Lieutenant General and former Attache
of the Ukrainian Legation in Budapest.

Appendix III

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Personal composition of the auxiliary bodies of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee established in 1940 and early 1941.

I. Co-ordinating Commission of the UCC:

Chairman: Wasyl Swystun.

Members: Rev. W. Kushnir, Rev. S.V. Sawchuk, Y.V. Arsenych, Dr. T. Datskiw, Myroslav Stechishin, Rev. S. Semchuk, Dr. Mykyta Mandryka, Prof. T.K. Pavlychenko and Orest Zerebko, (M.L.A. - Saskatchewan).

II. The Advisory Council:

consisting of standing members, one from each component organization and some co-opted members for the period of one calendar year.

a) The standing members were: T. Melnychuk (BUC) Myr. Stechishin (USRL), P. Barycky (UHO) and Prof. T.K. Pavlychenko (UNF).

b) Appointed members for one calendar year:

- 1) Parliamentarians: Anthony Hlynka, Member of Parliament; Nicholas V. Bachynsky (M.L.A. - Manitoba); Joseph Wawrykow, M.L.A. - Manitoba; William Lisowsky (M.L.A. - Manitoba); William Tomya (M.L.A. - Alberta) and James M. Popil (M.L.A. - Alberta).
- 2) Editors of the newspapers: Wasyl Dyky (Ukrainski Visty, Edmonton), Mykhaylo Hetman (Ukrainsky Robitnyk - Toronto), Michael Pohorecky (Novy Shliakh - Saskatoon).
- 3) Principals of the Ukrainian educational institutions: F. Gorchynsky (Petro Mohyla Institute - Saskatoon) Rev. Petro Kryvoruchka (Anfrey Sheptytsky Institute - Saskatoon), Ilya Kiriya (Mykhaylo Hrushevsky Institute - Edmonton), Brother Methodius, F.C.S. (St. Joseph's Seminary - Yorkton, Sask.)
- 4) Other outstanding citizens: Volodymyr Sikevich, former General of the Ukrainian Army, Julian Stechishin, President of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, Dr. Ivan Gulay, President of the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association, Nicholas Stuss, Chief Commissioner of the United Hetman Organization, O. Tarnowecy and Rev. Mykhailo Pelech.

III. The Honorary Council:

consisting of invited non-Ukrainian Canadians:

1. Prof. Watson Kirkconnell of the University of Manitoba.
2. Prof. George W. Simpson, of the University of Saskatchewan.

3. Joseph T. Thorson, Member of Parliament.
4. Walter A. Tucker, Member of Parliament.
5. Arthur Roebuck, Member of Parliament.
6. Charles G.H. Snider, a writer and editor of the Toronto Evening Telegram.