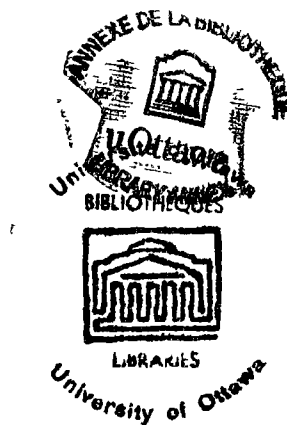


Ukrainian Canadian Youth: A History of Organizational  
Life in Canada  
1907-1953

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A Thesis submitted to the Department of History and the  
School of Graduate Studies of the University of Ottawa  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
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## PREFACE

### Statement of Problem

The main purpose of this study is to trace the histories of Ukrainian organizations in Canada which have played a major role in the development of Ukrainian Canadian youth.

### Statement of Sub-Problems

The study has four other purposes:

1. To show that in addition to various widely-accepted criteria for ethnic grouping, such as linguistic and cultural retention and religious differentiation, that there was yet another factor which has influenced the development of the organizational life of young Ukrainian Canadians--a phenomenon commonly known as Ukrainian nationalism. An attempt was made to demonstrate, through the examination of the origins of the various organizations, the complexity and outgrowths of this concept in Canada. The point here is to suggest that Ukrainian nationalism in Canada has not been monolithic; it has been influenced by various political ideologies such as democracy, totalitarianism, facism, communism, monarchism, republicanism and socialism.
2. To examine the involvement of each organization in the area of Ukrainian national activity.
3. To clarify the relationships, or the lack thereof, among the various Ukrainian youth organizations which exist on Canadian soil.
4. To indicate that repressive events in Ukraine and subsequent emigrations have continued to focus the attention of second and third

generation Ukrainian Canadians upon the prevailing cultural and political atmosphere in Ukraine; and further, to postulate that such attentiveness has allowed nationalism to remain a viable concept among some of the young Ukrainian Canadians today. In short, to show the validity of the statement made by Timothy Byrne in 1937 that "it may be through youth organizations that Ukrainian nationalists will leave a permanent stamp on Ukrainian Canadian society".<sup>1</sup>

### Delimitations of the Study

This study deals primarily with the origins of organizations which were formed to influence, develop and serve the needs of Ukrainian Canadian youth. More attention is given to those organizations which evolved into dominion-wide structures. The first such was the Union of Ukrainian Labour Youth (Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Robitnychoyi Molodi). This organization later expanded to become the Youth Section of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (Tovarystvo Ukrayinskay Robitnycho-Farmerskay Dim). The next major entry was the establishment of the Canadian Sitch Organization. The 1930's witnessed the rapid expansion of organizational life among young Ukrainian Canadians with the creation of three major bodies--Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady--SUMK), Ukrainian Catholic Youth (Ukrayinske Katoletske Yunatstvo--UKYu) and Ukrainian National Youth Federation (Molodi Ukrayinski Natsionalisty--MUN). Following World War II another trio emerged--the Ukrainian Organization Plast, Ukrainian Youth Association (Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--SUM), and Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association

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<sup>1</sup>T.Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North Central Alberta" (M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1937), p.68.

(Obyednannya Demokratychnoyi Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--ODUM). By 1953 the leadership of these groups was examining the possible routes of coordination and succeeded in establishing the Ukrainian Youth Council of Canada (Rada Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady--RUMK).

Attention is also focused on the student life of Ukrainian Canadians. To a large degree, its development into organized forms preceded those of the broader-based youth organizations. Indeed, many of them had direct influence upon the creation of the general interest youth groups. These student associations also united in 1953 to create the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Studentiv Kanady--SUSK).

No attempt was made to present the complete history of each organization under review. Such a task is beyond the scope of a single study. Nevertheless, in addition to the background and the origins of each organization treated, major ideological changes were evaluated in light of their effects on this study's sub-problems. Nor does this study attempt to discuss the Ukrainians' attitudes toward their newly adopted home--Canada. Ukrainians on the whole accepted Canadian political institutions, and with the exception of a small vocal communist element, remained relatively loyal to Canada during crisis periods. The degrees of their loyalty and the methods of their expression of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with Canada's institutions and the Canadian way of life might be a valuable thesis topic for another student.

### Basic Assumptions

Ukrainian immigrants to Canada after 1891 did not intend to break all ties with Ukraine, nor did they forget the political and religious oppression of their background. Canada afforded a political and cultural freedom which

aided the fostering of their national consciousness and crystalized their aims of Ukrainian cultural and linguistic development.

The struggle for independence in Ukraine during the 1917-1920 period focused Ukrainian Canadian attention overseas and gave rise to Ukrainian nationalism in Canada. The acceptance of this nationalism by Ukrainian Canadians was also augmented by the arrival of the second wave of Ukrainian immigrants who had taken active participation in the establishment and defence of the Ukrainian state. The new arrivals brought with them new politics which helped further fragment the community. In addition to the religious dissension which plagued the Ukrainian Canadian community, the people were now polarized by the political factions propagated by the various nationalist elements in Canada. The various forms of nation-state espoused by the various organizations and the degree of commitment to Ukraine served as the basis for intense conflict during the 1930's.

The period of the second world war brought with it increased harmony among the majority of Ukrainian Canadian organizations especially after the formation of a coordinating body—Ukrainian Canadian Committee. However, the war also produced a violent split in the nationalist organizations in Ukraine, a split which saw its continuation in Canada with the arrival of the third wave of Ukrainian immigration.

Throughout this study nationalism was not viewed as a negative concept; although in its extreme, and combined with a totalitarian philosophy of power, nationalism can be very intolerant. Nationalism and particularly Ukrainian nationalism in its various manifestations has had numerous positive attributes which will be presented in the development of the study.

### Need for the Study

Current interest in Canadian bilingualism and biculturalism and the successful demands led to a large degree by the Ukrainian organizations on behalf of Canadian multiculturalism underscore the relevance of a historical study of Ukrainian organizational life in Canada. Since many public manifestations were conducted predominantly by numerous Ukrainian Canadians of second and third generation, the significance of the cohesion and strength of the youth and student organizations in the community becomes evident.

These same youthful groups have not limited their interests only to the socio-cultural inequities within Canada. The majority of them have maintained a keen interest in the sphere of Canadian-Soviet relations, and have upheld the need for respecting the human rights of numerous Ukrainian intellectuals who have faced political persecution and imprisonment. Despite abundant evidence brought to public light by these organizations depicting the infringement of basic human rights the cold reality of the Soviet Regime did not touch Canadian intellectuals until the expulsion of the Nobel Peace Prize holder--Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn. Nevertheless, despite the intense interest of Ukrainian youth organizations in both the internal and external affairs of the Canadian nation, little is known about them and even less has been written. The *raison d'être* and the development of these youth organizations has been virtually overlooked by historians and sociologists alike.

Another area that has been left untouched by the academic community is the role of Ukrainian nationalism in the historical development of the Ukrainian population in Canada. Studies on Ukrainians in Canada have been limited to the examination of the roles of assimilation, integration and "canadianization" of these people. Yet nationalism, which developed later in

Eastern Europe than it did in Western Europe, had a more pronounced effect upon the Slavic peoples who migrated to Canada than other immigrant groups. Ukrainians provide an example of a people whose own lately burgeoning nationalist spirit was fairly typical of the genre of East European Nationalism. Ukrainian immigration movements also provide extreme examples of a people whose nationalism without autonomy has had long lasting effects on their organizational life in Canada. Possessing a lively sense of national identity, the Ukrainian Canadians still take a critical approach to Soviet politics and hold dear the concept of an independent Ukrainian state. To this extent, the Ukrainian Canadians find themselves in a relatively unique situation. Their political interests are closely interconnected with cultural and linguistic aspirations. Furthermore, unlike the majority of ethno-cultural groups in Canada, the Ukrainian Canadians have not had and do not have recourse to cultural support from their mother land--Ukraine. Because of the ideological and political curtain which surrounds the Soviet Ukraine, free inter-action between the Ukrainian Canadian community and the Soviet Ukraine has been greatly limited. Therefore, Ukrainian nationalism has struck deep into the psychological substance of the people, and has been capable of stimulating an enthusiasm not easily aroused by most other influences. In the past three-quarters of a century Canada has seen numerous Ukrainian political programs which have attracted a devoted following and have had an impact on many formal youth organizations.

#### Review of Related Literature

There has been virtually no study of the Ukrainian Canadian youth movements by students or scholars in any discipline. References to the subject in related organizational histories and secondary references are

brief and often partisan. Histories of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association and the Ukrainian Youth Association have been written by Natalka Kohushka and Mykola Figol, respectively. Theirs are excellent general accounts of the key aspects of the organizations' backgrounds and traditions. Unfortunately, their references are undocumented and, since they were writing for anniversary celebrations, their treatments are uncritical. None of the other Ukrainian youth organizations have of this date had their histories written.

Background information for Ukrainian activities in Canada can be obtained from a number of studies which concentrated on the problem of Ukrainians in Canada. As a result of their intensive organizational activities during the depression years, the Ukrainians came under scrutiny from two focal points: the problem of their assimilation and the problem of their nationalism. The Ukrainians were difficult to assimilate and this resulted in a vicious circle of discrimination. They were discriminated against because they were not assimilated, but one of the reasons why they did not assimilate was because they were discriminated against. A reason for their unassimilability was their intense nationalism. Against this background numerous sociological studies were written by C.H. Young, T.C. Byrne, L. Bercuson and J.M. Deverell.<sup>2</sup>

Without doing justice to the historical background of nationalism and its politics as a powerful force, these studies were content to prove that, in as much as nationalist organizations served as psychological stabilizing forces for the immigrants, they were valuable stepping stones in the promotion

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<sup>2</sup>See SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY for details on the sources consulted.



of assimilation. On the other hand, many viewed the spirit of Ukrainianism as the most dangerous and detrimental force to Canada's national progress and believed that the eventual and complete fusion of Ukrainian people with other stocks in Western Canada was a social and a political necessity.

Later studies of the Ukrainian Canadian community dealt with specific aspects of their existence: V.J. Kaye wrote about immigration, P. Yuzyk about the two Ukrainian churches, H. Pinuita about various Ukrainian organizations and W. Verycha about the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. In the last few years some general textbooks have been published which provide interesting data about Ukrainians in Canada but very minimal information about the youth groups; two of the more widely known are by O. Woycenko and M.H. Marunchak.

#### Sources of Data

The most valuable primary sources utilized in this study were those acquired by the National Ethnic Archives program of the Public Archives of Canada. The records of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada, Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association and the papers of Walter J. Bossy were invaluable in terms of research information. Private collections were also consulted. Mrs. T. Horochowych and Mr. M. Figol assisted with the Plast and the Ukrainian Youth Association records, respectively; both of which are located in Toronto. Various individuals such as Senator P. Yuzyk, Dr. B.R. Bociurkiw, Mr. W. Wakulowsky granted me access to vital material in their possession. Unfortunately, the archives of the National Executives of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth, the Sitch and the Youth Section of TURF Dim were impossible to locate.

The Ukrainian newspapers published in Canada were a major source of information. Both the National Library in Ottawa and the Ukrainian Cultural

Educational Centre in Winnipeg have excellent holdings. Ukrayinski Holos and Sumkiivski Holos provided a wealth of information on the early student residences and the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association. Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visti, Svit Molodi and Boyova Molod were invaluable for the Union of Ukrainian Labour Youth and the Youth Section of Ukrainian Farmer-Labour Temple Association. Kanadiyski Ukrayinets was central to the study of early years of the Sitch, as were also Novy Shliakh and Holos Molodi for the Ukrainian National Youth Federation. Buduchnist Natsiyi was a major source of information on the Ukrainian Catholic Youth. For information on the Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association Moloda Ukrayina was helpful as was Na Vatri and Homin Ukrainy for the Ukrainian Youth Association. The Plastovy Visnyk served as a major source for the early years in Plast. Formal and informal interviews with a number of community and youth leaders supplemented and clarified the other information obtained on organizational relationships and problems.

Organizations in the Ukrainian community have published numerous jubilee books, almanacs, calendars and pamphlets commemorating various anniversaries or special events. Many of these shed much light on the activities of the Ukrainian Canadian community. They are not all catalogued, however, and are scattered in numerous holdings across Canada such as the St. Andrew's College Library in Winnipeg and the Ukrainian National Federation Library in Toronto. Many others, held by the University Libraries of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ottawa, as well as the National Library and the Public Archives Library, are available on interlibrary loan.

Aside from the study on Ukrainian Nationalism by J.A. Armstrong other published English-language secondary sources played but a minor role in the preparation of this paper. Many of the unpublished theses listed in this

bibliography were found to be helpful in their interpretation of the problems faced by the Ukrainians in Canada.

### Method of Procedure

In treating this study certain structural divisions presented themselves which best indicated the trends in the developmental process of the Ukrainian Canadian community vis a vis its younger members. The chapters and their contents are arranged in a somewhat chronological order. The first chapter concentrates on the period prior to the end of the first world war. Efforts are made to portray the initial difficulties of creating an organized community life and to show that the major force behind the growth of national consciousness among the youth was the teaching profession. The chapter also traces the conflict between nationally oriented members of the community and the Catholic Church over the jurisdiction of student control. The latter part of the chapter depicts the role of Ukrainian national consciousness in the organized Ukrainian student life in Canada.

Chapter Two traces the growth of the concept of nationalism in Ukraine and the support it received from Ukrainian political parties in the establishment of an independent Ukrainian nation-state. The failure of the Ukrainian Revolution resulted in a large exodus of Ukrainian politicians, intellectuals and war veterans, many of whom found refuge in Canada. With them came an intense spirit of nationalism and the desire to continue the struggle. The chapter then examines the rise of two powerful youth groups in the period up to the depression which radically differed in their views towards Ukraine. The Youth Section of Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association gradually swung into the Communist camp, while the Ukrainian Sporting Sitch Association of Canada adopted a pro-Hetmanite, or monarchist stand.

The third chapter analyzes the organizational development of that segment of Ukrainian youth which attended Canadian educational institutions. The formation of student clubs, some of which united to form centralized associations had significant impact on the formation of other Ukrainian youth organizations. The chapter examines the origins of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association and its position on religious and political matters. The Ukrainian National Youth Federation organized soon afterwards, stressed the political independence of Ukraine. Finally, just prior to WWII, the Ukrainian Catholic Youth concentrated its efforts on promoting Ukrainian Catholicism in Canada.

Chapter four relates the events which gave rise to a further complexity in the nationalist ideology during and after the second world war. The third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, arriving from displaced persons camps in Europe did not integrate into the existing Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations. They found that they had little in common with them and consequently established other associations. The political struggles in Ukraine again played a major role in polarizing Ukrainian youth into three camps, which produced three distinct organizations. The chapter treats Plast, the Ukrainian Youth Association and the Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association individually.

The final chapter discusses the events leading to and the creation of two coordinating bodies for all of these national organizations. Both the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union and the Ukrainian Youth Council of Canada were formed in 1953.

### Definitions of Terms Used

A minor difficulty, but a troublesome one, must be dealt with at the outset of this study. I refer to the conflicting uses and connotations of the words "nation", "nationality" and "nationalism". If an attempt is to be made to comprehend and eventually judge the phenomena which these words express, a common understanding of what they mean and how they are related to one another must be sought.

The word "nation" as derived from the Latin "natio" meant birth or race and signified a tribal or social grouping based on real or fancied community of blood and presupposed presumably unity of language. A study by C.J.H. Hayes noted that since the seventeenth century "nation" has been employed by "jurists and publicists to describe the population of a sovereign political state, regardless of any racial or linguistic unity".<sup>3</sup> It was in part to atone for the abuse of the word "nation" that the word "nationality" was coined in the early part of the nineteenth century. "Nationality" was used in reference to "a group of persons speaking the same language and observing the same customs".<sup>4</sup> As used in this paper nationality will rest on cultural foundations and will designate a group of people who speak the same language, who cherish common historical traditions, and who constitute a distinct cultural society in which among other factors, religion and politics may have played important though not necessarily continuous roles. Nationality may exist without political unity, that is, without an organized sovereign

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<sup>3</sup>C.J.H.Hayes, Essays on Nationalism, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), p.4.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

state of its own. This concept is extremely important in understanding the position of Ukrainians in Canada; Hayes summed up the concept: "a national state is always based on nationality, but a nationality may exist without a national state. A state is essentially political; a nationality is primarily cultural and only incidentally political".<sup>5</sup>

The word "nationalism" has acquired several shades of meaning since its appearance in the European vocabulary. In the first place it describes "an actual historical process", that of establishing nationalities as political units—national states.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, the term indicates the theory, principle, or ideal implicit in the actual state-building process. In this sense it signified both an intensification of the consciousness of nationality and a political philosophy of the national state. Thirdly, it may mean the activities of a particular political party, such as the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization, in combining a historical process with a political theory. The fourth and final use is to denote "a condition of mind" among members of a nationality in which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and in its "mission" are integral parts.<sup>7</sup>

#### Transliteration of Ukrainian

In the text and the bibliographies a modified Library of Congress system of transliteration is followed but without diacritical marks and ligatures. The principal departure from the accepted pattern is: the letters є, й, ю, я, і which are transliterated as ye, y, yu, ya, yi (not fê, ĭ, îu, îâ, î).

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p.5.

<sup>6</sup>K.W.Deutsch, Nationalism & Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966), p.24.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p.16.

# Table of Transliteration<sup>8</sup>

а	a	к	k	ш	sh
б	b	л	l	щ	shch
в	v	м	m	ю	yu
г	h	н	n	я	ya
г	g	о	o	ь	omitted
д	d	п	p		
е	e	р	r		
є	ye	с	s		
ж	zh	т	t		
з	z	у	u		
и	y	ф	f		
й	y	х	kh		
і	i	ц	ts		
ї	yi	ч	ch		

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<sup>8</sup>V.Kubijovyc (ed). Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia. Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Ukrainian National Association, 1971, vol.2. p.xxxvi.

## CHAPTER I

### UKRAINIAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

#### Immigration and Early Associations

##### First Ukrainians

Wasył Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiw slowly descended from the deck of the steamship "Oregon" onto the firm ground at Montreal. The date was the 7th of September, 1891. Their journey from Nebiliw, Galicia had just ended; their journey through Canada, about to begin.

Although Ukrainian Canadian historians have accepted the above date as the cornerstone of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, research of a historical nature has brought to light facts and theories that Ukrainians were in Canada prior to 1891. In 1813, there came to Canada a military group which had fought on the side of England from 1801 on various fronts. This group known as the "De Meurons" or the "De Watteville" soldiers had accompanied the Lord Selkirk expedition to the Red River Valley in 1817. The Polish historian Mieczysław Haiman, who had access to the archives of the Ministry of Defence in London asserted that there were Ukrainians in the regiment.<sup>1</sup>

In 1874, the Mennonites arrived in Canada from Ukraine as did many Jews in 1882. Both of these national groups spoke Ukrainian and were drawn to the Ukrainians by a common fate of social and national oppression. Along with these groups, some Ukrainians emigrated to Canada under their cover to avoid

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<sup>1</sup>P.Yuzyk, Slavistica (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1955), no.24, p.26.



political persecution at the hands of the Tsarist Police. The possibility also exists that Ukrainians arrived from the United States; data in the Winnipeg Church of the Immaculate Conception whose parochial birth certificates date from 1883, contain many Ukrainian names.<sup>2</sup>

In 1891, thirty-three families followed the footsteps of Eleniak and Pylypiw. Known as the "Nebyliw Group", they came from the village of Nebyliw, District of Kalush in Galicia and formed a permanent settlement on Canada's prairies. From this date historians and sociologists have been able to trace definite patterns of group survival and history.

#### Factors for Emigration

There were numerous factors which made emigration not only desirable but necessary. In Galicia, political, social and economic conditions were anything but favourable for the Ukrainian population. After Austria's humiliating defeat by Prussia at Sadowa in 1866, the Habsburg monarchy gave the Poles in Galicia supremacy over the Ukrainians in return for their promise of loyalty. The Poles, centuries-old enemies of the Ukrainian people, took advantage of every opportunity to further their own interests and grossly discriminated against them.<sup>3</sup>

The oppression of Ukrainians in the province of Bukovina and in Ukraine was analogous to that in Galicia. In Bukovina, the Rumanians controlled the administration and suppressed the Ukrainian populace. In Ukraine, the policy

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<sup>2</sup>M.H.Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), p.25.

<sup>3</sup>P.Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), p.26.

of the Russian Empire was to eliminate all forms of Ukrainianism. Whereas the Austro-Hungarian Empire restricted the "inducements" made to their subjects to emigrate, Russia positively prohibited its subjects from leaving.

#### Mass Immigration

The emigration to Canada started by Eleniak and Pylypiw did not immediately achieve great proportions. Pylypiw upon his return to the old country was arrested for his attempts to persuade his fellow villagers to leave for Canada. Moreover, conservative circles among the Ukrainians did not believe that the massive emigration was favourable to Ukrainian interests in Galicia. At that time other national groups as well as land speculators were taking advantage of the land sales resulting from those Ukrainians emigrating to South America.

The "Prosvita" society (Society for Enlightenment) advocated the necessity of emigration because the overpopulation in Galicia and Bukovina was critical. As one of the "largest agricultural societies of the Ruthenian nation in Galicia" they established cooperatives to prevent the transfer of villagers' lands to other than Ukrainian ownership.<sup>4</sup> This society also took upon itself the task of stopping the Galician emigration to Brazil and of directing it elsewhere. Ukrainians who were enticed to migrate to Brazil found themselves on plantations replacing the black labour which had been freed by the abolition of slavery.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Department of Interior, Record Group 76, File 22312, Dr.J.Oleskow, Lemberg Austria to the High Commissioner for Canada, London, May 14, 1895.

<sup>5</sup>Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, p.29.

On April 1, 1895, the Department of the Interior in Ottawa received a letter written in German from "Prof. Dr. Joseph Oleskow, Lemberg, Golebia Gasse 11A, Galizien, Austria," dated March 16, 1895.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Oleskiw who belonged to the cultural-educational society "Prosvita" requested information about Canada and intimated the possibility of directing a mass migration of Ukrainian farmers to Canada. He also noted that he "would come to Canada to survey places suitable for mass settlement of emigrants".<sup>7</sup>

With the information obtained from the Department of Interior and from various local sources Dr. Oleskiw prepared a 38 page pamphlet entitled "About Free Lands", published at the expense of "Prosvita" in July, 1895.

The favourable reception and treatment of Dr. Oleskiw during his inspection of Western Canada encouraged his efforts to direct emigration to Canada. Upon his return he published his second pamphlet "About Emigration" and organized his first group of agriculturalists for Canada.<sup>8</sup> On April 30, 1896, 107 Ukrainian farmers arrived in Quebec, and Canadian immigration authorities were convinced that Oleskiw could provide Canada with Ukrainian agriculturalists.<sup>9</sup>

The resulting massive and continuous influx of Ukrainian emigrants into Canada was largely due to the efforts of Dr. Oleskiw to redirect Galicia's

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<sup>6</sup>PAC, Dept. of Interior, RG76, Vol. 50, File 21103

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>V.J.Kaye, Early Settlements in Canada (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), p.15.

<sup>9</sup>P.M.Migus, "The Politics of Immigration: Early Attempts to Restrict the Ukrainian Mass Immigration into Canada, 1895-1906" (Graduate Research Paper, University of Ottawa, 1972), p.17.

emigration flow, and was only interrupted by the First World War. Clifford Sifton's policy of accepting and inducing agriculturalists regardless of their nationality also intensified the efforts of various steamship companies' booking agents.<sup>10</sup> Located at various steamship ports, they received a "bonus" of five dollars for each agriculturalist whom they could direct to the Canadian West.

### Statistical Analysis

It is difficult to determine the exact number of Ukrainians in Canada prior to the First World War. Although most of the Ukrainians who arrived were illiterate, "A considered proportion of the immigrants were peasants of means, and in their number was an admixture of the descendents of a very old, but in the course of centuries impoverished gentry".<sup>11</sup> For the most part they called themselves "Rusyny" which was generally interpreted as Ruthenian or Russian. The diverse nomenclature of the Ukrainian ethnic group caused problems for immigration officials who designated them according to the name of the region from which they originated or from the nation in power. "Bukovinian" and "Galician" were politico-geographical designations applied generally to Ukrainians, whereas "Ruthenian" and "Ukrainian" were ethnic designations. Polish, Austrian, Roumanian, Russian and Hungarian were other terms denoting state which were also used to describe Ukrainian arrivals.

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp.20-22.

<sup>11</sup>Kaye, Early Settlements, p.xiv.

The first wave of Ukrainian immigration lasted from 1896 to 1914. Most of the Ukrainians who arrived during this period settled on the western prairie frontier in colonies scattered along an approximately diagonal line extending in a north-westerly direction from the south-west corner of Manitoba, to the Peace River country in north-western Alberta. In increasing numbers they took up homesteads and company lands, mostly of secondary quality, alongside the newly constructed local railway lines.

The following comparison of immigration statistics illustrates the tempo of increase in the volume of Ukrainian immigration:

Year	Number of Persons of Galician Origin Who Arrived <sup>12</sup>	Total Immigration Figures for Canada
1893	254	29,633
1894	616	20,829
1895	489	18,790
1896	1,275	16,835
1897	4,999	21,717
1898	5,509	31,900
1899	7,276	44,543
1900	<u>6,618</u>	<u>41,681</u>
Totals	27,036	225,928

By 1902 separate statistics were collected for the Bukovinians.<sup>13</sup>

Year	Bukovinians	Galicians
1902-1903	1,759	8,382
1903-1904	1,578	7,729
1904-1905	1,123	6,926

The figures continued to increase until they reached over 20,000 in 1907, at which approximate rate the influx of new settlers continued to the

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<sup>12</sup>PAC, Dept. of Interior, RG76, File 139859, J.Obed Smith to Dept. of Interior, Winnipeg, February 1, 1901.

<sup>13</sup>Parliament, House of Commons, Journals 1906 (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1906) p.491.

fall of 1914.<sup>14</sup> Despite the nomenclature difficulties, the Department of Immigration indicated that no less than 170,000 Galicians, Bukovinians and Ruthenians entered Canada prior to the war. With the addition of the Ukrainians designated by other terms, a figure of 200,000 becomes more acceptable.

### Native Reaction

With the arrival of ever-increasing numbers of Galician and Bukovinian immigrants to Canada a defensive nativism developed in many sectors of Canadian society, despite the general confidence that was felt in British institutions. The issue of their "desirability" was fundamental to the controversy which surrounded this national group. Opposition to Ukrainian immigration came from the British segment of Canada's population, as well as from the French; from the Conservative members of the House of Commons and the Conservative press as well as from various prairie Liberals and their press; and finally, criticism of Sifton's policy came from his own Deputy Minister and his appointed immigration officials.

Opposition to Ukrainians began early in 1896 when the first trainloads arrived on the prairies. The reaction of the Winnipeg NorWester was one of social shock to the arrival of strangely sheep-skin clothed, haggard-looking foreigners, who neither spoke nor understood the English language nor had anything in common with the British peoples.<sup>15</sup> English Canadians worried that their illiteracy and poverty would drag down the cultural level of the native Canadians and would undermine Anglo-Saxon institutions. Immigration

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<sup>14</sup>C.H.Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Thomas & Son, 1931), p.41.

<sup>15</sup>Nor-Wester, Winnipeg, December 23, 1896.

of foreign elements was generally acceptable as long as it was numerically small in comparison to British arrivals and as long as the foreigners expressed the desire to assimilate into the English milieu. Ukrainians defied all pre-requisites of acceptability. They came in conspicuously large groups, they settled in compact communities, they were Catholic, their customs and language could not be understood, even by the few who made an effort to do so; as a result prejudicial barriers grew around these people.

Galician immigration was opposed by French Canadians although not as vehemently as by the English. The French Canadian, Arthur Buies, a Quebec publicist, as early as 1899, established the theme which opposed all forms of non-French immigration. He argued as later did Henri Bourassa, that governmental immigration policy was aimed at diminishing the quantitative importance of the French in Canada. By encouraging foreign immigrants, which would assimilate with the English society, Sifton's immigration policy was viewed as anti-French.<sup>16</sup>

The most intensive anti-Galician campaign was raised by the Conservative Party. Looking for an issue with which to defeat the Liberal Party during the election of 1900, the Conservative press heaped its wrath on Galician immigrants in denouncing Sifton's policy of encouraging foreign immigration.<sup>17</sup>

Even Liberal members of parliament did not subscribe to Sifton's policy of bringing in Galicians. The chief opponents came from the west, where the

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<sup>16</sup>R.Morin, L'Immigration au Canada (Montreal: Editions de l'Action Nationale, 1966), p.10.

<sup>17</sup>The Citizen, Ottawa, December 21, 1898.

majority of Galicians had settled. Under the vocal leadership of Frank Oliver, a Member of Parliament from Alberta, Sifton's policies were continuously re-examined, and a continuous debate was carried on between the various Liberal papers on the prairies.<sup>18</sup>

By 1899, attempts were made to restrict Galician immigration by withdrawing the "bonus" paid for their entry to Canada.<sup>19</sup> Finally, restrictions on European immigration embodied in the Immigration Acts of 1906 and 1910 resulted from the partial success of the anti-oriental movement combined with continuing objections to Galicians, Doukhobors and other foreigners on the part of a "strange alliance of Conservatives, French Canadian nationalists, labour organizations and some Liberals like Frank Oliver".<sup>20</sup>

Not all native Canadians were opposed to the new arrivals. Churches, patriotic organizations and various service organizations were actively engaged in social-education programs designed to assimilate the newcomer. Among these the YMCA, YWCA, IODE, National Council of Women, Council of Friendship of Native and Foreign-Born Canadians, Canadian Girls in Training, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Big Brother and Big Sister Organizations and Frontier College attempted "canadianization" work among the "foreigners", including promotion of language classes and sports activities.<sup>21</sup> Many of

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<sup>18</sup>Edmonton Bulletin, March 30, 1899.

<sup>19</sup>PAC, Clifford Sifton Papers, Manuscript Group 27 II D 15, Vol. 66, McCreary to Sifton, April 20, 1899.

<sup>20</sup>H.D. Palmer, Land of the Second Chance (Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald, 1972), p.74.

<sup>21</sup>J.M. Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938), pp.413-425.



those involved did not view the immigrants disparagingly but saw their own activities as fighting social problems and helping the immigrants to fit into Canadian society. Howard Palmer, however, noted that of the general society "few believed that the immigrants might have something more than their physical labour to offer Canada".<sup>22</sup>

#### Early Ukrainian Associations

The Ukrainians who arrived in Canada in this first wave of immigration had no experience in coping with the sociological problems of their new life. As peasants, they had come with a culture more or less intact, with sentiments, attitudes and customs already established, and with a complex pattern of associations.

Unable to communicate because of the language barrier, perplexed by the new environment, distressed by loneliness and by a yearning for the native land, the pioneer Ukrainian settlers were driven to social activities in which they could find sympathy and help in solving their problems.

Indeed the tendency to segregate into ethnic blocs was natural and universal.<sup>23</sup> Men everywhere were more at home with those who spoke their language, who shared their traditions, and who were given an alien status by members of other societies. Groups were formed on the basis of old associations, and there came into being what may be termed a Ukrainian Canadian society; "neither Ukrainian nor Canadian, but with features of both--a marginal society with institutions peculiar to itself--its roots in the soil of

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<sup>22</sup>H.D.Palmer, "Nativism & Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta" (Ph.D. Dissertation, York University, 1970), p.75.

<sup>23</sup>C.A.Dawson & E. Younge, Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1940), p.36.

the Ukraine but its structure and content increasingly modified in their adoption to the new situations".<sup>24</sup>

All of the first Ukrainian immigrants were familiar with the village church. As they aimed to preserve their spiritual past, soon after arrival they began forming congregations and erecting church buildings. O. Woycenko noted that their preoccupation with church matters overshadowed all other activities in the socio-cultural field, and impeded the growth and development of secular organizations.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the church not only attended to the spiritual welfare of its followers, but often to the cultural, social, economic, and political needs as well.

The Ukrainians who arrived in Canada during the first wave of immigration acknowledged the Byzantine rite, also known as the Eastern rite. Those arriving from Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine were adherents of the Greek Catholic Church, while those immigrants from Bukovina and Eastern Ukraine belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>26</sup> In terms of jurisdiction, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church adhered to Rome, while the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox fell under the Russian Orthodox Church. There were also a comparatively smaller number of Ukrainian Roman Catholics and Baptists (Stundists) who arrived during this period. Their subsequent activities have been recorded elsewhere.

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<sup>24</sup>Young, Ukrainian Canadians, p.132.

<sup>25</sup>O.Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1960).

<sup>26</sup>For more complete information on the background of The Uniate and the Autocephalous Churches see: P. Yuzyk, "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948), and idem. "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1958).

In the old country the church was a deeply-ingrained integral part of the way of life of the people. The religious uniformity of the villages in Western Ukraine, which had been achieved with time and by the Austrian government's measures, could not be realized in the Ukrainian settlements in Canada. With the guarantees of freedom of speech and association, with few clergymen arriving from the old country during the first years, the pioneers were in a position to choose among the religious groups catering to them here or to support the establishment of their own.

The matter of spiritual care for Ukrainian Catholic settlers was placed under the jurisdiction of Roman Catholic bishops by Rome. This brought about a state of conflict between Ukrainian priests and Roman Catholic bishops for the Eastern rite was, according to canonical law, under the jurisdiction of their own rite and superior authority.

The Roman Catholic bishops did not sense the group's determination to safeguard its culture which included the traditional Ukrainian Church and its historic rite. The Roman Catholic rejection of married priests and its use of missionaries antagonized great numbers of Greek Catholics who claimed that the aim of the bishops was to force Roman Catholic practices in Greek Catholic services, a process known as latinization.

In addition to the resentment against Roman Catholicism, the inability of the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia to provide the Ukrainian settlers in Canada with priests, and the growing consciousness of democracy were factors which served to strengthen the current of independence of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada. Self-dependence in turn necessitated a re-evaluation of religious and national consciousness.

Other religious movements among the Ukrainians were short-lived and did not assist the development of Ukrainian consciousness. Among these were the Russian Orthodox Church, the "All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church"<sup>27</sup> (also known as the Seraphim Church) and the Ruthenian Orthodox Independent Church.<sup>28</sup>

By 1912 numerous independent religious movements had failed. Appeals to the Roman Catholic hierarchy on behalf of the Greek Catholic parishes were finally realized when on December 6, 1912, Reverend Nykyta Budka arrived from Lviv (Lwow, Lemberg) to assume duties as the head of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church.

In addition to the churches, the more progressive villages in Ukraine had had their secular literary societies known as Prosvita (Society for Enlightenment) which were branches of the parent body organized in Lviv in 1868. The Prosvita Societies concentrated on developing a voluntary system of adult education. They had also been founded by the nationalist intelligentsia of East Ukraine many years before the Revolution. They carried on the work of developing national culture and inculcating a feeling of national identity, rather than a regional identity. These two aims were combined because all nationalist Ukrainians felt it essential to instill a love of the indigenous popular arts and customs, emphasizing their distinctive nature.

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<sup>27</sup>P.Bozyk, Tserkov Ukrayintsiv v Kanadi, 1890-1927 The Church of Ukrainians in Canada , (Winnipeg: Nakl. Kanadiyskoho Ukrayintsya, 1927), p.25.

<sup>28</sup>Rev. S.W.Sawchuk, "Pershi Kroky do Zasnovannya Ukrayinskoyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy v Kanadi" [First Steps in the Formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada], Ridna Neva [Native Field] (Winnipeg: Ecclesia Co., 1949), p.45.

The Prosvita also organized reading societies, co-operatives and credit unions.

Those immigrants who had had contact with Prosvita realized its value in organizing Ukrainian life in Canada. As early as 1898 in the first Ukrainian community, at Edna-Star in Alberta, Rev. Pavlo Tymkevych looked after not only "the spiritual needs of the settlers and the church but he also took time to organize the educational and cultural life in the district and the result of this was that the cultural centre called "Prosvita" and the first of its kind in Canada was built here".<sup>29</sup>

This was the first Ukrainian cultural-educational association in Canada and in its first year of existence had accumulated an eighty volume library. Many of the early cultural-educational associations created during this formative period stressed the importance of the library. Through the Chytalnya (reading hall) the members created dramatic clubs, choirs and orchestras, celebrated national holidays in honour of great Ukrainian poets and heroes, and served general community interests and needs. Prosvita Reading Associations (Chytalnya Prosvita) appeared in numerous Ukrainian colonies across Canada: in Manitoba at Sifton (1903), Brokenhead (1903), Riding Mountain (1905), Pleasant Home (1906), Mink Creek (1906); in Saskatchewan at Skalat (1906); in Alberta at Edmonton (1907); and in Ontario at Port Arthur (1909), Ottawa (1908), and Toronto (1910).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Svoboda [Freedom], Shamokin, later Scranton, Penn., U.S.A. August 4, 1898.

<sup>30</sup>Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, pp.166-173.

Numerous reading associations under other names, such as the Chytalnya of Taras Shevchenko (Edmonton, 1900), (Winnipeg, 1904), (Bonne Maddone, 1907), provided a service among Ukrainians. The more organized communities also quickly set about to build their own Ukrainian community centres known as the Ukrainian National Homes (Ukrayinski Narodni Domy). These halls became, as did the Prosvita halls, the centre of all activity within the Ukrainian community.

The youth gathered together in various groups at the Prosvita Reading Halls and the Ukrainian National Homes. There they set up amateur drama groups which presented skits and plays for the community. The earliest such performance occurred in Beaver Creek prior to 1903 where Peter Svarich (Zvarych) organized an amateur drama group.<sup>31</sup>

On May 14, 1904, a Ukrainian youth club called Ruthenian Ukrainian Youth (Kruzhok Rusko-Ukrayinskoyi Molodizhy--RUM) presented the play entitled "Argonauts" by H. Tsehlinsky at the Shevchenko Hall in Winnipeg.<sup>32</sup> Also during that year in Winnipeg Ivan Antoniuk, a Ukrainian teacher, produced the Ukrainian play "Courting Ceremonies at Honchariv" (Svatannya na Honcharivtsi).

In Eastern Canada, at Montreal, an amateur group of young people was affiliated with the Association in Care of Settlers which was formed on September 17, 1903. This association was far ahead of others of its kind in the national-political sphere as it had close ties with progressive elements

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<sup>31</sup>N. Kohushka, Yuvileyna Knyzhka Soyuzu Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady 1931-1956 [Jubilee Book of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association] (Winnipeg: SUMK, 1956), p.17.

<sup>32</sup>Svoboda, March 1904, see also V. Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), pp.102-103.

and movements in the old homeland. In 1906, the "Youth Association", affiliated with the "Association of Ukrainians" as the older group had been re-named, presented its stage-play "Who is with God, then God will be with him" and later another play, a comedy, entitled "Mr. Secretary".<sup>33</sup>

During these early years, with the development of local societies, numerous Ukrainian youth associations were to be found in both the urban and rural areas. All of these groups, however, functioned in isolation from one another. Only sporadically did they communicate and rarely did they speak a common language when it came to organizing any group activities in any given region.

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<sup>33</sup>Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, p.209.

### Educators and Youth

Since the 19th century there has been a conscious and purposeful attempt to instill in the hearts and minds of mankind a supreme loyalty to their respective nationalities. That this attempt has been successful is attributable to the zeal with which nationalism has been propagated first among the intellectuals and then among the masses. The events in Ukraine during the 1800's predisposed the country to nationalism. Propaganda during the nineteenth century rendered nationalism a powerful phenomenon.

Nationalism, as we have defined it, was an outgrowth of cultural and national consciousness; its growth and spread were traceable to artificial stimulation, in a word to propaganda. In the propaganda of nationalism three factors were considered. First and fundamental was the elaboration of a doctrine of nationalism by an eminent company of "intellectuals". Second and influential was the championing of the doctrine by groups of citizens who discovered in it satisfaction. Thirdly, the doctrine found lodgement in the popular mind by means of mass-education.

Many of the early immigrants who arrived prior to 1905 were illiterate or semi-literate. Those who were not influenced by the Ukrainian national movement in the native land were caught up in Russophilism which was beginning to expand in North America. After 1905, increasing numbers of Ukrainians who arrived in Canada were more conscious of their national identity due to the popularization of the leadership of the Ukrainian national movement. Prior to the first world war, increasing numbers of immigrants



who arrived could have been classified as semi-intellectuals or as the "petty intelligentsia". As Ukrainian nationalism evolved in Eastern Europe it provided stimulation to the growth of this nationalism among this group in Canada.

#### The Student Teachers

Only a few teachers arrived with the Ukrainian immigrants prior to 1900.<sup>34</sup> Yet by 1916 there existed over four hundred school districts in Western Canada which conducted bilingual schools in which children received instruction in both English and Ukrainian. In Manitoba, Ukrainian was the language of instruction, whereas in Alberta and Saskatchewan, the teaching of Ukrainian was permitted in the classroom only between 3:00 and 4:00 in the afternoon. The three provincial governments were confronted with the gigantic task of providing schools and teachers for the ever-increasing Ukrainian settlements. Two problems arose with the establishment of these school districts, both related to the lack of teachers. Qualified Anglo-Saxon educators refused to teach in the foreign districts which they considered backward and secondly, no Ukrainian teachers were available.

A further complication for the Manitoba administrators, but a boon for Ukrainian immigrants was the School Act of 1897 which established a new bilingual framework for that province. Based on the Laurier-Greenway agreement it stated that when ten pupils had French or any language other than English as their native tongue, then the education of those pupils could be conducted in both French or such other language and English in a bilingual system.

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p.115.

The School Act and the lack of qualified teachers, resulted in the Manitoba government's announcement at the end of 1904 that the following year would witness the establishment of a special school for the training of English-Ukrainian bilingual teachers. The Ruthenian Training School was opened on February 16, 1905, in Winnipeg and had an enrollment of 32 students in its first session.<sup>35</sup> The government gave financial assistance to those students who signed written guarantees pledging the repayment of their loans upon securing teaching positions. The student teachers spent three years at this school and then another six months at the Provincial Normal Schools before receiving Third Class Teaching Certificates which permitted them to teach in Manitoba Schools.

The student teachers at this school were very nationally conscious. As early as 1906 they held a commemoration of the birth of the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko. The proceeds from admission donations to this program went in aid of the "Action Front" of their compatriots in the old country.<sup>36</sup> In the following year the students again invited the general public to such a commemorative program; this time the admission donations went in aid of Ruthenian students in Lviv "who were waging a struggle for the rights of their people and for admission to higher learning in universities".<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>J.J.Skwarok, The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools, 1891-1921 (Edmonton: Basilian Press, 1958), p.60.

<sup>36</sup>Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, p.122.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

The Ruthenian Training School of Winnipeg was relocated to Brandon, Manitoba in 1908 and existed until shortly before the abolition of the bilingual system in Manitoba in 1916.<sup>38</sup> On March 9, 1915, the Minister of Education, R.C. Thornton, announced that with the termination of that year's courses the Brandon School would be closed.

In Saskatchewan the government also established a similar training school for teachers in 1909 at Regina. "The English School for Foreigners", as the name implies, symbolized the attitude of the Saskatchewan government to the Ukrainian language and culture. The Ukrainian language was not part of the curriculum until 1913 despite the continued demands by students. The continuing antagonism and alienation of the 42 students, of which only 5 were non-Ukrainian, only inflamed ethnic differences and aided in the coordination of minority will. By 1913 the discontent was great enough for the calling of a conference of Ukrainian teachers.<sup>39</sup>

The Alberta government on the other hand, did not establish a Ukrainian teachers' school until 1913. The Department of Education had continued to refuse such a venture and relented only as a result of rising public pressures and continued petitioning by Ukrainians in the province. Even when the "English School for Foreigners in Vegreville" opened on February 3, 1913, its aim was not to train teachers, but rather to prepare students for entrance into the Normal School and provide instruction for those entering the business world.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>H. Pinuita, "The Organizational Life of Ukrainian Canadians" (M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1952), p.22.

<sup>39</sup>An examination of the teachers' conference follows below.

<sup>40</sup>Skwarok, Ukrainian Settlers, p.66.

Many other groups, other than governmental, took interest in the Ukrainians and attempted to gain access to and future spokesmen in the Ukrainian Canadian community. Simultaneously while maintaining the clergymen of the Ruthenian Independent Orthodox Church, the Presbyterian Synod attempted to train Ukrainian students for the Protestant ministry. In 1905, it decided to establish at Manitoba College a section for Ukrainian boys. Some candidates were enticed with financial assistance. The hope was that these students would be converted to Protestantism and, given a proper theological training, could become leaders within the Ukrainian community.<sup>41</sup> The school lasted seven years. Out of over 200 students who took the course, only three went into the Presbyterian ministry.<sup>42</sup> The rest took exception to the persistent policy of assimilation. The school was closed in 1912 because the results did not warrant the great expenditures.

During this period, the Presbyterians had also opened seminaries for Ukrainian students at Teulone and Prince Albert. The Roman Catholics had established a school for them at St. Boniface, and both the Baptists and Methodists had begun to create educational institutions for the Ukrainian youth. Many in the Ukrainian community feared the outcome of this non-Ukrainian orientation.

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<sup>41</sup>J.W.Stechishin, Yuvileyna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Institutu Imeny P. Mohyly v Saskatuni, 1916-1941 [Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon] (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Co. of Canada, 1945), p.25.

<sup>42</sup>P.Yuzyk, "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948), p.91.

## The Teachers' Union

The first wider attempt at organizing Ukrainian youth occurred in Winnipeg in July 1907. The first Ukrainian teachers' conference was held to plan action for the formation of a teachers' organization which could better serve Ukrainian youth. Many of the teachers who met and brought into existence the "Ukrainian Teachers' Association of Canada" were between the ages of 22-25 years.<sup>43</sup> These young people were motivated by a strong nationalistic sentiment. In Western Ukraine, many of them had been called "postupovtsi" (progressives) and "narodovtsi" (nationalists).<sup>44</sup> One of the aims of these teachers was to mold their fellow countrymen who were known as: Galicians, Ruthenians, Bukovinians, Austrians, Russians and Poles into a cohesive unit of Ukrainian Canadians.<sup>45</sup> They were determined to break the sway of both the non-Ukrainian elements in their ethnic group and the monopoly of leadership enjoyed by the priests.

A significant decision was made by the delegates at the convention of Ukrainian teachers, held in Winnipeg in July 1909, when they founded a publishing company which was to launch a newspaper that would be "a non-partisan, educational and economic organ of Ukrainian teachers".<sup>46</sup> On March 16, 1910, the first issue of Ukrayinsky Holos (Ukrainian Voice) appeared

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<sup>43</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.18.

<sup>44</sup>P.Yuzyk, "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1958), p.105.

<sup>45</sup>O.S.Trosky, "A Historical Study of the Development of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and Its Role in the Field of Education (1918-1964)" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968), p.20.

<sup>46</sup>Kanadiysky Farmer, [Canadian Farmer], Winnipeg, July 23, 1909.

and the editorial declared "we believe we can rely on our national strength and only through our very own efforts will we be able to improve our life". To designate this paper Ukrainian was a bold step, the word had meaning to so few in those days when the word Ruthenian was in current usage.

The Ruthenian teacher training schools were abolished when the bilingual school system was terminated. At that time approximately two hundred and fifty teachers were providing leadership in the Ukrainian communities.<sup>47</sup> These teachers were instrumental in acting as deterrents to assimilation. They were vital in developing Ukrainian cultural consciousness into political and national consciousness. By so doing they were able to spread among the student populations a mental state of being which prided itself in its nationality and believed in its intrinsic excellence. In this sense Ukrainian nationalism played a dominant role in the educational process of the young Ukrainian generations of those days.

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<sup>47</sup>J.W.Stechishin, Mizh Ukrayintsiamy v Kanadi [Among Ukrainians in Canada] (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1953), p.12.

### Nationalism and the Church

Catholicism, in spite of its traditional respect for the principle of nationality and its later concessions to national sensibilities, was and is still an international religion, with an international organization, and with an authoritative manner of speaking its mind--and its mind was frequently out of harmony with that of the nationalist.

Nationalists were never indifferent and seldom friendly to Catholicism. They perceived Catholic Christianity not merely as a more or less utopian preaching of brotherhood and equality, not merely as a more or less perfunctory teaching of international peace and justice and charity, but as a very real and very effective international organization, and a vital international influence which radiated from a central person, a bishop of Rome, the Pope, out across national frontiers, and into the domain of national policy and national education.

The student teachers who grouped around the newspaper Ukrayinsky Holos adopted progressively more nationally-conscious and anti-catholic views as the war years developed. These early nationalists commenced their criticism of the newly arrived Bishop Budka for his inability to grapple with the problem of national sentiment within the church and his attempts to control and catholicize national institutions. The student involvement in the controversy over the Petro Mohyla affair which led to the subsequent creation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada warrants examination; especially in light of the fact that the new church was accused of being

more anxious to extend nationalism than to save souls.<sup>48</sup>

#### Ukrainianism vs Catholicism

Prior to the arrival of Canada's first Greek Catholic Bishop, Nicetas Budka, Ukrayinsky Holos' editorials highlighted Greek Catholic problems at home and abroad. In Canada, occasional attacks hammered at the higher Roman Catholic authorities which "continue to send Basilians and Frenchmen to latinize and to incorporate the Greek Catholic parishes under the charter of a French Roman Catholic bishop".<sup>49</sup> Criticism was directed abroad at the Greek Catholic Metropolitan, Sheptytsky, who was regarded by the paper as unsympathetic to the nationalist cause in Galicia. The paper also urged the holding of a requiem mass for Adam Kotsko, a young Ukrainian student who had been killed by a Polish gendarme for demonstrating for the establishment of a Ukrainian university in Lviv in 1908.<sup>50</sup>

Although the newspaper did not comment on the nomination of Budka as the bishop for Greek Catholics, it did note on his arrival on December 19, 1912 "that the English papers call the Ruthenian bishop also a Roman Catholic Ruthenian bishop and not Greek Catholic."<sup>51</sup> The new bishop did not change church relations to the satisfaction of these discontented spokesmen, and Ukrainian parishes continued to be incorporated under the Roman Catholic

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<sup>48</sup>Byrne, "Ukrainian Community in Alberta", pp.50-51.

<sup>49</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, [Ukrainian Voice], Winnipeg, September 7, 1910.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., October 12, 1910.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., December 25, 1912.



jurisdiction. Ukrayinsky Holos then issued a list of demands which the bishop should consider before any further incorporations occurred:

1. Rome must abolish the new Belgian-Ruthenian order of Redemptorists,
2. Rome must recall all the Belgian-Ruthenian priests,
3. Rome must revoke the ban on married priests from coming here,
4. The constitution must state that priests in our churches must be solely priests of our nationality,
5. Our rite will not be changed in favour of the Roman Catholic rite.<sup>52</sup>

A number of Greek Catholic parishes heeded the appeal of the Ukrayinsky Holos and refused to have their church property incorporated until the demands were fulfilled.

By 1914 Ukrayinsky Holos had analyzed its Ukrainian requirements and had come to the following conclusion: "Catholicism is as alien to us as is Muscovite Orthodoxy...when the Ukrayinsky Holos has in mind 'Orthodoxy' then it is such an Orthodoxy which should be ours and national, and not Muscovite or any other kind...In Catholicism, as in Russian Orthodoxy, Ukrainian nationalism is not compatible. The one and the other desire to make a Ukrainian a servile slave, not a patriot, not even a man, but only a blind tool of their own interests".<sup>53</sup>

#### The Mohyla Affair

The decision of the Manitoba Government in 1915 to abolish the bilingual school system resulted in the calling of a Ukrainian public meeting in Winnipeg at the parish hall of Sts. Vladimir and Olha Church on July 3, 1915. The meeting analyzed the various means by which assimilation could be

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., September 3, 1913.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., May 27, 1914.

prevented and a Ukrainian consciousness developed in the younger students. Two guidelines emerged: (1) the youth should be taught the Ukrainian language and culture in private night schools, and (2) a system of bursas (residential schools) and institutes should be established for the young people studying in colleges and universities so that they could have not only room and board but also an atmosphere steeped in Ukrainian traditions.

Acting on the latter point the meeting agreed to establish a bursa and to name it after Adam Kotsko. However, conflict arose over the religious character of the bursa. The majority (82:70) voted that the bursa should be national and non-sectarian, but this position met with opposition of many Greek Catholics who insisted that a catholic education must be provided.<sup>54</sup> As a result of this meeting two institutes were established. The Adam Kotsko Bursa was established in Winnipeg in the fall of 1915 but lasted only two years. Although financial difficulties forced the closure, thirty-nine students enjoyed its benefits. On the other hand, the Greek Catholic faction under the leadership of Bishop Budka, which supported the Catholic upbringing of students, organized another residential school, the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Ukrainian Bursa, which was opened in St. Boniface in 1917.

After the bilingual system had been abolished across the Prairie Provinces the Ukrainian teachers and students devoted much of their attention to the establishment of the bursa system which they had been familiar with in their native country. Following the example of the Adam Kotsko Bursa in Winnipeg, the Ukrainian Students' Club in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan held a

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<sup>54</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.37.

meeting on March 4, 1916, and agreed to set up a committee to establish a bursa in that city.<sup>55</sup> On the following day a general meeting of students and other interested Ukrainians was held, in the course of which, students such as Wasyl Swystun, A.T.Kibzey and Joseph Bohonos stressed the urgency of establishing a bursa. An organizational committee was established headed by the latter two named students, while Wasyl Swystun was elected to a broader executive board.

In Ukrayinsky Holos (April 19, 1916) W.Swystun informed the Ukrainian public that the Saskatchewan Department of Education had refused to grant the Ukrainian bilingual teachers permission to hold their convention. At first a students' convention was planned at which teachers would be invited to discuss the establishment of the Petro Mohyla Bursa. Instead, a much wider convention involving all sectors of the community was proposed and accepted.

On August 4 and 5, 1916, nearly 500 participants, representing about 60 localities in Saskatchewan and several in Manitoba and Alberta attended the First National Convention (Narodny Zyizd) in Saskatoon.<sup>56</sup> The convention examined a number of cultural and educational issues, especially the creation of the bursa. The presence of Bishop Budka gave the appearance of a rapprochement between the two groups, and in a two-hour address he stressed the necessity and importance of religion in the education of the youth at the P. Mohyla Bursa.<sup>57</sup> The convention approved a "national" bursa and elected an executive in which students predominated: Osyp Megas, school inspector,

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<sup>55</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, March 22, 1916.

<sup>56</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.50.

<sup>57</sup>Kanadiysky Rusyn [Canadian Ruthenian], Winnipeg, August 16, 1916.

as president; Wasyl Swystun, law student, as vice president; Michael Stechishin, law student, as treasurer; and A.T.Kibzey, high school student, as secretary.<sup>58</sup>

In October 1916 conflict over the Mohyla Bursa emerged in the press. The bitterness of the controversy intensified and eventually resulted in the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. The Kanadiysky Rusyn, the Catholic newspaper continually questioned the wisdom of maintaining the secular character of the bursa.<sup>59</sup> The Bishop's organ also queried Ukrayinsky Holos as to which educational principles were being employed in the teaching of students at Mohyla, "whether on Catholic principles, whether on Presbyterian, whether on Methodist, or whether on no principles?"<sup>60</sup>

The reply was given by the editor of Ukrayinsky Holos, Orest Zerebko, an executive member of the Adam Kotsko Bursa. The question, he responded, was not "whether these institutions are Greek Catholic, but whether they are Ukrainian...We must put in the first place our own Kiev, and not the alien Rome...furthermore, the Presbyterian and Methodist bursas cannot be regarded as Ukrainian, but as foreign".<sup>61</sup>

In an attempt to reach an understanding with the Bishop, a delegation of students consisting of Wasyl Swystun, Michael Stechishin, Taras D. Ferley and others met the Bishop at Canora, Saskatchewan on June 16, 1917. In the

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<sup>58</sup>Yuzyk, "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church", p.118.

<sup>59</sup>Kanadiysky Rusyn, October 25, 1916.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, November 1, 1916.

discussion the Bishop stated that he disapproved of the interdenominational character of the institution which could only lead to indifference and end in the negation of religion altogether. Swystun claimed that the Bishop insisted on the bursa being Greek Catholic and on its incorporation under the episcopal charter.<sup>62</sup> Although the Bishop denied this charge,<sup>63</sup> Swystun led an attack on the episcopal incorporation stressing that it safeguarded the Greek Catholic character of the church but not its Ukrainian character.

Michael Stechishin then analyzed and exposed the charters of the Greek Catholic institutions in a lengthy article in Ukrayinsky Holos. Concerning "An Act to incorporate the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Canada", Stechishin noted that:

the episcopal incorporation guarantees us no Ukrainianism. It is not even called Ukrainian...In it it is stated that he is 'bishop for the Ruthenian Greek Catholics'...Not a Ruthenian Greek Catholic bishop, but a bishop for the Ruthenian Greek Catholics.<sup>64</sup>

In another article he stated:

Bishop Budka drew up the incorporation himself and it was his duty as a Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop to insert into the incorporation the distinct stipulation that the bishop for our people in Canada may be only a Ukrainian. The bishop did not do this.<sup>65</sup>

Stechishin concluded that the bishop was assisting the Roman Catholic hierarchy to destroy our nationality and called upon the Ukrainian people to be the judges as to who has justification.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., August 1, 1917

<sup>63</sup>Kanadiysky Rusyn, October 17, 1917.

<sup>64</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, August 1, 1917.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., September 26, 1917.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

For the promoters of the "P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute",<sup>67</sup> the day of judgement was rendered at the Second National Convention which was held in Saskatoon at the end of December 1917. Some 700 delegates, representing many local societies, and numerous guests from the three prairie provinces and Ontario were in attendance, giving the sponsors the grounds to claim that the convention represented "the Ukrainian national soul" and could be regarded as an "unofficial Ukrainian parliament".<sup>68</sup> Telegrams were sent to the Ukrainian Central Rada congratulating it for establishing an independent Ukrainian state and to the Allies demanding recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic.<sup>69</sup>

Approving the policy of Ukrayinsky Holos as well as the positions taken by Swystun and Stechishin, the convention adopted the following resolution:

...Whereas the newspaper Kanadiysky Rusyn (the organ of his Excellency Bishop Budka) and the Kanadiysky Ranok (the organ of the Presbyterian church) as well as the same bishop, and part of the clergy subordinate to him, in an unfair manner attack all national work among the Ukrainian people in Canada, and chiefly P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, and whereas all such subversive work is directed to destroy all educational and cultural work which is independent of the episcopal church corporation and whereas this is felt very painfully in and with great loss to our national life;

Be it resolved in the face of the above-mentioned facts that the convention condemns these enemies of national progress and give them a deserved reprimand for their hitherto subversive work, hoping that in the future they will change their behaviour and instead of harming will aid national work.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Incorporated under the Companies Act of Saskatchewan, January 20, 1917.

<sup>68</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.77.

<sup>69</sup>Yuzyk, "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church", p.126.

<sup>70</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.78.

The polemics and the struggle continued and finally reached the point where no compromise was possible, or offered. Bishop Budka was adamant in his stand against secular institutions and finally used his strongest weapon, the withholding of absolution, against those who supported these institutions. The students and teachers, who were communicants of the Greek Catholic church, were left with little alternative than to make good their threats to embrace Orthodoxy if they were to adhere to their positions on secular education institutions.

#### The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church

The events leading to the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church have been extensively treated in other studies.<sup>71</sup> However a summary must make note of the fact that on July 18 and 19, 1918 a confidential meeting of 154 leading Ukrainians brought into existence the "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood" which was "to conduct all the church activities until the time when there will be a legally elected and consecrated bishop in conformity with the Eastern Orthodox Church".<sup>72</sup>

Eastern Orthodoxy, unlike Roman Catholicism, is organized on the principle of autocephalous national churches--each constituting an independent administrative entity. The development of each new national movement in the Orthodox world of Eastern and Southeastern Europe has been accompanied by a demand for a separate national church.

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<sup>71</sup>Yuzyk, "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church" and Trosky, "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church".

<sup>72</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, August 7, 1918.

Prior to 1917, the Orthodox Ukrainians living in the Russian Empire were denied the national status which would enable them to establish their own church, and instead were regarded as an integral part of the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>73</sup>

The Orthodox seminaries in Kiev and Poltava were hotbeds of Ukrainian nationalist and revolutionary socialist agitation prior to the revolution. When the Imperial regime collapsed in February of 1917 and was replaced by the Provisional Government, the demand arose for the reorganization of the Orthodox Church. Initially the demands were modest, but by the time of the Bolshevik Revolution the nationalists were asking for an autocephalous Ukrainian Church which would be independent of the State in its internal administration and which would provide for the use of the Ukrainian language in the celebration of the divine liturgy.

John S. Reshetar suggested that Ukrainian immigrants in Canada desired an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada and that "when such a movement first manifested itself in the homeland they were quick to assume the initiative".<sup>74</sup> It can be said that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada came into being as a result of the resurgence of national consciousness and due to the fact that the new political atmosphere gave the Ukrainian settler in Canada an opportunity for self-expression and critical re-appraisal of his political situation and spiritual needs.

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<sup>73</sup>J.S.Reshetar, "Ukrainian Nationalism and the Orthodox Church" American Slavic & East European Review, February 1951, p.38.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p.48.



### Early Student Associations

Education has been a cornerstone of Ukrainian nationalism, and, in many respects, has been considered to be more important than direct political action. Student organizations have been voluntary associations of members with common interests and goals. They served as vehicles of expression and interchange of ideas and ideals, but more importantly the Ukrainian student associations have served as mediums of self-education. As was usually the case in nationalist indoctrination, the main efforts were concentrated upon the teaching of history. This was especially significant because the justification of any Ukrainian independence movement was largely based upon the conception of a proud history, distinct from that of the people of Moscow. The other areas of concern were the teaching and appreciation of the Ukrainian language and literature as distinct from that of the Russians.

#### The Ukrainian Students' Club of Saskatoon

The history of the earliest student movement can be traced back to the activities of students in Saskatoon. In 1913, there were at least four Ukrainian students attending schools in that city.<sup>75</sup> These four students met regularly at the Queens Hotel to discuss matters of education and politics relevant to their Ukrainianism. Over the next year their numbers

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<sup>75</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.392.

gradually increased so that by the fall of school year 1915-1916, a sufficient number of students had arrived in Saskatoon to establish a more formal Ukrainian Students Club (Ukrayinski Studentski Kruzhok).

The first president was A.Kryzhanovsky and some of the members included W.Swystun, O.Megas, M.Stechishin and A.T.Kibzey. These same students were later to become key leaders of the Ukrainian community.

From these students originated the idea of the forming of a Ukrainian bursa. And with the idea came the calling of the first Ukrainian convention in Saskatoon in the summer of 1916 at which the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Bursa was accepted. In the fall of 1916 the Ukrainian Students Club was brought into existence at the bursa with M.Stechishin elected to the presidency.

The first bursa was a three storey building on Landsdowne Ave. which accommodated 35 students in the first year. Twenty-two of the students were attending primary schools in the city, ten went to the high schools and three to university. The bursa adhered to its principles of being Ukrainian and interdenominational. Twenty-three of the students were Greek Catholics, six were Protestants, four were Greek Orthodox and two were Roman Catholic.<sup>76</sup> This group of students met once a week, either Saturday evening or Sunday afternoon, at which time they presented papers, held debates or prepared some form of entertainment. They also established their own journal called "Bursak" the editors of which included M.Stechishin and W.Swystun.<sup>77</sup> This journal, collated monthly, was circulated in manuscript form and was read and discussed at the meetings. The meetings themselves were not limited to

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p.55.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p.58.

the residents of the bursa (bursak); many Ukrainian students who did not live at the bursa took part in the students' club program of debates, discussions and public speaking. These activities normally maintained a high level of quality and sophistication because many of the students who were in university had had teaching backgrounds.

#### The Ukrainian Student Clubs of Winnipeg

In Winnipeg two bursas were created in 1916. Those who wanted the bursa to have a general national character opened the Adam Kotsko Bursa which existed only two years but accommodated thirty-nine students. The other bursa, which stressed Catholic education, was the Andrey Sheptytsky Ukrainian Bursa and was directed by the Andrey Sheptytsky Society of St. Boniface. Before being accepted into this residential school, the student had to attest and sign the following declaration: "I hereby solemnly declare that as a son of the Ukrainian people and our ancestral Greek Catholic Church, I shall work sincerely for the good and glory of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Ukrainian Society and never shall I act either by word or deed to its moral and material detriment."<sup>78</sup>

Approximately sixty students took the pledge and formed a Ukrainian Catholic Students Club. In the bursa they learned the Ukrainian language, history, literature and religion. They formed a choir and a drama group and even started their own journal entitled Dyamant Dorohey (Precious Diamond).

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<sup>78</sup>Kanadiysky Rusyn, February 2, 1916.

### The Adam Kotsko Student Association

In Edmonton, a student group named the Adam Kotsko Student Association was formed in 1917. They were approached by the Ukrainian delegates from Edmonton who had travelled to Saskatoon in 1917 for the Second Ukrainian National Convention to discuss the possibility of creating a Ukrainian students' bursa in Edmonton. The students were very enthusiastic about the idea of an Alberta institute and decided to approach various individuals in the province to promote the idea. The response was so favourable that they held a special meeting in Edmonton on March 10, 1918, and passed a motion inviting public assistance in the establishment of such an institute.<sup>79</sup> The meeting also decided to name the proposed bursa the Michael Hrushevsky Ukrainian Institute and to become affiliated with the P.Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon. On October 1, 1918, the former Caledonia Hotel was rented and became the Michael Hrushevsky Ukrainian Institute.

### The Kameniarî Students Club

The number of students attending the P.Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon increased in the fall of 1917. On Friday, October 26, 1917 they called an initiatory meeting to discuss the establishment of a formal student body. Because of the great number of items on the agenda, the meeting was adjourned to Sunday, October 28, at which time it was resolved to adopt a constitution.<sup>80</sup> The meeting also agreed to name the new associa-

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<sup>79</sup>Yuvileyna Knyha Imeny Michayla Hrushevskoho v Edmontoni [Silver Jubilee Book of the M.Hrushevsky Ukrainian Institute in Edmonton] (Winnipeg: Hrushevsky Institute, 1943), p.7.

<sup>80</sup>The constitution was ratified in February 1918.

tion Kamenari (Stone Cutters) after the poem by that same title written by the famed Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko.

The students elected an executive council and established the position of Honourary President which was to be held by the rector of the bursa, who at that time was Wasyl Swystun. Other positions created included a president--Semen V. Sawchuk, a vice-president--I.Woloshyn, a secretary--P.Sametz, an assistant-secretary--N.Mychasiw, and a treasurer--M.Chorneko.<sup>81</sup> A committee of two was formed to act as a liaison between the executive and the rector, and a subcommittee of three was chosen to assist. Controllers and justices of the peace were selected to control discipline. W.Swystun was asked to act as the censor-editor for the students' literary efforts. General student meetings were held every Sunday morning at 9:30 and the club provided in its constitution for the holding of elections twice a year in order to allow as many members as possible the opportunity of learning to be in office.

The students were keenly interested in any news regarding the events leading towards the independence of Ukraine. As early as November 17, 1917, the students were engaged in debates as to whether or not the republican or the monarchical systems of government would be of more benefit to Ukraine. Prior to leaving for the Christmas holidays the students attentively listened to a public speech by Julian Stechishin on the topic of the differences between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples.

In the spring of 1918 as a result of a successful fund raising campaign the Institute was able to purchase the Empress Hotel and the student club moved into its new headquarters. The new premises easily accommodated

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<sup>81</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.393.

over 100 students, and contained a hall which was used for meetings and some large suites which were converted to classrooms for the teaching of Ukrainian language, literature, history and culture.

However, the club did not have a successful fall semester. A contagious Spanish influenza, which had spread across Canada causing death and suffering, forced many of the students to return to their homes as many of the schools in the city closed down. The epidemic did not leave the students which remained at the bursa untouched. In addition to the suffering among the student body, a young resident, Sophie Warholyk, died.<sup>82</sup>

At the first meeting in 1919 over one hundred students paid their membership fee of one dollar. They agreed to assist in the administration of the Institute by electing a registrar, an assistant registrar and a caretaker. A program committee was also selected which was to be responsible for planning every meeting, and an entertainment committee was chosen to coordinate the social aspect of the students' life which included singing and dancing. The meeting also agreed that the position of chairman would be open for election at every meeting; up to that time the chairman was either the President or the Vice President. The days of the meeting were changed from Sunday morning to Friday night. Residence rules and membership regulations were also liberalized by allowing the younger students equal rights with the older ones. This liberalization is significant in light of the fact that some of the students staying at this bursa were only in grades 7 and 8.

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p.395.

The number of editors of the journal, Kameniari, increased to eight with S.W.Sawchuk becoming the editor-in-chief. The publication then began to appear twice monthly. The editors decided to prepare and issue a special almanac of the student affairs of that year. In 1919 the Kameniari Students' Yearbook became the first of its kind among Ukrainian student associations in Canada.<sup>83</sup>

Apart from choral singing and folk dancing the students enjoyed other forms of entertainment and recreation. A hockey team was formed that year headed by George Dragan. Annual "Initiation Evenings" filled with assorted humour, mock trials and tribulations, and oath taking for the new incoming students became common. Such initiations, although popular among other student groups, were rationalized using Ukrainian history and were compared to the initiation ceremonies carried out at the camps of famed Zaporozian Kozaks.

With the commencement of the new school year in the fall of 1919, the apparatus for a viable student organization had been laid. The discipline system was modified. The student justices of the peace and of censorship which were found unnecessary in the first year were eliminated and a new special student committee consisting of five males and two females was elected to maintain discipline.

The presidency of the Club remained in the hands of S.W.Sawchuk until 1920 when Julian Stechishin was elected to the position. He held this position for one year and was then asked by the Director of the Institute to

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p.103.

assume the position of Rector which had been vacated by Wasyl Swystun. Julian Stechishin served in this post from 1921 to 1929 and again from 1931 to 1933 and his positive influence upon the students and their club remained long after his departure.

During the school year 1921-1922 an internal crisis shook the club. A group of the older students became dissatisfied with the meetings which they claimed were monotonous and almost child-like. What had occurred was that the meetings began to focus upon the younger members of the club and their development almost to the exclusion of the older members. The older students resolved on a course of non-attendance at the meetings. The morale of the club dropped quickly and the executive under the presidency of M.Chorneyko was unable to resolve the problem. In frustration Chorneyko resigned on March 12, 1922. An impasse was reached and intense discussion evolved about the future existence of the club. After many bitter words a compromise was arrived at: the older students resolved to take a more active part in the club and to raise its level of sophistication. A new election was subsequently held at which Chorneyko was re-instated.<sup>84</sup>

The year 1925 was the turning point in the executive make-up of the club. Prior to that time the members of the executive were born in Ukraine and the majority had received a minimum of primary school education in the old country. They had a special interest in Ukraine and were well versed in the politics, history and culture of their motherland. In the fall of 1925, a new breed of Ukrainians took control of the club, those who were born and educated entirely in Canada. This first generation, however, had been well

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p.399.



educated in Ukrainian matters and did follow the same nationalist ideology of the former students. The continued rectorship of J.Stechishin played a major role in maintaining the continuum of thought.

A substantial increase of female student enrollment was seen in the fall of 1926 when the institute accommodated forty-six girls out of a total of 135 students. The number of female students had doubled from that of the previous academic year. During the fall of 1926 the club elected its first females to positions on the executive. Olga Warholyk became vice president and Savella Stechishin was elected assistant secretary.

The history of the early student clubs was intertwined with the history of their respective Ukrainian Institutes. The student clubs were the manifestation of the organizational life of the resident students of the bursas. They served as the administrative assistants of the bursa principals and they helped to further the education of the students within and outside of the Institutes. The student clubs also played a major role in forming and developing a harmonious student community intent upon self-education in the areas of Ukrainian language, history and cultural traditions. With the Institutes, they were a force among the farming community as they represented a stepping-stone for many farmers' sons, and later daughters, to enter the professions and attempt to raise their social status in Canada. More important was their ability to train the students for future leadership roles in the community. Finally, they gave the students the opportunity to understand the complexities of the politics which were taking place in Ukraine, and to maintain a continuation of national consciousness.

## CHAPTER II

### NATIONALISM IN CONFLICT

#### The Nation State

##### The Development of Ukrainian Nationalism

The Ukrainian national movement in the first years of the twentieth century rested on an historical heritage which had been accumulated during the preceding eleven decades despite the Russian oppression. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of aristocracy and intelligentsia of Ukrainian origin appeared to have been Russified in culture and feeling, even if they occasionally gave signs of remembering that there were different cultural elements in their family backgrounds. The claims of the Russian Empire to acceptance, however, were weakened by its failure to solve social questions. J.A.Armstrong noted that "however much cultural differences and historical memories may have contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, it is difficult to conceive how it could have arisen had it not to a large extent corresponded with a basic cleavage in the social structure of the Ukraine".<sup>1</sup> To an unusual degree, nationality coincided with economic class and the Ukrainians, with the exception of a small intelligentsia, were almost entirely peasants.

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<sup>1</sup>J.A.Armstrong, Ukrainian Nationalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p.10.

Under such circumstances any nationalist movement was likely to become a class movement as well, a movement whose leaders would stress agrarian reform and liberation of the peasant from "exploiting" groups. In this way, Ukrainian nationalism became a rival of Communism. Communism in the Russian Empire before and during the 1917 Revolution, was a movement of townspeople. Both its ideology and its practical limitations induced it to seek the support of the discontented urban industrial workers. In Ukraine, a country four-fifths peasant, no purely urban movement could succeed.

During the eighteenth century a vast and characteristically traditionalist peasantry had clung to its native tongue and culture until the literati were able to utilize it in their writings. The first of these was Ivan Kotliarevsky (1769-1838) who published his Eneida in 1798 in the vernacular rather than the old Church Slavonic. Yet Ukrainian was not used with full effectiveness until the middle of the nineteenth century when Taras Shevchenko, the nation's greatest poet, pleaded for human liberation. He glorified the freedom-loving Kozaks of the seventeenth century and their heroic struggles against the Poles and the Turks.

Shevchenko joined with other like-minded Ukrainians such as Nicholas Kostomarov and Panteleimon Kulish in founding the Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Kiev in 1846.<sup>2</sup> The Society aimed for the establishment of a federation of self-governing Slavic republics composed of legally equal units. Such a program had been advocated by the organization's ideologist, Kostomarov, and at the time was regarded as subversive. Despite the fact that membership was secret, the activities of these revolutionary idealists

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<sup>2</sup>J.S.Reshetar, The Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p.7.

were abruptly terminated in April 1847 with a series of arrests which saw Shevchenko sentenced to ten years exile in Central Asia. This first Ukrainian political movement came to an early end and was not to be succeeded by any similar endeavor for several decades.

This retardation can be attributed in large part to the restrictive measures which the Imperial Russian Government imposed upon the use of the Ukrainian language. These were introduced in 1863 and were made more severe in May 1876 when an edict was issued prohibiting even the importation of Ukrainian publication from abroad. Lectures and theatrical presentations in Ukrainian were also forbidden.

Because of comparative freedom of speech and publication in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the old Ukrainian city of Lviv emerged as the centre of the national movement at the close of the nineteenth century; an emergence which was made possible by the sympathetic attitude which certain Austrian officials held regarding the movement. The growth of national consciousness in Western Ukraine (Galicia) was also facilitated by the ethnic duality of the region. The clash and contrast between the Poles and Ukrainians in this border area served to accentuate linguistic, religious and cultural differences and promote a sense of nationality or consciousness of being unique.

Those who discovered the existence of a Ukrainian past centered in Kiev and distinct from that of Russians or Muscovites, spearheaded the Ukrainophile movement of the 1880's which was exclusively cultural and was conducted within the limits of the laws of the Russian Empire. The next phase was the elevation of the national movement to the political plane. Probably the first such Ukrainian political group was the secret Bratstvo Tarasivtsiv (Taras Brotherhood) which was founded in 1891 on Taras Shevchenko's grave at

Kaniv by young men who did not wish to enter Russian political parties. The organizers were four youths from Kharkiv: Ivan Lipa, Nicholas Biazdrenko, Michael Bazkevich and Vitaly Borovik. In 1893 the Brotherhood adopted a "profession de foi" which it had published in Pravda, a newspaper in Lviv. It called for the liberation of all peoples in Russia from despotism and centralism and the granting of autonomy, promotion of the public welfare, and establishment of a social system having neither exploiters nor exploited.<sup>3</sup> Although the members advocated the development of Ukrainian national consciousness among both the intelligentsia and the peoples, they were not sufficiently acquainted with the nomenclature of the new creed to call themselves nationalists instead of "nationals". Before the police liquidated the Brotherhood in 1893, several branches were established among Ukrainian students.

In 1899 Nicholas Ivanovich Mikhnovsky (1873-1924), a young lawyer, insisted that the Ukrainian movement cease being exclusively cultural, concerning itself only with folk music and peasant art, and embrace political objectives. He was approached by a group of Ukrainian students in Kharkiv and on February 11, 1900, they founded the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party. The students adopted their program around the brochure which Mikhnovsky had written entitled Samostiyna Ukrayina (Independent Ukraine). At the time neither the party nor its platform was of much immediate significance but within twenty years many of its members including Volodymyr Vinnichenko, Simon Petliura, and Volodymyr Chekhovsky were to participate in the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state.

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p.12.

In Western Ukraine, student demands for the use of Ukrainian in the university placed an additional strain upon their relations with the Poles. In March 1906 a small riot occurred between the Polish and Ukrainian students when the latter entered by force into one of the University of Lviv's institutions and held an unauthorized rally protesting the compulsory use of the Polish language. A similar confrontation held in January of the following year, prompted some of the Ukrainians to administer a severe beating to the secretary of the university, who was a Pole. The riot which ensued led to the arrest of more than one hundred Ukrainian students and caused the Poles to stage a window-breaking demonstration before the various Ukrainian buildings in Lviv. When the senate of the university petitioned the government in 1910, asking it to make Polish the sole medium of instruction, the Ukrainians in the student body called a mass meeting and demanded that the institution remain at least nominally bilingual until they could obtain a separate university. The Poles constructed a barricade in order to prevent the several hundred participants from leaving the university building. In the melee which followed one Ukrainian student, Adam Kotsko, was killed while 128 were arrested and given sentences ranging from 2 weeks to 3 months. Although the Ukrainian deputies in Vienna pressed the demand for a separate university, such an institution was never established under Austrian rule.

#### The Political Situation in Ukraine

In the course of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the ensuing civil war there developed a struggle between nations which temporarily transcended conflict between personalities, classes or parties. If a distinction is made between nationality and nation on the basis that a desire for independent

statehood is a particular attribute of the latter, it can be said that Ukraine ceased to be a mere ethnic and cultural mass and commenced its emergence as a nation at this time. For it was only after the November Revolution that a significant number of Ukrainians began to demand political independence rather than a cultural and political autonomy. From the spring of 1917 to the summer of 1920 the forces supporting Ukrainian nationalism were able to maintain a series of Ukrainian governments on the soil of Ukraine.

The first stage in this transformation began with the establishment of the Ukrainian Central Council (Ukrayinska Tsentralna Rada) which led a somewhat precarious existence between March 1917 and April 1918. During the first months of its activity it was really a semi-autonomous administrative organ admitting the supremacy of the Provisional Government in Petrograd. Democratic and strongly socialist in its ideology, the Rada was the creation of the leftist intellectual groups which had predominated in the national movement before the war. Professor Michael Hrushevsky returned from Galicia to head the Rada. The inability of the Rada to come to terms with the Bolsheviks and the Bolshevik invasion of Ukrainian soil resulted in the proclamation of Ukrainian independence issued on January 22, 1918, in the Fourth Universal (Manifesto): "On this day the Ukrainian National Republic becomes the independent, free and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people".<sup>4</sup>

When the situation became critical in January 1918, special mass meetings of youth were called. In Kiev, the students of the University of St. Volodymyr and of the newly formed State University decided to organize a

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<sup>4</sup>V.Kubijovyc, Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Ukrainian National Association, 1970), p.743.

student battalion of Sichovi Striltsi (Sitch Rifleman). The students of Kyrylo-Metodiy Brotherhood High School met on January 19 and decided to join in the efforts of the university students. Although the battalion was expected to form a special guard of the Government, the critical daily situations resulted in the decision to send the Student Battalion to the front.

At the railway station at Kruty the battalion joined the remnant of what had been a unit of cadets of the Kiev military academy, now only 250 strong, and a well disciplined group of about 40 revolutionary soldiers. The total Ukrainian force numbered about 600 and ammunition supplies were limited to 40 rounds per man. Intelligence reports put the enemy force at 3,000 infantry and 1,500 well trained sailors of the Baltic Fleet. At 9:00 a.m. on January 29 the battle began and when the ammunition ran out the Student Battalion went into hand-to-hand combat. Only 35 prisoners were taken and 28 of these were executed the next morning. Conflicting estimates of the total Ukrainian losses at Kruty circulated for a long time after the battle. The first reports that reached Kiev indicated that there were no survivors, but later investigations revealed that approximately 50 percent of the entire force died in battle with the heaviest losses suffered by the Student Battalion.<sup>5</sup> The significance of Kruty was that it delayed the Bolsheviks long enough for the Ukrainian delegation to reach an agreement with the Allied Powers.

The peace treaty signed at Brest-Litovsk between the Germans and Ukrainians gave Ukraine a new lease on life and the opportunity to strengthen and legalize its statehood on the international plane. The price paid for

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<sup>5</sup>V.Janiw, The Battle of Kruty (Montreal: Susk, 1959), p.13.



this recognition was high; it required forfeiture of the recognition which had been awarded the Rada by the Entente, and it made Ukraine a German satellite.

One of the immediate causes of the demise of the Rada was its inability to compromise with a variety of German demands. But the downfall of this government can only be correctly evaluated in terms of the weakness of the Ukrainian national movement. The historian and politician, Vinnechenko, described the change in governments in terms of the Ukrainian nationalist petit bourgeois democracy being succeeded by the non-Ukrainian upper middle class. The coup, which in his opinion created a Hetmanite in the person of Paul Skoropadsky, was based on an alliance between the German command and a coalition of landowners, financiers, industrialists and right wing moderate elements inimical to the aims of the revolution and acting on the basis of immediate personal self-interest.<sup>6</sup> On April 29, 1918, the Ukrainian State (Ukrayinska Derzhava) with a monarchy and cabinet government replaced the Ukrainian National Republic.

The Hetman, Paul Petrovich Skoropadsky, who at the time spoke no Ukrainian, was a very wealthy landholder. Born on May 3, 1873, son of a colonel in the tsar's cavalry guards, he attended the fashionable Pages' School from which he ultimately emerged as an officer. Entering World War I as a Major General, he emerged as a Lieutenant General who had served as an Aide-de-Camp to Nicholas II. This was hardly the career of a Ukrainian nationalist.

Although the new government was dictatorial, capitalistic and in many instances subservient to Russophilism, some advances in Ukrainianization of

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<sup>6</sup> Dmitro Doroshenko, Istoriya Ukrayiny [History of Ukraine] (Uzhorod: n.p., 1932), Vol.2, p.38.

the country were made. Thus there were those who regarded the Hetmanite as Ukrainian, while Ukrainian nationalists believed it to be the very anti-thesis. The latter shared a sense of exclusiveness which characterizes those to whom the nation is the supreme ideal. The Hetman's supporters differed from the nationalists because "they understood the Ukrainian state in a broad territorial sense rather than in a restricted national sense".<sup>7</sup>

The Hetman, however, was unable to maintain his German support and was forced to abdicate on December 14. A new Directory headed by Vinnichenko and supported by the Sichovi Striltsi under commander Evhen Konovalets (later leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) re-established the Republic.<sup>8</sup>

With the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Galicia and Bukovina joined together in November 1918 to form the Western Ukrainian National Republic. In January 1919 in Kiev, Western Ukraine united with the Directorate, the leadership of which had passed to its most forceful member Simon Petliura, and proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian lands as one independent state. A description of the civil wars which raged in both East and West Ukraine and the political kaleidoscope which dominated Ukraine in the 1918-1919 period are more fully analyzed in other studies.<sup>9</sup> Suffice it to say

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p.86.

<sup>8</sup>E.Konovalets, Prychynyky do Istoriyi Ukrayinskoyi Revolutsiyi [Supplements to the History of the Ukrainian Revolution] (2nd Edition, n.p., 1948), p.9. The Hetman who renewed his claim to the throne became a figure of greater stature in the national movement as an emigre in Vienna than he had been during 1918 and received support in Canada. The Hetmanite movement in Canada is discussed below.

<sup>9</sup>See J.S.Reshetar, The Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952).

that the superior forces of the Red Army forced Petliura to take the Ukrainian government into exile and seek Poland's aid against Russia. Petliura's eleventh hour agreement with Poland was deeply resented by Galician Ukrainians who had been defeated by the Poles. While most nationalists endeavoured to smooth over criticism of Petliura personally, especially after his assassination in Paris in 1925, most West Ukrainians gave no support to the emigré government. The West Ukrainians tried their own approaches to the problem of carrying on Ukrainian life under conditions of oppression by the Polish nationalist government which was granted the mandate to govern Western Ukrainian lands.<sup>10</sup>

#### Nationalism in Western Ukraine

Some West Ukrainians attempted to work within the Polish parliament while others rejected the road of accommodation to the Polish Government. In the early twenties they turned to communism as the champion of both nationalist aspirations and social needs. Economic inequality and social immobility presented a broad economic basis for communist propaganda. Under the circumstances in which a nationalist Ukrainian Communist regime appeared to be taking form in Kiev this propaganda appealed strongly to the nationalist element among the West Ukrainians as well.

At the same time, an extreme movement commonly known in American scholarship as "integral nationalism" attracted wide support.<sup>11</sup> Because by definition integral nationalism is a movement of individual nations rather

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<sup>10</sup>Armstrong, Ukrainian Nationalism, p.18.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p.19.

than a universal ideology and because its adherents reject systematic rational programs, it is difficult to define its precise nature. The following characteristics stand out:

(1) a belief in the nation as a supreme value to which all others must be subordinated, essentially a totalitarian concept; (2) an appeal to mystically conceived ideas of the solidarity of all individuals making up the nation, usually on the assumption that biological characteristics or the irreversible effects of common historical development had welded them into one organic whole; (3) a subordination of rational, analytic thought to the 'intuitively correct' emotions; (4) expression of the 'national will' through a charismatic leader and an elite of nationalist enthusiasts organized in a single party; (5) glorification of action, war, and violence as an expression of the superior biological vitality of the nation.<sup>12</sup>

In West Ukraine in the twenties, two distinct groups prepared the ground for integral nationalism. One drew its strength from the resentment held by the Galician soldiers who had borne a heavy part of the burden of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation, only to be consigned to second-class citizenship by Poland. The most active were veterans of the Sichovi Striltsi, a unit which had operated under Colonel Eugene Konovalts in East Ukraine. After the collapse of the government, the unit disbanded in Galicia and many of its members united in forming an illegal, para-military organization known as the Ukrainian Military Organization (Ukrayinska Viyskova Orhanizatsiya--UVO).

The second group was composed of the Ukrainian student population in Western Ukraine. As a reaction to the nationalist Communist influence, which threatened to win the bulk of the Ukrainian student population in the early twenties, a nationalist anti-communist movement was organized. Headed by Dmytro Dontsov, the Union of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth (Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi

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<sup>12</sup>For a discussion of integral nationalism see C.J.H.Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948).

Natsionalistychnoyi Molodi--SUNM) had great success among the youth of Galicia.<sup>13</sup> Dontsov, an East Ukrainian by origin, had been an active propagator of nationalism even before the First World War. By the early twenties his teachings had come to resemble those of the integral nationalists and he propagated an ideology which emphasized:

- (1) The use of force; if sustained open opposition to the dominant group was impossible, then he advocated terrorism;
- (2) securing absolute adherence to the 'pure' national language and culture;
- (3) the glorification of "illegality" since there was no tradition of a state which could support national aspirations;
- (4) fantastic romanticism which was spontaneous and genuine among unsophisticated Ukrainians;
- (5) rejection of the moderation of the elders because of the failure of the efforts of the older generation and their tendency to compromise with the Polish occupiers.<sup>14</sup>

During the twenties the Ukrainian Military Organization and the Union of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth gradually won over nearly all politically active elements in the West Ukraine except those which adhered to the moderate legal parties. Moreover, there were always close connections between the veterans' organization and the student's group; in 1929 these connections were formalized by the establishment of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Orhanizatsiya Ukrayinskykh Natsionalistiv--OUN) which joined both groups in a single party. OUN was to carry on the struggle both by political means and by force against all oppressors of the Ukrainian nation. Through its appeal to the frustrated youth living under Polish rule and through its attraction for many of the embittered emigres from the East Ukraine, the new movement rapidly attained considerable strength. For eight years it was

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<sup>13</sup>Armstrong, Ukrainian Nationalism, p.21.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p.22.

directed by the former commander of the Sichovi Striltsi, Konovalets. His assassination, by a soviet agent, on May 23, 1938, was a severe blow to the OUN.

#### Nationalism and Communism

For a time after the fall of Petliura's government, it appeared as if the rising tide of nationalist sentiment--it rose even among those who had long been adherents of Marxist doctrines--might set the course for Ukrainian independence. To understand this situation it is necessary to note that the Communists under Lenin had modified their original stand on nationalities in order to appeal to the nationalism of the non-Russians. In January 1918, soon after the Bolsheviks came to power, the Third Congress of Soviets asserted the theoretical right of all the nations of the Tsarist empire to go their several ways, to secede from the control of the Bolshevik government in Moscow. Self-determination, as was later realized, was fiction. The Communist Party ensured that the non-Russian Communist Parties formed inseparable blocs of the central Bolshevik organization.

Communist leaders in Moscow directed that the culture of each nation be "national in form, socialist in content".<sup>15</sup> Communist leaders of the non-Russian nations set about vigorously promoting an independent cultural life as soon as Communist control was established.<sup>16</sup> In Ukraine, during the early 1920's, Alexander Shumskyi, Commissar of Education, and in 1927 Nicholas Skrypnyk, devout Communists but firm adherents of Ukrainian Cultural nationalism, developed a generation of young people who were accustomed to think

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p.15.

<sup>16</sup>For details see S.Sullivan, Soviet Politics and the Ukraine, 1917-1957 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

and write in the Ukrainian literary language.

A large group of intellectuals, some from the rising generation, others from the group which had supported the national governments of the revolutionary period but later accepted the Soviet regime, remained more devoted to nationalism than to communism. A member of the latter group was Michael Hrushevsky, past president of the Rada who returned to Soviet Ukraine when it appeared to offer an outlet for nationalist activity.

Such ideas remained a threat to Communism, and Stalin, the most ruthless enforcer of conformity, moved to crush the "national deviation" of Ukrainians as soon as his power was entrenched. Indeed, the first steps in this direction were taken as early as 1927. The great attack came in 1930 when numerous organizations were suppressed, many intellectuals were arrested and the drive for the collectivization of Ukrainian agriculture began.

Within the time period of the expulsion of the Directorate and the consolidation of Stalin's power in 1930, at least four major political groupings had taken a keen interest in the political development of Ukrainian territories. First there were the Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries, who, like Hrushevsky, became Communists at least in name and returned to the Bolshevik controlled territories. The second group did not return to Ukraine but remained loyal to Petliura and his exiled government and hoped for a completely independent democratic non-socialist republic. The third group was that of the non-communist Marxian socialists, led by Mikita Shapoval, and the fourth was that of the Hetmanites. All four ideologies made their way to Canada and found adherents and organizations to continue their dogmas.

Youth Section of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer  
Temple Association

Ukrainian Social Democratic Party

The first Ukrainian political doctrine which took root in Canada after the first world war was that of the communists. The groundwork for the communist ideology had been prepared during the first few years of Ukrainian immigration into Canada. A few of the Ukrainians came over well acquainted with the aims of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, formed in Lviv, Galicia in 1896. By 1905, the nucleus of small socialist societies--T. Shevchenko Educational Society--had appeared at Winnipeg, Portage La Prairie and Nanaimo, and had united into the "Ukrainian Free Thinkers Federation" of "socialists and anarchists".<sup>17</sup> In 1907, the federation became the Canadian variation of the Galician organization and established the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party with headquarters in Winnipeg.<sup>18</sup>

The programme put forward by the newly formed party aimed exclusively at the Ukrainian immigrant population. Through its newspapers, the weeklies, Chervony Prapor (Red Flag), which went bankrupt after 18 issues in 1907, and

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<sup>17</sup>M.H.Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), p.265.

see also:

R.A.Davies, This Is Our Land (Toronto: Progress Books, 1943), p.15.

<sup>18</sup>P.Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), p.96.



in 1909 Robochy Narod (Working People), editors like Paul Crath (Krat) and Wasyl Holowatsky and leaders such as Myroslav Stechishin and Harry Slipchenko supported the Second International and ridiculed the Orthodox Church.<sup>19</sup> With the barriers of language and the tendency of Ukrainians to settle in groups rather than dispersing and integrating, the party was able to successfully exploit the frustrations and bitterness of the early pioneers by advocating militant atheism and the class struggle rather than Christian doctrine and the peaceful integration into Canadian society.<sup>20</sup>

In 1910 the Canadian Social Democratic Party (SDP) was formed in Toronto. The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party joined the SDP and became the numerically dominant wing of this new organization. When M.Stechishin and P.Crath left the party,<sup>21</sup> the editorship of the organ and the leadership of the party were taken over by more radical socialists in the persons of Matthew Popowich, Daniel Lobay and John Navizivsky (Navis). In 1917, when the chaos in Russia commenced, the Ukrainians in the SDP in Canada took the lead in offering their moral support to the revolutionary activities in St. Petersburg. A few days after Tsar Nicholas II's abdication, Matthew Popowich, one of the most active of the Ukrainian radicals and later to be a founding member of the Communist Party of Canada, addressed a public meeting in Winnipeg commemorating the birth of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko. He concluded his speech thus:

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<sup>19</sup>M.Stechishin and H.Slipchenko later became founders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

<sup>20</sup>Wm.Rodney, Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p.10.

<sup>21</sup>M.Stechishin was to become prominent in the Ukrainian Orthodox movement (SUS) and Paul Crath became associated with the Sitch, both groups are discussed below.

I am confident that the workers and peasants, our class brothers, will not stop. Now that the tsarist autocracy is cracked and Nicholas has abdicated the people will go forward from this provisional government forward to government by the working people and thus forward to socialism.<sup>22</sup>

Until 1917, there was very little Russian influence in the Canadian socialist movements. After the consolidation of the Bolshevik victory, Moscow became the focal point of revolutionary influence for Canadian radicals. The leaders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party "hailed the establishment of the Soviet Government as the victory of the proletariat and the harbinger of the world communist movement".<sup>23</sup> The Ukrainian SDP in Canada swung towards bolshevism in November 1917. The less radical element was gradually forced out of the leadership, and the party organ Robochy Narod was converted into a semi-weekly in 1917 being "made a mouthpiece of Russian Communism".<sup>24</sup>

The social unrest in Canada, agitated in part by the more radical elements, did not go unnoticed by the Canadian Government officials. Prime Minister Borden appointed a Montreal lawyer, C.H. Cahan, in the autumn of 1918 to investigate the radical activities occurring in Canada. In an interim report, Cahan noted that the mental unrest amongst the peoples of Slavic origin in Canada was "directly attributable to the dissemination of Socialist doctrines".<sup>25</sup> In his final report, Cahan alluded to the "considerable quantities of literature in Russian and Ukrainian languages...[which] have

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<sup>22</sup>T. Buck, Forty Years of Great Change, 1917-1957 (Toronto: n.p., 1957), p.7.

<sup>23</sup>Rodney, Soldiers of the International, p.16.

<sup>24</sup>Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, p.98.

<sup>25</sup>PAC, Prime Minister R.L. Borden Papers, Manuscript Group 26H, Series O.C.519, July 20, 1918.

recently been sent to Canada direct from Petrograd" and suggested that the Order in Council of August 5, 1918, which required "every alien of enemy nationality" over the age of sixteen to register with the police should be now "extended to include Russians, Ukrainians and Finns".<sup>26</sup> On September 27, 1918, the cabinet passed Order in Council #2384 which banned fourteen organizations, including the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party and the Ukrainian Revolutionary Group.<sup>27</sup> The suppression of these organizations was permanent and carried a penalty of five years imprisonment and a five thousand dollar fine for anyone caught taking part in the activities of the banned parties. The radical newspapers, especially the Ukrainian Robochy Narod, were formally outlawed at the same time.

#### Ukrainian Labour Temple Association

Early in 1918 the leaders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party had had the fortuitous insight to commence the construction of Ukrainian labour temples and to establish a front organization, Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (Stovaryshennya Ukrayinskay Robitnychay Dim—SURD) advocating the aims of a cultural and educational society. The SURD, although it included some of the leaders of the suppressed party, did not fall under the ban. As a result, the leaders and membership of the banned Ukrainian SDP slipped into the folds of SURD. From Winnipeg, the organization spread to other Canadian cities where the pro-Soviet Ukrainian element or the phased out Ukrainian SDP branches had a sufficient following to undertake the erection of labour temples.

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., Series O.C.519, September 14, 1918.

<sup>27</sup>Canada Gazette, Extras November 27 and December 7, 1918.

In 1920, the first conference of SURD was held in Winnipeg, at which representatives from Toronto, Hamilton, Edmonton, Portage La Prairie, Calgary, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw and Winnipeg decided to form a national association.<sup>28</sup> At the Fourth Convention of SURD, in 1923, it was reported that membership had risen to fifty-four branches.<sup>29</sup> Soon after, the association was incorporated by the Secretary of State of Canada under the Companies Act, by Letters Patent dated October 21, 1924, as the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (Tovarystvo Ukrayinskay Robitnycho-Farmerskay Dim--TURF Dim).

While the leaders of SURD were forming their external image, they were at the same time examining channels through which to activate their political motives since the SURD was to be ostensibly a cultural and educational society. Their opportunity arrived early in February 1919 when the first attempt was made to establish "an International Workers Association in support of the Russian Revolution and to further the struggle for socialism in Canada".<sup>30</sup> Believing it to be of seditious nature, the police raided the Toronto meeting. Tom Bell, Mrs. Florence Custance, Mr. and Mrs. Everhardt and the Ukrainian representative John Boychuk were arrested, and then tried for sedition. The Everhardts were deported to Germany, the other three were sentenced to two years in jail.

This attempted suppression did not daunt the spirits of the Ukrainian radicals; on May 6 another opportunity presented itself to make their stand--the Winnipeg General Strike. As the strike progressed the more

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<sup>28</sup>Davies, Our Land, p.16.

<sup>29</sup>Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visti [Ukrainian Labour News], Winnipeg, January 20, 1923.

<sup>30</sup>A.Balawyder, "Canadian-Soviet Relations, 1920-1935". (Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 1966), p.191.

extreme elements among the city's radicals, "notably members of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association...who espoused what they considered to be the views held by the Bolsheviks in Russia, realized that the dispute provided an excellent opportunity to further their own cause".<sup>31</sup> They opened the doors of their Ukrainian labour temple to serve as the headquarters for the Winnipeg strikers. Under the leadership of men such as John Navizivsky and Matthew Popowich, they attempted to gain support for the striking labourers among the ethnic population of Winnipeg.

The socialist movement continued to develop and gain momentum. When in the 1920's the temporarily favourable policy for Ukrainians, known as "Ukrainianization", was introduced by the Soviet Ukrainian Government, the SURD became even more attractive to persecuted and disappointed Ukrainians and its ranks swelled, in some cases even by former members of the Ukrainian armies.<sup>32</sup> 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 Ukrainianization policy in their homeland, reinforced by intensive propaganda in which they believed simply because they wanted it to be true, led them into the Communist camp.

The organizational endeavours by Ukrainian Canadians to preserve and develop their Ukrainianism was condemned by the majority society in the form of open discrimination. A memorandum to the Governor General explained the English view of the Ukrainian position in Canada:

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<sup>31</sup>Rodney, Soldiers of the International, p.25.

<sup>32</sup>W. Veryha, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Origins and War Activity", (M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1967), p.25.

A determined fight is being made against Canadianization and assimilation among certain important foreign elements in Canada. The lead is taken by the Ukrainians...The methods employed are voluntary schools, the teaching of the Ukrainian language, the keeping alive of Ukrainian songs and music and the appearance of a rude cultural movement which while grotesque in some aspects, is virile and has its roots in the mass of the common people. Associated with these several methods is a constant Bolshevist and anti-religious propaganda...The revolutionary organization among the Ukrainians is complete and coherent. It centres in the Ukrainian Labour Temple at Winnipeg...the revolutionary minority are by far the most aggressive and energetic of the several factions of the community.<sup>33</sup>

Youth Section of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer  
Temple Association

By the Fourth Annual Convention held on January 15-18, 1923, the "revolutionary" organization had developed sufficiently to allow the leadership to turn their attention to fostering socialist ideology among their younger adherents. The convention resolved to publish a separate journal for its children and if that could not be realized then the women's journal Holos Pratsiy made contingent plans to publish a youth section on its pages.<sup>34</sup>

At the following convention held February 6-9, 1924, a separate youth organization was established alongside SURD. The Union of Ukrainian Labour Youth (Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Robitnychoyi Molodi—SURM) was to allow youth between the ages of 10 to 18 the opportunity of joining together for the purposes of becoming educated members of the working class.<sup>35</sup> A constitution, providing for the youth to become part of the SURD structure and under its

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<sup>33</sup>PAC, Governor General Records, Record Group 7 G14, Vol.103, Memorandum from C.F.Hamilton, RCMP CIB to A.F.Sladen, Secretary to Governor General, August 31, 1921.

<sup>34</sup>Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visti, January 20, 1923.

<sup>35</sup>Petro Krawchuk, Na Novitni Zemli [On the New Land] (Toronto: Ukrainian Life Publishing Co., 1958), pp.150-151.

leadership, was adopted by the convention delegates.<sup>36</sup> By 1925 there were 12 youth locals with 445 members.

Despite limited successes in youth organization, the TURF Dim, as SURD was known after incorporation, had by and large neglected to provide leadership for the activities of SURM. The matter of co-ordination of education had not been a priority of the Central Executive Committee (Centralni Vykovnavchi Komitet--CVK). At the Seventh National Convention held January 25-27, 1926, the Organizational-Educational Commission, which was established by the CVK to examine the work of the TURF Dim among the Ukrainian labour and farmer youth, presented its report. It noted that the youth which went to the TURF Dim schools and took part in the orchestras, choirs, drama and other groups had expressed their desire for greater autonomy and increased literary and sports activities.<sup>37</sup> The autonomy of any youth program was not acceptable to the CVK. In order to co-ordinate the activities of the youth the convention resolved to organize a Youth Section (Sektsiya Molodi) of TURF Dim on the following basis:

All youth which goes to the TURF Dim schools or belongs to the orchestra, choirs, drama groups, educational, sports, social or other clubs form the Youth Section of TURF Dim. The organization will co-operate with all other farmer-labour youth organizations which have the same aims and tasks.<sup>38</sup>

To form a branch the Youth Section had to have at least seven members. Within each branch two subdivisions were advocated, one for children under the age of twelve, the other for those over the twelve year limit. Each

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<sup>36</sup>Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visti, July 8, 1924.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., February 9, 1926.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

branch had a five member executive which included a President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Secretary-Treasurer and Librarian. To the Executive were co-opted a school teacher and a representative of TURF Dim. The co-ordination of activities and general administration of the branches of the Youth Section were directed by a five member Central Committee (Centralny Komitet). To this Central Committee the CVK also appointed one of its representatives and the endeavours of the Central Committee were always subject to ratification by the CVK. In reality, the Central Committee of the Youth Section was strictly controlled by the CVK.

This constant and complete subordination was continuously re-emphasized in all publications directed at the youth:

The Central Committee does not have any authority of its own. The Central Committee receives its instructions from the CVK of TURF Dim which is the highest body over all the organizational substructures.<sup>39</sup>

The actual membership found itself under greater surveillance and supervision:

The branches of the Youth Sections are also directly responsible to the Executives of the local TURF Dims and must behave exactly as they are told by their local instructor who is appointed by the Branch Executive of TURF Dim. When branches of the Youth Section receive instructions from the Central Committee of the Youth Section then they must fulfill these instructions, not according to their local requirement, but as instructed. For this reason the instructor was appointed to teach the members what to do and more important, how to fulfill their responsibilities to the organization.<sup>40</sup>

The instructors were appointed from the men's section and were members who had been active for numerous years in various labour organizations. They were

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<sup>39</sup>Svit Molodi [Youth World], Winnipeg, March 1927.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.



knowledgeable in the daily routines of organization life and were competent to "lead it down the right path".<sup>41</sup>

The need for a youth organization was also a subject on the agendas of the TURF Dims' Provincial Conventions. In Toronto (April 16-17, 1926), Saskatoon (April 16, 1926) and in Edmonton (June 11-12, 1926) the TURF Dim delegates discussed the glaring lack of a mass organization which could attract the working youth and engage it in worthwhile cultural and organizational projects. The above Provincial Conventions analyzed the resolutions of the Seventh National Convention which dealt with the matter and resolved to immediately form Youth Sections of TURF Dim wherever possible.<sup>42</sup>

The first such Youth Section was brought into existence in Winnipeg on March 15, 1926.<sup>43</sup> Utilising the previous SURM membership base the Central Committee was able to establish 13 branches with 826 members within a half year of its formation.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., April 1927.

<sup>42</sup>Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visti, May 11, 1926 and June 8, 1926.

<sup>43</sup>Boyova Molod [Militant Youth], Winnipeg, March 1931, p.7.

<sup>44</sup>Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visti, May 25, 1926.

<u>Youth Section of TURF Dim Branch</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Winnipeg, Manitoba	315
East Kildonan, Manitoba	19
Transcona, Manitoba	52
Fort William, Ontario	66
West Fort William, Ontario	59
Port Arthur, Ontario	40
Fort Francis, Ontario	43
Sudbury, Ontario	40
Timmins, Ontario	60
Calgary, Alberta	30
Lethbridge, Alberta	28
Kolhorst, Alberta	16
Vancouver, British Columbia	50

Upon the requests of the Youth Section the 8th National Convention of TURF Dim resolved to establish a distinct communication media directed only to the youth. The monthly magazine Svit Molodi (the Youth's World) which appeared March 1927 became the official organ of the Youth Section of TURF Dim and existed until 1930. The early issues of the journal took on the appearance of a children's magazine offering guidelines and instructions for good organizational and personal behaviour. By the late 1929 the journal was more sophisticated in espousing class ideology and in its support for the poorer farming youth and the working class youth.

#### The Communist Party of Canada

The Finnish and Ukrainian socialist organizations, at the end of 1918, formed by far the largest revolutionary groups in Canada. All that was lacking was a firm leadership with a common aim and purpose which would bring both under a single authority. Two years after the initial failure of February 1919 another attempt was made to organize a secret Communist Party of Canada. The Comintern urged the various Communist groups "particularly the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association and the Finnish Social Democratic Party to form one party".<sup>45</sup>

What was not so well understood, however, is that the Comintern, or the Third Communist International, was formed by Lenin in 1919 to promote the world revolutionary movement on a Marxist-Leninist framework. To carry out this proposed union, three well-financed revolutionary organizers were sent from Moscow to Canada as members of the Pan-American Bureau of the Third

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<sup>45</sup>Balawyder, "Canadian-Soviet Relations", p.191.

International—a Russian Jew, named Louis Fraina, a Japanese, named Sen Katayama and a Lett, named Jensen, alias Charles E. Scott.<sup>46</sup> Under their direction the founding convention of the Communist Party of Canada was held in a small barn near Guelph, Ontario, on May 23, 1921. The meeting, held in great secrecy, unanimously adopted the Communist International and drew up the following resolution:

The Communist Party of Canada will systematically and persistently propagate to the working class the idea of the inevitability of and the necessity for violent revolution and will prepare the working class for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship based upon Soviet power.<sup>47</sup>

Besides this secret "Z" level, or underground wing, the Canadian Communist party also had an overt branch, or an "A" level—the Workers' Party of Canada (WPC)—whose aims appeared less radical but whose principles remained the same as those of the Communist Party.

Also at Guelph it was specified that within two months of the secret convention, the language groups—and by language groups the party meant the Ukrainian and Finnish members, or any unit numbering two hundred who spoke a given tongue—were to hold their own conventions, and were to submit to the party for approval their constitutions as well as any decisions or by-laws which were passed. In the case of the Ukrainians, the special unit was known as the All-Canadian Ukrainian Party Faction and was composed of trusted Ukrainian party members, especially John Boychuk, Matthew Popowich, John Navizivski and Matthew Shatulski.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>W.Kirkconnell, Seven Pillars of Freedom (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1944), p.31.

<sup>47</sup>Rodney, Soldiers of the International, p.62.

<sup>48</sup>"Red Drive on New Canadians". Financial Post, December 18, 1937, XXXI, 51.

From the start, the various revolutionary language units, unlike their counterparts in the United States were made "integral parts of the Communist Party of Canada and [were] subject to the absolute control of the Party".<sup>49</sup> Each language unit was to elect a three-man Bureau as well as an editor for its newspaper. These had to be approved by the CPC's Central Executive Committee.<sup>50</sup>

Among the more important objectives of the Communists in Canada was the preparation of the young generation for the militant participation in the revolutionary movement. The two most important communist youth organizations in Canada were the Young Pioneers (YP) and the Young Communist League (YCL). The Young Pioneers was modelled upon a cell basis and was regarded as the children's section of the Young Communist League. After reaching the age of sixteen, the member graduated into the Young Communist League and from there into the Communist Party of Canada (CPC).<sup>51</sup> The activities of the YP were directed and supervised by either a member of the YCL or the CPC specially appointed for that purpose. The function of the YP organization was mainly educational and the YP has been described as a training school for young Communists. The ages of the members of the Young Communist League ranged from sixteen to twenty-two. In addition to the general educational meetings held by the branches, short term training schools were conducted. Occasion-

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<sup>49</sup>The Communist, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1921.

<sup>50</sup>Rodney, Soldiers of the International, p.41.

<sup>51</sup>"Training Young Communists", R.C.M.P. Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1936, p.185.

ally leading members of the organization were selected and sent to New York and Moscow to attend higher Communist training courses or Communist youth congresses.<sup>52</sup>

#### Amalgamation and Bolshevization

Communist control of mass organizations was usually direct and secretive. In the case of SURD, the trusted Ukrainian CPC members were also members of the National Executive of SURD. Matthew Shatulski, a leader of SURD and an editor of Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visti, had secretly visited Kiev and Moscow in 1923 and had returned with instructions to subordinate the organization to the CPC under the leadership of Jack MacDonald.<sup>53</sup>

Even though 72 delegates of SURD, at their 5th Annual Convention in Winnipeg (February 6-9, 1924) endorsed the Comintern's "united front tactic" and the WPC's trade union policy, the Ukrainian communists opposed the forthcoming amalgamation of the WPC into the Communist Party of Canada.<sup>54</sup> They feared that their connections with a party openly labelled as communist and affiliated with the Comintern would enable the authorities to confiscate their considerable property holdings under Section 98 of the Criminal Code. Despite these objections, which were of paramount importance in light of the fact that the review of the WPC finances at the Second WPC Convention confirmed that financially and numerically the Finnish and Ukrainian sections were the backbone of the Party, the will and control of the Comintern prevailed. In the

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p.186.

<sup>53</sup>Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, p.100.

<sup>54</sup>The Worker, March 8, 1924. See also Rodney, Soldiers of the International, p.68.

spring of 1924, the Workers Party of Canada merged into the Communist Party of Canada which emerged into the open from its underground status.

Presented with this 'fait accompli' the Ukrainian communists put aside their fears and inhibitions and commenced their organizing activities. In July 1924 a Ukrainian branch of the Communist Party of Canada was formed in London, Ontario, causing The Worker to comment: "The English comrades will have to look to their laurels or they will be outdone by the Ukrainian comrades who are real hustlers when it comes to work".<sup>55</sup> After a successful two months of reorganizing by the Ukrainian communists, the same communist paper praised the work accomplished:

As a result of the recent organizing campaign launched by our Ukrainian comrades, branches of the Communist Party have been formed in South Porcupine, Ansonwell, Kirkland Lake, Cobalt, Silver Centre, London and the Party Branches in Sudbury and Thorold have been revived. Atta Boys!<sup>56</sup>

Ukrainian branches in the Young Communist League also were created with equal vigour.<sup>57</sup>

Despite the attempts by the English leadership in the CPC to present an image of the Communist party as an all Canadian movement composed of English-speaking Canadians, the large Ukrainian communist membership basis could not be denied internally. The official Report of the Sixth National Convention of the Communist Party of Canada (May-June 1929) stated categorically that "although the overwhelming majority of the population [of Canada] is made up of [English] Canadian and French Canadian workers, 95 per cent of the Party

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<sup>55</sup>The Worker, July 6, 1924.

<sup>56</sup>The Worker, September 20, 1924.

<sup>57</sup>Ukrayinski Robitnychi Visti, February 4, 1926.

membership is confined to three language groups--Finnish, Ukrainian and Jewish".<sup>58</sup>

Under these existing circumstances the Communist Party of Canada was placed in a dilemma when in 1924 the Comintern decreed the imposition of a new organizational structure upon all parties--a process summed up in the term "bolshevization". In a resolution of the Canadian Commission of the Fifth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, "...the E.C.C.I. had decided to reorganize the language federations gradually and systematically in order to enable the party to become a united and centralized organization...".<sup>59</sup>

The leaders of the CPC, MacDonald and Spector, at first disregarded the directive as "impractical". Under further pressure from the Comintern, despite their misgivings, the CPC had to implement the policy as best it could. The object was to dismember "the Finnish and Ukrainian units [which] had supported the party like flying buttresses, visible and distinct, yet still part of the Communist Party's structure", into smaller local units, factory cells, directly responsible to District Organizers of the CPC.<sup>60</sup> Moscow considered the present structure, whereby the language groups appointed their representatives to the CPC, to be a social democratic arrangement and therefore not acceptable to a truly communist party.

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<sup>58</sup>Kirkconnell, Seven Pillars, p.31.

<sup>59</sup>Resolution of the Canadian Commission, Fifth Plenum E.C.C.I. to C.E.C., Communist Party of Canada (Moscow, 1925) quoted in Rodney, Soldiers of the International, p.84.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

The Ukrainian communists did not find favour with this turn of events. From the earliest days of the communist movement in Winnipeg, Ukrainian party leaders Matthew Popowich, John Navizivski, Matthew Shatulski, and others, claimed that the CPC leadership had not given sufficient credit to the Ukrainian wing for its contributions for the revolutionary cause. Bolshevization, furthermore, would serve to further diminish the Ukrainian communists' importance within the party.

In order to avoid a schism within the CPC, Tim Buck and Matthew Popowich were delegated to attend the Executive Committee of the Communist International's Seventh Plenum to be held in Moscow from November 22 to December 16, 1926. One of their most important charges was to explain the CPC's problems connected with re-organization, and the issues raised among the language groups by the attempts to bolshevize the party. Both made it clear that the CPC did not wish to depart from the party's original plan for re-organization, but suggested that local conditions had to be considered in any attempt to bolshevize the Canadian party. According to Wm. Rodney, while the two were in Moscow their arguments seemed to prevail, but upon their departure the Comintern's Orgburo reversed its moderate stand and again called for a complete restructuring.

The disagreement between Moscow and Toronto over the interpretation and implementation of bolshevization was considered by the CPC to be of sufficient importance to warrant sending A.G. Neal, the editor of the Finnish newspaper Vapaus, and John Navizivski of the TURF Dim to the Comintern's Sixth Congress in 1928 "to discuss bolshevization of the Canadian Party, and to determine



the role of the main language groups within that programme".<sup>61</sup> The Comintern failed to solve the Canadian party's organizational problems; instead, it recommended that "the chief objective of all language organizations was to transform themselves into mass organizations which would draw [their] foreign-born workers into the general stream of the Canadian labour movement and... communist front organizations".<sup>62</sup> The fight was bitter with the CPC-TURF Dim faction voting against Buck and the left 'minority' 80-6. Popowich's career was only salvaged through direct intervention of the Communist International. Numerous defections followed.<sup>63</sup> The Ukrainian grievance was, nevertheless, fundamental to the CPC's eventual modification of the re-organizational problem of the Canadian party.

After bolshevization the language groups not only lost their structural identity but their mass organizations also fell under more direct control from the CPC. Stewart Smith, upon completing a course in revolutionary tactics at the communist Lenin Institute, returned to Canada with instructions "to introduce into the radical programme more revolutionary activities".<sup>64</sup> Consequently, at a caucus of Ukrainian communist delegates, held prior to the 11th TURF Dim Convention at Winnipeg, January 1930, he accused the Ukrainian members of the party of rightist activities and demanded an immediate swing to the extreme left. The delegates, resenting Smith's charges, rejected the letter brought by him from the Political Committee of the CPC, thus causing a crisis

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p.87.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Interview, R.Adams, November 9, 1972.

<sup>64</sup>Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, p.102.

within the Canadian party. The matter was submitted to the Comintern, which again required the Ukrainians to submit to party leadership.

The Ukrainian communists accepted the dictum. The following TURF Dim convention, held in Winnipeg, July 15-30, 1931, declared: "We are making a shift to the course of a general revolutionary class struggle".<sup>65</sup> This 12th Convention accepted the resolutions as outlined by Matthew Shatulski, secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the TURF Dim:

1. The most important objective - unity with the general labour revolutionary movement in the field of economic and political struggle under the ideological leadership of the Communist Party of Canada.
8. To become members of the Communist Party of Canada.
10. To transform the U.L.F.T.A. [TURF Dim] and its sections into a powerful means of class enlightenment for Ukrainian workers and destitute farmers and a medium for the mobilization of the working masses of this country for the revolutionary struggle for liberation.<sup>66</sup>

The directness of control, the successful indoctrination, and the exactness of the revolutionary language employed in the TURF Dim as a result of the close ties with the CPC was clearly evident in a printed pamphlet entitled Resolutions of the Enlarged Plenum of the Communist Party of Canada, February, 1931:

The cultural activities of the mass language organizations must be of a clear-cut proletarian character....Proletarian plays, lectures on atheism, current events, classes in the English language, physical culture etc. must be further developed.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

<sup>66</sup>Report and Resolutions of the Twelfth Convention of the U.L.F.T.A., p.36, quoted in Kirkconnell, Seven Pillars, p.98. The Reports of the Conventions have since been microfilmed by MacLaren Micropublishing, Toronto.

<sup>67</sup>Resolutions of the Enlarged Plenum of the C.P.C., February 1931, p.50, quoted in Kirkconnell, Seven Pillars, p.11.

Four months later at the Twelfth TURF Dim Convention, not only was the same idea accepted but almost the same language:

The cultural-educational activity should at least be put on the proper class track....All the bourgeois-urban trash, both in plays and songs should be thrown out from our Labour-Farmer stage....The directors (stage directors, conductors, and dramatic committees) should not only be art specialists, but also real shock-troop activists in the introduction of proletarian art on our stage.<sup>68</sup>

The swing to the open support of the Communist Party was clearly visible in the Youth Section as well. In June of 1930 Boyova Molod (The Militant Youth) replaced the journal Svit Molodi (The Youth's World) and declared to "fight with all its strength against the oncoming imperialist war and... prepare the hardworking youth so that in the case of war, the youth would be ready for civil war - a war against their own capitalists".<sup>69</sup>

The youth believed that the transformation occurred at a very important time, for with the depression came intensified class conflict: "A time when revolutionary movement has crossed the world from a defensive position to the offensive against the capitalist fortress; a time when confrontation is occurring between labour and capital".<sup>70</sup> The former trade union movement and the social-democrats, which had previously received support in the drive for the establishment of a Soviet rule in Canada, were now accused of being traitors to the class struggle and the chief supporters of the capitalist system.

The successes of the Soviet Union by this time had completely overridden the importance of Ukrainianization of Soviet Ukraine. Moscow had become

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<sup>68</sup> Report and Resolutions of the Twelfth Convention of the U.L.F.T.A., pp.32-33, quoted in Kirkconnell, Seven Pillars, p.102.

<sup>69</sup> Boyova Molod, June 30, 1930, Year 1, Issue 1, p.1.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

the focal point of attention and it was Moscow and not Ukraine which received the total commitment of the organization. The Youth Section "opposed all forms of Ukrainian nationalism" and vowed to work with youth groups which were "under the leadership of the Komsomol and the Communist Party".<sup>71</sup> It publicly called upon its members to join the ranks of the Communist Youth League and the Young Pioneers and to subscribe to their organs Young Worker and Young Comrade.

As the CPC's control of TURF Dim became more overt so also did the role of the Communist Youth League in the Youth Section. In his greeting to the Third National Convention of the Youth Section in Winnipeg between February 7-10, 1930, Fred Rose, the National Secretary of the Young Communist League outlined who the enemies of the Youth Section were:

"The boss class and their agents in the ranks of the working class are doing their utmost to win the masses of young workers under their influence. This they do through the YMCA, Boy Scouts, Cadets, etc."<sup>72</sup>

By the Fourth National Convention, July 13-14, 1931, Bill Kashtan, then National Secretary of the YCL, had prepared an internal reorganization for the Youth Section in order to allow the older members greater freedom of political activity.<sup>73</sup> The Youth Section was broken up into three age categories: the older youth, 15-23, the adolescents, 11-15, and the junior youth section, between 8-11. Together with Sam Carr he described various organizational steps which had to be taken to create a stronger Youth Section.<sup>74</sup> Despite the

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Svit Molodi, February 1930.

<sup>73</sup>Boyova Molod, July 1931, p.2.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., August 1931.

size of the Youth Section--55 branches with 1500 members--it was still to a large degree an inward looking organization.<sup>75</sup> The YCL re-oriented its focus by insisting that "the youth infiltrate any fascist or anti-Soviet Ukrainian organization with the aim of swaying their membership to the revolutionary movement".<sup>76</sup> To assist them in their task the YCL at their 6th Convention (July 25-28, 1931, Toronto) also resolved to concentrate on "the Boy Scouts, Cadets, YMCA and Ukrainian fascist organizations Striletska Hromada and Sitch".<sup>77</sup>

As the Depression reached its depths the TURF Dim reached its heights. By 1933, the total membership had passed the 6,000 mark, united by 116 general locals with 3,563 members, 50 Womens Sections with 1,438 members and 55 Youth Sections with a membership of 1,640.<sup>78</sup> It was then that the Ukrainian National Federation commenced its unrelentless attacks upon the TURF Dim. They brought to the forefront that the Soviet Union was not a model for any Utopia. Alarming news of Stalin's artificial famine causing death to millions of innocent Ukrainians, massive executions of Ukrainian intelligentsia, and wholesale deportations to Siberia, temporarily brought the issue of Ukrainianism to the forefront in TURF Dim.

At first the CVK of TURF Dim would not give any credence to what was written and spoken about Ukraine by the other Ukrainian Canadian organizations. Finally in 1934 news arrived that key TURF Dim members, who had been deported

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<sup>75</sup>Svit Molodi, March 1930.

<sup>76</sup>Boyova Molod, July 1931.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., August 1931.

<sup>78</sup>Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, p.404. See also: Boyova Molod, 1931 - 1933.

or who had emigrated, such as Andrey Babiuk (pseud. M. Irchan), Ivan Sembay, and D. Chomicky had been arrested and executed.<sup>79</sup> Great dissension occurred in the organization. Danylo Lobay began to denounce the Russian tyranny in Soviet Ukraine and received the support of a considerable section of the membership and five of the eight members of the CVK.

The discord in the ranks of the organization and the loss of members grew to such dimensions that the leaders of the CPC felt that drastic measures were needed. The CPC arranged a secret caucus preceding the Conference of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Mass Organizations (ULFMO) in March 1935 during which the dissenting members, headed by Lobay, were first censured and later expelled.<sup>80</sup> As a result, the leadership of the TURF Dim passed to Stalinist supporters in a rigged election. Matthew Shutulski, summed up the pro-Stalinist position in denouncing Lobay and his associates:

When the Soviet Government punishes anyone and does not give full or any reports about this, it knows why it does so and we shall not question it about this. We, as communists, as members of the working class have expressed, do express, and will express in it (the Soviet Government) our full and unreserved confidence.<sup>81</sup>

TURF Dim then clamoured for a "peoples front". In conforming with the broadening out, or creating a united front, a policy of the Communist International, the 16th Annual Convention of TURF Dim (1936) decided to change the

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<sup>79</sup>Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, p.407.

<sup>80</sup>Danylo Lobay, "Komunistychni Rukh Sered Ukrayintsiv Kanady" [Communist Movement Among Ukrainians in Canada], Propamiatna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Narodnoho Domu v Winnipegu [Memorial Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg], S. Kowbel and D. Doroshenko (eds.), (Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home, 1949), pp.749-763.

<sup>81</sup>Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, p.108.

name of the Youth Section to Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation (Federatsiya Kanadsko-Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--FKUM). The name was deliberately chosen to mislead the public, especially English speaking Canadians, into believing that the anti-communist youth organizations Ukrainian National Youth Federation and Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association were the same entity as FKUM. Vigorous protests were made by the nationalist Ukrainian organizations which, in no uncertain terms, condemned the activities of FKUM. They endeavoured to expose its artistic and cultural activities to be a front for an anti-Canadian, anti-democratic, anti-Christian, communist organization.

On September 1, 1939, Hitler invaded Poland. The German-Soviet non-aggression pact resulted in the Comintern's instructions to the CPC to denounce Canada's participation in the war. But the CPC and the TURF Dim membership were horrified; throughout the thirties the two organizations had been attacking the fascists. The pact disillusioned many and dropouts from TURF Dim were legion. The TURF Dim core and their official organ Narodna Gazeta (the only Ukrainian daily newspaper in Canada) followed the example of the CPC in condemning Canada's participation in the war, and began to support the idea of a revolutionary overthrow of the Canadian Government in a time of crisis.<sup>82</sup>

On June 5, 1940, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association and Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation were outlawed by an Order in Council under the Defence of Canada regulations. On June 13, 1940, John Navizivski, manager of Narodna Gazeta was arrested. On July 6, 1940, eighteen more leaders of the TURF Dim, and editorial workers of Narodna Gazeta and Farmersky Zhyttia were arrested and interned. They included: M. Shatulski, P. Lysets, and J. Stefanitsky, editors of Narodna Gazeta, M. Saviak, editor of Farmersky Zhyttia

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<sup>82</sup>Kirkconnell, Seven Pillars, p.99.

M. Kostiniuk, President of the TURF Dim, J. Dubno, vice-chairman, P. Prokopchuk, recording secretary, John Boychuk and sixteen others were arrested as they were found in hiding, bringing the total to thirty-six.<sup>83</sup> Comparable fates were met by the Communist Party of Canada, the Communist Youth League, the Canadian Workers' Defensive League, the Russian Worker-Farmer Club, and the Finnish Organization of Canada.

The significance of SURD and TURF Dim, which also applies to the Ukrainian communist youth groups SURM, Youth Section and FKUM, was that despite the attempts by the CPC and the YCL to completely incorporate the Ukrainians into their structure, the latter did not foresake their Ukrainianism. The membership maintained their Ukrainian national identity despite the pressures of internationalism. Because the organization supported the Moscow regime which perpetrated numerous injustices against sections of the population of Ukraine, it found disfavour with the majority of Ukrainians in Canada. Nevertheless, TURF Dim and its Youth Section became factors par excellence for organizing and educating Ukrainian workers and farming masses and also mighty weapons against the Ukrainian church, religious, nationalist and counter-revolutionary organizations.

The question of whether to be Ukrainian or not, however, was not an issue; instead the focus was on the type of Ukrainian one was--both in terms of class and politics. In opposition to the religious and nationalist Ukrainian National Homes, TURF Dim erected Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temples. Against the choirs that sang religious and nationalist songs, TURF Dim organized proletarian choirs and orchestras which popularized Ukrainian proletarian

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<sup>83</sup>Davies, Our Land, p.46.



revolutionary songs. Against religious and nationalist schools, it established Ukrainian workers' childrens schools. Prior to 1930 many Ukrainian communists did believe that an independent Soviet Ukraine could develop by virtue of the self-determination of nations clause in the Soviet Constitution. After 1930 it became obvious that under Soviet rule Ukraine would be synonymous with Moscow. Through the numerous defections of the thirties, the membership of TURF Dim and the Youth Section that remained had accepted the Moscow brand of communism. Throughout this period the Youth Section of TURF Dim constituted by far the most advanced single communist youth movement in Canada.

### Ukrainian Sporting Sitch Association of Canada

During the same time period that the Ukrainian communists were organizing their programs and activities, another group of Ukrainians in Canada was forming an organization of a more nationalist and anti-communist character. They began the revival of the Hetmanite, or monarchist, doctrines among the Ukrainian population by creating "Sitch" branches across Canada.

### Early Sitches in Canada

A term in the Ukrainian vocabulary as familiar as the word "Kozak" is "Sitch" which was the settlement of the Kozaks. Dating back to the fifteenth century the Zaporozhian Sitch was the focal point of Ukrainian struggles. The term was resurrected in Galicia in 1901 with the formation of a physical fitness and gymnastic association known as Sitch which adopted a military discipline philosophy.<sup>84</sup> During the first World War the association developed into regular military units known as Ukrainian Sitch Riflemen (Ukrayinski Sitchovi Striltsi).

In Canada as early as 1905 at Riding Mountain, Manitoba, a Sitch Reading Hall (Chytalnya) had been established.<sup>85</sup> In the summer of 1910 a youth group

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<sup>84</sup>Matviy Stachiw, "Tradytsiya Ukrayinskoho Demokratychnoho Rukhu Molodi" [The Tradition of the Ukrainian Democratic Youth Movement], Moloda Ukrayina [Young Ukraine], October-November 1952, p.17.

<sup>85</sup>Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, p.166.

"Zaporozhka Sitch" was formed in Winnipeg.<sup>86</sup> This group met weekly and collected funds for the building of a Ukrainian National Home, a Bursa, and for assisting the Galician cause in Austria.<sup>87</sup> This group, organized by O. Mushka, also produced the drama "Courting Ceremonies at Honchariv" (Svatannya Na Honcharivchi). Its existence was shortlived, for in the fall of 1912 it disbanded because of the lack of accommodations.<sup>88</sup> Another Zaporozhka Sitch was organized at Fort William, Ontario, late in 1910.<sup>89</sup> At its second annual meeting this association adopted the following program: a) to defend its Ukrainian nationality, b) to expand the Ukrainian press, c) to campaign against drunkenness, d) to hold meeting and stage concerts, and e) to attempt to establish a private Ukrainian-English school.<sup>90</sup>

In Edmonton, Alberta, on July 30, 1914, the Independent Ukraine Association (Samostiynna Ukrayina) established a Sitch organization in that city and had serious intentions of establishing a Sitch Network across Canada.<sup>91</sup> At the same time, but independent of the other, another Sitch organization was formed in Winnipeg on August 2, 1914. Under the direction of Constantin Zalitch this Sitch organization was one of the first to stress physical fitness as part of its program. Zalitch himself was a former member of Sokil (a gymnastic association of non-radical youth) formed in Galicia by Ivan Bobersky

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<sup>86</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, July 6, 1910.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, May 7, 1911.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, October 27, 1912.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, January 1, 1911.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, August 21, 1912.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, issue no. 30, 1914.

in 1908. He was, however, well acquainted with the large Sitch organization in Ukraine (est. 1901) which had a program for youth physical education and which was more radical in character in its stand on Ukrainian independence.<sup>92</sup> The Sitch organization in Winnipeg existed only until Zalitach's death on July 2, 1915.<sup>93</sup> These two associations were designed to awaken the people's Ukrainian consciousness and to rally them to take up the struggle for a free and independent Ukraine.<sup>94</sup>

In 1921 in Winnipeg, Michael Kumka initiated a physical fitness and sports program among the youth similar to that of the earlier association. On March 21, 1922, at the Canadian Ukrainian Institute Prosvita Building, the idea of forming a Ukrainian Sitch association of Canada was adopted by 75 young Ukrainians who accepted membership. At their first meeting on April 4 the association resolved to expand the Sitch movement across Canada and to that end the association published the pamphlet "Yak Orhanizuvaty Sitch v Kanadi" (How to Organize the Sitch in Canada).<sup>95</sup>

The main concern of the organizers was that too much criticism had been directed at Ukrainian youth for taking part in drinking and dancing rather than assisting in community activities. Kumka wrote to the Kanadiyski Ukrayinets:

Such behaviour hurts our public image so we must organize our youth into Sichovi Tovarystva (Sitch associations)... in Galicia, before the war, Sitch and Sokil associations developed character in the young people; so that when war broke out, the first to enter the

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<sup>92</sup>Matviy Stachiw, "Rukhu Molodi", p.17.

<sup>93</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, Issue 43, 1924.

<sup>94</sup>Ukrayinski Holos, Issue no. 39, 1914.

<sup>95</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, April 25, 1923.

struggle were groups from the Sitch and Sokil organizations. These were the best fighters for the freedom on the nation. Such Sitch organizations should arise in all Ukrainian areas in Canada.<sup>96</sup>

Through the efforts of Taras D. Ferley, the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg also adopted the Sitch program of physical fitness and Ukrainian courses for its membership.<sup>97</sup>

In Eastern Canada a similar Sitch movement, initiated by the Rev. A. Sarmatiuk, Paul Crath and Theodore Humeniuk, took root in Toronto in November 1922.<sup>98</sup> This association also planned to expand the Sitch movement across Canada, and succeeded in March 1923 in establishing a branch in Oshawa.<sup>99</sup>

The independent growth of the Sitch associations in Winnipeg and Toronto in 1922 is largely attributable to the work of Dr. Osyp Nazaruk. Dr. Nazaruk who visited Canada in 1922 was the Minister of Press and Propaganda for the National Republic of Western Ukraine. He crisscrossed the whole country to inform Ukrainians about the pressing needs of the Republic, his government-in-exile, and the thousands of political emigrants scattered throughout Europe. His disagreement with the President-in-exile, Evhen Petruskevych, led him to become an ardent supporter of Hetman Paul Skoropadsky and the monarchist movement.<sup>100</sup> During his short stay in Canada, Dr. Nazaruk had won wide sympathy among Ukrainian Greek Catholics and laid the basis for the formation of the

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid., April 6, 1923, and April 18, 1923.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., August 12, 1925.

<sup>98</sup>Sichovi Visti [Sitch News], February 25, 1924.

<sup>99</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, August 12, 1925.

<sup>100</sup>Krawchuk, Na Novitni Zemli, p.144.

Sitch associations.<sup>101</sup> In 1923, Dr. Nazaruk became editor of the newspaper Sitch, which was published in Chicago and became the organ of the monarchist political movement in North America.

#### Ukrainian Sporting Sitch Association

After the disastrous losses suffered by the independent Ukrainian Republic many men who were actively engaged in the resistance activities succeeded in crossing the Carpathian mountains and were given asylum in Czechoslovakia. When restrictions governing admissions of immigrants to Canada were relaxed, many of these refugees emigrated to Canada. The flow began in 1922, and continued until the commencement of the depression, reaching its most sizeable proportions in 1923-1924.

This second immigration differed from the first, as it was composed of different social classes and not exclusively of agriculturalists.<sup>102</sup> There were no illiterate persons among them, and although the agriculturalists still predominated the intellectuals were next in number.<sup>103</sup> Many of this group displayed a politico-refugee attitude. They tended to remain within their ethnic community and also to maintain close contacts with their European counterparts. Furthermore, they did not wish to become too deeply rooted in the new world. These very active and mostly former young officers and men of

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<sup>101</sup>P.Yuzyk, "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada", (M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948), p.186.

<sup>102</sup>Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Annual Report 1963, (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1963), p.43, indicated that 59,895 Ukrainians arrived between 1924 and 1934.

<sup>103</sup>V.J.Kaye, "Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration" in Slavs in Canada, Vol. I, Y.Slavutych (ed.), (Edmonton: Inter University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1966), p.40.

the Ukrainian armed forces sought and attained leading positions in the Ukrainian community.

One such individual was Walter Bossy. He arrived in Canada in April 1924 at the age of 25.<sup>104</sup> In Western Ukraine he had served in the Ukrainian Sichovi Striltsi, the military unit formed during the war, and later the Ukrainian Galician Army. He quickly orientated himself about the existing organizations in Ontario and resolved to attempt to unite them into one centralized group. By the middle of May 1924 he had visited Preston, Kitchener, Hamilton and Oshawa and Toronto, proposing the creation of a centralized Sich organization. At the "Ukrainian Convention of Eastern Canada" held at Toronto on May 25, 1924, a number of independent groups agreed to unite to form one organization—Sichovi Striltsi.<sup>105</sup> In order to unite other such groups, a Central Committee of Federated Ukrainians of Eastern Canada was created, and Bossy was selected to act as the organizer of future Sich groups. A week later, at their first meeting, the Committee resolved to publish their own newspaper. With the assistance of Rev. Sarmatiuk, on June 13, 1924, Probiy, (Break-through) edited by Bossy, made its first appearance. Although this weekly periodical existed for only eight issues, it was the first Canadian publication supporting the Hetmanite movement as well as the first Ukrainian periodical to be published in Eastern Canada. The paper also devoted considerable space to the promotion of the Sich movement. During the summer Bossy again visited various pockets of Ukrainian settlement and succeeded in

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<sup>104</sup>J. Tarnovych, Volodymyr Bossy: 40 Rokiv na fronti Ukrayinskoyi Spravy, 1914-1954 [Walter Bossy: 40 Years at the Forefront of the Ukrainian Cause], (Toronto: Lypynski Ukrainian Educational Institute, 1954), p.14.

<sup>105</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, August 19, 1925.

organizing Sich branches in Toronto, Preston, Windsor and Brantford and in uniting them under the Central Committee.<sup>106</sup>

These branches conducted physical fitness exercises, staged concerts, held hiking excursions and sent funds to assist the Ukrainian war veteran invalids and the Ukrainian schools in Western Ukraine. The branch membership was not dependent upon sex or age; so that approximately 400 members were organized that summer.<sup>107</sup> On July 12, 1924, the first "Sich Day" was held as an experiment in Toronto. The Sich branches of Toronto, Oshawa and Hamilton convened to take part in various sport competitions.

Clashes between Bossy and other members of the Central Committee over the development of the Sich and the role of the other Ukrainian associations not yet committed to the Sich movement resulted in a crisis in the committee. In August the Central committee liquidated itself and its organ, Probiy.<sup>108</sup>

#### Incorporation and Union with the United States

With the Central Committee disbanded, Bossy searched elsewhere for assistance to carry on with his organizational endeavours. In America, Dr. Nazaruk was editing the periodical Sich which provided a publicity medium for the Hetman-Sich movement. Under the leadership of Dr. S. Hrynevitsky, the American Sich had held its Fifth Congress in Philadelphia and had resolved that the entire Sich organization be centralized under one supreme executive located in Chicago.<sup>109</sup> That congress had also wholeheartedly endorsed the

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., August 19, 1925.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> The last issue of Probiy appeared on August 29, 1924.

<sup>109</sup> Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, August 26, 1925.



monarchist movement under Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky on the grounds that only a non-partisan movement would be able to unite the warring political factions of Ukraine.

Bossy opened the discussions between the two organizations with the view of obtaining substantial support from the American Sitch. He travelled to Detroit, met with Dr. Nazaruk and S. Hrynevitsky and favourably completed an agreement on September 3, 1924.<sup>110</sup> In return for financial assistance and publicity, Bossy agreed that he would strive to submit the Canadian Sitch branches and the Canadian Sitch movement to the American administration. Between September 10 and October 10, he travelled to the Sitch branches in Ontario and received their commitments to join the U.S. movement.<sup>111</sup>

The Canadian Sitch became a branch of the American organization with the supreme leadership in the hands of the Otoman (Cossack Chieftain) in Chicago. On October 1, 1924, the Otoman named Bossy the Obozny (Quartermaster)—the highest ranking officer in the Canadian territory—and the organizer of the Sitch movement in Canada.<sup>112</sup> Bossy then established an Obozny Council and appointed W. Boyko, M. Yurechkiw, D. Wozny, I. Moroz and N. Popiak to assist him in the administration of the Canadian territory.

At the second meeting of the council the question of obtaining a charter of incorporation was discussed by the members. The Ukrainian Catholic Bishop,

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., November 26, 1924.

<sup>111</sup> Sitch, December 5, 1924, Bulletin Issue No. 1, 1924, (Canadian Sitch newspaper) On September 22, 1924 the Toronto Sitch formally accepted the resolutions adopted at the Philadelphia Congress.

<sup>112</sup> Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, September 9, 1925.

K.N. Budka, was contacted to lend his support while W. Boyko, T. Humeniuk, and Bossy prepared the application. On November 27, 1924, the Bishop arrived from Winnipeg and paid a visit to the Sitch organization in Toronto and committed his support to the securing of the charter. He travelled to Ottawa on December 1 and by December 3, 1924 the Secretary of State for Canada, A.B. Copp, had set his name to articles incorporating the "Ukrainian Boy Scouts and Sporting Sitch Association of Canada".<sup>113</sup> In Ukrainian, the name employed was "Tovarystvo Ukrayinskykh Plastuniv i Sitch v Kanadi" (Ukrainian Plast and Sitch Associations of Canada).

Bossy immediately turned his attention to Western Canada. Although some areas such as Hafford, Mundare and Winnipeg had adopted the Sitch program of physical training and discipline, they were not affiliated with the central headquarters.<sup>114</sup> In Winnipeg at the Prosvita-Farmers Convention (Prosvitno-Farmerski Zyizd) held on December 9-11, 1924, at the Ukrainian Institute, Bossy addressed the gathering on the topic "Let's Build the Sitch in Canada". He noted the plight of many Ukrainians in Canada:

We came here with the thought of coming to make some money and to return to the old country, but the unenviable position of our native land forced us and continues to force us to remain here.<sup>115</sup>

Bossy stressed that the Canadian Sitch was the only organization which was wholly Ukrainian and supported the Ukrainian national state:

We are scattered children of Ukraine who are nothing else than the blood of their blood, the bone from their bones, the descendents of the once renowned Kozaks of the Zaporozhian Sitch.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>See APPENDIX for the articles of the Charter.

<sup>114</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, September 23, 1925.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., April 15, 1925.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., April 25, 1925, and April 29, 1925.

While in Winnipeg he took the opportunity to hold discussions at a number of Ukrainian gatherings and with the Ukrainian press. In addition to gaining the support of the newspaper Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, which commenced a publicity campaign for the Sitch, a Sitch school was established at the A. Sheptitsky Bursa at St. Boniface.<sup>117</sup> In January 1925 Bossy travelled to the Sudbury area and on the 25th of the month organized a Sitch at Creighton Mine. On March 7, he travelled to Montreal to lay the groundwork for the foundation of a Sitch in that city.<sup>118</sup> Two days later Bossy met with Bishop Budka and together they deliberated with the General Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada.

The General Council had issued their objections that the names of the two associations were liable to be confused. The Sitch had been willing to change their name to that of "Ukrainian Sporting Sitch Association of Canada (Associated with the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association)".<sup>119</sup> The actual relationship between the two organizations was then negotiated and an agreement was reached on the following points:

1. Sitch would provide the Council with the names of interested Scout Masters.
2. The potential Scout Masters would pass examinations set by the Boy Scouts Council.
3. The Council would provide correspondence courses to all Sitch members interested in qualifying for Scout Masters.
4. Only after qualifying would the Scout Masters establish patrols of Boy Scouts out of the Ukrainian youths.

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., January 20, 1926, The Montreal branch of Sitch was formed on October 25, 1925.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., June 16, and June 23, 1926. The articles of Incorporation were amended on February 11, 1925 to take into consideration the objections raised by the Boy Scouts of Canada.

5. The Boy Scout patrols organized out of Ukrainian youth would be responsible for directives from the General Council.
6. The Council promised to support the Sitch with educational materials and with the use of their facilities and camps.<sup>120</sup>

The advantages gained by the Sitch were that the Sitch would benefit from association with an established Canadian organization both in terms of prestige and in program support. By calling the organization "Plast" in Ukrainian, the movement would have support within the Ukrainian community by being associated with the Plast movement which had its origins in Ukraine in 1911.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, although the scout masters were in theory responsible to the General Council, the actual basis of the Ukrainian movement rested within the Sitch organization and under Sitch leadership.

#### Western Expansion and Re-orientation

The lack of a previously well organized Ukrainian community in the east favoured Bossy's early successes. The organization quickly consolidated the Ukrainian sentiment and on June 13-14, 1925, successfully held its second convention in Toronto. Bossy was offered the opportunity of expanding the movement in Western Canada while holding a teaching position at St. Joseph's College in Yorkton, Saskatchewan. Within a week he had left the east taking the Sitch administrative headquarters with him.<sup>122</sup>

Throughout August and September Bossy travelled to various Ukrainian settlements in Saskatchewan such as Northquay, Alvena and Saskatoon propagating the virtues of the Sitch movement. In addition to Bishop Budka's support, the

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<sup>120</sup>Ibid., January 20, 1926.

<sup>121</sup>Plast will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter IV.

<sup>122</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, February 2, 1927.

movement saw numerous organizers such as Anna Arabska, Bronyslav Korchynski, Ivan Sawchuk, and Wolodymyr Duzy, establishing Sitch branches in all three prairie provinces.<sup>123</sup> By the summer of 1927 over twenty branches were active in the west.<sup>124</sup>

On November 6, 1926, Bishop Budka invited Bossy to assume the editorship of the weekly Kanadiyski Ukrayinets; within a month Bossy and the Supreme Sitch Command were operating out of Winnipeg.<sup>125</sup> The Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, the official organ of the Bishop and of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, had previously co-operated very closely with the Hetmanite movement. This newspaper was engaged in bitter rivalry with both the Ukrayinsky Holos and Ukrayynski Robitnychi Visti. Ukrayinsky Holos supported the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church and had developed its contacts with the republican centre, particularly with representatives of the Ukrainian National Republic; Ukrayynski Robitnychi Visti represented the Ukrainian communists and their political ideology. The religious differences as well as political animosities between the press organs led to sharp polemics and bitter enmity. When National Press (a prominent publishing company) acquired Kanadiyski Ukrayinets and decided to adopt a neutral stand towards all Ukrainian political trends, Bossy's editorial policies proved to be too antagonistic and he was relieved of his responsibilities on December 9, 1927.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>Ibid., February 16, 1927.

<sup>124</sup>See APPENDIX for a list of Sitch branches.

<sup>125</sup>Tarnovych, Volodymyr Bossy, p.17.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., p.19.

Bossy then began to publish a semi-monthly journal, the Kanadiyska Sitch (Canadian Sitch), the first issue of which appeared on April 15, 1928. It became the official organ of the Canadian Sitch Association (Kanadiyska Sitchova Orhanizatsiya—KSO) as the organization was renamed.<sup>127</sup> A new constitution stressing the movements' swing towards a military and discipline-oriented program was soon made public.

By the summer of 1928 the KSO had expanded to approximately 30 branches, a sufficient number for the holding of three provincial conventions. In Toronto on July 1-2, over 150 representatives in military uniforms assembled; on July 7-8, 280 Sitch members of Saskatchewan gathered in Yorkton, half of them in uniform; and in Alberta, 100 uniformed Sitch members attended the convention in Mundare.<sup>128</sup> By January 1929 the KSO believed itself to be strong enough to declare itself distinct and independent from the Hetman Sitch organization of America whose Chicago headquarters it had accepted since 1924.

In 1930 the Kanadiyska Sitch ran into financial difficulties and ceased publication. A re-union with the Chicago centre became necessary and occurred soon after. Bossy left Winnipeg for Montreal in 1931 and after seven years of devotion to the movement allowed Stanislav Mozevsky of Oshawa to take over the leadership of the organization. In 1932 Mychaylo Hetman became the Obozny, a position he was to hold for a number of years. The Sitch movement in 1934 changed its name to the United Hetman Organization and established its own weekly newspaper Ukrayinski Robitnyk (Ukrainian Toiler).

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<sup>127</sup> Kanadiyska Sitch, Issue 3, 1928.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* p.20.

## Youth in the Hetmanite Movement

The sports program advocated during the early years of formation gradually gave way to a predominantly military program. By 1927 the stressing of the military aspects of the Sitch almost completely overshadowed the focus of youth involvement in sports. The majority of the membership wore distinctive Sitch military uniforms and participated in field manoeuvres, military drills, and parades. In the summer of 1927 the Winnipeg Sitch took part in the regular manoeuvres of the 10th Canadian Military District at Camp Hughes.<sup>129</sup> Through the assistance of D.M. Elcheshen the Winnipeg Sitch received permission to use the military barracks in North Winnipeg every Sunday to further their training.

The Sitch organization was based on the structure employed in the Zaporozhian Kozak Camps of the 15th Century. The early sport programs had prepared the membership for military readiness. Their ideology resembled that of the Kozak camp in which the "Hetman" was the supreme judicial and executive body. The major difference between the two organizations lay in the fact that in the 15th century the Hetmans were elected, whereas Paul Skoropadsky claimed to be Hetman by virtue of being heir to the monarchy. The Sitch organization in Canada was strongly Christian in doctrine. Despite the fact that not all Ukrainian Catholics adhered to the Hetmanite philosophy, Bishop Budka continued to show open favour to the Sitch. This led to a division within the Ukrainian Catholic community in Canada which was further aggravated by its continuing conflicts with both the Ukrainian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Communist adherents. The Sitch also encountered ridicule and harassment from English Canadian quarters.

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<sup>129</sup>D.M.Elcheshen, "Ten Years of War with Chaos", The Leader, Winnipeg, 1935, p.38.

In the summer of 1928 Bossy requested and received an apology from Lieutenant Colonel F.B. Wore when Canadian soldiers under his command ridiculed and insulted Sich members because of their wearing Ukrainian military uniforms at Yorkton.<sup>130</sup>

This was a far cry from the aims expressed by the organization during its early years of formation:

...to group under our banner all Ukrainians regardless of their religious or political convictions into one large national organization which will develop among our youth the areas of sport and physical discipline...<sup>131</sup>

By 1927 the young people over the age of 18 in the KSO were part of the regular military formation established by the elder generation. They were required to wear uniforms and to take part in the military exercises alongside the veterans who had fought for Ukrainian independence. The younger Sich members, between the ages of 10 to 18, had the choice of forming separate youth sections which were responsible to the general command or taking part in the regular Sich manoeuvres. Those under eighteen however had no voting power whatsoever in their branches or at conventions.<sup>132</sup> Their freedom of organizational activity was restricted to the military commands of the higher ranking officers.

The Sich organization also continued to support the creation of Plast (Ukrainian Boy Scouts) among the Ukrainian youth. The initiative behind the scouting movement came from an Ituna school teacher--Bronyslav L. Korchynski. A member of the Sich, he also attained his Scoutmaster qualifications and

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<sup>130</sup>Regina Leader, July 10, 1928.

<sup>131</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, July 25, 1925.

<sup>132</sup>Canadian Sich Association Constitution, 1928, Article 9, Clause 71.



strove to acquire public acceptance of the concept of Plast in Canada. In the autumn of 1926 he wrote numerous articles, such as "Let's Organize Plast affiliated with the Sich in Canada" and "Sich and Plast Build Character", stressing the necessity of the new organization among Ukrainians in Canada.<sup>133</sup>

Following the Polish oppression of Ukrainians in Galicia in the early 1930's, Korchynski in his articles in Ukrayinski Visti called upon the various Ukrainian organizations, national homes, church parishes and societies to form Plast groups. He believed that a major factor which contributed to the lack of success during the 1917-1920 period was the lack of membership training and the inability of the masses of Ukrainians to follow one leader.<sup>134</sup>

In Montreal, Quebec, a Plast Branch affiliated with the Sich organization was established by Bossy in 1931. In Holdfast, Saskatchewan, Korchynski formed a Plast branch which was active throughout 1932-1933.<sup>135</sup> Oshawa, Ontario, also had an active Plast branch in 1932, while at Edmonton, Alberta, a Plast branch was formed at the Ukrainian National Home on January 28, 1933.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>133</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, September 15, 1926, September 23, 1926, November 10, 1926.

<sup>134</sup>Shliakhom 10 Richya: Zbirka Stattey; Materialiv do Istoriyi Dialnosty Plastovoyi Stanytsi v Edmonton, 1948-1958 [Pathway to the 10th Anniversary: Collection of Articles and Material for the History of the Plast Branch in Edmonton] (Edmonton: n.p., 1959), p.12.

<sup>135</sup>Plast, 10th Anniversary of Progress of the Saskatoon Plast Branch 1955-1965 (Saskatoon: Plast, 1965), p.10. See also Ukrayinski Visti, Edmonton, December 21, 1932 to November 22, 1933.

<sup>136</sup>Minute Books of the Ukrayinski Narodni Dim for 1933, pages 74, 79, 83 and 108 cited in M.Chomiak (ed.), Propamyatna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Narodnoho Domu 1906-1965 [Anniversary Book of the Ukrainian National Home] (Edmonton: Ukrayinski Katolyski Soyuz, 1966), p.198.

In Myrnam, Alberta, a Plast branch was headed by Maria Bezpalko-Sawenykevych-Demchuk in 1933.<sup>137</sup> These and other Plast branches were registered with the General Council of the Boy Scouts Association in Canada.

The Hetmanite movement had never been strong numerically even in its days of dominance in Ukraine. Outside of Ukraine its adherents were even fewer, but its character gradually changed. The movement became more nationalistic in its outlook, and its supporters were mainly middle aged or older. The Canadian Hetman Sich organization became a strictly Catholic affair in spite of the fact that Hetman Skoropadsky, who was acknowledged as the supreme leader of the organization was of Greek Orthodox faith. Notwithstanding the formal support given it by the Greek Catholic Church, the Hetmanite movement never assumed any great proportions, and prior to 1939 the Sich locals in the various Canadian cities had a comparatively small circle of followers. In 1943 it claimed 22 branches with only 6 youth sections.<sup>138</sup> One explanation for the small support was that Paul Skoropadsky could not win the sympathies of the ordinary Ukrainian Canadian farmers and workers, principally on account of his anti-peasant record from the time of his rule in Ukraine in 1918. Another explanation was that after Bishop Budka's departure, the clergy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church were not anxious to wholeheartedly promote the lay organization Sich and did not exert their influence among their parishioners.

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<sup>137</sup>O.Royick, P.Savaryn and M.Chomiak (eds.), 15 Littyia Plastu v Edmontoni [15 Years of Plast in Edmonton] (Edmonton: Plast, 1963), p.17.

<sup>138</sup>Veryha, "Ukrainian Canadian Committee", p.32.

Nevertheless, the early Sitch association was of significant importance among the Ukrainian population in Canada. It did bring to the forefront the need to organize Ukrainian youth. Although its own endeavours in this area were not outstanding, its grappling with the problem of youth involvement led to other Ukrainian associations taking an interest in the development of their younger generations.

The Sitch movement was a product of the new immigration. This second wave instilled an intensive Ukrainian spirit into the community which led to the creation of new organizations committed to support the cause of independence in Ukraine. This new factor was instrumental in extending nationalism on a wider basis and was very important in influencing the opinions of a generation of Ukrainian Canadian youth.

One measurement of the impact of nationalism is an examination of its visible effect upon the older pioneer settlers in terms of their self-identity. The population of the Ukrainians for the Prairie Provinces in 1921 was 96,053. In 1926 it had jumped to 150,506.<sup>139</sup> There is no reason to believe that the great increase was due solely to the influx of Ukrainian immigrants. Instead approximately 40,000 Ukrainians who had previously considered themselves Austrians had become nationally conscious Ukrainians and were willing to stand up and be recognized.

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<sup>139</sup>C.H.Young, The Ukrainian Canadians (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1931), pp.11-12.

## CHAPTER III

### NATIONALISM AND THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

#### The Student Movement

##### Student Clubs

The struggle of Ukrainians in Canada to retain a distinctive cultural identity was extremely evident in the activities of the Ukrainian Canadian students. Unlike the Ukrainian communist or monarchist organizations which attempted to rally the masses around their banners, the Ukrainian student movement was, during the 1920's, still in its infancy stages of development. There were a few Ukrainian student clubs across Canada, as was mentioned previously, but their focuses were predominantly introverted towards the local community. During the relative prosperity of the post war period more youth were able to enter the student ranks. The number of student clubs began to grow and the students began to look for avenues of cooperation and expression. With the expansion came also conflict as diverging viewpoints refused to be reconciled.

In Winnipeg, after the First World War, there were two student clubs. There was a Ukrainian Catholic one at the Metropolitan Sheptytsky Bursa at St. Boniface, and an interdenominational one called the Ukrainian Students' Club of Winnipeg (Ukrayinski Studentski Krushok--USK). The latter had been associated with the Adam Kotsko Bursa which had had a brief two year existence. The two clubs, unlike the two churches, had fine relations between each other;

the Catholic students club had even elected two representatives to deal specifically with the cooperation between the two clubs.<sup>1</sup>

The Winnipeg USK had many students attending the University of Manitoba and was a very active club. This group was also sufficiently motivated by the problems facing Ukrainian students abroad that in 1921 a financial campaign was undertaken to assist Ukrainian students in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

Winnipeg USK held their meetings at the Sts. Volodymyr and Olha School. This fact brought about intense criticism from the membership of the Ukrainian National Home in that city. They demanded that the students establish a program of activities at their premises.<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that the leadership of the Ukrainian National Home, which had accepted interdenominational education prior to the establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada in 1918, began to emphasize more and more the importance of the Orthodox religion. So much so that when the Winnipeg USK refused to change its character, the Ukrainian National Home established its own student club in 1924. There were 34 members; of these 19 attended high school, 2 were in technical schools, and 1 was in graduate school.<sup>4</sup> They planned their activities so as to develop their knowledge about the Ukrainian language,

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<sup>1</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, December 17, 1924.

<sup>2</sup>M.H.Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), p.426.

<sup>3</sup>Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, February 6, 1924.

<sup>4</sup>S.Kowbel & D.Doroshenko, Propamyatna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Narodnoho Domu v Winnipegu [Memorial Book of the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg] (Winnipeg: Ukrainian National Home, 1949), p.210.

history and culture. They held debates and public readings about affairs in Ukraine. Their orchestra learned to play a variety of Ukrainian songs and dances, and their drama groups and drama workshops expanded this important aspect of Ukrainian entertainment and propaganda.

Three years later, the Ukrainian Orthodox community was able to establish another Bursa in Winnipeg which was a branch of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute. In 1927 another students' club in Winnipeg came into existence at the bursa known as the Prometheus Students' Club.<sup>5</sup> With a membership of 35 students and under the guidance of Wasyl Swystun, the club rapidly developed into a leading force in student life in Manitoba.

In Saskatchewan at Yorkton, the Ukrainian Orthodox students established in the 1924-1925 school year a students' club to compete with the Ukrainian Catholic students' club at the St. Joseph's College. The President of the Orthodox students club, Peter Kondra, reported in 1928 that "the first duty of our students [70 strong] is to learn the history of Ukraine, the language and the literature".<sup>6</sup> A program of Ukrainian Studies led by Myroslaw Stechishin was conducted weekly for self-education. Every Sunday a lecture was held on Ukrainian history and creative writing. In addition to the lectures and the courses the club held regular meetings. Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the course program was the continuous comparative approach employed by the teachers. The Ukrainian grammar would be compared with that of the Latin, English and French; the History of Ukraine with major events occurring around the world. The education or training process was not restricted to the

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<sup>5</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, June 5, 1929.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., December 11, 1929

narrow goals of indoctrination, but rather was used to foster an appreciation of the Ukrainian culture in a global perspective.

The Ivan Mazepa Students' Club of Dauphin, Manitoba required a reorganization in the school year 1928-1929. It had been ejected from the Catholic hall because its membership provisions allowed any Ukrainian regardless of religious conviction to join.<sup>7</sup> Only twelve of the original members remained with the club. They set themselves the task of preparing the community for the building of a Ukrainian National Home. Soon after the opening they established a drama group which presented the play "Black Sea Sojourn" (Chornomorsky Pobut). By the end of the school year their membership had grown to forty and they were publishing a weekly newsletter entitled "Studentske Zhyttia" (Student Life). The club did not limit its activities to its own community but staged concerts and public speeches in surrounding towns and rural areas in which Ukrainians predominated.

The "Moloda Ukraina" (Young Ukraine) Students' Club in Rosthern, Saskatchewan was initiated by a teacher, Miss L. Navalkovsky, in the fall of 1928. The club held a Mothers' Day Concert and an "Evening of Humour", the proceeds from which were sent to assist Ukrainian invalids in the old country.<sup>8</sup> As there was no Ukrainian building in this area the student program was limited to the small scale of endeavours which could be realized in their private homes or in the open air. The students' club was a prime force in pressuring the community-at-large into the purchase of a Ukrainian National Home (Narodny Dim).

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., July 31, 1929.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., March 5, 1930.

In the fall of 1929 a number of students from Saskatoon arrived in Regina to take the teacher training courses. They decided to form a students' club in that city and were granted facilities at the Ukrainian National Home. They held their first meeting on September 15, 1929, and elected M.F. Kushnir to the presidency. Twenty-three students took the oath of the Kamenari (Stone Cutters) to "hammer away at the rock of darkness" and created the Kamenari Students' Club of Regina. This was not the first students club in Regina. The year before there was a students' club named Zoria (Star) but it had become defunct. The Kamenari students held meetings every Second Sunday afternoon and held discussions on such topics as "Resolved, that the Ukrainian emigrés can do more for Ukraine than can Ukrainians in the old country".<sup>9</sup>

Other student clubs emerged prior to 1930, and these included associations in the Saskatchewan centres of Ukrainian population in Sheho and Mikado near Yorkton. In Alberta a students' club was formed in Vegreville in October 1930 by an initiatory committee of four. Within a month the club had enrolled over 40 students and had adopted the constitution of the Central Council of Students Clubs.<sup>10</sup> At Smokey Lake a club was formed on November 10, 1930, having a membership of 37 in its first year.<sup>11</sup> And at Edmonton, the Markian Shashkevych Students' Union was organized in 1929 at the Ukrainian National Home and was active until the second world war.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., December 25, 1929.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., March 18, 1931.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., December 17, 1930.

<sup>12</sup>M.Chomiak (ed.), Propamyatna Knyha: Ukrayynski Narodni Dim, 1906-1965 [Memorial Book: Ukrainian National Home] (Edmonton: Ukrayynski Katolyski Soyuz, 1965), p.193.



### Central Council of Ukrainian Student Clubs

The Kameniarî Students' Club of Saskatoon took progressive steps in increasing and strengthening its contacts with students outside the Institute. Kameniarî expanded its membership base to allow Ukrainian students outside of the city of Saskatoon to become members of their club. They encouraged these students to form subsidiary clubs wherever sufficient membership warranted their creation. It was Kameniarî students M. Stechishin and Ivan Harasymuk who instituted the students' club in Yorkton in 1924. Kameniarî students also were able to purchase their first mimeograph machine which facilitated mass communications through the printing of newsletters and their distribution to a wider student audience. Even the journal Kameniarî began to utilize the reproduction facilities and was widely distributed twice a year.

The first step towards inter-club co-ordination was made on January 31, 1925 when the student executive of Kameniarî decided to challenge the Adam Kotsko Student Association in Edmonton and the Ukrainian Students' Club of Winnipeg to a public debating contest. On January 22, 1926, the first debate between representatives of the Kameniarî Club and the Winnipeg USK was held in Winnipeg. The topic for the debate was "Resolved, that Canada's economic growth rate would increase if Canada opened her door to international products".

Public debates between the students of Kameniarî and the Adam Kotsko Students' Association became significant events as they brought the students closer in spirit and thought. A partial list of topics discussed between the two clubs prior to 1928 indicated the interests of the students:

"The Life and Work of Adam Kotsko", "Students and Student Organizations in Ukraine", "Gonta and Zalizniak as Ukrainian Heroes", "Hryhory Skovoroda (Ukrainian Philosopher)", "General Symon Petliura", "National Culture", "Sovereign Rule in Ukraine", "Resolved, that Yaroslav the

Wise achieved more for the good of Ukraine than did Volodymyr the Great" and "Resolved, that Russia had committed more destruction in Ukraine than had Poland".<sup>13</sup>

At the Eleventh National Convention (Narodny Ziyzd) held in Saskatoon December 28-30, 1927, representatives from six student clubs discussed the possible formation of a student federation.<sup>14</sup> Representatives from Kameniar (Saskatoon), Prometheus (Winnipeg), A. Kotsko (Edmonton), Kameniar (Canora, Sask.), Kameniar (Moose Jaw) and the Ukrainian Students' Club of Yorkton resolved that there was a need for close coordination of the student clubs and established a federation entitled Central Council of Ukrainian Student Clubs (Centralia Ukrayinskykh Studentskykh Krushkiv--CUSK).<sup>15</sup> The new student body applied for membership and was accepted within the newly established Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Samostinykiw--SUS).<sup>16</sup>

The new executive of the student federation was composed of the presidents of the six student clubs. Their responsibility was to select from among themselves a president, who together with his club's local secretary would be responsible for the basic administrative functions of the new federation. The first President elected was Michael Ziubrak of the Saskatoon Kameniar. With

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<sup>13</sup>Yuvileyna Knyha Imeny Michayla Hrushevskoho v Edmontoni [Silver Jubilee Book of M.Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton] (Winnipeg: Hrushevsky Institute, 1943), p.33.

<sup>14</sup>J.W.Stechishin, Yuvileyna Knyha Ukrayinskoho Institutu Imeny P. Mohyly v Saskatuni, 1916-1941 [Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon] (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Company of Canada, 1945), p.201. Although still called National Conventions patterned after the first one to be called in 1916, the Conventions gradually took on a more pro-Orthodox character after the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in 1918.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p.402.

<sup>16</sup>SUS will be discussed in more detail below.

that club's secretary, Honore Ewach, he commenced: to publish a joint journal entitled "Kamenari"; to arrange for representatives of the various clubs to travel to neighbouring clubs with public speeches; to establish other student clubs; to contact others not yet in the new federation; and in general to create a more tightly knit federation.<sup>17</sup>

The students' club Kamenari soon realized that with the double burden of presidential offices they could not expect their president to effectively coordinate and direct the activities of both the club and the federation. The club decided to allow Ziubrak to continue the expansion of the federation and elected Orest Bendas to the position of the CUSK's secretary; another president (W. Chepilja) and secretary (M. Magus) were elected to handle local administration.

The aim of CUSK was to create ties between ideologically nationalist-oriented Ukrainian youth of Canada, to create the awareness among the youth of the problems of Ukrainianism in Canada and in Ukraine, and to provide direction and leadership to the various clubs and individual Ukrainians. CUSK understood that the path leading to the realization of its aims branched out in three directions. The first was the promotion of harmonious interchange of ideas between the students during general club meetings, during interprovincial debates and other inter-club activities. The second entailed student involvement in the areas of community awareness and self-education under the auspices of CUSK. The third was via the publicity campaign which was to propagandize the achievements of the students, their aims and viewpoints.

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<sup>17</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.403.

The first aim was realized through the promotion of student public speeches, discussions and debates which occurred at the local level in the club meeting. CUSK attempted to assist the program by sending out guidelines for subjects which could be discussed and which were of organizational and national-cultural interest. In order to facilitate an interchange of ideas and to ideologically influence and bring together the youth, the executive of CUSK sponsored a series of debates between the various clubs. During the year 1929 four such debates were sponsored by CUSK: between the Kameniar Club of Saskatoon and the Prometheus Club of Winnipeg; between the Prometheus Club and the A. Kotsko Club of Edmonton; between the club at Sheho, Saskatchewan and the one at Yorkton; and between the ones at Canora and Kamsack, both in eastern Saskatchewan near Yorkton.<sup>18</sup>

In the area of community leadership and self-education the clubs established programs which were available for public consumption. These included public debates on Ukrainian national issues, public speeches, drama performances and choral and orchestral presentations. CUSK also coordinated the public speaking contest at the 13th National Convention at Saskatoon. The topics selected indicate not only the ideological leaning of the convention but also the student awareness of and support for the nationalist movement. Miss Halia Kostyniuk of the Prometheus Club spoke about "The Value of the National Culture"; Joseph Melnyk of the A. Kotsko Students' Association of Edmonton discussed the theme "When Ukraine Will Become Independent"; and Yurko Kindrachuk of the Saskatoon Kameniar Club spoke about "Our Nation".<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, February 26, 1930.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

To publicize its progress and views CUSK began to supply material for a "Students' Section" in the newspaper Ukrayinsky Holos in 1929. Through this medium the labours of the student clubs became more fruitful as they received their due recognition within the Ukrainian community. The reporting of the student activities gave greater impetus to continue and increase the student movement. The "student column" also resulted in contacts with the student clubs in eastern cities of Toronto and Montreal.

CUSK even established contacts with those student groups which had no affiliation with the institutes. The Ukrainian students at the bursas had the opportunity to fulfill their "national" education outside of their regular school hours, but those students who lived in the city with their parents and did not need to stay at the bursas could not receive all the benefits of student organizational life. Many of these students grouped together and formed their own associations and held their meetings and events at already established Ukrainian community centres in their respective cities. CUSK contacted them and assisted them in developing their programs of activity.

The student journal Kameniari (Stone Cutters) had proposed some guidelines for the student movement which continued to blossom as increasing numbers of Ukrainian youth had the opportunity of educational advancement. The journal wrote:

Students have always stood at and should stand at the forefront in directing new and healthy changes for mankind. Such movement and such strength of leadership in the life of the Ukrainian peoples should be provided by the students.

The first objective that the students must establish is that as Ukrainians we no longer accept the role of the oppressed in Ukrainian affairs, but from now on assume the role of the aggressor. The suffering of the Ukrainian people in the past was necessary in order to awaken in us the desire for a better life, and now we need fighters. Before us lies the struggle on two fronts; to root out of our customs and traditions all that serves to maintain us as subservient slaves to our habits, and to

teach ourselves and all the future generations of Ukrainian youth to believe only in their own actual strength.<sup>20</sup>

As the above passage indicated, the student movement was in the process of turning a new leaf. It was to become more reliant upon itself, more vocal in Ukrainian affairs and much more aggressive than it had been in the past.

At the Kamenari club (Saskatoon) in the school year of 1924-1925 the student club became very interested in the existence of the Central Ukrainian Students' Union (Centralia Soyuzu Ukrayinskoho Studentstva—CESUS). CESUS had been founded in Prague, Czechoslovakia in 1922 and had been in that same year accepted into the Confederation Internationale des Etudiants. The union represented Ukrainian students and their interests before the international student conferences. The union also coordinated the activities of the various Ukrainian student associations throughout the world.

Having established a close contact with CESUS, the Canadian club resolved on November 6, 1924 to become a member. When it was accepted by the international body on May 5, 1925, the Kamenari club became the first Ukrainian students' club in Canada to affiliate with this overseas central.<sup>21</sup> The two unions CESUS and CUSK continued the communication and cooperation on an international level commenced by the Kamenari club.

#### Student Issues

The goal stressed among the students in the student clubs was the attainment of professional status--lawyer, doctor, teacher, priest--so that this young breed of professionals could provide necessary services for the Ukrainian people. These professionals, it was hoped, would take an active role in the

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<sup>20</sup>Kamenari [The Stone Cutters], Saskatoon, 1929.

<sup>21</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.400.

politics and leadership of the Ukrainian community. While it was expected that the older generation--the acknowledged and accomplished professionals--would take a major role in Ukrainian politics, the students were encouraged to become politically oriented and involved.<sup>22</sup>

Much was occurring in Ukraine which was brought to the students' attention. In the late 1920's and early 1930's the Bolshevik regime began another attack on Ukrainian intellectuals, professionals and students in an attempt to eradicate Ukrainianism from Ukraine. At the same time as Russia began its campaign against Ukraine, Poland commenced a "pacification policy" against the Ukrainian population within its borders.<sup>23</sup>

The student population in Canada was outraged and declared that "the time had come that we ourselves take the matter in hand because no one will do it for us, if we ourselves do not stand arm in arm and do not give the enemy a chance to breathe".<sup>24</sup>

Letters were sent to the Canadian government and the League of Nations. CUSK was among the signatories of a memorandum entitled "Protest Against the Red Terror in Ukraine", which described the purge of Ukrainian professors, writers, students, as well as workers and peasants. The call was raised for mass protests in all areas where Ukrainians lived and by all Ukrainian organizations: "We cannot remain silent while hell is being created there by the Bolsheviks".<sup>25</sup> Numerous demonstrations followed.

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<sup>22</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, April 8, 1931

<sup>23</sup>The "pacification policy" refers to the violent oppression and the forceful suppression of any unrest in the country.

<sup>24</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, June 12, 1929.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., Issue 6, 1930, p.5.

The Ukrainian war veteran General Vladimir Sikevych travelled across Canada--contacting various organizations and the student clubs. In Winnipeg January 30, 1932, he addressed the Prometheus Club about "The Life of Ukrainians Abroad and in Ukraine". He stated that, as students, they should remember that their ancestral roots were in Ukraine:

"Every student should know his history and be proud of it, and should be an aiding arm in the fight for freedom. First of all we must get together, and this can be accomplished quicker if we understand the call 'Swij do Swoho'. Students should respect their kinsmen, so that when Ukrainians do become educators or professionals, students should pay them their due respect."<sup>26</sup>

Students were troubled at that time with experiences of a more personal nature. Economic collapse in 1929 followed by the Great Depression had brought a renewal of discrimination which many Ukrainians had experienced prior to and during the First World War. This renewed discrimination came precisely at the time when many had been in Canada long enough to have heightened expectations of material and social successes. The maturing of the second generation, who were even more sensitive than their parents to economic insecurity and discrimination, magnified the feelings of discontent. The English Canadians, unable to understand Ukrainian nationalism and afraid of what they could not comprehend, continued to aggravate the second generation by constantly referring to them as "foreigners", "bohunks", etc.

As a defense mechanism, many Ukrainians would admit only to being "Canadian"; such an attitude proved unacceptable to both parties. Michael Swynarchuk of the Canora Students' Club noted that "Ukrainian students that

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<sup>26</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, April 6, 1932. A direct translation of Swij do Swoho means "Each to His Own" but a literal translation and in this context renders "Ukrainians for Ukrainians" a more meaningful idiom.



call themselves "Canadian" have been unable to gain acceptance either by the foreign society, or by their Ukrainian society".<sup>27</sup>

At the 13th National Convention held in Saskatoon between December 31, 1929, and January 2, 1930, the President of CUSK raised the whole issue of national orientation among many of the students who did not belong to the Institutes or the student clubs. During his address he noted:

Our school youth is more important than anything else to us because the future of our Ukrainian people is dependent on the way that they are raised and educated...Over thirty students graduate annually from the Institutes. However, a greater proportion of Ukrainian students finish their studies without ever belonging to the Institutes or to the Ukrainian Student Clubs. Only the blind, or those who turn their eyes the other way, cannot see the tremendous difference in national orientation and effort between the two types of students.<sup>28</sup>

#### Alpha-Omega Students' Society

Even though CUSK had well over four hundred members, many Ukrainian students were attempting to pass as "Canadians", albeit unsuccessfully, because they had not had the opportunity of association with Ukrainian ideals. An effort was made to bridge this gap by developing a student society which would be acceptable to the English Canadian Society and which could attract those Ukrainian students who remained on the periphery of national consciousness.

Discussions between Julian W. Stechishin, William Yarmey and Orest Bendas terminated with the agreement that such an experiment would be attempted at the University of Saskatchewan. The new student society would endeavour to transcend the religious and political dissensions faced by the older

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., May 29, 1929.

<sup>28</sup> N. Kohushka, Yuvileyna Knyzhka Soyuzu Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady [Jubilee Book of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association] (Winnipeg: SUMK, 1956), p.37.

generation. At a pre-organization meeting held in 1929, Yarmey was delegated to approach leading students from the Catholic groups to engage their support. This mission proved successful. He then requested an interview with Dr. Ling, then Dean of Arts and Science, to discuss the granting of permission to form a Ukrainian Students' Society on the university campus. The interview ended in failure when Dean Ling definitely opposed the formation of a separate Ukrainian Society on campus, fearing possible nationalistic tendencies.<sup>29</sup> Yarmey again petitioned the Dean indicating that the purpose of the society was to enable students of Ukrainian descent to enter into a closer bond with the rest of the university. He again was confronted with refusal. A small group of students then decided to approach Professor George Simpson, Head of the Department of History, who was interested in Ukrainian problems and the current affairs in Ukraine. Professor Simpson encouraged the students to continue with their plans and urged them to contact the Dean once again. Yarmey made a third attempt which now met with success, undoubtedly the result of the good efforts of Professor Simpson.

In November 1930 an organizational meeting with twenty-five students participating witnessed the election of a slate of officers headed by John Hnatyshyn. A special committee of five was also chosen to draft a constitution, select a suitable name for the society, plan its objectives and activities, and decide which language was to be employed at the meeting.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Mrs. M. Stechishin, "How Alpha-Omega Came About in Saskatchewan" in Opinion, Winnipeg: Vol. IV, no. 3, April 1948, p.11.

<sup>30</sup>The committee was composed of S. Mamchur, W. Chepil, W. Yarmey, O. Bendas, and Mrs. J. W. Stechishin.

The committee held its first meeting at the home of J.W. Stechishin. Numerous names for the club were suggested. In view of Dean Ling's opposition at the first two interviews and also due to the then generally prevailing fear of Ukrainian nationalism among English Canadians, it was decided to discard any Ukrainian name. Since many fraternities and sororities had Greek names, Stechishin proposed the use of a Greek name which might cover many objectives and a wide field of activities. Rev. Vasyl Kudryk, an Orthodox priest, who was present at the meeting, was asked if he knew a Greek name to suit the purpose and responded that the name Alpha-Omega had no limitation.<sup>31</sup> The name and a constitution were accepted. The main objectives of the society became: the self-advancement and education in Ukrainian history, literature, culture and traditions through lectures and discussions; the familiarization of the non-Ukrainian public with Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian affairs; and the preparation of works on Ukrainian topics for publication.<sup>32</sup> During the first year two public lectures were sponsored--one by Professor Simpson about "The Present Situation in Eastern Galicia" and the other by J.W. Stechishin on "The Past and Present Situation of the Ukrainians in Europe". The Society also gave rise to an association of similar objectives at the University of Manitoba campus several years later known as the "Prometheus" Students Society.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, January 28, 1931. "Alpha-Omega" means from A to Z or from beginning to end.

<sup>32</sup>Mrs. M. Stechishin, "Alpha Omega", p.13. The society became defunct circa 1938 and was revived in 1941.

<sup>33</sup>B.J. Lesack, "Alpha Omega in Manitoba" in Opinion, Winnipeg: Vol. 4, no. 4, July 1948, p.3.

## Department of Extension Services

The depression which crippled numerous Canadian economic institutions had a direct impact on Ukrainian student life. Severe financial limitations restricted many students from returning to the Ukrainian Institutes (bursas) during the depression years. As the depression became more severe the student population at the Institutes proportionately declined. Nevertheless, many students continued to receive an education outside of the Institute system. Wishing to maintain their influence among the student population, the Institutes embarked on another experiment.

At the 14th National Convention in 1930 at Edmonton, Julian Stechishin spoke on the topic of "Supervision of Students Beyond the Institutes".<sup>34</sup> He noted that the Institutes must maintain some degree of contact with those students who were not within the walls of the Institute in order to develop Ukrainianism in the student lifestyles. He proposed that the Institute go one step beyond the excellent job already accomplished by the CUSK. Although CUSK was capable of maintaining contact and coordinating the activities of many of the student clubs, the actual organization of new clubs and subsequent program development was beyond their administrative capabilities. Stechishin suggested that the Institutes take the initiative by appointing an official organizer for those students not affiliated with the Institutes. That organizer would travel across the prairie provinces and contact all Ukrainian students without regard to their religious outlooks, organize them into clubs which in turn would recruit individuals from the community to teach Ukrainian courses. The

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<sup>34</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.242.

organizer would also be responsible for preparing at least one concert or public gathering from which funds could be collected to maintain his travels and the program.

Although the program was not implemented, it was not forgotten. Michael Stechishin of Yorkton again raised the subject of departmental extension services at the following convention in Saskatoon on December 27-29, 1931. He noted that the educational system in the prairie provinces had developed to such a degree that students were no longer forced to travel to cities in which the Institutes were located such as Winnipeg, Edmonton or Saskatoon to go to school. "Public schools and high schools built all over the prairies now force Mohammed [Institute] to go to the mountain [students]", he quipped.<sup>35</sup> Whereas the Institute had at that time only a few dozen Ukrainian students, there were hundreds of unorganized students throughout the country. Stechishin concluded that undue concern over the physical maintenance of the Institutes had robbed hundreds of Ukrainian students of the opportunity to appreciate the Ukrainian language, to experience the beauty and the depth of the literature and to become proud of their ancestry. In short, they were becoming assimilated and would not be able to bring pride to or serve the Ukrainian people.

At a meeting of the Directors of the P. Mohyla Institute on February 4, 1932, a constitution and a plan of action was agreed upon and on February 11, 1932, Orest Bendas was appointed to head the department. Bendas had arrived from Bukovina as a student and had stayed at the Institute from 1927. He had taken an active interest in student affairs and had been a prime force in assisting Kameniari to establish contact with CESUS. He was also the secretary of CUSK.

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p.244.

From February to the end of the school year Bendas visited the major centres of the Ukrainian communities and managed to organize over ten student clubs with a combined membership of over 300 students. So successful was the experiment that a great number of Ukrainian courses were established and the funds from the concerts managed to cover the cost of the entire program that year. New clubs were organized at Roblin and Brandon in Manitoba. In Saskatchewan, the Markian Shashkevych Students' Society in Krydor, a students' club at Hafford and another one in Saskatoon entitled Ivan Mazepa Students' Club were formed. Contacts were also established with students' groups in Eastern Canada. The Ivan Kotliarewsky Students Society of Montreal responded to the program as also did clubs in Toronto and Kingston.

In the city of Toronto there existed two Ukrainian student clubs. Students who went to university organized a club to which only male university students could belong. High school students organized a club in which only female high school students were eligible for membership. The girls club had over 20 members. The other Ukrainian students in the city did not belong to any clubs and as of 1932 no attempt had been made to create a federation which would include all students. Plans were being prepared, however, to create such a federation which would involve the female university students, male high school students, nurses and even alumni.<sup>36</sup>

There were five Universities in Ontario at which Ukrainian students were in attendance. Despite the fact that Ukrainian student clubs existed in both Ontario and Quebec they were not able, by 1932, to establish a common ground for cooperation. The Ukrainian Students' Club at Queen's University in Kingston

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<sup>36</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, April 20, 1932.

wished to establish contacts with the other clubs in Eastern Canada and wrote an article to that effect in the "Students' Column" of Ukrayinsky Holos in February 1933. They hoped to establish the first step in coordination by sending representatives to the Toronto students club to hold a competitive debate. They also planned to send a representative to give a public lecture to the Ukrainian students of Montreal. It was hoped that Toronto and Montreal would also exchange representatives. The final stage would have been direct contacts with the students from western Canada.

Internal dissention within the Board of Directors of the Institute resulted in Bendas' leaving the Department in August and being replaced by Ivan Danylchuk, a poet. The Directors also resolved that Danylchuk should continue the organizational work primarily via correspondence. Ivan Danylchuk wrote to all the clubs and offered an organizational program which could be implemented in every month of the year. For example, in the month of December the students were to:

- 1) familiarize themselves with the history of Ukraine from the period of rule of Prince Oleh to the second attack by the Tatars; 2) read a book, options were given; 3) Memorize Shevchenko's poem Taras' Night; 4) send in an article to the Department for possible publication in the newspaper; 5) produce or assist in the production of a public program; 6) hold a debate from themes which were specified; 7) send a representative to the convention; 8) send in material for the journal "Kamniari"; 9) send summaries of their activities to other clubs; 10) discuss the reports they receive at their meetings.<sup>37</sup>

Unfortunately, with this approach the direct contact with the students which was so essential for this student project was lost, as was also much of the enthusiasm. Danylchuk soon focused his attention on the growing youth movement Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi Molodi

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., December 14, 1932.

Kanady--SUMK). Many of the functions of the student clubs were taken over by the newly created youth organization and the majority of students became members of SUMK. Before long the programs of the student clubs had become part and parcel of SUMK, so that by 1934 the Department of Extension Services remained only a paper organization and a year later but a memory.

#### Ukrainian Students' National Association

The first voice raised for forming a Ukrainian nationalist student movement in Canada came from Mychaylo Ukrayinets, a student in Edmonton. Attending a concert sponsored by the Ukrainian National Federation (Ukrayinske Natsionalne Obyednannya-UNO) branch in Edmonton early in 1933, Ukrayinets was inspired by the prologue by a young Canadian born girl, M. Holowach, about the current events occurring in Ukraine and about the struggles of the students there for freedom. The young speaker had urged the Canadian students to assist their brothers in Ukraine in order that "the liaison of Canadian students with Ukrainian students would be another brick in the building of our nation".<sup>38</sup> Ukrayinets stated, "As I walked home and pondered planning an organization of Ukrainian students in Canada, only one option stood out - to form a students group affiliated with UNO to cooperate with the students in Ukraine".<sup>39</sup> He then published the article "A Call to Students" in which he outlined his motivation, the plan to form a nationalist student organization and called upon other students to do the same.

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<sup>38</sup>Novy Shliakh, [New Pathway], Saskatoon (later moved to Winnipeg), March 7, 1933.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid. The Ukrainian National Federation will be discussed below in this chapter.



The initial meeting of the Ukrainian Students Group in Edmonton was held September 22, 1933. The chairmain of the meeting was Miss Emelia Andrusiw and the secretary Mychaylo Ukrayinets. Anthony Hlynka addressed the group about the need for a Ukrainian Students National Association (Ukrayinska Studentska Natsionalistychna Orhanizatsiya--USNO) in Canada. He pointed out the deficiencies in the past and present student groups in Canada:

The present student groups do not have even the smallest ties with the old country. They are doing an excellent job but it is limited to Canada. Our responsibility is to expand this work because students represent a stratum of people who will later assume the leadership of the state. We would be doing great work if we could establish greater liaison with the old country. The present student groups were and are passive and not aggressive.<sup>40</sup>

Discussing the objectives of the newly formed association, the students resolved that there was no conflict between being good citizens of Canada while at the same time assisting morally and financially the Ukrainian nationalist revolutionary movement. They agreed to attempt the centralization of all Ukrainian student clubs in Canada and to become affiliated with the Central Executive of the Ukrainian Students' Union (CESUS) located in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Throughout the first year of its existence the club analyzed and publicized the student involvement in the revolutionary movement. M. Ukrayinets led a discussion on "The Ukrainian Students on Ukrainian Soil and their Role in the Freedom Movement"; Emelia Andrusiw spoke on the theme of "The Work of Ukrainian Students in Canada and Ukraine"; and a club debate dealt with the topic "Resolved, that Ukrainian Students under enemy occupation carry out

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<sup>40</sup>Novy Shliakh, October 10, 1933.

more intensive national work than do students in Canada, taking into account the immediate circumstances".<sup>41</sup> One major point was stressed during every discussion:

Even though the nationalist movement is illegal in both Polish and Russian occupied Ukraine, the student underground is making great advances for the cause; why then cannot Ukrainian Canadian students, who are free, help their brothers at least to the degree that they can?<sup>42</sup>

On January 3, 1934, two young students, Paul Yuzyk and Walter Davidiuk, teachers from Hafford attending summer school at the University of Saskatchewan, called a meeting of those students in Saskatoon who adhered to nationalist principles to form a Ukrainian Student Organization. An organization that was to "take its place in the forefront of active Ukrainian nationalism and strive to fulfill, to its capabilities, its duty to the cause of freedom for the Ukrainian nation-state".<sup>43</sup> The meeting established the second branch of USNO and the Novy Shliakh newspaper claimed that this new organization signified the dawning of Ukrainian nationalism in Canada.

From the time of the establishment of the UNO branch in Regina, the students of that city had planned to establish an USNO "so that our student youth could organize and work for Ukrainian nationalism and for the cause of freedom for our nation from oppression".<sup>44</sup> The realization of this idea resulted from the initiatives of Michael S. Pukesh who called a meeting of Regina's Ukrainian students on February 11, 1934. Thirty-five students attended and decided to form the USNO association in that city. The students adopted

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., February 16, 1934.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., February 27, 1934.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., January 9, 1934.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., February 27, 1934.

the slogans which were very popular in the nationalist movement in Ukraine: "The Nation Above All Else" and "Our Strength Is In Ourselves".

On July 26-28, 1934, the Ukrainian National Federation held its first National Convention at Saskatoon. Ten Ukrainian students arrived to take part in the sessions and to represent the five branches of USNO. Miss Emelia Andrusiw and Anthony H. Hlynka arrived from Edmonton, Alberta; Paul Yuzyk and Walter Davidiuk were representing Hafford, Saskatchewan; Miss A. Pukesh and M.S. Pukesh represented USNO in Regina; Rudolph Lozynsky, Miss Stephania Romanow and Proctor Sawchuk represented the Saskatoon USNO and John Kishynsky arrived from Toronto. The students held their own conference at which they discussed the formation of a coordinating structure for their newly established organization. Establishing a four member Central Executive, they elected P. Yuzyk as President, P. Sawchuk as Vice-President, R. Lozynsky as Secretary, and Miss S. Romaniw as Treasurer.<sup>45</sup> To avoid unnecessary confrontation with those sectors of Canadian society which openly berated and discriminated against the Ukrainians and feared and detested Ukrainian nationalism the students resolved that the translation of the name of USNO--Ukrayinska Student-ska Natsionalistychna Orhanizatsia to the English language would be "Ukrainian Students' National Association" rather than using a direct translation which would have been Ukrainian Students' Nationalist Organization.

The students presented their elected slate and resolutions to the general session of the UNO Convention at which P. Sawchuk delivered a speech about the role and activities of USNO. The Convention in turn "ratified that the student-nationalists, members of UNO form a student organization under the

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., September 4, 1934.

name USNO which would establish ties with CESUS".<sup>46</sup>

The concept of the independence of USNO from UNO came under conflicting views from members of both organizations. The students wished to maintain a completely independent status with shared communication lines with UNO; UNO on the other hand saw the student organization as a subsidiary of its organizational hierarchical structure and refused to let them separate. The convention appointed P. Sawchuk to act as liaison between the student organization and the Dominion Executive of UNO.

The new President of USNO, P. Yuzyk, delivered an address to the 2nd Provincial Conference of UNO in Saskatchewan on February 22, 1935, on the theme of "The Role of Youth in the Life of a Nation". Touching on the time-worn problem of the differences and difficulties between the generations, Yuzyk stressed the importance of examining and utilizing the new ideas being introduced by the younger generation. He went on to deplore the religious and political feuds which the young people abhorred and condemned:

Canadian Ukrainian youth also desires to assist the building of a Ukrainian State and it was for that reason that they created the youth organization, Ukrainian National Youth Federation (Molodi Ukrayinski Natsionalisty--MUN). We wish to attract and draw in that youth which does not yet understand their responsibility, and even those who do not admit who they are because the old party feuds repulsed them and made them ashamed to be known as Ukrainians. We want to eradicate the feeling of inferiority and to replace it with the grand ideal of national freedom, to develop in them undaunted characters, to teach them to place the interests of the Ukrainian nation above their own personal ones, and to count on their own resources because only they will be ready to be of service to the Old Country as well as to our new native land of Canada.<sup>47</sup>

For a short period, the new association expanded. By November 1934 an USNO branch had been formed at Moose Jaw,<sup>48</sup> and in June 1935 branches were

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., August 28, 1934.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., April 2, 1935.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., November 6, 1934.

organized at Oshawa and Toronto.<sup>49</sup> Progress was short-lived. The organization suffered from the same barrage of slander as did UNO. The priesthood--both Catholic and Orthodox--condemned the movement as being anti-religious noting that the nation could not be placed "above all", God was supreme. The TURF Dim (Communists) continued to maintain that all was well and good on Soviet Ukrainian soil and that the Bolshevik movement would continue to expand and would soon be supreme in Canada also. Finally, an audience whose support the nationalists would have liked to enlist in the public campaign for Ukraine's freedom--English Canada--shunned away from thoughts of revolution.

By the third convention of USNO, held on July 7, 1936, in Saskatoon, the nationalist student movement had suffered a slump. The branches were unable to maintain a high level of activity. The movement had not expanded as had been foreseen; those students who were in USNO were taking part in the activities of the growing youth movement, MUN, and in the activities of UNO. The delegates resolved to attempt to re-activate the organization by establishing Ukrainian courses, creating a directory of Ukrainian high school and university students in Canada, and developing a publicity program about affairs in Ukraine for the English Canadian audience. In the election Kornylo Magera assumed the presidency and P. Yuzyk became the administrative secretary.

Their plans for a viable student association did not materialize; the student leaders were drawn deeper into the development of the Ukrainian National Youth Federation. By 1937 P. Yuzyk issued what can be considered the final statement in the history of the Ukrainian Students' National Association:

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., July 9, 1935.

"USNO should be renewed and it is hoped that Ambrose Holowach the liaison student for CESUS will rise to the challenge".<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., March 23, 1937.

## Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association

### Ukrainian Self-Reliance League

The arrival of large numbers of Ukrainian immigrants after the First World War produced increased demands upon the organizational requirements of the Ukrainian community. The rapid growth of the Sich and the pro-communist TURF Dim organizations did not include the large sections of the Ukrainian population which did not accept Ukrainian monarchism or communism. That sector which adhered to Ukrainian Orthodoxy and the group which were Ukrainian Catholic but believed, as did the Orthodox, in a republican system of government in Ukraine were constantly antagonized by the former organizations. In 1927 the early nationalists who had grouped around the newspaper Ukrayinsky Holos and who had founded the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church decided to counter the advances of the monarchists and communist groups and to rally the newly arrived nationalists under their leadership. At the Eleventh National Convention (Narodni Zyzd) held at the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon in 1927, the delegates established the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (Soyuz Ukrayintsiv Samostinykiv--SUS). A Central Executive headed by the Winnipeg lawyer, Wasyl Swystun, was elected and the organization ascribed to the aim of assisting in the liberation of the ethnographically Ukrainian areas of Europe.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>W.Kirkconnell, Ukrainian Canadians and the War (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1940), p.13. See also: W.Burianyuk, SUS-Its Meaning and Significance (Toronto, SUS, 1967), p.21.

The organization took over the general socio-community work which had been undertaken by the Institutes and became the co-ordinating body for Ukrainian cultural-educational endeavours among the Ukrainian Orthodox population of Canada, at the parishes and at the Ukrainian National Homes.

#### Orly and Orlyata

An analysis of youth organizations which were affiliated with the Ukrainian National Homes and later with SUS indicates that many local youth groups existed fulfilling the needs of the various locals. They were drama groups, choirs, or just young individuals helping their parents. The need for a youth organization among the Orthodox adherents existed for a number of years and was discussed by both the administrators of the Institutes and also by members of the various student clubs. At the National Convention held in Saskatoon in 1926, P. Kroytor, a teacher from Hampton, Saskatchewan proposed the adoption of the Plast (Scouting) system for youth with minor alterations to meet Canadian requirements.<sup>52</sup> Although an excellent educational system, Plast was already in operation with the Sitch movement. The only strong youth organization affiliated with the National Homes was Luh (Meadow). Located in Toronto, in 1926 its membership was over sixty.<sup>53</sup> The club held meetings regularly, sponsored guest speakers and physical fitness exercises, prepared and produced concerts and even circulated the Ukrainian newspaper Surma (Bugle) which arrived from Europe.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.33.

<sup>53</sup>Kowbel & Doroshenko, Narodni Dim, pp.711-712.

<sup>54</sup>Surma was an organ of the OUN and was published in Prague.



At the 11th National Convention, held in Saskatoon December 28-30, 1927, at which SUS was formed, the topic of the need for a Ukrainian youth organization which would unite not only students but all the youth was discussed. A resolution adopted by the Convention empowered a seven member commission to examine the best means of activating the youth at the National Homes, Institutes and the churches.<sup>55</sup> The Directors of the Institutes and the administrator of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada entered as ex-officio members responsible for encouraging activity in all existing youth groups.<sup>56</sup> During the convention the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (Soyuz UkrayinkKanady--SUK) also prepared to take an active role in youth involvement. Following an address on the subject by Katherine Pukish of Regina, the women's convention resolved that "locals of this Association are to organize youth branches under the guidance of the women's organizations".<sup>57</sup>

Two years later the matter of forming a new and distinct youth organization was raised on the Convention floor and the delegates selected a committee to work out a constitution and a program to be ratified by the following convention. The chairman of the convention expressed his desire to have the new organization entitled: Ukrainian Youth Association (Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--SUM) and subdivided into male and female wings.<sup>58</sup> The effects of the Great Depression forced the 14th National Convention to be

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<sup>55</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, Issue 14, 1928, p.9.

<sup>56</sup>Stechishin, Mohyla Institute, p.201.

<sup>57</sup>Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, p.418.

<sup>58</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.37.

held only in Edmonton on December 27-29, 1930.<sup>59</sup> Father Peter Samets informed the participants that the program for the youth organization was ready. The convention subsequently adopted the constitution and founded the Orly and Orlyata (Eagles--male and female) association.

Hryhoriy Tyzuk, an energetic young man who had arrived in Canada in 1929 and who had occasion to be at that convention, commenced on his own initiative to organize Orly and Orlyata branches.<sup>60</sup> Prior to these endeavours, he had been associated with the Hrushevsky Institute in Edmonton and had travelled throughout Alberta giving public addresses mainly of an anti-communist nature. He had also taught Ukrainian school in Wakaw and Prince Albert in Saskatchewan. The first Orly and Orlyata branch (sotnya) that he organized was at Tarnopol, Saskatchewan. On May 14, 1931 he established another one at Honeymoon, Saskatchewan.<sup>61</sup> In both areas he gave lengthy addresses on the state of the affairs of the Ukraine he had just left behind. He painted a sordid picture of the oppression and the crimes committed against the Ukrainian peoples by the Moscow-directed Bolshevik regime. He also described the youth organizations Sitch and Plast which were active in Ukraine and their great assistance in the struggle for national independence.<sup>62</sup> Tyzuk was a very capable folk dancer and in his organizational visits he would dance the "Gonta" and teach

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<sup>59</sup>The other National Conventions had the general sessions held in Saskatoon with sub-sections meeting in the cities of Edmonton and Winnipeg.

<sup>60</sup>PAC, Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, Manuscript Group 28 V 15, Vol. 16, file 391, M.Zubrak to H.Tyzuk, May 21, 1930.

<sup>61</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.46.

<sup>62</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, June 24, 1931.

the youth folk dancing and singing.<sup>63</sup> In later visits he would teach them to perform drama pieces, the most prominent of which was "Struggle for freedom" (Borotba za volu)--an emotional nationalist play which depicted the hardships and cruelty of the so-called Bolshevik paradise. In every location he would assist the young people in staging at least one concert or performance before travelling to the next area.<sup>64</sup>

The structure of the groups which he established, and upon which Orly and Orlyaty was based, was borrowed from the command of the historic Sich organizations of the Kozak era in Ukraine. A five member Educational Council (Vykhovna Rada) was a council of elder advisors for the two youth executives (Starshyny). The youth executive (Starshyna) was comprised of a Kozak Chieftain (Otaman), Captain (osaul), secretary (pysar), treasurer (skarbnik), and a Quartermaster (obozny). The male division--Orly--and female division--Orlyaty--together formed one branch (sotnya). But within each division the group was divided by age: the younger group between the ages of 12 to 17, and the older group over the age of 18.

In May, Tyzuk was summoned to the P. Mohyla Institute by Julian Stechishin and was appointed the official organizer for the youth organization. Accompanied by Julian and Savella Stechishin (then President of SUK), Tyzuk began his official duties at Velychka, near Hafford, forming a sotnya of Orly there in June, 1931.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>The Gonta is a very difficult male solo Ukrainian folk dance.

<sup>64</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, March 16, 1932.

<sup>65</sup>"Orly" will be the abbreviated form of "Orly and Orlyata".

In September, Tyzuk arrived in Winnipeg for a meeting with Myroslaw Stechishin, President of SUS and editor of Ukrayinsky Holos, Rev. S.W. Sawchuk, head of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Consistory, P. Woycenko, manager of the newspaper, and Andrew Pawlik, Rector of P. Mohyla Institute in Winnipeg. In addition to his report Tyzuk raised the important question of providing a central office to continue communication with the branches which he was establishing. A Pawlik volunteered to provide the service and the Institute became the temporary headquarters.<sup>66</sup>

In his report to the 15th National Convention on December 29, 1931, Tyzuk summarized his progress:

I commenced organizing Ukrainian youth in the month of June. I asked for no funds because I knew that there was not much available. The start of my work was in the area of Honeymoon where I established a youth group. From there I travelled to Velychky where I organized another group. Then I visited Whitkow, Swan Plain, Vita, Poplar Park, and Malonton in Manitoba. I have had success everywhere if one considers the difficulties of this present year....To date I have organized 8 groups so that every group has its own leadership and is named after some outstanding Ukrainian figure. To date approximately 320 young people have been organized.<sup>67</sup>

Tyzuk also raised the problem of the organization's name at the convention. "From my travels among the youth," he said, "the name Orly and Orlyat is not popular and it would be better to change it to a more acceptable one. He suggested the names Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady--SUMK) or Kozaks of the Black Sea (Chornomortsi) and after a short debate the former was approved by the convention delegates.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.48.

<sup>67</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, March 30, 1932.

<sup>68</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.49.

## Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association

At the first meeting of the SUS Central Executive a General Command (Verkhovna Komanda--VK) was established for the newly created SUMK organization. The President was Rev. S.W. Sawchuk, the Vice-President--Myroslaw Stechishin, and the secretary--Andrew Pawlik. Commencing in 1932 the VK began to issue newsletters and carried on close communications with both the branches and the organizer--Tyzuk--who was again doing fieldwork.

In the summer of 1932, the VK organized the first independent youth festival. Held at Pine River, Manitoba, over 170 SUMK members from Haig, Ashville and Pine River attended this picnic which included physical fitness exercises and the debate: "Should Bolsheviks be deported from Canada or not?" Other items on the agenda, such as the performance of a mandolin orchestra, folk dancing and singing and recitals, gave all of the youth an opportunity to take active part in this program.

In October 1932, the VK appointed Paul Yavorsky, a Canadian-born member, as the second SUMK organizer. From October to December, Yavorsky organized branches of SUMK in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Yavorsky differed from Tyzuk in his approach to the various communities. In his public addresses he did not stress the problems of Ukrainians in Ukraine, but only the problems of Ukrainian youth in Canada. He propagated the retention of the Ukrainian cultural traditions and language on Canadian soil. He also paid much less attention to the problems of Bolshevism as they affected the Ukrainians in Ukraine or in Canada than did Tyzuk.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>PAC, CUYA [SUMK] Records, MG 28 V 15, Vol. 4.

At the 16th National Convention held in Saskatoon in December 1932, SUMK could boast of 24 branches with a membership of one thousand five hundred. At the convention, it was resolved to expand organizational activities to Alberta and Yavorsky was selected to travel to that province. Andrew Pawlik still remained the secretary, and the administrative headquarters of the executive were moved to Saskatoon in 1933 to accommodate Pawlik's transfer to the P. Mohyla Institute there.

In the summer of 1933 SUMK experimented with the holding of regional jamborees for its branches (sotni). In the months of July and August jamborees were held in the following areas of Saskatchewan: Regina, Vonda, Hafford and Whitkow; in Manitoba: Merridale (Roblin) and Ashville; and at Smoky Lake in Alberta.<sup>70</sup> The jamborees had the appearance of a scouting jamboree with the drill parade, the march pasts accompanied by orchestras, physical fitness exercises and various sports events. The jamborees, however, also had a distinct cultural flavour encompassing a program which included: choirs, soloists, recitals, public addresses and public speaking contests.<sup>71</sup>

By the 17th National Convention held in Saskatoon on December 26-28, 1933 the SUMK organization had established a firm lease on life. SUMK held their own youth sessions during the convention in which 107 delegates from approximately 50 branches participated. The sessions were significant in that the SUMK constitution was amended to change the General Command (Verkhovna Komanda) to the General Executive (Generalna Uprava) and the three positions on the executive became the President, the Chaplain, and the Secretary. SUMK

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<sup>70</sup>PAC, CUYA [SUMK] Records, MG 28 V 15, Vol. 20.

<sup>71</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, August 9, 1933 to September 13, 1933.

members still did not obtain the responsibilities and powers of electing their own executive members. At the first Dominion Executive meeting of SUS in 1934 Dr. P. Hutzuliak was appointed the SUMK President, Fr. S.W. Sawchuk, the Chaplain and A. Pawlik was asked to continue as Secretary. Both H. Tyzук and P. Yavorsky remained as the SUMK organizers.

#### Characteristics and Endeavours

SUMK gradually developed into a self-governing youth organization whose membership consisted almost exclusively of adherents of the Orthodox faith. During its formative years, however, SUMK was a broadbased organization which allowed members of any church to join the organization and was under the watchful eyes of Supervisory Councils (Nadzirna Rada).

The SUMK organization was founded under the constitution of Union of Ukrainian Community Centres (Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Narodnykh Domiv--SUND) but it was affiliated with and forms an integral part of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Samostiynykyiv--SUS). The close cooperation between SUS and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada and the hostilities between the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic leadership resulted in the withdrawal of those Ukrainian Catholics who had joined SUMK. At the SUMK convention in 1937 the General Secretary Illya Kiriak underlined this problem:

I must bring attention to the fact that our organization has lost a substantial number of members because of the deliberate agitations of the Greek Catholic priests against us.<sup>72</sup>

During the early years of the organization H. Tyzук placed as much emphasis upon physical and mental discipline as he did upon cultural activities.

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<sup>72</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.142.

This program was based in part upon the same principles of physical fitness, via organized exercises and drills, as were also adopted by the Canadian Sitch Organization which was active among the Catholic faithful. Both of these programs originated from the Sokil and Sitch youth movements of Western Ukraine. Tyzuk himself had been acquainted with the background of these organizations prior to his arrival in Canada.

The cultural aspect of SUMK, which went hand in hand with physical fitness, was Ukrainian folk dancing. Although Tyzuk was a master of the art, the grand master, Vasyl Avramenko, played a major role in making folk dancing a significant aspect of the SUMK youth program. A year after his arrival in Canada in 1926, Avramenko was engaged in teaching dance at Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon.

Luh, a nationalistic youth organization within the SUS system in Toronto, was very critical of the dance aspect being promoted by SUMK and noted that folk dancing was not preparing SUMK members to be ready and able for the struggle against the Kremlin. Luh mockingly provided the scenario of Tyzuk and SUMK singing and dancing against the Moscow tanks, cannons, machine guns, and poisonous gas.<sup>73</sup> SUMK rallied to the outrage and responded in Ukrayinsky Holos by slandering the author, degrading UNO because its criticisms were similar, and chastizing the newspaper Novy Shliakh for allowing the article to appear.<sup>74</sup> The Luh organization, in a rebuttal, defended the philosophy of assisting the Ukrainian nationalist movement even though it did not belong to the UNO system.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Novy Shliakh, October 10, 1933.

<sup>74</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, November 8, 1933 and December 6, 1933.

<sup>75</sup>Novy Shliakh, November 14, 1933.



The criticism of SUMK's seeming lack of total commitment to the Ukrainian cause across the sea was also supported by the UNO establishment and its affiliated organizations. As War appeared more imminent and as the UNO ideology took root in Canada, UNO and its youth organization MUN became a threat to the SUMK organization.<sup>76</sup> At the SUMK convention in 1937 the General Secretary, Illya Kiriak, voiced his strong disapproval of UNO:

There were also attempts made to undermine our organization by UNO. From a number of areas, our members brought me word that organizers of UNO were in their areas and were attempting to get the SUMK members to start a branch of MUN, and even in some areas such branches were established, but they did not last long.<sup>77</sup>

Tyzuk was much more critical that MUN used SUMK's membership basis for its own organizational expansion. In 1938 he stated:

There are hundreds of areas whose only wish is that someone go to them and work among them but MUNivtsi (MUN members) are not there; MUNivtsi go there where there is something already done, in order to ruin it.<sup>78</sup>

Despite the criticism directed against it, SUMK did carry on active work for the cause of Ukrainian liberation. At the Dauphin Festival in 1932 Myroslaw Stechishin, editor of Ukrayinsky Holos, spoke to over 120 members of SUMK who were present and stressed that the Ukrainian Canadian attitude to the old country "is important to Ukrainians in Canada. Our strength and our meaning in Canada is closely bound up with the strength and the meaning of the Ukrainian nation on its native soil. We must employ all our strength to assist the Ukrainian nation to attain its own state".<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>MUN is examined in the next section.

<sup>77</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.142.

<sup>78</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, Issue No. 16, 1938.

<sup>79</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.59.

In attempts to realize this goal, SUMK made contact with other Ukrainian organizations outside of Canada. In 1933 A. Pawlik travelled to Chicago to attend the Ukrainian Youth Congress which was to be held during the World Fair. The Ukrainian organizations in the U.S.A. and Galicia had gone to great lengths to prepare a Ukrainian Section within the Fair. The Youth Congress was to become an annual event in America and gave birth to Ukrainian Youth League of North America (Liga Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Pivnichnoyi Ameryky--UYLNA).<sup>80</sup>

The first contacts that SUMK had with Ukrainians outside of North America were with the Ukrainian Youth Association (Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--SUM), an association which was located in the Far East, in Manchuria. Known as "SUM in Zeleny Klyn" this youth group was formed in 1930 and made contact with SUMK in 1933. The two organizations maintained correspondence for three years in which they compared notes on the difficulties and the successes of organizing Ukrainian youth in the two countries.

In 1936 A. Pawlik wrote:

We see from your letter that you muster your members more. We used to do this in the beginning. We even used to have military uniforms, but for various reasons our youth did not want them...  
...Ideological literature of a party nature we do not have as political parties take care of this. Because of this there are many misunderstandings, because everyone believes that only they are right. We among the youth do not raise this issue. They must be good Ukrainians but as to the type of Ukraine that will be, it is better for us not to argue about that which we do not at the moment have.<sup>81</sup>

In 1938 two significant events occurred in Eastern Europe which focused SUMK's attention on the old country. The Polish Government began a campaign of destroying the Ukrainian Orthodox religion and its property in the Kholm

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<sup>80</sup>PAC, CUYA [SUMK] Records, MG 28 V 15, Vol. 17, File 425, SUMK became an official member in 1938.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., File 422.

and Volyn regions. In response the SUMK Executive ordered all its branches to take full participation in any and all protest meetings which were to be organized. The second event was that the Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed independence from the Czechoslovak Republic and asked Ukrainian emigres for financial support. SUMK decided to accept the responsibility of committing their organizational resources to assist in the redevelopment of the Ukrainian school system in Carpatho-Ukraine.<sup>82</sup>

In accepting the position that Ukraine should become free and independent from the Bolshevik control of Moscow and that the nation should be allowed to establish its own form of government, SUMK became diametrically opposed to the position held by the Ukrainian communists in Canada. With the communists maintaining a very firm position within the Ukrainian settlements in Canada, the emergence of SUMK was plagued with difficulties. Initial successes of youth contact, enthusiasm and cooperation quickly disappeared in various small prairie communities as ideological differences surfaced to the forefront. This was clearly evident in Honeymoon, Saskatchewan where out of the 27 members who initially joined, only 10 remained after three months.<sup>83</sup> Similar problems occurred in other areas such as Swan Plain and Ledwyn, Manitoba. In these areas the communists employed scare tactics such as threatening the more gullible SUMK members with compulsory service in the army. Slander and ridicule alienated other potential SUMK members. Finally, the social stimulus of dancing and homebrew in many cases over-rode the more serious aspects of physical fitness and self-education as extolled by SUMK. The SUMK organizer

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<sup>82</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.151.

<sup>83</sup>Ukrayinsky Holos, August 5, 1931.

Tyzuk was often confronted with agitators from the TURF Dim camp. More than one meeting witnessed Tyzuk arguing against Ukrainians who fervently believed that the Communist regime did bring about better conditions for the Ukrainians in Ukraine and would also do so in Canada. More than one meeting was threatened with, or actually witnessed, physical violence between the two opposing groups.<sup>84</sup>

Despite such organizational difficulties SUMK managed to grow to one of the largest Ukrainian youth organizations in Canada. Prior to the outbreak of the war SUMK had registered approximately 200 branches of which 50 were active in 1939. Their successes were due primarily to continued devotion of three individuals: H. Tyzuk, who served as an official organizer until the summer of 1935; P. Yavorsky, the other official organizer who resigned after six years of service; and A. Pawlik, the General Secretary around whom the organization revolved until 1938.<sup>85</sup> Another important factor in the great progress made by the organization was its continuous employment of official organizers who were constantly travelling between the branches and maintaining very valuable personal contacts. In addition to the previously mentioned pair, SUMK engaged Petro Krepiakevich in 1935 who as an organizer assisted in the development and realization of an elaborate plan of regional executives (for groups of 8-10 branches) and of provincial executives for each one of the prairie provinces and one for Eastern Canada. In the summer of 1935 they also engaged three Alberta school teachers to represent SUMK during their

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<sup>84</sup>Interview, Hryhoriy Tyzuk, Winnipeg, September 1, 1973.

<sup>85</sup>Illya Kiriak was the General Secretary from 1937-1939.

vacation tour of Eastern Canada and the U.S.A.<sup>86</sup> Even with the outbreak of the war Bohdan Panchuk and Y. Prociuk were commissioned at the SUMK Convention in Saskatoon, December 26-28, 1939 to continue the organizational expansion.<sup>87</sup> With the strong program of cultural-educational activity which the General Executive coordinated, with its moderate position to Ukrainian politics, but its total commitment to the ideal of a free and independent Ukraine, SUMK played a major role in maintaining the Ukrainian problem in the forefront for an entire generation of Ukrainian Canadian youth.

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<sup>86</sup>The teachers were Wolodymyr Sharyk, S.A. Sklepowych and I. Melnyk.

<sup>87</sup>Kohushka, SUMK, p.154.

## Ukrainian National Youth Federation

### Nationalist Dissatisfaction

At least two factors prevented the newly established SUS organization from maintaining undisputed leadership in the nationalist arena in Canada. The first was based on its religious adherence as an overriding prerequisite in community affairs. Although membership in the new organization was initially open to all Ukrainians regardless of denomination, the prolonged and continuing battle between Orthodoxy and Catholicism appeared irreconcilable. The secular leadership maintained its unswerving support of the Orthodox Church despite the fact that the larger number of immigrant nationalists were adherents of the Ukrainian Catholic faith.

The second factor was the refusal of the leadership to align itself with the Ukrainian nationalist forces in Europe. It could not subscribe to the politico-refugee attitude of many of its members because of its vested interests in Canada. Wasyl Swystun and Myroslaw Stechishin looked upon Canada as being the training ground of Ukraine's future diplomats, lawmakers and businessmen.<sup>88</sup> The leaders therefore stressed that their duty was to perpetuate Ukrainianism and self-reliance in Canada. Furthermore, the Orthodox church, in expounding the Christian Gospel, tended to counteract the extremes of nationalism and to exert some influence upon their followers in the direction

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<sup>88</sup>M.A.Stechishin Jr., "The Self-Reliant" in Opinion, Vol. IV, No. 1, Winnipeg, January-February 1948, p.6.

of a Christian interpretation of nationalism. Therefore they were liable to incur the displeasure or to arouse the antagonism of ultra-nationalists.

#### Ukrainian National Federation

Dissatisfied with the attitudes of SUS a group of sixteen Ukrainian war veterans under the leadership of O. Wasylyshyn, Dr. Ivan Gulay and Wolodymyr Kossar decided in Winnipeg on January 23, 1928, to form the Ukrainian War Veterans Association (Ukrayinska Striletska Hromada--USH). The new organization set for itself the aim of giving financial support to nationalist societies and institutions in Ukraine such as Prosvita (Enlightenment) and Ridna Shkola (Native School) and to assist the invalids of the Ukrainian armies who were left with no support from alien governments.<sup>89</sup> But more importantly, they organized to maintain the Ukrainian army spirit in the community especially among the youth and to give their assistance to the liberation movement in Ukraine led by the underground Ukrainian Military Organization (Ukrayinska Viyskova Orhanizatsia--UVO) which was engaged in terrorist activities against the Poles in Western Ukraine.<sup>90</sup>

The membership which was attracted were all veterans of the Ukrainian struggle in Europe. They had been baptized in the national cause in Petliura's army and felt confident that they were most suited to lead the national movement in Canada. Filled with strong sentiments for Ukraine they were impatient with what seemed in comparison the lukewarm nationalism of the Ukrainian with

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<sup>89</sup>W. Veryha, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Its Origins and War Activity", (M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1967), p.28.

<sup>90</sup>Ukrayinska Striletska Hromada v Kanadi [Ukrainian War Veterans Association in Canada] (Winnipeg: USH, 1939), p.7. UVO later became the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

a Canadian viewpoint. In order to expand their membership they created an associate-membership status for those individuals who had not served in the Ukrainian Army but were sympathetic to the aims of the newly formed organization.

In 1929 the head of OUN, Colonel Evhen Konovalets arrived in Canada. He did not make any public appearances, but confined himself to a series of talks with the leading members of SUS and USH. The action, aimed at establishing the cooperation between USH and SUS, was continued by the arrival of Omelan Senyk-Hrybivsky, also from the Leadership (Provid) of OUN, in 1931. He made public appearances before the branches of USH and engaged in a series of basic talks with the leadership of SUS. In 1932 Colonel Roman Sushko, also known as M. Melnychuk, arrived in Canada to inform Ukrainians about the underground activity of OUN in Western Ukraine which was in need of financial support for its political work. Sushko's unsatisfactory discussions with SUS led him to support the formation of the Ukrainian National Federation (Ukrayinske Natsionalne Obyednannya--UNO).<sup>91</sup>

By 1930 the relationship between SUS and USH had gradually deteriorated to the degree that the USH members who had joined SUS and who had attempted to influence policy were being expelled. USH was no longer permitted to use the halls controlled by SUS and the publicity they received in Ukrayinsky Holos for their donations to the old country was discontinued. In Edmonton, Michael Pohorecky, a former officer of the Ukrainian army established Novy Shliakh (The New Pathway), a newspaper which supported the revolutionary nationalist movement in Ukraine. By 1932 the following of Novy Shliakh had expanded and

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<sup>91</sup>Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, p.540, and Ukrayinska Striletska Hromada, p.31.



many non-veterans were sympathetic to the underground ideological revolutionary movement. Other problems such as the moral and physical deterioration of the population because of the depression and the success of the communist propaganda during those trying times resulted in some leading Ukrainian Canadians, both old immigrants and Canadian-born, examining the possibility of creating a program to remedy the situation. For this purpose a special conference was held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan in June 1932, to discuss and develop a constructive program which would be of interest and value to the masses of Ukrainian Canadians.<sup>92</sup>

One of the items of the program which the organizers agreed upon was that their followers should accept the principles of international fair-play and justice in their proper perspectives. According to these principles, "all peoples should be entitled to a full political freedom and nationhood on their own ethnographical territories".<sup>93</sup> In accordance with the spirit of these principles, they believed that the Ukrainian people in Europe should be equally entitled to a state of their own on the ethnographically Ukrainian territories then under military occupation of foreign powers.

As a practical means of carrying out the principles, the conference unanimously agreed to establish a dominion-wide organization under the name Ukrainian National Federation (Ukrayinske Natsionalne Obyednannya--UNO). A provisional executive, headed by Alexander Gregorowich, was soon formed and branches appeared in Saskatoon and Edmonton the following month.

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<sup>92</sup>Ukrainian National Federation, A Program and A Record. (Saskatoon: Ukrainian National Federation, March, 1943), p.5.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p.6.

From the very outset the nationalist position in Canada was stronger than that of the monarchists' or socialists'. The nationalists were younger and more energetic; they were strong in number and their political trend was that of the time--nationalistic. Their predecessors seemed to be outdated during the thirties. UNO encouraged its members to join Canadian militia units in order not to lose touch with military training. They also put a great stress on sports which appealed to the young Canadian-born generation who joined the organization in ever-increasing numbers taking advantage of the programs offered.<sup>94</sup>

The formation of a number of organizations among the Ukrainian Canadians gave cohesion and solidarity to each group and did much to crystalize the ideologies and dogmas of the Ukrainian population. This set the stage for varied bitter controversies among the Ukrainian organizations.

SUS and the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (Bratstvo Ukrayinskykh Katolykiv—BUK), which was formed in 1932, defied UNO because it pledged religious tolerance. UNO's slogans "the Nation above all else" and "our strength lies within ourselves" were interpreted by the opposition as being anti-religious since human strength and the nation were placed on a higher level than God. The Ukrainian Hetman Organization verbally attacked the republican system of government supported by UNO and also criticized those UNO members who had actually taken part in the coup d'etat in late 1918 which had dethroned their Hetman, P. Skoropadsky. The two greatest adversaries were UNO and the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (TURF Dim). UNO bitterly

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<sup>94</sup>V.J.Kaye, "Three Phases of Ukrainian Immigration" in Slavs in Canada. Vol. 1, (ed.) V.Slavutych, (Edmonton: Inter University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1966), p.41.

attacked, and was attacked by, the pro-communist TURF Dim in the Ukrainian press and in violent confrontations on Canadian streets. UNO condemned the TURF Dim's support of the Moscow controlled soviet regime in Ukraine as well as its communist propaganda in Canada. The TURF Dim, on the other hand, opposed UNO's Ukrainian nationalist ideology and commenced a slander campaign colouring Ukrainian nationalism with German fascism. It was under these circumstances that the scene was set in which some Ukrainian youth in Canada grouped together to form a nationalist Ukrainian youth organization.

#### Ukrainian National Youth Federation

By the time the Ukrainian National Federation (UNO) had called their First National Convention on July 26, 1934, the Ukrainian nationalist students had organized five branches of USNO; UNO branches in Toronto and Winnipeg had formed two branches of the youth organization Plast, and those in Edmonton and Roblin had formed youth sections of UNO.

The Ukrainian Youth Association Plast in Winnipeg was formed on April 2, 1934 at the Rusalka Theatre and the meeting resolved that the Plast organization in Canada would be a branch of the Plast youth association in the old country. The Plast constitution was adopted with minor amendments to conform with the Canadian environment. Plast uniforms, with slight modifications, were also adopted. The main concern of the organizers, who selected Peter Wachniak as the Plast Centurion (Plastovay Sotnyk) was the self-education of Ukrainian youth to reflect the language and culture of Ukraine. To this end twenty-seven members joined the new organization.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup>Novy Shliakh, April 24, 1934.

At the 1934 convention held in Saskatoon, in addition to the ten students who were representing their student branches, other young individuals were concerned with developing a nationalist youth movement within the UNO system. Among these was Kornlylo Magera who addressed the convention on the topic of "An Organization of Youth". The convention delegates discussed the necessity of such an endeavour and decided to create a special Commission on Youth and Plast composed of Kornlylo Magera, Anthony Hlynka, Alexander Gregorowich, Dr. Ivan Gulay, Walter Davidiuk, John Kishynsky, Wolodymyr Kossar, Michael Phorecky, Proctor Sawchuk and Paul Yuzyk. The Commission headed by K. Magera was to prepare a plan for a new youth organization to be known as Nationalist Ukrainian Youth (Natsionalistychna Ukrayinska Molod--NUM). The convention authorized the Dominion Executive of UNO to oversee the organization of Ukrainian nationalist youth and Paul Yuzyk was elected to the Dominion Executive as the liaison for youth (Referent Molodi) to take charge of this responsibility.<sup>96</sup>

During the first year of existence, the name NUM was changed to Molodi Ukrayinski Natsionalisty--MUN (Young Ukrainian Nationalists). The English name that the organization adopted was Ukrainian National Youth Association; later it became Ukrainian National Youth Federation.<sup>97</sup> Five branches quickly came to life in the following cities: Saskatoon, Toronto, Oshawa, Kirkland Lake and Montreal.

The first National Convention of MUN was held in Saskatoon on July 14, 1935, in conjunction with the second National Convention of UNO. The chairman

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid., September 4, 1934.

<sup>97</sup>During the first years some branches continued to use the term Young Ukrainian Nationalists.

of the convention Paul Yuzyk raised the fundamental issue of the lack of a central body to coordinate the activities of the new organization. John Kishynsky stressed that without such a central executive, the organization would not know the status of the branches nor their activities. The convention in discussing alternatives finally resolved to reject the formation of a separate central executive in favour of a central MUN liaison (referentura) within the Dominion Executive of UNO.<sup>98</sup> This position they incorporated into their first constitution.<sup>99</sup> Such a move, the delegates felt, would centralize the entire nationalist movement within the framework of the UNO system. Under the new arrangement Harry Makeechak (Mateychuk) was elected to the helm assisted by Rudolph Lozynsky and Miss Parania Kalyn. The delegates also discussed the need for a full-time organizer and a medium for publicity and concluded that the Dominion Executive of UNO should finance organizers to motivate the youth. The task was assumed by two students: Proctor Sawchuk and John Kishynsky.<sup>100</sup> Sawchuk travelled to a number of regions in Saskatchewan before entering Alberta. Kishynsky commenced field working for MUN in January 1936 and limited his travels to Saskatchewan.<sup>101</sup> In addition to establishing a section for MUN in the Novy Shliakh newspaper located in Saskatoon, the new central executive was charged with selecting and distributing nationalist literature for the youth.

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<sup>98</sup>Novy Shliakh, July 30, 1935.

<sup>99</sup>PAC, Ukrainian National Youth Federation Collection, MG 28 V 8, Volume 1, Constitution of 1935.

<sup>100</sup>Novy Shliakh, June 16, 1936. Proctor Sawchuk concentrated on organizing student clubs of USNO and organizing the youth at large while Kishynsky devoted all of his efforts to the creation of MUN branches.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., March 3, 1937.

In Eastern Canada the nationalist ideology took root quicker than on the prairies. The east had been unexploited by Ukrainian organizations other than the TURF Dim and the Sitch and the Ukrainians were more densely populated in the various urban centres. At a Provincial Conference of UNO in Ontario and Quebec held in Toronto in the summer of 1935, MUN members in attendance drew up rules and regulations outlining the formation of a Provincial Executive and crystalizing the responsibilities of the membership to the nationalist movement. A three member interim Provincial Executive was elected and submitted a plan of action to the Central Executive of MUN and to the Dominion Executive of UNO. The Provincial Executive (PE) requested that the Central Executive establish similar PE's in the other provinces to coordinate and direct the activities of the branches already in existence and to organize new branches. The newly created PE's would also be responsible for engaging Ukrainian Canadian youth in the struggle for a Ukrainian State under the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN in Europe) and UNO in Canada.<sup>102</sup>

The Central Executive did not reply to the Toronto-based executive until April explaining that they had discussed the matter with UNO and did not believe that it was necessary at this time to establish provincial executives. They reasoned that there were only 9 branches and the majority of them were not really active as only one had sent in any membership dues.<sup>103</sup> Stephen Pawluk, the Ontario PE President retorted that Ontario already had seven branches and

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<sup>102</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol. 2, Provisional Provincial Executive to Central Executive, December 27, 1935.

<sup>103</sup>In Ontario: Kirkland Lake, Oshawa, Toronto, Windsor; In Saskatchewan: Marlin, Redberry, Saskatoon; In Alberta: Weasel Creek and Edmonton (the latter was an USNO branch).

attempts were being made to organize four more in Hamilton, Kitchener, St. Catharines and Guelph.<sup>104</sup>

The PE appealed to the Ontario Provincial Executive of UNO to grant them sanction until the MUN Central Executive acted positively in the matter by making provision for them in the constitution. The Ontario Provincial Convention of UNO formalized the MUN PE within its structure and approved of a MUN Provincial Conference to be held at the end of July immediately after the conclusion of the second National Convention of MUN.

By the second convention, MUN had established fourteen branches.<sup>105</sup> The majority were located in Eastern Canada. And the Eastern Canadian membership was clamouring its dissatisfaction of the lack of leadership on the part of the Central Executive. At the second MUN convention, held in Saskatoon on July 4-6, 1936, the President, Harry Makeechak, opened the convention with an explanation about the difficulties the executive had faced, especially its inability to maintain a staffed headquarters which could carry on prolonged communication with the branches. The lack of solid leadership was felt in the organization and a special nominating commission was selected to suggest candidates who could commence building a massive youth organization.<sup>106</sup> The following day Paul Yuzyk was nominated to the Presidency, Ivan Bayrak--Secretary, and

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<sup>104</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol. 2. Provincial Executive to Central Executive, April 23, 1936.

<sup>105</sup>See APPENDIX: The Central Executive claimed to have only 12 because two branches--Montreal and Moose Jaw--although formed in 1935 had to be re-established in 1937.

<sup>106</sup>Novy Shliakh, July 21, 1936. The members of the commission were: H. Mateychuk, W. Davidiuk, P. Yuzyk, J. Kishynsky, R. Lozynsky, I. Bayrak, K. Magera and P. Sawchuk.

Stephania Romanow--Treasurer. Their election was unopposed. The convention resolved that the MUN Referent (Liaison between MUN and UNO), who was at the same time the President of the Central Executive, devote all his time to organizing the youth and that he play a greater role in the Dominion Executive of UNO.

MUN immediately issued its first newsletter, which outlined the philosophy that the organization would pursue until the outbreak of the second world war:

The task of MUN...is to educate a new type of Ukrainian whose prime responsibility would be...The Fatherland above all else...the expansion and development of this ideology would become the blood and bones of this youth.<sup>107</sup>

Another resolution adopted by the convention stressed that the Dominion Executive of UNO materially and morally assist the MUN Central Executive in maintaining organizers in Canada. John Kishynsky left immediately after the Convention to travel to Toronto in order to represent the interests of the Central Executive during the MUN Provincial Convention held on July 24-27, 1936. The Toronto Convention was more activist and radical in tone than was the National Convention. Two addresses were presented to the delegates; Walter Pidzamecky spoke about "How to Direct the Cultural-Educational Work in the MUN Organization" and Peter Stos outlined "The Avenues of Building the MUN Organization". In his presentation, Stos stated that to establish an organization one must have a high ideal: "Our ideal is the concept of an Independent Free Ukrainian State for our Ukrainian nation".<sup>108</sup> He outlined a fundamental problem which the organization faced:

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<sup>107</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol. 3, MUN Obizhnyk (newsletter), July 1936.

<sup>108</sup>Novy Shliakh, October 20, 1936.



To our MUN organization come many young Ukrainians born in Canada. The majority of us can hardly read Ukrainian writing. The fault is not ours but of our present circumstances and our weakly organized Ukrainian school system. Every MUN branch should be an educational centre where the youth could rally and prepare for nationalist work.<sup>109</sup>

Stos also called upon the Central Executive to adopt the established Plast framework from the old country and to select instructors for every branch of MUN so that it could become a nationalistic school in which members could be taught the fundamentals of nationalist ideology.<sup>110</sup>

Other topics discussed at the Provincial Conference which indicate the tone of the gathering included the debate--"Resolved that Ukrainian Canadian Youth Is Not Lost to the Ukrainian Independence Movement", and the speeches--"For the Consideration of Ukrainian Nationalistic Youth", "Ukraine--Our Fatherland" and "The Warsaw Process As Viewed by a Young Nationalist". In addition to the 23 delegates representing MUN branches in Ontario the convention was attended by Wasyl Hultay the UNO organizer, John Kishynsky the MUN organizer, General Mykola Kapustiansky of the OUN Leadership, Colonel Morey de Moran and General Victor Sikevych.

On September 19, 1936, the new National President set out on a 3 month tour of the MUN branches between Saskatoon and Montreal. P. Yuzyk, who left a teaching position in Hafford, Saskatchewan, had committed himself to conduct a study of the existing branches of MUN and to acquaint himself with the membership and the executives. He also planned to crystalize the aims and the objectives of the organization and to come to some agreement with the Executives

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid.

about their responsibilities to the Central Executive.<sup>111</sup>

Travelling to the various centres of Ukrainian population, across Canada, Yuzyk gave public addresses on the subjects of "Nationalism vs Communism" and "Our Present Day Problems". In these he described the problems facing Ukrainian youth in Canada and in Ukraine and the aims strived for by the federation. The Sault Daily Star reported the address given by Yuzyk at the second meeting he had held in Sault Ste. Marie:

The movement, Mr. Yuzyk emphasized, was anti-Communist and its campaign against communism amongst Ukrainians in Canada was producing noticeable effects. Neither, he claimed, was it Fascist. Its entire aim was liberation of Ukraine and preservation of the national character. With independence achieved, the form of government to be adopted would be determined by the Ukraine itself to meet its own needs.<sup>112</sup>

In addition to the creation of several new branches, Yuzyk's orientation and fact-finding tour produced a wealth of information for the Executive. Upon his return to Saskatoon, the Dominion Executive of MUN prepared and published a pamphlet which raised and answered twenty-four major questions about the organization's attitude and position towards Ukrainian nationalism, the churches, other organizations and the MUN membership.

The ideological basis of MUN was "Ukrainian nationalism"; a concept defined as "a movement devoid of political party affiliation, which embraces all Ukrainians who are aware of their national interests and which leads a revolutionary path in the struggle for those interests to attain full national freedom".<sup>113</sup> The organization which followed that ideology in the old country

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<sup>111</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol. 2, Central Executive to Provincial Executive, September 15, 1936.

<sup>112</sup>Sault Daily Star, Sault Ste. Marie, December 4, 1936.

<sup>113</sup>Novy Shliakh, February 9, 1937.

was OUN which had established an underground network throughout Ukraine against her enemies--Russians, Poles, Czechs and Roumanians. The first OUN slogan "The Nation above all else" (Natsia Ponad Usse) which was accepted by MUN from UNO meant that in all personal, party, class, religious or other matters the welfare of the nation must remain at the forefront of all actions. A second slogan was also employed in Canada--"Our Strength is in Ourselves" (Nasha Sylav Nas Samykh). MUN believed that the best way to assist the native land was by materially and morally supporting OUN; materially by collecting funds, morally by propagandizing the liberation movement for the Ukrainian nation.<sup>114</sup> Other organizations outside Canada which supported the nationalist ideology and with which MUN found common grounds for cooperation were MUN of the United States (est. 1933), CESUS (Central Union of Ukrainian Students, est. 1922 in Prague) and SUM in Manchuria (est. 1930).

In its relations with the Ukrainian churches MUN adopted the position of adhering to Christian morality and ethics while teaching its members respect for the Ukrainian churches. MUN adopted a negative attitude to the religious struggles that were underway among Ukrainians in Canada.

MUN's attitude to Bolshevism or Communism was very straightforward:

The greatest harm to and destruction of the Ukrainian nation came from Bolshevism. It helped Moscow oppress Ukraine, it destroyed the intelligent segment of Ukrainian peasantry and labour as well as the national leadership. Bolsheviks in Canada confuse our people with promises of Bolshevik paradise and make them dupes of Moscow. Therefore we must educate our people about Bolshevism and its formation amongst us, and destroy this movement which is destroying us.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

With the pamphlet completed, and in preparation for the forthcoming convention, Yuzyk set off on another organizational tour. From February to April 1937 he travelled throughout Alberta and then in May and June throughout Saskatchewan. By the third convention, MUN had grown to 28 branches, an increase of 16 during the last year, 11 of these organized by the President.<sup>116</sup>

The Third National Convention of MUN was held in conjunction with that of UNO in Saskatoon on June 26-28, 1937. In his Presidential address, P. Yuzyk again confirmed the fundamental importance of Ukrainian nationalism to the MUN organization:

The Ukrainian nationalist movement, in the struggle for independence and freedom for Ukrainian lands, heavily depends upon the strength of the youth of the Ukrainian nation. Almost all of the action by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Native Land against all the enemies, is undertaken by the Ukrainian youth with an inspired, passionate and generous love for Ukraine... Would we not be traitors if we claimed that we were Ukrainian, but spit upon those Ukrainian-brothers who today are sacrificing their lives for Ukraine. Unfortunately, our youth organizations are breaking the ties with the native peoples on the roots of our soil and wish to live on self-reliance... Molodi Ukrayinski Natsionalisty is the only Ukrainian youth organization that develops a healthy all-Ukrainian patriotic spirit... Although we develop respect and patriotism to our adopted homeland, our hearts burn with love and generosity to our native homeland, Ukraine. Let us place before us the ideal of the rebirth of the Ukrainian state and hold firm to that cause.<sup>117</sup>

The convention elected Kornlyo Magera as president, a position he was to hold until 1939. The delegates also adopted a resolution empowering the Dominion Executive to organize not only branches of MUN, but also branches of Dorist MUN (junior youth section under the age of 14) as had been done in Toronto and Saskatoon early in 1936. In addition to the services of P. Yuzyk as the MUN organizer, the organization received support from the UNO organizer,

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid., July 6, 1937, for a list of branches see APPENDIX.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., July 13, 1937.

Mr. Stepan Waskan, and the Ukrainian Womens Organization (OUK) organizer, Mrs. Rosalia Kowalsky.<sup>118</sup> By the end of 1938 Dorist MUN branches were established in Winnipeg, Kirkland Lake, Sudbury, and Oshawa; and by the end of 1939, another 12 MUN branches were operational. A number of these branches which had been formed out of the rural population were not destined to exist very long. Many of their early leaders, teachers, and students as well as members joined the urban trend and left the countryside. Many other members travelled to the isolated mines and lumber camps in northern Ontario and Quebec in search of employment.

One of the crowning efforts of the early period of organization was the conscientious strivings of the membership to prepare for what they believed to be the inevitable revolution on Ukrainian soil. To this end a Radio-Telegraphy School was established in Toronto and a Ukrainian Flying School was created in Oshawa.

#### Ukrainian Radio Telegraphy School

In May 1935 during a meeting held by the Toronto Branch of MUN, the suggestion of forming a radio-telegraphy school was brought up by the branch president Stephen Pawluk. At this time Pawluk was studying radio technology at the Marconi College in Toronto and had taken courses in Chicago. The meeting resolved that MUN members establish a Ukrainian School of Radio Telegraphy the aims of which were to be: (1) to acquaint the members of MUN with the history of radio and telegraphy, and (2) to encourage Ukrainian youth to study this

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<sup>118</sup> B.R. Bociurkiw, "Dvadtsyat Rokiv MUN" [Twenty Years of MUN] in Yuvileyna Prohrama MUN Kanady 20 Litniy Yuviley [Jubilee Program: UNYF of Canada 20th Jubilee] (Toronto: May 22-24, 1954). P. Yuzyk made such organizational tours from July-November 1937 and again in February-March 1938.

subject which would be of assistance in finding employment and also of immense value in the event of an outbreak of war. The school began operations the next month with 10 participants.<sup>119</sup>

The Toronto Branch of UNO gave the school not only the necessary school-room facilities, but also the much needed financial aid during the years that the school existed. The co-managers and lecturers of the school were Stephen Pawluk and John Stogrin. Both obtained their Government Second Class Certificates of Proficiency in Radio telegraphy in 1936. In December of 1937, both members sailed for England to join the Marconi International Services and later during the war served as radio officers aboard British vessels. The school was dormant for eight months after their departure until a group of MUN members re-established the school on September 5, 1938.<sup>120</sup> Five more students took theoretical and practical courses on wireless telegraphy and commercial radio under the instruction of Mark Topolnycky. Sixteen year old Michael Cwihun became the President of the school which was to assist a number of boys in their studies of wireless and radio up until the early years of war.

#### Ukrainian Flying School

In early September 1937 Patrick Anten (Petro Antochiw), a 26 year old Ukrainian living in Oshawa, approached various air clubs and MUN members about the feasibility of forming a Ukrainian flying school. On September 12, 1937, both the President of the MUN National Executive, Kornylo Magera, and the National Secretary arrived in Oshawa to discuss the possibility of MUN endeavouring to assume the burden of such a venture. Although the National Executive was

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<sup>119</sup>UNYF, Seven Presidents in Uniform (Winnipeg: Dominion Executive UNYF, 1945), p.3.

<sup>120</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol. 9, M. Swihun, President of School, to National Executive, December 9, 1938.

extremely interested in the proposal, it was unable at that time to raise the capital necessary to finance the scheme. The meeting ended on a note of optimism but no firm commitments were made by either party. Anten left determined to form an air club and the MUN representatives left to search for financial backing.

On September 26, 1937, Anten held an organizational meeting to form an air club at which twenty-eight potential candidates were in attendance. The meeting approved the proposals presented by him, ratified a constitution, and elected an executive. The first president was Michael Wladyka, Anten becoming the club's flying instructor. Three months later Anten personally purchased a two seater Porterfield "Zephyr" aircraft from General Aircraft Dealers for \$1350.00.<sup>121</sup>

In the interval the National Executive of MUN had approached the Dominion Executive of UNO with the concept of a flying school within the organizational system. Having agreed that together the organizations could shoulder the financial strain, the MUN National Executive contacted the flying school and by January 2, 1938, an agreement was reached by which the Dominion Executives of UNO and MUN assumed the financial responsibility and control of the flying school. The leaders of this new experiment rapidly fell in step with the nationalist ideology propagated by the MUN organization. The new President M. Wladyka outlined the optimistic objectives of the club:

All personal glory must be discarded and we must work all for the glory and freedom of Ukraine. It is for this reason that Anten and I organized this school. However we cannot tell everyone this while we are living in Canada. Before many years have passed we hope to have our pilots at the head of our Ukrainian Flying Schools in every Ukrainian

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<sup>121</sup>Ibid., Vol. 16. The registration markings were CF-BGV. Motor Serial No. 1306 and Engine No. 510.

colony in Canada. Only those who place the interests of their nation first have a right to hold responsible positions in our organization... We cannot organize an army even if it wears the name of a sports club in Canada. We must watch our every move because the Canadian Government is not as unaware of our actions as some of us may think. We must use the utmost caution in spreading our aims among our members... Only with your co-operation can we make this the greatest Ukrainian movement in the history of the Ukrainian people of Canada.<sup>122</sup>

The financial considerations of paying for the "Zephyr" which MUN had purchased from Anten on March 9, as well as its maintenance expenses, were considerable. A Ukrainian Flying School Fund was established in 1938 and \$1.00 membership certificates were issued. The following year a MUN lottery featured an automobile as first prize in the campaign to raise funds. Throughout this period money was also raised by the UNO organizer Mychaylo Sharyk. The Dominion Executive of UNO also appointed the former Lieutenant Colonel Morey de Moran, a French Ukrainian nationalist with aviation background, to the Dominion Executive to be responsible for publicizing and raising funds for the aviation movement. Serious problems arose between the Ukrainian Flying School (UFS) and de Moran when he attempted to increase his personal control over the school. The instructor, Anten, protested to the MUN National Executive that de Moran had attempted "to dissolve the executive" and appoint another one and then "name himself supervisor of the whole Ukrainian Flying School Movement".<sup>123</sup> After a number of investigations and reprimands de Moran resigned and was replaced by Sharyk in June.

The club, whose membership had expanded to 38, was involved in ground training and practical aviation lessons in the preparation for Pilots'

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<sup>122</sup>Ibid., M. Wladyka to National Executive, Oshawa, May 18, 1938.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., P.F. Anten to National Executive, May 11, 1938, Oshawa.



Licences. Thirty-five students wrote the "Federal and International Air Regulations" Exams and the club had hoped to have at least ten pilots in uniform demonstrating their flying prowess before the delegates of the 5th UNO Convention. Such was not to be the case. A number of students had to discontinue taking the course for lack of funds. Nevertheless, for the Convention, the Porterfield Zephyr was re-painted from its original colours of bright red with a blue stripe running fore and aft along the body to the Ukrainian national colours of blue and yellow with the MUN emblem--a tryzub (trident) the coat-of-arms of the Ukrainian National Republic--emblazoned on the tail. The plane was christened "Evhen" after the nationalist leader of OUN--Evhen Konovalets. An Aviation Day was held at Barker Field in Toronto during the convention; delegates were impressed with the Ukrainian airplane, stunt flying, and the parachute jumping of M. Wladyka and William Zaleschook.<sup>124</sup> Similar Aviation Days were also held in Sudbury and Oshawa.

The Ukrainian Flying School changed its name to the Ukrainian Central Flying Club (UCFC) in August 1938 upon the recommendation of George M. Ross, Secretary of the Canadian Flying Clubs Association and editor of the Canadian Aviation magazine, who had travelled to Oshawa to learn first hand of the activities and the objectives of the flying school. The UCFC attracted much attention from the Ukrainian population as well as from the general public. Articles in the Oshawa Times, Toronto Star, Telegram and Globe and Mail noted the activities of the club. The Robitnyk (Toiler), a Hetman newspaper

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<sup>124</sup> Wm. Zaleschook became the first graduate licensed pilot of the school at the age of 20 on October 19, 1938.

criticized the school's existence in Canada, as did also the Communist press.<sup>125</sup>

On August 6, 1939, a telegram sent from "Wladyka, Zaleschook and Anten" informed the National Executive that arrangements were being made to purchase an Al training aeroplane at a cost of \$900.00 and the Porterfield. The new plane would be capable of long range flying and a Canadian tour to gather funds for its payment was to begin immediately. Eleven days later the National Executive had forwarded the \$300.00 necessary for the downpayment and had planned another Aviation Day to be held at Hafford, Saskatchewan on October 7-8, 1939. Similar days were scheduled for Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton, Canora, Prince Albert and Ituna.<sup>126</sup>

In the meanwhile, the receipt of the cheque caused surprise and consternation within the UCFC. An emergency meeting was called to discuss the sudden plans to purchase another plane. A committee of five was established by the UCFC for the purpose of investigating the purchase of a new aeroplane and specifically the possibility of purchasing the Ciruss Moth CF-CBL which was advocated by Anten. Their conclusions indicated that the Ciruss Moth, which was offered for sale by a Mr. Watts, was worth only \$800.00 at best; especially in light of the fact that although Anten had himself purchased it for \$850.00 and had sold it to Mr. Watts for \$900.00, the plane had been involved in an accident since that sale, and was in need of a major overhaul.

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<sup>125</sup>Oshawa Labour Press, June 8, 1939. The Hetmanite movement was critical of the MUN flying school because they also operated a similar school in the U.S.A.

<sup>126</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol. 17. National Executive MUN to M. Sharyk, M. Wladyka, W. Swystun, August 19, 1939.

Anten was disgusted with the inquiry and tendered his resignation on August 24, 1939, stating that "my efforts in procuring a suitable aircraft for primary and advanced instruction as well as for cross-country flying are being met with suspicion and opposition, being even requested to certify the suitability of the aircraft by affidavit".<sup>127</sup> He accused Wladyka of undermining his influence. Wladyka on the other hand elaborated on the committee's findings. He claimed that he was not party to the signing of the telegram which informed the National Executive of the Ciruss Moth and that it was the President of the Club, Ambrose Shestowsky, and not he, who had called the emergency meeting to examine this purchase. The vendor of the Ciruss Moth, claimed Wladyka, was still indebted to Anten who now needed money to establish another one of his ventures—a proposed Oshawa Flying Club.<sup>128</sup> Anten had used the organization to acquire his aviation license. Having passed the requirements he no longer felt any obligation to the organization or to repay the loan of \$250.00 that he had borrowed from it to allow him to complete his courses. Unfortunately, the organization desperately needed someone with Anten's experience to continue instructing the school.

Despite the setback, the National Executive was still determined to purchase another plane and so instructed the Club. The organization had planned to start a flying school in Sudbury and also one in Saskatoon and the groundwork for this had been laid when Anten was obtaining his instructor's licence while in Saskatoon in July 1939.<sup>129</sup> However, with the outbreak of the war all

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<sup>127</sup>Ibid., P.F. Anten to Ukrainian Flying Club, August 24, 1939.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., Wladyka to W. Kossar, August 26, 1939.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid.

civilian aviation came under the control of the Department of National Defence and all flying exhibitions and airplane sales were prohibited. MUN discontinued its plans for expansion and the UCFC was dissolved. The MUN aircraft was finally sold to Gillies Flying Service in Toronto in 1941 for \$214.00.<sup>130</sup>

The Ukrainian National Youth Federation was born at a time when Ukrainian nationalism was in its advanced stages of development overseas. This nationalist movement captured the enthusiasm of Ukrainians around the world, and its dynamism was reflected in various countries such as the United States, Argentina, France, Germany, Carpatho-Ukraine and the East Asian territories of "Zeleny Klyn" Harbin district.<sup>131</sup>

Communication and propaganda was widespread and effective. The organ of the MUN organization in Canada between 1936 and 1939 was the "MUN Page" in the issues of Novy Shliakh (38 MUN issues in 1937; 42 in 1938; and 18 in 1939). The National Executive also distributed issues of the Ukrainian American publication "Nationalist" as well as the following publications from Ukraine: "Surma" (Bugle), "Yunak" (Youth), "Svit Dytyny" (Youth's World), "Samosvitnyk" (Self-Education) and "Rozbudova Natsiyi" (Rebuilding the Nation). At their Fourth National Convention in 1938 MUN adopted the English monthly Trident, a magazine of MUN of U.S.A. as their official organ.

The National Executive also coordinated and directed MUN activities which included cultural and educational programs. The branches held public

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., Vol. 34, "A Brief History of the UNF and Its Affiliated Organizations".

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., Vol. 22. Address by Wm. Hladun, "Why the UNYF was Organized" at Presidents Conference, Toronto 1955.

speeches and debates and sports competitions; developed mixed and male choirs, string and wind orchestras, drama groups and literary circles; and took part in various leadership courses, conferences and conventions.

The inception of MUN came at a time when year to year many expected to see or return to a free Ukraine. The nationalist ideology was very near and dear to a great number of the European-born immigrants who arrived after World War I. With the economic depression of the 1930's and the great discrimination against non-Anglo-Saxons, many of the Ukrainian emigres considered returning to a free Ukraine. Under such conditions the idea of Ukrainian nationalism as expounded by MUN grew quickly until war broke out.

In July 1939 the Fifth National Convention of MUN elected Julian Burianyk to lead the organization; two months later war erupted and he issued the following statement:

The Dominion Executive of the Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada believes the Ukrainian Canadian Youth will fulfill to the letter all demands made upon her by the British Empire and the Ukrainian people in Canada.<sup>132</sup>

The MUN organization had mentally and physically prepared its membership for the oncome of the war. The organization had kept a constant vigil on the mounting tensions in Europe and its military preparedness brought on by training in its radio-telegraphy and flying schools was to be a significant asset for its membership. Many of the MUN boys were among the first of the Ukrainian Canadian male population to volunteer their services to the Canadian military effort.

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<sup>132</sup>Toronto Telegram, September 21, 1939. Burianyk was a former SUMK member who had joined MUN when four SUMK branches in Winnipeg became affiliated with MUN.

## Ukrainian Catholic Youth

### Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood

The last of the major pre-war youth organizations--Ukrainian Catholic Youth (Ukrayinske Katolytske Yunatstvo--UKY)--was developed out of the activities and programs of the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (Bratstvo Ukrayintsiv Katolykiv--BUK). The formation of the latter organization can be traced to the abolition of religious teaching in the school system of the Province of Saskatchewan by a government directive in 1929. Leading members of the Catholic faith strongly protested against this directive and realized that co-ordinated efforts were necessary to apply continued pressure on the government. That year saw the formation of an organization known as the Ukrainian Catholic School Trustees of the Province of Saskatchewan.<sup>133</sup> With school trustees of other national origins the Ukrainian Catholics held a convention in Regina to voice their unified protests.

The Ukrainian Catholic Trustees did not limit their involvement only to the matter of religion in the schools. They discussed various other problems affecting Ukrainian Catholicism and education. Among the participants was Father Stepan Semchuk, a young parish priest of Alvena, Saskatchewan; mainly through his efforts at a general school trustees convention held in Regina on June 14, 1932, a small committee of Ukrainian teachers and farmers was struck.

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<sup>133</sup>B.Kazymyra & Fr. W.Iwaszko (eds.), Yuvileyna Knyha Apostolskoho Ekzarhativ Ukrayintsiv Katolykiv Saskatunu 1905-1955 [Jubilee Book of Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatoon] (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Catholic Council of Saskatchewan, 1955), p.61.

This committee came to the conclusion that a broadly based organization which would concern itself with all matters concerning Ukrainian Catholicism in Canada was needed.<sup>134</sup> The committee set itself the task of calling a general convention to form such an organization. At two interim meetings—one at Cudworth, and the other at Alvena—Father Semchuk and Fred Mamchur decided to submit the name Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (Bratstvo Ukrayintsiv Katolykiv—BUK) to the convention.<sup>135</sup> They also adopted a slogan which they prepared to present to the convention delegates: "The Catholic religion, Ukrainian culture and the Canadian state".

On December 28-29, 1932 the first convention of BUK was held in Saskatoon with an attendance of over three hundred participants.<sup>136</sup> Membership was open to all Ukrainians of the Catholic faith. The main objectives of the new organization became the promotion of religious teaching, the development of Ukrainian culture and language, and the provision of guidance and leadership for Ukrainian Catholics in Canada.<sup>137</sup> The full text of the ideological aims and bylaws of the organization are found in the monthly issues of the Bulletin of BUK which was duplicated in mimeographed form by Father Semchuk from January 1,

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<sup>134</sup>P.Yuzyk, "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1948), p.188. Committee consisted of Father S. Semchuk, Mr. & Mrs. M. Hrynevych, Fred Mamchur, M. Bilynsky, D. Bayda, H. Dubyk, J. Topaschuk and D. Kobrynsky.

<sup>135</sup>H.Piniuta, "The Organization Life of Ukrainian Canadians" (M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1952), p.31.

<sup>136</sup>S.Semchuk, "Istoriya BUK" [History of BUK]. Buduchnist Natsiyi [The Future of the Nation], January 14, 1941.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

1933. From September 1933 the Bulletin was published by the Redemption Press in Yorkton with Father Semchuk continuing as editor.<sup>138</sup> Twenty branches were organized within the first year, the majority in Saskatchewan. BUK, however, did not attain any success in the struggle for community leadership in the area of nationalist activity; nor indeed did it strive to. The view was held by some that:

the Catholic societies did not engage enough in nationalistic or Ukrainian activity outside of what they term 'the narrow field of religion'. The Catholic Church and the priests tended to keep within the sphere of religion and only indirectly 'meddle' in Ukrainian political matters; moreover, Catholic societies were less active than the sectarian Orthodox institutions in the general activist activity.<sup>139</sup>

BUK concentrated its activities on preserving and strengthening the Catholic faith and the allegiance to the Catholic church among the Ukrainian people against the inroads made by Ukrainian Orthodoxy.<sup>140</sup> It also spent a great deal of time promoting Ukrainian cultural activities in Canada. By the outbreak of the war the popularity of BUK's programs and leadership among its Catholic faithful had allowed the organization to involve over sixty Ukrainian Catholic parishes across Canada.

#### Ukrainian Catholic Youth

Alongside the Brotherhood and in many parishes in which BUK had not yet been established there flourished a great number of local Catholic youth clubs which

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<sup>138</sup>The Bulletin was later replaced by Buduchnist Natsiyyi.

<sup>139</sup>S.W. Manchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada, With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal". (M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1934), p.197.

<sup>140</sup>S. Shewchuk, "The Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood and its Objectives at the Present Time". Ukrayinski Visti, [Ukrainian News], Edmonton, November 30, 1948.



were known by a variety of names: Parish Youth, Catholic Youth (Katolytske Yunatstvo), Congregation of Mary (Mariysky Soyuz), Marian Congregation (Marian-sky Soyuz), Boy Scouts (Plast), Youth Branch of BUK, Eucharist Society (Evkharys-tiyny Soyuz), Ukrainian Catholic Youth Action (Katolytska Aktsia Ukrayinskoyi Molodi) and so on. There was little if any communication between them and there was a definite lack of well defined aims and ideals. During the BUK conventions held yearly in Saskatoon the parish priests and the community leaders made occasional reference to the youth and to the organizational problems confronting them.

However it wasn't until October 12, 1937 that a special session was called during the third day of a BUK convention to discuss the circumstances confronting the youth within the BUK organization.<sup>141</sup> The lack of any youth-oriented direction coming from the BUK executives was the major complaint that the various youth branches had. The problems of the elders and their solutions were not always those which were most relevant to the youth. There were no over-all or far reaching goals set for the youth. The special session reached some definite conclusions: a distinct youth organization must be created, and the organization must stress the Catholic faith and the Ukrainian language. To this end a commission of five individuals was chosen to draft the Rules and Regulations (Pravylnyk) of a new organization.<sup>142</sup> A section in Buduchnist Natsiyi written by Father Michael Horoshko and M. Boyko appeared soon afterward. Entitled "For the soul of youth, for its honor" (Za Dushu molodi, za yiyi chest) the youth section dealt with various problems of morality and Christianity.

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<sup>141</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, January 1, 1938.

<sup>142</sup>The members were Miss Evhenia Harkow, Osyp Verbytsky, Michael Boyko, Blazheyko, and A. Yaremowych.

During the next BUK Convention held in Saskatoon on October 8, 1938, another youth session was convened.<sup>143</sup> At this meeting Anton Yaremowych, a teacher from Krydor, Saskatchewan proposed the rules and regulations of a possible unified Catholic youth organization which had been drawn up by the commission during the past year. During the discussions which whole-heartedly endorsed the idea of a central organization, Father Michael Horoshko, an active nationalist priest who had the year before arrived from the old country,<sup>144</sup> proposed the name Youth Organization of BUK (Molodecha Orhanizatsia BUK) and suggested that a separate youth conference be convened to examine the broader aspects of establishing such a body. The meeting adjourned with the creation of a special three-member committee which was to examine implementing a constitution, propose candidates for an executive and convene a conference.<sup>145</sup> In a flurry of activity the committee called a special youth conference two days later at which a temporary constitution was adopted and Father Horoshko was chosen as the first President.<sup>146</sup> The meeting resolved that the youth would be kept within the realm of the church and the nationality. Upon the motions of Anton Yaremowych and Steven Didych, the conference agreed to name the new organization Ukrainian Catholic Youth (Ukrayinske Katolytske Yunatstvo--UKYu).

On January 3-4, 1939 in Hafford, Saskatchewan, the Rules and Regulations were further crystalized by a committee consisting of Father Nestor Drohomeretsky,

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<sup>143</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, November 1, 1938.

<sup>144</sup>Interview with Paul Yuzyk, Ottawa, March 20, 1973.

<sup>145</sup>Members of the committee were Fr. M. Horoshko, A. Yaremowych and A. Pukish.

<sup>146</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, December 1, 1938. Other members of the executive were A. Yaremowych (V.P.), A. Kindrakevych (Sec.), S. Didych (Tres.), Miss M. Lupka, J. Worobec and W. Mudryj.

Father Horoshko, Bernard L. Korchynsky and Anton Yaremowych. The aims and objectives which they set forth were: a) to organize the Ukrainian Catholic youth in Canada and to centralize its work under one leadership, and b) to educate and develop the youth under the guidelines of religion, nationality, education and physical fitness to be good Ukrainian Catholics in Canada.<sup>147</sup>

The methods by which these goals could be attained were through the propagation of the Ukrainian Catholic faith, the rites of the church, and the teaching of the Ukrainian language, culture and history. This was to be accomplished via the formation of UKYu branches which would conduct a full social, cultural and education program for the membership. The committee also planned as its official organ, the publication of a separate youth page in Buduchnist Natsiyi and agreed upon the circulation of copies of Ukrayinske Yunatstvo (Ukrainian Youth), the organ of the Orly Catholic youth organization of Western Ukraine.<sup>148</sup> The Rules and Regulations of UKYu were then mimeographed and sent to Father Wasyl Kushnir in Winnipeg for verification and ratification by the Bishop.<sup>149</sup>

The first UKYu branch was established early in January 1939 at Hafford when a meeting of 60 members agreed to join the newly created organization. Within a few days Father Horoshko established another branch at Samburg.<sup>150</sup> At the invitation of Father Fyka, Father Horoshko travelled to Regina where yet another branch was organized on January 22, 1939.

That spring Father Horoshko was both president and chief organizer of UKYu as he took upon himself the task of expanding the organization.

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<sup>147</sup>Kazymyra & Iwaszko, Ukrayinski Katolyky, p.80.

<sup>148</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, April 1, 1939.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., December 1, 1938.

<sup>150</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, April 14, 1939. The Samburg branch was formed January 9, 1939.

During February and March he established branches at Velychka, Brooksby and Uhryniw near Hafford.<sup>151</sup> In April he set off on a major organizational tour. With the assistance of B.L. Korchynsky he travelled to Buchanan, Olesha and Dobrovody in the Canora district of Saskatchewan where he organized three more branches of UKYu.<sup>152</sup> He then visited Canora where the tenth branch had been organized by Father J. Holowka. During this tour he had an important meeting with the Redemptorist Fathers at Yorkton who were publishing Buduchnist Natsiyi and other literature for BUK. With the assistance of Father P. Kryvoruchko, in May he continued his tour through Arran, Arran-Wesna, White Beach and Bobulintsi where four more branches were formed. Father Horoshko also had the opportunity to travel to Winnipeg during this time period to discuss the new youth organization with Fathers Kushnir and Semchuk. The remainder of the time between January and the first UKYu Convention was spent in the Hafford area preparing for the convention and communicating with other branches established in the following pockets of Ukrainian settlement: Orlo, Sich, Krydor, and Meath Park (Midpark).<sup>153</sup>

On July 1-2, 1939 the First Convention of UKYu was held at Hafford. The convention program followed the guidelines prescribed by the UKYu Central Executive which had resolved at a March 8, 1939 meeting that the organization would educate its members on a Christian and democratic basis, and would not enter into the Ukrainian political arena.<sup>154</sup> The convention held church masses

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<sup>151</sup>Ibid., May 1, 1939 and June 1, 1939.

<sup>152</sup>Kazymyra and Iwaszko, Ukrayinski Katolyky, p.81.

<sup>153</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, December 14, 1939.

<sup>154</sup>Kazymyra and Iwaszko, Ukrayinski Katolyky, p.81.

on both days, had a sports program which included baseball, a concert which featured solos, recitals, a public speaking contest and guest artists--the MUN orchestra from Redberry under the direction of Paul Yuzyk.<sup>155</sup> Similar athletic-cultural regional conventions were held the following July 1940 in Krydor and Prince Albert in Saskatchewan.<sup>156</sup>

#### The Dominion-Wide Expansion

In Manitoba a young teacher from Elmwood, John Kozoriz, organized the Ukrainian Catholic parishes of Winnipeg and surrounding areas. On May 24-26, 1940, a Provincial Convention of the Manitoba branches was called at which a provincial executive was elected headed by Father Prokip Bozyk.<sup>157</sup> In Alberta, UKYu branches were organized in Edmonton, Round Hill and Kalmar in 1942 and during the Alberta BUK Convention of January 1943 the Ukrainian Catholic youth established their own Provincial Executive.

As early as 1940 the youth had expressed their desire to establish their own journal, "solely for the inter-relations of the Ukrainian Catholic youth among each other in this vast dominion of ours".<sup>158</sup> Soon after the Winnipeg UKYu executive began to publish a separate journal entitled Vistnyk Molodi (Youth Herald), edited by William Bodykevich (Boddy). Because of financial difficulties the journal merged with Buduchnist Natsiyi and became a separate page in its issues until 1942. In 1943 another independent UKYu publication

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<sup>155</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, August 14, 1939.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., September 1, 1940.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., June 14, 1940. The branches in Manitoba included Poplar Park, Elmwood, Transcona, Selkirk, Paplar Field and various parishes in Winnipeg.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid., August 14, 1942.

emerged entitled Nasha Buduchnist (Our Future) and later in 1946 it was re-named Youth Magazine.<sup>159</sup>

In February 1943 when the President, Myroslaw Holota, joined the Canadian armed forces Father Horoshko again assumed the leadership of the Central Executive and was instrumental in calling the First UKYu Congress at which all branches in all provinces were to take part. On July 4-5, 1943 approximately 108 delegates converged on Saskatoon. Although the majority were from UKYu branches in Saskatoon there was one representative from British Columbia, three from Winnipeg, four from the three branches in Alberta, and one from Toronto.<sup>160</sup> The delegates discussed the past progress of the organization and the future role of the Central Executive. An Honorary President was named in the person of Father Nestor Drohomersky, while Father Michael Horoshko was again chosen President. Commencing from this Congress UKYu began to have representatives from the other provinces who held offices in the Central Executive. At this Congress Father Pasichnyk of Winnipeg was elected the first Vice President and Miss Jean Hamernyk of Edmonton, the second Vice President.<sup>161</sup> The most significant aspect of the First UKYu Congress was the realization that the organization was attaining a dominion-wide character and that the former

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<sup>159</sup>Youth, July-August, 1968, p.4.

<sup>160</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, August 18, 1943. Saskatchewan branches represented were Saskatoon, Hafford, Brooksby, Prince Albert, Bruno, Krydor, Uhryniw, Yorkton, Goodeve, Krasne, Wishart, Arran, Holar, Elfros, Grenfell, Midpart (Meath Park), Sich, St. Julian, Smuts, Regina, Laniwci, Alvena, Cudworth, West Bend. (See Kazymyra & Iwaszko, Ukrayynski Katolyky, p.81). Saskatchewan branches which did not send representatives were: Carpenter, Churchill, Model Farm and Janow Corners. Stanley Frolick was the Toronto representative.

Central Executive which had had the responsibility of administrating and co-ordinating only the branches in Saskatchewan could not adequately fulfil the responsibilities of directing the activities of UKYu on a Dominion-wide basis. Arrangements began for the adoption of a new constitution which would create a Dominion Executive. This was ratified by a Bishopric Ordinance on March 21, 1945.<sup>162</sup>

Complying with the Ordinance the Saskatchewan UKYu branches held a Provincial Convention on September 1-2, 1945, at Saskatoon to elect a slate of officers for their newly established Provincial Executive. The former Central Executive became the Dominion Executive and Myroslaw Holota, a teacher from Hafford, became the first Dominion President.

At a special joint meeting of the Dominion Executive and the Provincial Executives held in Saskatoon on March 22-23, 1946, a decision was reached to hold a Dominion Convention in Winnipeg that summer.<sup>163</sup> On July 3-5, 1946, according to the articles of the new constitution, a Dominion Convention was held which elected Peter Worobets, another teacher from Hafford, as National President. The new executive was elected for a two-year term with headquarters in Winnipeg.

Father Horoshko had envisioned the development of a Ukrainian Catholic youth organization in Canada that would follow the nationalistic examples set by the Ukrainian Catholic Youth Action (Katolytska Aktsia Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--KAUM, est. 1929) and later the Eagles (Orly, est. 1934) in Ukraine. He had

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<sup>162</sup>Ukrainian Catholic Youth, Pravylnyk Ukrayinskoho Katolytskoho Yunatstva [Laws and Rules of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth] (Yorkton, Redeemers Voice, 1945).

<sup>163</sup>Kazymyra & Iwaszko, Ukrayynski Katolyky, p.87.

tried to establish in the youth the belief that the highest aims in life were: "God and Ukraine".<sup>164</sup> He had established contacts with the Catholic organizations in Ukraine and circulated their publications among the Catholic youth in Canada. The youth membership of the Catholic parishes, however, could not identify with and did not adhere to the early expressions espoused by Horoshko. As a result, the energetic priest quickly adopted the attitudes of the Ukrainian Canadian youth in order to better serve them. The youth in the parishes believed that their first duty was to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and not the Ukrainian nation. Those Ukrainian Catholic young people who were interested in the problems of the latter had already joined either the Sich organization or MUN.

The UKYu organization stressed that the church was the background and foundation of their youth organization.<sup>165</sup> During its early years of formation UKYu had stressed the development of the Ukrainian language as well as the culture. Having rejected the need of maintaining interest in the affairs of Ukraine, the youth seriously questioned the need of the Ukrainian language in Canada.

Only for a short period after the war did it appear that UKYu might become more immersed in the nationalist phenomenon. With the arrival of many new immigrants in the parishes, UKYu took a passing interest in the politics of UPA and OUN.<sup>166</sup> The involvement was short-lived; UKYu had already become entrenched in its own philosophy, and the new arrivals were to have none of it.

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<sup>164</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, April 14, 1939.

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., August 14, 1942.

<sup>166</sup>Chomiak, Ukrayinski Narodni Dim, p.207.



To the newly arriving immigration the Ukrainian Catholic weekly Ukrayinski Visti bluntly stated the basic characteristics of the BUK and UKYu organizations:

Our organizations stand for close and active connection with the Church, and are under the leadership of its Bishops. Therefore, our organizations unite only those Ukrainians who confess and acknowledge themselves to be practising Catholics. Their aim is to group together all believing Ukrainian Catholic laymen, old and young, to organize them and to impel them to Catholic action under the leadership of their Bishops and their clergy for the vindication, propagation and establishment of the Kingdom of Christ and of Catholic principles among the Ukrainian people. This is the basic tenet of our ideology.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>167</sup>Ukrayinski Visti, "To the Question of our Organizations" editorial, Edmonton: December 2, 1947, cited in H. Piniuta "Ukrainian Canadians", pp.34-35.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NEW NATIONALISTS

#### The Effects of the War

##### Ukrainian Canadian Adjustment

Prior to the outbreak of World War II the national sentiment of Ukrainians in Canada had crystalized in two ways. The intense nationalism of the inter-war immigrants, who had witnessed the rise and the fall of the Ukrainian state, had become to a considerable degree a "modus vivendi" in the Ukrainian Canadian community. Secondly, large numbers of people who had formerly identified with either Austrians or Russians took on a Ukrainian national consciousness.<sup>1</sup>

Ukrainian national feeling generally ran high during the short existence of the Carpatho-Ukrainian state in 1938-1939. The Ukrainian nationalists in Canada had hoped that an independent Carpatho-Ukraine would have been used as the nucleus of a future Ukrainian state and that Germany would help free the rest of Ukraine from Moscow control. This viewpoint brought about accusations against the Ukrainian National Federation (UNO) by the pro-communist Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Association (TURF Dim) that UNO was a pro-Nazi and pro-Hitler organization.<sup>2</sup> Whatever pro-German sentiment the UNO membership had entertained

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<sup>1</sup>P.Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), p.189.

<sup>2</sup>R.A.Davies, This is Our Land: Ukrainian Canadians Against Hitler (Toronto: Progress Books, 1943). This book goes to great lengths to attempt to show UNO and OUN as Hitler's supporters.

appears to be of a very controversial nature. Any tendencies or sympathies displayed in Canada towards Germany quickly turned to revulsion and condemnation when Hitler allowed his satellite, Hungary, to crush the Carpatho-Ukrainian state in March 1939.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, with the Non-Agression Pact between Moscow and Berlin signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop and with the subsequent invasion of Western Ukraine by the Soviet forces, almost all of the Ukrainian Canadian organizations affirmed their loyalty to the Canadian government and pledged their wholehearted support to the war effort when Canada declared war in September 1939.

Only the TURF Dim and FKUM which espoused the communist cause and toed the Soviet line at first opposed the Canadian war effort. Both of these were outlawed on June 5, 1940, for their subversive nature and their anti-war record. After this major setback they regrouped in 1941 under the banner of the Association to Aid the Fatherland, which in this case was the Soviet Union, then under attack by Hitler's forces.<sup>4</sup> All Canadian communists thereafter reversed their position with regard to the war and expounded a policy of total Canadian effort and involvement in order to halt the German successes in the U.S.S.R.

The Canadian government was pleased with the spontaneous response of the non-communist Ukrainian organizations in support of Canada's war effort. Nevertheless, it was highly conscious that if political and religious feuds persisted, they would greatly hamper the Ukrainian cooperative action.<sup>5</sup> Closer cooperation

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<sup>3</sup>PAC, W.L.M. King Papers, MG26J4, Vol. 221, p.c150576, D.D. Skelton to Wm. L.M. King, June 15, 1939.

<sup>4</sup>In 1943 the name was changed to Ukrainian Canadian Association, then to the Association of Ukrainian Canadians and finally in 1945, it became the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians.

<sup>5</sup>Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, p.191.

of the Ukrainian organizations and the achievement of unity was essential for an all-out war campaign.

Early in 1940 the federal Department of National War Services, after consultation with the Department of External Affairs, took steps to achieve unity among the Ukrainian Canadians. Two experts on Ukrainian Canadian affairs, Professor Watson Kirkconnell of the University of Manitoba, and Professor George W. Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan, as well as an expert on Eastern European affairs, Dr. Tracy Philips of England, were requested to assist in bringing about the conciliation of the Ukrainian Canadian organizations.<sup>6</sup> Their efforts and the willingness of the Ukrainian leaders, who already had initiated unsuccessful attempts, brought into existence the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Komitet Ukrayintsiv Kanady--KUK) in October 1940. With the TURF Dim and FKUM outlawed at the time, this meant that all legal Ukrainian Canadian organizations, including the churches, had been united around a common Canadian policy towards the war and a common policy towards Ukraine.

The dedication to the war effort of the Ukrainian Canadian organizations, especially the youth was significant as well as costly. All three organizations--SUMK, MUN and UKYu--had to cut back their Ukrainian programs as many of their key leaders joined the Canadian armed forces.<sup>7</sup> Most of their activities became oriented around the Canadian war effort. Campaigns were conducted to encourage young Ukrainian Canadians to volunteer to serve in the Canadian armed forces.<sup>8</sup> Subscription drives for the sale of Victory Loans and War

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<sup>6</sup>For details see Wasyl Veryha, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee; War Activity". (M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1967).

<sup>7</sup>Ukrainian National Youth Federation, Seven Presidents in Uniform (Winnipeg: UNYF, 1945).

<sup>8</sup>N.Kohushka, Yuvileyna Knyha SUMK [SUMK Jubilee Book] (Winnipeg: SUMK,

Saving Stamps and Certificates were sponsored, and the work of the Canadian Red Cross received full support, both financially and through the contributions of service, such as knitting, sewing, gathering food and clothing, visiting hospitals and so on. The youth organizations also contributed liberally to the support of the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Canteen in London, England and shipped thousands of parcels to Ukrainian Canadian soldiers, airmen and sailors who served overseas. All three youth organizations also suffered losses of membership and branches in the rural parts of the Prairie Provinces. Many of the members joined the forces and many others migrated to the urban centres to assist in the expansion of essential war industries on the home front.

Despite the pre-occupation with Canada's problems in war, the Ukrainian Canadian youth did not lose track of the events occurring in Ukraine. There always remained hope that a balance of forces in Eastern Europe would favour a measure of Ukrainian independence. The balance of force between the German occupation and the Soviet reconquest had enabled Ukrainian nationalism to attain prominence on Ukrainian soil. At the 9th MUN National Convention in Winnipeg from August 31-September 1, 1943, Paul Yuzyk in a Canadian military uniform publicly announced that it was MUN's "duty to interest itself in the implementation of the principle enunciated in the Atlantic Charter - the right of all people to determine their political destiny - in so far as it applies to the Ukrainian nation".<sup>9</sup> After the defeat of Germany, many Ukrainian Canadians hoped that Great Britain and the United States would intervene in the Eastern European arena and establish an independent Ukrainian state to act as a balance between the Soviet Union and Germany.

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<sup>9</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG28V8, Vol. 18, Convention Proceedings.

## Ukrainian Nationalism

Once again the events overseas were to have serious repercussions on the organizational life of Ukrainians in Canada. In Europe the assassination of the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Evhen Konovalets, in Rotterdam in 1938 was a severe blow to the nationalist movement, but its most injurious consequences were to be felt soon afterwards. At the outbreak of the war the leadership of OUN was very much the same as it had been prior to the death of Konovalets. Aside from the new chief, Colonel Andrew Melnyk, the eight members of the Directorate (Provid) remained the same. The circumstances, however, surrounding the OUN organization had changed.

The violence and the terrorism in response to drastic and bloody Polish suppression continued to mount. Terrorism was adopted from time to time by all elements in OUN, and was countenanced by even broader circles of the Galician Ukrainians. The danger arose that this tactic tended to get out of hand and defeated the purpose of the organization by inducing still harsher repression and by alienating those members of the Ukrainian community who still hoped to lead normal lives. To stem this tendency, more prudent and more moderate leadership was needed in OUN. The real difficulty with this approach was that it was fundamentally incompatible with the development and ideology of OUN. Melnyk was the leader of a movement whose ideology was totalitarian; moreover, all of the circumstances of the period and of the movement itself tended to intensify the totalitarian element. He was trying to work against this tide, to moderate, even if slightly, its violent philosophy.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>J.A. Armstrong, Ukrainian Nationalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963) p.39.

One of the greatest strains within the organization was that the membership was predominantly young and revolutionary and the Directorate remained a closed elite of the older generation. Any attempts made by Melnyk to modify OUN to become more acceptable to the stable elements of the Ukrainian population in Galicia were regarded as treason by the younger men.

The OUN Directorate was closely tied to German policy.<sup>11</sup> All considerations of power politics led OUN to seek German aid, since Germany was the only power which had either the will or the means to attack its archenemies--Poland and the Soviet Union. The OUN leaders, until the signing of the German-USSR pact, had been confident that Germany was interested in securing the independence of Ukraine. Even after this blow, which allowed the U.S.S.R. to occupy greater proportions of Ukrainian land, the OUN leadership continued to bargain cautiously for Ukrainian ends with powers which were enormously superior. The very factors which inclined Melnyk to exercise a moderating influence in the OUN made him incapable of keeping the revolutionary youth in hand. Thus the basis was laid for a catastrophe within the most powerful Ukrainian underground organization.

Impatient youthful members began to charge that the older generation was timid and lacking in determination. Yaroslav Stetsko, a member of this younger generation, who had attended the 2nd OUN Congress held in Rome in 1939, confirmed the view that the OUN Directorate was very cautious. Although Stetsko was a valuable member of the emerging faction, the group chose a leader of inflexible will and readiness for action--Stephan Bandera.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p.42.

By January 1940, the new alignment was sufficiently solidified around Bandera for him to be able to go to Rome with a series of demands, which included a change in the Directorate's membership and less dependency on the Germans.<sup>12</sup> Melnyk and Bandera failed to reach an agreement and on February 10, 1940 in Cracow, Bandera was designated the chief of a new "revolutionary" Directorate. Throughout the war the OUN-M (Melnykivtsi) and the OUN-B (Banderivtsi), as they were known, engaged in an increasingly bitter conflict to consolidate positions and win over uncommitted elements of the population.

Another major force among the Ukrainian population was the establishment of the Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army (Ukrayinska Povstanska Armiya--UPA) in 1941 by "Taras Bulba" Borovets.<sup>13</sup> UPA, by 1943, had passed under the control of the OUN-B and continued to play a significant role in defending the Ukrainian population against the repressive measures of both the Germans and the Russians.

### The Third Immigration

Towards the end of the Second World War the Ukrainian nationalist movement was slowly being crushed on its native soil by both the German and Red Armies. When the war ended thousands of Ukrainian nationalists made their way to the displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria fleeing from certain death from the hands of the NKVD (soviet secret police). There they joined hundreds of thousands of other Ukrainians who had been taken to Germany either as forced labour, or as political prisoners of war. Many tried to get into the displaced persons camps organized by the United Nations Relief and

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<sup>12</sup>For a fuller treatment see Armstrong, Ukrainian Nationalism, pp.52-72.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p.99.



Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). Approximately 200,000 Ukrainians in these camps refused to be forcefully repatriated to the Communist system of government in Ukraine.<sup>14</sup>

In Canada, the Federal Member of Parliament, Anthony Hlynka, of Ukrainian origin from Vegreville, and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee made numerous representations to the Canadian government to allow these displaced persons to resettle here. Finally on May 28, 1946, Canada opened her doors to the displaced persons.<sup>15</sup> Government regulations were fairly stringent and only physically and mentally fit, literate immigrants in possession of affidavits from farmers or under labour contract were admitted. According to the statistics of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration only 315 Ukrainians had arrived between 1940 and 1946. The statistics for the following years showed a tremendous influx:

Year	Number of Ukrainians <sup>16</sup>
1947	2,081
1948	10,041
1949	6,602
1950	3,815
1951	6,949
1952	2,859
1953	987
1954	724
1955	560

The majority of these immigrants settled in the cities. A great many of them at first had to complete their one year of employment in the field for

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<sup>14</sup>V.Kubijovyc, Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for Ukrainian National Association, 1963), p.561.

<sup>15</sup>Order-in-Council, No. 2071, May, 28, 1946.

<sup>16</sup>Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Annual Reports (Ottawa, Queens Printer, 1948-1956).

which they were brought to Canada--in farming, lumbering or mining--before they were allowed to settle in the urban areas.

This third wave of Ukrainian immigrants differed from the earlier immigrations in that it included a higher percentage of intellectuals, professionals, technicians and craftsmen. The intellectuals were an important addition to the Ukrainian community throughout Canada because they provided added leadership for the organizations, helped to instil a more fervent nationalist spirit among the older immigrants, and contributed to the cultural advancement of the Ukrainian Canadian community. This third group was, moreover, very politically conscious. Having lived under various governments and understanding the role of Ukrainian nationalism in the old country, they refused to recognize the Soviet government in Ukraine and regarded it as an occupational regime.

The third wave also brought with them to Canada aims and organizational structures which had had very little influence in Ukrainian Canadian life before, and which resulted in some confusion in their organizational life. While in the DP camps, the Ukrainians had had the opportunity and the freedom to regroup and to consolidate various organizations which had been prominent in Ukraine. With their resettlement in Canadian urban centres, these newcomers re-established many of these organizations. This was especially true of three youth organizations and numerous student groups which began their development in Canada with this last wave of Ukrainian immigration. These new organizations challenged the balance and harmony which had been formed between the more established Ukrainian organizations in Canada. They also greatly intensified the role of the Ukrainian nationalist in Canada.

The Ukrainian Organization PLAST

Origins of Plast

The scouting organization founded by Baden-Powell in England in 1908 combined in one vehicle the intellectual, moral and physical training of youth. The political ideals of English scouting were clear: to give England a new generation of youth which would be capable of carrying on the ideals of strengthening colonial ties and willing to serve their country and their Sovereign.

In Western Ukraine at the turn of the last century, there were two youth groups similar to the Scouts--Sitch and Sokil--which were actively promoting programs of self-education for youth. Both stressed the necessity of freedom for Ukrainians; the Sitch had somewhat more liberal political tendencies than Sokil, which was more conservative-national.<sup>17</sup> There were also numerous autonomous youth groups formed alongside the Ukrainian schools (Ridni Shkoly) which were directed by young Ukrainian teachers who wished to supplement the training that the youth received during classes. From the ranks of these school teachers came the first pioneers of a new youth organization--Plast.

In Lviv in 1911 there were widespread discussions among university professors such as Michael Hrushevsky, Ivan Bobersky, Vasyl Paneyko and Oleksander Tysovsky about the scouting methods proposed by Baden Powell. During that school year, three individuals, independent of each other, began to organize youth groups on the English scouting system of self-education stressing national character and association with nature.

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<sup>17</sup>Severyn Levytsky, Ukrayinsky Plastovy Ulad v Rokakh 1911-1945 v Spohadkakh Avtora [Ukrainian Plast Organization in the Years 1911-1945 as Remembered by the Author] (Munich: Molode Zhyttia Publishers, 1967), p.14.

Professor Ivan Bobersky recommended that the new association be named "Plast", which described the hunters and fishers of the Zaporozhian Kozaks.<sup>18</sup> Professor O. Tysovsky organized his Plast group on the scouting principles of Baden-Powell and his "Plastuny" were ready to take their scouting oaths on April 12, 1912. The professor also compiled the first handbook for the Plast organization that year.

The second Plast group was headed by Petro Franko, the son of Ivan Franko, and a student in Lviv. His group stressed physical fitness and discipline through Plast games. Along with Professor Bobersky he is credited with the first publication of the manuals on Plast games (Plastovi Ihry), some of which were translations from the procedures of English scouting.<sup>19</sup>

Another young student, Ivan Chmola, established his Plast group on the basis of serving the aims of Ukrainian freedom. His Plast took on a paramilitary appearance and quasi-military field manoeuvres were organized in the countryside. He established a strict disciplinary system with an hierarchical structure of command.

These three variances of Plast quickly took root at various schools throughout Galicia. Although Plast did not propagate any particular political doctrine, Tysovsky favoured the Sitch, Franko was aligned with Sokil, and Chmola later worked closely with the Ukrainian Sitch Riflemen (Ukrayinski Sitchovi Striltsi). These various positions were reviewed at the first Plast convention held in Lviv in 1913. Although the convention was a limited

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p.16, "Plastuny" were also the sentries of the Black Sea Kuban military. See Orest Handzula, "Kubanski Plastuny" in Moloda Ukrayina, May 1952, pp.9-11.

<sup>19</sup>Theodore Danyliw, Osnopolozhnyk Plastu [The Founder of Plast] (Munich: Molode Zhyttia Publishers, 1966), p.25.

success because not all of the Plast groups were able to send representatives, the delegates did manage to form a Plast Organizational Committee (Orhanizatsiyny Plastovy Komitet).<sup>20</sup> A second convention was held a year later at which a Central Plast Executive (Oseredok Plastovoyi Upravy) was elected and the resolution to take an active role in the Sitch-Sokil convention of Lviv was adopted.

The Plast organization continued its expansion during World War I and established branches in Ukraine, which gained autonomy in 1917. A Supreme Plast Council (Verkhovna Plastova Rada) under the leadership of Dr. O. Tysovsky was created to coordinate the entire Plast movement in 1918.<sup>21</sup> Its existence, however, was short-lived. The Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine from the north and the partitioning of Western Ukraine brought about the downfall of the Ukrainian National Republic. The organization then became fragmented and was completely suppressed in Soviet Ukraine. Nevertheless in 1920, Plast renewed its activity in Western Ukraine. The Supreme Plast Council was re-established and operated as a section of the National Ukrainian Association for the Protection of Children and the Care of the Youth (Ukrayinske Krayove Tovarystvo Okhorony Ditey Ta Opiky Nad Molodyu--UKTODONM).<sup>22</sup>

Plast continued to expand embracing not only the primary and secondary school students, but also post-secondary students and the non-student youth. Poland, which incorporated the largest part of Western Ukraine in the partition, began to suppress the youth movement in 1922. Fearing that the

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<sup>20</sup>O.Tysovsky, Zhyttia v Plasti [Life in Plast] (Toronto: Molode Zhyttia, 1961), p.127.

<sup>21</sup>Levytsky, Plastovy Ulad, p.24.

<sup>22</sup>Tysovsky, Zhyttia v Plasti, p.131.

organization was too nationalistic in character the Poles forbade the Plast branch in Kolomeya to continue its activities and arrested its leaders.<sup>23</sup> Similar events occurred in other areas; but the suppression was not total and the organization as a whole continued to function. Many of the branches continued activities illegally defying the ban against them. This was especially significant after the Polish school system forbade Plast's co-existence with state schools.

Despite the Polish repression the organization continued to grow and formalized its structure. In 1925 Plast established the Organization of Ukrainian Plast Rover-Scouts (Ulad Ukrayinskykh Starshykh Plastuniv--UUSP) for the age group of 19-25. In 1927 two more groups were established--the Organization of Ukrainian Plast "Cubs and Brownies" (Ulad Ukrayinskykh Plastuniv Novakiv--UUPN) for those children up to the age of 12, and for those between 12-18, the Organization of Ukrainian Plast Boy Scouts and Girl Guides (Ulad Ukrayinskykh Plastuniv Yunakiv--UUPY). Two years later the system was completed by accommodating those over 25 years of age--Organization of Ukrainian Plast Seniors (Ulad Ukrayinskoho Plastovoho Senyoratu--UUPS).<sup>24</sup>

#### Plast and Nationalism

Although Ukrainian national consciousness was a major element in the self-education program as taught by Plast, violent Polish oppression was the stimulus which expanded national consciousness to nationalism. The political ideology of a free Ukrainian state as espoused by UVO and later OUN was

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<sup>23</sup>Levytsky, Zhyttia v Plasti, p.36.

<sup>24</sup>For a fairly comprehensive treatment of these bodies see *ibid.*, pp.45-57.

supported by the Plast leadership. Fearing Polish retaliation the Supreme Plast Council opposed the infiltration of Plast branches by the OUN membership and their use of Plast youth of school age for terrorist activities. Their fears were realized when Hryhoriy Pisetsky was killed on September 26, 1930, while in a Plast uniform during an OUN raid against the Polish postal service; thereupon the Polish Government completely outlawed the entire Plast organization.<sup>25</sup>

With a total ban imposed against the organization, with the leadership being arrested and property being seized, Plast was forced to go underground. It then became a clandestine operation and came under the total control of OUN. The role of training Ukrainian youth by Plast during this period becomes very significant when one bears in mind that in addition to the heroic deaths of Pisetsky and Bilas, numerous future leaders from Plast such as Kosak, Shukevych, Rebet and Bandera were to take prominence in the nationalist liberation movement.<sup>26</sup>

With the arrival of Soviet forces in 1939, Plast was forced to retreat further underground. Not even during the German occupation was Plast allowed to emerge. The German Command did allow the creation of a general organization entitled Youth Group (Kurini Molodi) to exist under the leadership of the Ukrainian Central Committee (Ukrayinsky Centralny Komitet--UCK). In this organization many underground Plast members assumed active leadership roles.

In 1942, Plast was instrumental in expanding the Youth Group into a more dynamic organization--Educational Association of Ukrainian Youth (Vykhovna Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--VSUM). Based on Plast's scouting principles

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p.64.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p.75.

and the Plast structure, VSUM expanded throughout all the territories held by the Germans during 1942-1943.<sup>27</sup>

After the OUN split, the Plast hierarchy chose to support the OUN-M faction, hoping to obtain all possible support from the Germans in training the Ukrainian youth. Plast, however, did not hinder its membership from supporting the OUN-B group which chose to fight on both fronts; many Plast members joined UPA insurgents in 1943.<sup>28</sup> Plast also unsuccessfully attempted to reconcile the divisions between the two nationalist groups in matters which concerned only the youth. The OUN-B group, however, preferred to establish its own youth group--Sitch--which soon, because of its anti-German position, was liquidated by the German forces. With the Soviet re-occupation of Ukraine in 1944, the Plast Centre was faced with a dilemma; either to remain on the native soil to continue the liberation struggle or to escape to the west. The majority chose the latter option.

At the end of the war, in the spring of 1945, approximately 200,000 Ukrainians were living in the Displaced Persons camps in Germany and Austria.<sup>29</sup> The Plast Centre, which had been a clandestine operation, re-emerged here and called the First Plast Convention at Karlsfeld (Bavaria). The convention re-established the Association of Ukrainian Plast Emigrés (Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Plastuniv Emigrantiv--SUPE) which had formerly existed in Prague, Czechoslovakia between 1931 and 1938. Under the leadership of Atanas Figol, Plast expanded to such an extent that two years later at the 3rd Plast Convention, a new constitution was adopted, which changed the name SUPE to the Association

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p.96.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p.93.

<sup>29</sup>Kubijovyc, Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, p.561.



of Ukrainian Plast (Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Plastuniv--SUP).<sup>30</sup> A Supreme Plast Council (Holovna Plastova Rada--HPR) was formed as the policy branch, and the Supreme Plast Officers (Holovna Plastova Starshyna--HPS) acted as the executive arm of the organization which had headquarters in Munich.

#### Plast and International Scouting

Plast in the DP camps of Germany still found itself unable to join the International Bureau of Boy Scouts (IB) located in London. The Plast organization had unsuccessfully applied to the IB for recognition in 1922. At that time the political future of Galicia was still before the League of Nations. When Galicia was made a Polish province, the IB responded negatively to Plast's inquiries of separate status, noting in 1924, that the organization could enter only within the framework of Polish representation. Plast attempted entry again in 1929 by sending a delegation to the Boy Scouts Jamboree. Although the delegation was politely received, no official recognition was forthcoming.

After the war, thousands of former scouts who had emigrated from their homelands found themselves in the same non-official status as the Ukrainian scouts. In 1946 at the Ukrainian DP camp at Augsburg, a jamboree was held of DP scouts of various nationalities. Under the initiative of the Baltic Scouts an International Scouts Association (ISA) was formed with headquarters at Regensburg.<sup>31</sup> This new association caught the attention of the IB which

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<sup>30</sup>The name Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Plastuniv was changed in 1954 to the Conference of Ukrainian Plast Organizations [Konferensia Ukrayinskykh Plastovykh Orhanizatsiyi--KUPO] and the HPS became the Supreme Plast Executive [Holovna Plastova Bulava--HPB].

<sup>31</sup>Atanas Milyanych, "Plastovy Rukh i Mizhnarodnay Skovting" [The Plast Movement and International Scouting] in Plastovy Shliakh, Munich: October, 1950, no. 1(4), p.78.

had previously dismissed the membership of these scouts in a cursory manner. The Director of the IB twice visited the scouting camps to familiarize himself with the problem.<sup>32</sup> These scouts, however, were not formally invited to take part in the Sixth World Jamboree held at Moisson, France in 1947. The Scouts-in-Exile, as they came to be known, nevertheless did send a delegation to participate in the Jamboree.

At the 11th International Scout Conference held in France on August 19-22, 1947, a separate DP Division was established within the IB.<sup>33</sup> This Division registered all the scouts-in-exile groups in the DP camps, attempting to ensure that the aims, methods and principles of scouting were practised without political propaganda. The scouts-in-exile were given temporary "Liaison Scouters" status until permanent settlement was recognized in any country. The registration of Plast with the DP Division of the IB did not give it the right of membership in the Boy Scouts International Conference but only recognition as a scouting organization under the protection of the IB. When the IB abolished the DP Division on June 30, 1950 the scouts-in-exile established a parallel body--The DP Scouts Advisory Committee--which continued to coordinate the scouts of various nationalities until their resettlement.

When Plast was established in Canada after the Second World War, the organization was under constant pressure from the Canadian Boy Scouts Association to register with them.<sup>34</sup> According to the resolutions passed by the 11th

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<sup>32</sup>Only one National Scouting Association can represent a country in the IB. Many of these DP scouts no longer had any countries which could represent them.

<sup>33</sup>Plastovy Visnyk [Plast News], Winnipeg, Issue 1, 1948.

<sup>34</sup>Plastovy Shliakh [Plast Pathway], Munich: October 1950, No.1(4), p.85.

International Conference, the DP scouts after their resettlement had the choice of becoming members of the existing recognized scout organization in the country of their new residence, or of relinquishing their scout membership. The Ukrainian scouts of Plast chose not to become members of the Canadian association. Nor did they have to relinquish their membership because such had never been granted to them. Instead, Plast in Canada chose to follow the guidelines of SUP which continued to argue, albeit unsuccessfully, for special status for the entire Plast movement within IB. Plast continued its program of self-education within a Ukrainian framework and within the confines of its own national para-scout organization.

#### Plast in Canada

Plast's popularity prior to its being outlawed in Ukraine and Galicia in 1930 spread to Canada. The second wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada attempted to establish Plast branches and were to some degree successful. Some of these were established alongside the pro-Hetman Sitch organization. Others were formed by UNO; MUN in some respects patterned itself after Plast.<sup>35</sup> Even some Ukrainian Catholic parishes had Plast groups affiliated with them.<sup>36</sup> Many of these groups had contacts with the Association of Plast Emigrés (Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Plastuniv Emigrantiv--SUPE) which had been formed in Prague in 1931 to coordinate the activities of the Plast groups in various countries.<sup>37</sup>

Plast in Canada prior to the Second World War did not make any headway. The majority of Ukrainians in Canada were not familiar with the organizational

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<sup>35</sup>For fuller accounts see sections above dealing with the Sitch and MUN.

<sup>36</sup>Buduchnist Natsiyi, June 1, 1938, and December 14, 1938.

<sup>37</sup>Tysovsky, Zhyttia v Plasti, p.140.

principles and Ukrainian traditions in the Plast system. Furthermore, it was difficult to adapt to Canadian conditions the materials in the guides and handbooks produced for conditions in Western Ukraine.

With the emigration of Plast members from the DP camps in 1947, the Supreme Plast Officers (HPS) authorized commissioners (Upovnovazhenni) to represent the HPS and to be responsible for the development of Plast in the new countries of resettlement. On the basis of authorization No. 464 dated November 19, 1947, the Commissioner for Canada was Father Walter Iwaszko.<sup>38</sup> He was instructed to register all Plast members in Canada, to establish the framework for a Plast organization in Canada, and to represent Plast in any discussions with other Ukrainian organizations and the Boy Scouts of Canada.

Fr. Iwaszko settled in Winnipeg and as one of his first functions he appointed Michael Nakoneczny as his Press and Information officer. By June 1948 they had established favourable contacts with the Ukrainian Canadian newspapers Novy Shliakh, Holos Molodi, Buduchnist Natsiyi, Ukrayinski Visti, and Ukrayinsky Holos which began to announce the formation of Plast in Canada. In September 1948 Fr. Iwaszko commenced publishing the Plast newsletter Plastovy Visnyk and soon after compiled a directory of the Plast members in Canada.

Having been notified that his religious obligations would take him to Prince Albert, Saskatchewan in December, Fr. Iwaszko on November 17, 1948, appointed D. Sztunder as the National Officer responsible for the male Plast members (Krayovay Referent Plastuniv), and Mrs. Nadia Iwachniuk as the National

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<sup>38</sup>Novy Shliakh, June 5, 1948.

Officer responsible for female Plast members (Krayova Referentka Plastunok).<sup>39</sup> Both of these National Officers were located in Toronto where the majority of Plast members were settling.

On January 23, 1949, he appointed Roman Holod of Edmonton as the Plast business manager (Referent Hospodarsky) but when the latter resigned three months later, Fr. Iwaszko realized that his executive officers would have to be located in one area. On March 9, 1949 he appointed Omelian Tarnawsky of Toronto as the business manager. Finding it increasingly difficult to direct the Plast movement from his quarters in Prince Albert, Fr. Iwaszko appointed Antin Iwachniuk of Toronto as his assistant on April 8, 1949, and instructed him to call the first Plast conference for the fall of 1949 in Toronto. The need had arisen to analyze the growth and the activity of the organization and to establish future guidelines for both programming and administration.

The first Plast Conference was held in Toronto on September 3-5, 1949, and was well attended. Representatives from Plast branches of Windsor (2 delegates), Winnipeg (3), Hamilton (3), Montreal (13), Ottawa (2), St. Catharines (1) and Toronto (60) took part in the proceedings.<sup>40</sup> Only the Edmonton, Lethbridge, and Saskatoon branches did not manage to send representatives. Others present included individual Plast members from Stratford, London and Picton, Ontario and 3 observers from the Plast organization in U.S.A.

A well-organized program had speakers touch upon every aspect of Plast life in Canada. The chairman of the Conference Antin Iwachniuk introduced D. Sztunder who analyzed "Questions of Programs and Activity". He noted that

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<sup>39</sup>Plastovy Visnyk, January 1949.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., September 1949.

although there were approximately 500 members in eleven centres, almost half the membership was in Ontario. He expressed concern about interesting other Ukrainian youth, who had not been members of Plast in the German camps, in joining the Plast movement in Canada. Other Speakers on the program included: B. Hoshowsky on "Publication and Propaganda", Tonia Horochowych on "Methodology in Programming", P. Shrurata on "Plast and Its Environment", Olha Iwanchuk on "Plast Pryat", J. Spolsky on "The Role of Plast Seniorat" and Yuriy Piasetsky on "My Attitudes to Ukraine and Canada".<sup>41</sup>

Soon after the Conference, on November 11, 1949, Fr. Iwaszko authorized the establishment of the Bureau of the Commissioner of Plast in Toronto. This was to become the Plast Centre in Canada. At their first meeting the officers elected Omelian Tarnawsky to act as the Director of the Bureau and with the resignation of Antin Iwachniuk from the position of Assistant-Commissioner on December 31, 1949, Tarnawsky was appointed to that position also.<sup>42</sup> With almost all of the national executive officers located in Toronto the Bureau became the National Plast Command (Krayovay Plastovy Provid) on April 20, 1950, Tarnawsky was appointed the acting-Commissioner by Fr. Iwaszko.<sup>43</sup>

The Plast organization had been severely criticized for aligning itself with the OUN-M ideology in Ukraine.<sup>44</sup> In Canada the Plast leadership resolved

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>O.Tarnawsky, "Zvidomlennya z Pratsi Holovy KPP", [Report of the Work of the Head of National Plast Command] in Plastovy Visnyk, August 25, 1951, p.4.

<sup>43</sup>Synonymous with the National Plast Command is Krayova Plastova Starshyna adopted on the same day.

<sup>44</sup>D.Mirschuk, "SUMivska Molod and SUMivska Emigratsia" [SUM Youth and SUM Emigrés] in Ukrayinski Visti, Germany, Issue 31.

not to associate the organization with any one particular ideology but rather to concentrate only on the self-education of youth. In political matters Plast encouraged its members not to shy away from eventual membership in Ukrainian organizations which would express their political conviction, as long as they were of an anti-communist doctrine. Despite this position, Plast in Canada came up against charges that the organization had swerved to support the OUN-B ideology.

The accusation was made by O. Ochryma during the annual meeting of the Ukrainian National Home in Toronto on January 23-24, 1950.<sup>45</sup> The problem was rooted in the fact that both Plast and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), which was politically pro-OUN-B, were allowed to use the same accommodations in Toronto--the Ukrainian National Home. Amongst the various media employed by Plast for publicity was the newspaper Homin Ukrayiny which supported the OUN-B doctrines. Finally when Plast refused to join with UNO which supported the OUN-M brand of politics, members of the Ukrainian National Home began to fear that Plast and SUM might plan a takeover of their premises. Although the National Plast Command attempted to probe into the accusation, it could get no satisfaction from the executive of the Ukrainian National Home.<sup>46</sup> As a result Plast moved to various other Ukrainian accommodations in Toronto until it was able to buy its own Plast building in May 1951.<sup>47</sup> A lesson was learned, and Plast removed itself even further from any discussions of a Ukrainian political nature. By not becoming embroiled in the political intrigues within

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<sup>45</sup>Nash Vik, [Our Age], February 4, 1950.

<sup>46</sup>Plastovy Visnyk, May-June 1950.

<sup>47</sup>Plastovy Visnyk, August 25, 1951.

the Ukrainian Canadian community Plast was able to maintain harmonious relations with all the organizations which were affiliated with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Plast concentrated exclusively on the self-education of Ukrainian-speaking youth. The Ukrainian language was made a prerequisite, as was also attendance at Ukrainian primary and secondary schools (Ridni Shkoly and Kursy Ukrayinoznavstva). The youth was divided into male and female groups (kish) and each group was divided into three age categories: 7-11 for cubs and brownies (Novatstvo), 12-17 for boy scouts and girl guides (Yunatstvo), and 18-25 for rover scouts (Starshe Plastunstvo). Those over 25 joined a special seniors (Seniorat) category. Plast had its own scouting uniform and the youth acquired badges depending upon the types of knowledge tests which it undertook successfully. The program was conducted during weekly meetings and stress was placed on attendance at winter and summer camps, outings and jamborees. The program was so well developed that Plast attracted a substantial following. Only three years after its initial organizational entry in the Ukrainian Canadian community, Plast could claim a membership of 861. By the 3rd Plast convention held in Toronto in June 1953 this figure had increased to 989.<sup>48</sup>

The Ukrainian Organization Plast (Ukrayinska Orhanizatsiya Plast) in Canada considered itself a Ukrainian scouting association of young people who voluntarily chose to accept the universally accepted principles of scouting as laid down by Lord Baden-Powell. Plast operated in the Canadian cities of larger Ukrainian concentrations; these branches were directed by their

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<sup>48</sup>Plast Archives, Organizational Report on O. Tarnawsky, June 1953. Plast also had 200 parents belonging to its Plast Priyat (Friends of Plast) association. See also APPENDIX for statistical breakdown of membership.



respective local executives. The National Executive, a policy forming body for all the Plast branches in Canada, continued to maintain its head office in Toronto. The National Executive has been elected every two years by the representatives of the local branches commencing with the first Plast convention on September 1-3, 1951.

In Ontario, Plast operated on the basis of letters patent issued by the Province of Ontario in 1953, according to which, the aim of Plast was to develop the physical, mental and moral strength of young Canadians of Ukrainian descent, to train them for good citizenship and to perpetuate in them the traditions of their forefathers.<sup>49</sup>

Plast was very successful in fulfilling its objectives of maintaining the use of the Ukrainian language in its program. The program itself was steeped in Ukrainian history and culture. Plast managed to perpetuate Ukrainian cultural traditions which helped the youth acquire a sense of pride and dignity for their cultural heritage. The Plast membership was taught to be very nationally conscious, and even nationalistic, aware of the struggle for Ukraine's independence and enlightened about attempts of Russification of the Ukrainian language and culture. Because Plast in Canada refused to stress any one particular Ukrainian political ideology (except anti-communist), Plast discovered that one of its major roles within the Ukrainian Canadian community was the continuing development of young people for leadership ranks. To this end many leaders have emerged from Plast who have become actively engaged in virtually all aspects of organizational life in the Ukrainian community.

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<sup>49</sup>Incorporated as the Ukrainian Organization Plast. Plast Archives, Toronto, Minutes of National Plast Command Meeting of October 16, 1953.

## Ukrainian Youth Association

### Origins of SUM

The organizational origins of the Ukrainian Youth Association (Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--SUM), which was established in Canada after the Second World War, can be traced back to the first Ukrainian-Bolshevik War of 1919. The founders of SUM were the same individuals who had formed the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Statesmen (Bratstvo Ukrayinskykh Derzhavnykiv--BUD) and the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine (Spilka Vyzvolennya Ukrayiny--SVU).

The problem of training youth for the future Ukrainian leadership cadres immediately after the Bolshevik conquest of Ukraine was prevalent among those Ukrainian nationalists who returned to the occupied areas. The BUD organization in an attempt to combat the influences of Bolshevism on the Ukrainian youth as proselytized by the Komsomol (Communist Youth League) organized a counter-Bolshevik campaign geared towards the younger generation. The hub of the nationalist activity became the Taras Shevchenko School in Kiev which was under the direction of the Ukrainian teacher Volodymyr Durdukiivsky. In the spring of 1923 he organized sixty students into the Association for Unity and Harmony (Tovarystvo Yednannya i Zhody--TYZ).<sup>50</sup> This was the first stage in the development of SUM.

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<sup>50</sup>M.R.Shkavrytko, 20 Ritshya SVU-SUM Na Ukrayini Ta 4 Ritshya Vidnovlennya SUMu Na Chuzhyni [20 Years of SVU-SUM in Ukraine and 4 Years of Rebirth of SUM in Foreign Lands] (Great Britain: SUM, 1950), p.1.

The actual President of TYZ was Sava Malaschuk while the organizer, Durdukivsky, became the first Honourary President. Mykola Pavlushkov was elected the first secretary of the Executive Bureau. This student organization held monthly meetings at the school, with debates on a variety of political, literary and historical-philosophical themes. The activities of an anti-Bolshevik organization could not continue indefinitely under a Bolshevik regime. On June 1, 1924 a member of the executive, Viti Mazurenko, brought word that threats had been made against TYZ by members of the Commission for Verification of Student Status in Technical Schools.<sup>51</sup> The Executive Bureau of TYZ decided to dissolve the organization and although a general meeting of the membership approved of this course of action, it also resolved to maintain informal ties until a new vehicle for activity could be established.

The plans for forming an underground youth organization were drawn up by M. Pavlushkov and Boris Matushevsky and with the assistance of V. Durdukivsky and Serhiy Yefremov, who headed SVU, the organization took shape.<sup>52</sup> In May 1925 a five member Central Bureau for the Ukrainian Youth Association (Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--SUM) was established. The objective of the organization was to train youth of unshakeable conviction to actively plan a struggle against Bolshevism and to help restore a free and independent Ukrainian state. Each member of the Central Bureau was to select and train five other recruits. In its constitution SUM declared that "in case of war or uprising, our youth will form an independent part, will not join with other formations, and will

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<sup>51</sup>V.Revutskiy, "Kilka Faktiv z Istoriyi SUMu" [A Few Facts about the History of SUM] in Moloda Ukrayina, November 1951.

<sup>52</sup>Viacheslav Davydenko, "Bilya Dzerel SUMu" [Near the Sources of SUM] in Korotka Istoriya Spilky Ukrayinskoyi Molodi [A Short History of SUM] (New York: SUM of America, 1965), p.2.

remain ready for commands from general headquarters to fulfill special, primarily significant, instructions".<sup>53</sup> M. Pavlushko noted that "Yefremov agreed with my plans during private discussions. The whole question was examined and discussed by SUM members and finally resolved that our group would operate in the city proper, in Kiev".<sup>54</sup>

Throughout 1925 and 1926 the organization conducted a propaganda campaign against the Bolshevik system. With the assassination of the Ukrainian nationalist leader Simon Petliura in Paris on May 25, 1926, SUM took it upon itself to avenge his death and to propagate nationalist articles and pamphlets obtained from Western Ukraine.

In June 1926 SUM aligned with SVU and although SUM remained an autonomous organization many SUM members entered the ranks of SVU. Two years later SUM began a campaign of infiltrating and undermining sectors of the Red Army, gaining many converts. In the spring of 1929 the Soviet government through its police—the GPU-NKVD—commenced its reprisals against leading members of SVU and SUM. Forty-five arrests were made and the SVU organization was placed on a "show trial" from March 9 to April 19, 1930 in Kharkov, the capital of Soviet Ukraine.<sup>55</sup> Among the forty-five were S. Yefremov, V. Durdukivsky and the students M. Pavlushko and M. Matushevsky. The former three, along with ten others, were sentenced to death, but later had their sentences reduced to ten years of hard labour in Siberia and three years in exile. It is interesting

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<sup>53</sup>Shkavrytko, 20 Ritshya SVU-SUM, p.2.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>H.Kostiuk, Stalinist Rule in Soviet Ukraine: A Study of the Decade of Mass Terror: 1929-1939 (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1960), pp.85-89.

to note that with the liquidation of both SVU and SUM another twelve anti-Bolshevik organizations were uncovered by the GPU-NKVD. Of this total of fourteen, only the SVU was given a public trial; the others were prosecuted behind closed doors.<sup>56</sup> After this repression the Ukrainian Youth Association was not to re-emerge until after the Second World War, and even then, not on the soil of its native land.

#### The Rebirth of SUM

After the war, some of the Ukrainian youth who had fought in the Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army (UPA) were located at the displaced persons camp, Sommer Kaserne, in Augsburg (Bavaria). This emigre group, which adhered to the OUN-B ideology, continued to believe that an independent Ukraine was attainable and kept track of the events in Western Ukraine as the UPA continued its war against the Red Army. On June 10, 1946 these young men established the first cell of the Ukrainian Youth Association (Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Molodi—SUM) at Augsburg.<sup>57</sup> The name of the youth group was designed to recall the anti-communist movement of the earlier SUM.

The example set at the Augsburg camp was quickly followed by others. Within a month seven such SUM centres had been established with a membership of approximately 200. Events followed quickly. On July 5, 1946, the organizers of SUM gathered together at Munich and two days later formed the Central Organization Bureau of SUM, headed by M. Serdiuk. Within two months delegates

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., Kostiuk uses the name Union of Ukrainian Youth for SUM.

<sup>57</sup>Valentyna Yurchenko, "Vidrodzhennya SUMivskoyi Ideyi" [Rebirth of the SUM Idea] in Korotka Istoriya Spilky Ukrayinskoyi Molodi [A Short History of SUM] (New York: SUM of America, 1965), p.12.

from 24 centres attended a preliminary conference and prepared a draft constitution for the organization.<sup>58</sup> An interim Central Committee was formed and prepared for the First SUM Congress which was held at Augsburg on March 20-24, 1947. Delegates from 46 centres representing 3700 members ratified the SUM constitution and elected a fourteen member Central Committee headed by M. Serdiuk.<sup>59</sup> At the Second SUM Congress held in April 1948 SUM could boast of 68 centres with over 6,000 members and a program which included sports, drama, choirs, libraries and variety of courses.<sup>60</sup>

#### SUM in Canada

No sooner had these Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada and before they had a chance to completely settle into their new environment, they began to explore the ways and means of establishing the SUM organization in this country. On July 4, 1948, at the Prosvita Institute in Toronto, Peter Iwachiw, who had been appointed the authorized SUM agent in Canada by the Central Committee, called together the first SUM group in Canada.<sup>61</sup> At this meeting the members resolved to elect an Executive headed by Wasyl Boychuk.<sup>62</sup> Soon after Peter Iwachiw called together another SUM group in Toronto at the

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<sup>58</sup>Shkavrytko, 20 Ritchya SVU-SUM, p.4. The Conference was held at Augsburg on September 3, 1946.

<sup>59</sup>Yurchenko, Vidrodzhennya SUMu, p.13.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Homin Ukrayiny, [Echo of Ukraine], Toronto, February 17, 1973, p.9.

<sup>62</sup>Other members of the executive were: V.P.-W. Stelmach, Secretary-S. Boychuk, Cultural-Educational-B. Cimbalisty, Yunatstvo-O. Havryliuk, Womens' Rep.-R. Kulchyk.

Ukrainian National Home.<sup>63</sup> This group lasted only a short time, for on November 14, 1948, an agreement was reached to centralize the two groups under the Presidency of Wasyl Kushmelan.

During the early years close contact was maintained between the Central Committee of SUM in Germany and Iwachiw in Canada. On instructions from the Central Committee, Iwachiw formed an Organizational Bureau of SUM in Canada which was to coordinate the establishment of SUM centres and to prepare for a SUM congress in Canada.<sup>64</sup> This was a difficult period for the SUM membership as they had to find means of livelihood in Canada. The difficulty was reflected in the short existence of the Organizational Bureau; the presidency changed hands from Volodymyr Rybak to Peter Iwachiw and finally to Volodymyr Stelmach.<sup>65</sup> Despite the brevity of its one year existence the Organizational Bureau was able to begin the publication of a youth journal Na Varti (On Guard) and to assist in the establishment of eleven SUM centres across Canada.<sup>66</sup>

The First SUM Congress in Canada was held in Toronto on October 9-10, 1949, and was well attended, with only the Vancouver and Edmonton branches unable to send delegates.<sup>67</sup> The delegates had the opportunity to discuss the

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<sup>63</sup>Homin Ukrayiny, November 14, 1948.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., January 15, 1949. The Bureau was established on August 15, 1948.

<sup>65</sup>Mykola Figol (ed.), Istoriya Spilky Ukrayinskoyi Molodi v Kanadi z Nahody 25 Littya [A History of SUM in Canada on the occasion of its 25th Anniversary] (Toronto: Ukrainian Echo Publishing Co., 1974), p.10.

<sup>66</sup>See APPENDIX for list of branches.

<sup>67</sup>Na Varti, [On Guard], Toronto, November and December, 1949.

two major speeches presented at the Congress; one by Vasyl Bezchlibnyk on "The Role of the Leader in Community Life" and the other by Lev Husyn on "The Trends of SUM Activity".<sup>68</sup> The plenum of the Congress called upon all Ukrainian youth to strive for the same ideals as were being fought for by the Ukrainian youth on their native soil, and the delegates resolved "to strive to fulfil the highest ideals of the Ukrainian nation--to attain a free and independent Ukrainian state".<sup>69</sup> To this end they agreed to carry on with both moral and material assistance in the struggle and "to develop one's mind and character to be ready to engage in active physical combat".<sup>70</sup> The Congress also elected a twelve member National Committee (Krayovay Komitet), headed by Wasyl Kushmelan, to direct this nationalist youth movement in Canada.

One of the members of the Committee, Lev Husyn, who had been elected Organizational Director, set off on an organizational tour of the SUM centres.<sup>71</sup> Travelling to Winnipeg and back to Toronto he realized that many organizational problems could be solved if the branches could share their experiences at some sort of forum. On December 26, 1949, the National Committee called its first President's Conference in Toronto. Presidents of numerous branches analyzed the problems of activities in their branches and the methods of problem-solving in their daily endeavours. SUM found great difficulty with Canada's immense physical size which required of them a large capital expenditure for communication and transportation. A plan was devised to decentralize

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<sup>68</sup>Homin Ukrayiny, October 15, 1949.

<sup>69</sup>Na Varti, November-December, 1949.

<sup>70</sup>Figol, Istoriya SUMu, p.11.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p.14.



the organization by dividing Canada into six regions and establishing regional committees; the administrative difficulties encountered in attempting to realize this objective later forced the organization to abandon the idea.

At the Second SUM Congress held in Toronto on July 29-30, 1950, the delegates discussed the proposal to form an autonomous SUM military organization.<sup>72</sup> Many members of SUM had been members of UPA and believed that a military cadre should be established in the event that SUM members be required to return to the active struggle in Ukraine. The Congress, however, resolved not to form an independent military organization, but did reach an agreement that military sections (Viddil Viyskovykyiv) could be established within the SUM movement.<sup>73</sup> The newly-elected National Committee, headed by Lev Husyn, was responsible for attempting to acquire a Canadian charter for the organization and to gain the acceptance of the Ukrainian churches by having them appoint chaplains for the organization.<sup>74</sup>

The SUM organization realized in 1951 that while the organization was expanding, its membership was gradually aging. Although SUM had developed choral, drama, musical, ballet, sports and literary groups in their 20 centres, it had not established a youth program for those under eighteen years of age. With no members in that age category SUM was criticized by the other Ukrainian youth organizations as to its basis for calling itself a Ukrainian Youth Association.

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<sup>72</sup>Homin Ukrayiny, August 12, 1950.

<sup>73</sup>Figol, Istoriya SUMu, p.14.

<sup>74</sup>SUM finally acquired a Dominion Charter, #153397, on September 23, 1957.

In January 1952 a youth section (Yunatstvo) for those under eighteen was established in Toronto with a membership of thirty-six; soon after in Winnipeg another section with 12 members was established.<sup>75</sup> At their Fourth Congress held in Toronto on August 31, 1952, SUM claimed a membership of 1,605 in 24 branches and provided an incomplete statistical breakdown by age: 48 members under the age of 18, 219 between 18 and 26, 584 under 35, and 157 over 40.<sup>76</sup> By 1953 SUM was facing a dilemma--over fifty percent of its membership was over 36 years of age.<sup>77</sup> The drop-out rate among its older members was substantial and many of the older SUM members began to discuss the eventual liquidation of SUM.

The National Committee of SUM then placed the development of their Yunatstvo program as top priority. They commenced issuing directions to all SUM centres indicating the urgency in establishing a youth program. Leadership courses were developed, Ukrainian schools (Ridni Shkoly) were established, and summer camps were planned for the youth section. At an April 17, 1954, special meeting of the National Committee and the Ontario SUM centres an agreement was reached that the organization buy a farm at Acton, Ontario for its camping program.<sup>78</sup>

Although by the 6th SUM Congress of 1954 the organization had not grown at all, SUM was able to balance its drop-out rate with its active youth program.

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<sup>75</sup>Figol, Istoriya SUMu, p.26.

<sup>76</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol.13, SUM President W. Kushmelan and Secretary W. Makar to National Executive MUN, September 22, 1952 reporting the proceedings of the convention.

<sup>77</sup>Figol, Istoriya SUMu, p.34.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p.35.

Of the 1636 members which SUM had in 1954 the number of older members had decreased to 1274 and the statistics for the younger group had risen to 363.<sup>79</sup>

#### Reactions of the Other Youth Organizations

The development of the SUM Yunatstvo program produced tensions between the Plast and SUM organizations in Canada. This conflict had been foreseen in Germany when the SUM organization was in its developmental stages. Although Plast welcomed the formation of another Ukrainian youth organization in Germany, problems arose when members of Plast wished to join SUM and vice versa.<sup>80</sup> Primarily due to its program and educational considerations, Plast did not wish its members to belong to any other youth organization. After the age of eighteen Plast encouraged its members to become involved in other organizations, not as members of Plast, but as well disciplined and trained members of the Ukrainian community. To clarify any possible problem areas the supreme executives of the two organizations, after lengthy deliberations, signed an agreement for harmonious cooperation in Munich on November 15, 1946.<sup>81</sup> Two similar conferences produced satisfactory results in the problem areas of membership and educational training, and both were well documented with signed

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p.37. This trend continued so that by 1957 there were only 844 of the old guard and 717 of the younger generation. See APPENDIX for breakdown of statistics.

<sup>80</sup>Osy Boychuk, "Hromadskay Pidkhyd do Hromadskykh Sprav: Z Prevodu Vzeyemovidnosyn Mizh Plastom in SUM-om" [The Community Approach to Community Affairs: The Establishment of Interrelation between Plast and SUM] in Plastovay Shliakh, Munich: October, 1950, No.1(4), p.65.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p.67.

agreements on November 20, 1947, and June 24, 1950.<sup>82</sup>

The problems of membership and organizational methodology also arose in Canada. The subject of organizational program content produced consternation in the Plast hierarchy in Canada when SUM brought out its educational guidelines for its under-18 membership. Plast claimed it was an exact duplicate of their rules and regulations. This was not unusual bearing in mind that Plast members Roman Kopach and Lev Senyshyn assisted in the drafting of the guidelines.<sup>83</sup> SUM trying not to enter into a collision course with Plast, after holding discussions with the head of Plast, agreed to modify their system and their methodology.

The problem of dual membership arose when some members of Plast were accepted into SUM without first revoking their Plast membership status. This came to light when the Plast member Bohdan Hawrylyshyn approached the Plast Command for financial assistance to travel to the World Youth Assembly to be held in August 1952 in Dakar Africa.<sup>84</sup> The issue in question was that Hawrylyshyn, without revoking his Plast membership, had become the SUM representative to the Canadian Committee of the World Youth Assembly. As a member of the Canadian Executive he was chosen as the only Canadian to take part in the conference in Africa. Similar cases of dual membership raised the question whether SUM was adhering to the agreements signed by the two organizations.

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<sup>82</sup>Plast Archives, Minutes of Meeting of Krayova Plastova Starshyna, February 15, 1954.

<sup>83</sup>Figol, Istoriya SUMu, p.16.

<sup>84</sup>Plast Archives, Minutes of the Meeting of the Krayova Plastova Starshyna, July 4, 1952.

The question of membership was a very sensitive issue in the Ukrainian Canadian community. SUM was accused of being "an OUN-Bandera oriented youth organization which closely follows the ideology, tactics and methods of its parent organization in infiltrating other youth organizations".<sup>85</sup> There was some truth to the first part of the statement. SUM was deeply involved in propagating the nationalist ideology. In June 1949 they commenced publishing their journal Na Varti (On Guard) which clearly stated: "the continuing struggle of UPA on our native soil demands from Ukrainian emigres both moral and financial support. SUM places before it the task of organizing all Ukrainian youth into moral worthiness, national consciousness and in a well-disciplined and active community".<sup>86</sup>

The "parent organization" referred to was the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (Liga Vyzvolennya Ukrayiny--LVU). Although SUM accepted and adhered to the same ideology as LVU, namely supporting the OUN-B revolutionary movement, it remained a separate and distinct youth organization. The same type of membership regulations did not exist between SUM and LVU as did between SUMK and SUS, MUN and UNO, UKYu and BUK, where the one was automatically included as a member of the other. This fine distinction was to have repercussions on SUM when it tried to join KUK and RUMK.<sup>87</sup>

The accusation of infiltration of other youth organizations becomes questionable when one bears in mind that the new immigrants were invited and welcomed to enter the ranks of the existing Ukrainian Canadian organizations.

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<sup>85</sup>W.Burianyk, SUS-Its Meaning and Significance (Toronto: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, 1967), p.38.

<sup>86</sup>Na Varti, August 1949.

<sup>87</sup>RUMK--Ukrainian Youth Council of Canada--will be discussed in the next chapter.

This was especially true of UNO and MUN which absorbed many newly arrived Ukrainian nationalists into their system. Problems developed when differences in ideological orientation arose. Some of the new immigrants who joined were adherents of the OUN-B political philosophy which was not compatible with that of the OUN-M which was supported by the Dominion Executive of UNO. Furthermore, UNO supported the existence of the Ukrainian political representative assembly--Ukrainian National Council (Ukrayinska Natsionalna Rada--UNR) which united all of the Ukrainian political factions except OUN-B and the monarchists.<sup>88</sup> The OUN-B group had established and supported a counter group--Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Ukrayinska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada--UHVR). Unable to change UNO's position, they withdrew, but the relations between UNO and LVU remained tense for many years.

This tension also affected the relations between MUN and SUM. MUN had initially appeared to favour SUM in Germany and had forwarded Ukrainian books to SUM in 1948 to assist their establishment of literary centres.<sup>89</sup> However, in Canada MUN questioned SUM's aggressive claims of being the only non-partisan Ukrainian organization in Canada and the only true representative of nationalist sentiment.<sup>90</sup> By 1952 the relations had stabilized and MUN sent Yaroslav Bilak as their representative to the fourth SUM convention with warm greetings

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<sup>88</sup>For a list of the various political parties in UNR see V. Kubijovyc, Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian National Association, 1963), p.915.

<sup>89</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol. 13, Correspondence between SUM Germany and MUN, January 16, 1948, and April 1948.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., MUN to Central Committee SUM in Germany, July 9, 1949.

and wishes of success. This was the first occasion in the five year existence of SUM that any of the Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations had sent official greetings to SUM.

Although SUM's aggressive attitude lent itself to alienation from some Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations the same aggressiveness helped the organization grow rapidly in a short period of time. SUM's internal solidarity and nationalist conviction helped it become one of the more vocal Ukrainian youth organizations in Canada. The intense anti-communist platform propagated by SUM allowed it to become a strong pressure group against the oppressive policies of the Soviet Union.

## Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association

### Origins of the Ideology

After the Second World War the Ukrainian youth which managed to escape from Soviet Ukraine to the displaced persons camps of West Germany realized the need for an organization to express their fundamental beliefs. These emigrants from the territories of Soviet Ukraine could not fully accept the doctrines of the OUN organizations which had drawn their strength and support from Western Ukraine. At a camp in Munich in the fall of 1945 the 38 year old poet and anti-communist Ivan Pavlovych Bahryany gave a public address on the topic "The Youth of Greater Ukraine and our Task". He called upon all Ukrainian youth to coordinate their political and physical strength and to mobilize themselves to struggle for the idea of Ukraine.<sup>91</sup> He acknowledged the rifts between the Ukrainians, geographical, political and religious, and declared that they must be overcome, warning at the same time that failure to do so would leave many young people outside of the struggle for independence.

In Canada, in 1950, Marian Horhota accepted Bahryany's leadership in the formation of the ideology for the Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association (Obyednannya Demokratychnoyi Ukrayinskoyi Molodi--ODUM). Both Bahryany and Horhota came to the same conclusion, namely that another youth organization was necessary. Writing under the pseudonym "M. Dalny", Horhota noted that the

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<sup>91</sup>M. Dalny, O. Konoval and E. Fedorenko (eds.), Almanakh-Zbirnyk Obyednannya Demokratychnoyi Ukrayinskoyi Molodi U.S.A.: Kanadi 1950-1965 [Almanac Commemorating the Fifteen Anniversary of ODUM] (Toronto: Moloda Ukrayina, 1965), p.41.



main reason for the creation of ODUM was to accommodate that sector of Ukrainian youth which could not find an acceptable place in the emigre Plast and SUM organizations.<sup>92</sup>

The Ukrainian nationalism as propagated by the Western Ukrainian and the emigre organizers and as understood by most of the East Ukrainian intelligentsia, was based primarily on ethnic and cultural factors. The East Ukrainians were generally much milder in their interpretation, recognizing the value and rights of other cultures, and seeking to secure a dominant, not an exclusive place for the Ukrainian culture in any future Ukrainian state.

Horhota was especially critical of the Ukrainian "nationalism" as exemplified by the SUM organization. He noted that:

This nationalism required only robots in uniform who obey orders and not intellectuals capable of independent analysis. We are not against the broader meaning of nationalism; we are all nationalists who love our country, our nation and wish to see it freely develop. However, in dealing with concrete ideological political and social problems if one wishes to guarantee the free development of the individual and the nation, there are and cannot be any so-called 'pure nationalists'. Instead, there are national-democrats, national-communists and national-fascists. Having lived through the latter two, ODUM finds itself in the national-democratic camp.<sup>93</sup>

He argued that the new organization would not be composed of old men but rather youth.<sup>94</sup> The organization was not to be dominated by political parties but rather would be above party affiliation: "A youth organization that would train nationally conscious and cultured generations of Ukrainians

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<sup>92</sup>Moloda Ukrayina, Young Ukraine, Toronto, November 1951.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Horhota was referring to the youth organizations SUM and Plast whose membership at that time averaged over 30 years of age.

and not political hybrids".<sup>95</sup> "A living and creative organization" he wrote, "is needed which could embrace all Ukrainian youth regardless of the territory it came from, its religious affiliation or the political parties adhered to by their parents. An organization of national youth and not 'nationalists' youth is required".<sup>96</sup> In rejecting the integral nationalism of the OUN organizations, the new organization advocated opening the doors of membership to Ukrainian citizens regardless of racial origin. In advocating tolerance in all aspects of human behaviour they hoped to foster a spirit of democracy which could confront the totalitarianism and tyranny which they had left behind.

#### Organizational Development

ODUM in Canada was founded on September 30, 1950, in Toronto. The meeting was called by an initiatory committee of five, headed by Marian Dalny who had on September 4, 1950, made contact with the National Executive of ODUM of U.S.A.<sup>97</sup> The Canadian committee believed that the ODUM organization should become centralized under one executive body, with one system of training and with one journalistic organ. They further desired that until such a condition of centralization manifested itself, the National Executive of ODUM in the U.S.A. take the initiative in forming ODUM branches in other countries.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup>M.Dalny, (pseud.), "ODUMivski Budni" in Moloda Ukrayina, July 1952.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>Interview: Wadim Wakulowsky, March 4, 1974, Toronto, see also, Dalny et al, ODUM Almanakh, p.111.

<sup>98</sup>The ODUM of U.S.A. was formed June 18, 1950 in New York.

The same meeting of Eastern Ukrainian emigres discussed the topic presented by Horhota: "The Task and the Position of ODUM". Agreeing on the need for ODUM in Canada the participants adopted a temporary constitution, and elected an interim nine member Dominion Executive with Horhota as President and Wadim Wakulowsky as Secretary.<sup>99</sup> The immediate problem facing the new executive was the strengthening of their membership and the expansion of their program in the Toronto area.

The organization formed a sports section, a literary section and a drama group. The proceeds from their first carolling endeavour, which raised \$300, were forwarded to the Ukrainian National Council. By the spring of 1951 the organization was also proud of a choir and a dancing group.

On October 7, 1951, the club held its annual meeting at which over 100 members were in attendance.<sup>100</sup> Since the interim Dominion Executive was deeply engaged in the preparation of the First Canadian ODUM Convention, a separate local executive was elected for the administration of the branch.

The organization quickly realized that any further expansion would require large doses of publicity and in May 1951 it was resolved to undertake the publication of a journal. Two more members were co-opted into the temporary executive to examine the ways and means of producing the journal to be known as Moloda Ukrayina (Young Ukraine). In September an Editorial Board was established and the journal appeared two months later.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>Moloda Ukrayina, November 1951.

<sup>100</sup>Dalny et al, ODUM Almanakh, p.125.

<sup>101</sup>Moloda Ukrayina, November 1951.

On November 10-11, 1951 the First Convention of ODUM was held in Toronto. Over seventy participants were present which included twenty-six delegates from the branches of Toronto, Hamilton, Montreal and Winnipeg. The reports which were presented indicated a healthy growth rate during the first year of existence. The establishment of the "Dominion Executive" was ratified and the convention elected M. Dalny again as President.<sup>102</sup> In addition to the positions of President, two Vice Presidents, Secretary and the Branch Representatives in the Dominion Executive, a five member Educational Council was elected alongside the Supreme administrative body. During that administrative year two more branches were formed in Niagara Falls, Ontario and Lachine, Quebec.

The Canadian ODUM went to great lengths to strengthen the ODUM movement throughout the rest of the world. In the summer of 1952 at Niagara Falls, Ontario, ODUM representatives from Canada and the U.S.A. conducted their first joint sessions to discuss the international development of the organization. The Canadian ODUM again invited their American sister organization to send delegates to the second ODUM of Canada convention held in Toronto on October 11-12, 1952. Following lengthy deliberations on the topic of centralization an agreement was reached to establish a Central Committee for ODUM.<sup>103</sup> A five member commission, which included the Canadian representatives M. Horhota and D. Tkachuk, was authorized to establish contact with the ODUM organizations in

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<sup>102</sup>Dalny et al, ODUM Almanakh, p.112. Other members of the Executive were: Vice Presidents—Ivan Loboda, Mykola Onyshko, Secretary—Wasył Nelipa and Members—D. Tkachuk, H. Lytwyn, I. Dubylko, B. Oleksandriw and M. Latyshko.

<sup>103</sup>Moloda Ukrayina, October-November 1952, pp.3-8, see also: Dalny et al. ODUM Almanakh, p.113.

Australia, Germany and Great Britain and to draw up a constitution for a Central Committee for the entire ODUM movement. Within the year the new structure which resulted from Canadian initiative had been ratified and Yuri Martyniuk-Nahorney from the U.S.A. was elected the first President.<sup>104</sup>

The Second ODUM Convention witnessed a change in the leadership of the Canadian Dominion Executive and in the direction of the organization. Under the administration of Wadim Wakulowsky the organization continued its expansion program with the establishment of two more branches at St. Catharines and London, and attempted to crystalize its membership basis. Since the membership of ODUM was predominantly between the ages of 17-35, the Dominion Executive examined the need for and the possibility of developing a program for the younger generation. In 1952 a summer program for the youth was experimented with to supplement their Ukrainian school education. Gradually a youth section-- Junior ODUM (Yunoho ODUM)--modelled on the Plast system, was established to assist parents and the Ukrainian schools in the upbringing of those in the age group between 7 and 17.<sup>105</sup> These children were divided into male and female divisions and two age categories were set up--Novatstvo (novices) from 7 to 12, and Yunatstvo (adolescent youth) from 12-17. An elaborate program was developed over the years in which the youth was taught a love of Ukrainian traditions, educated in Ukrainian history and literature and steeped in national-consciousness.

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p.3. ODUM in U.S.A. is known as the Association of American Youth of Ukrainian Descent, Inc. They could not use the term Democratic as it referred to the political party.

<sup>105</sup>Dalny et al, ODUM Almanakh, p.118.

ODUM also made provision for its members who had passed the 35 year age limit. A category for seniors was created so that older ODUM members could enter the ranks of the Educational Council (Vykhovna Rada) and assist in the upbringing of the new ranks of members. Seniors were also expected to take active part in the Association of ODUM Friends (Tovarystvo ODUMivskykh Pryateliv---TOP)---a division of ODUM created for those members of the Ukrainian community who were in agreement with the objectives of ODUM but were never members of ODUM. These were individuals, over 35 years of age, who could be of immense assistance not only financially but more importantly in the area of cultural-educational endeavours and who were willing to devote of their time and money to develop the ODUM organization.

Despite the fact that membership was open to anyone who professed a love for an independent and free Ukraine, regardless of their Ukrainian political convictions, ODUM continued to shy away from incorporating into its ranks individuals who adhered to OUN principles. Their membership was composed mainly of individuals who adhered to a middle-of-the-road democratic philosophy, be they social democrats as in the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party (USDRP), or the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP). In this respect ODUM was ideologically aligned with the Ukrainian political organization in Canada, Association of Ukrainian Victims of Russian Communist Terror (Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Zhertv Rosiyskoho Komunistychnoho Teroru---SUZERO). Although membership was also not conditional upon adhering to any particular church, the majority of ODUM members were Ukrainian Orthodox faithful. This latter fact caused some stress within the SUS organization which had hoped

for a monopoly of the Orthodox following.<sup>106</sup> The acceptance of Ukrainian Catholics within the organization was a prime factor why potential ODUM members did not enter the already established SUMK organization in Canada.<sup>107</sup>

The development of ODUM in Canada greatly benefited the ODUM organizations in other countries. Although New York became the natural centre of the ODUM movement in the free world, leading members of ODUM in Canada were credited as being the early initiators in developing the new organization. Projects such as the formation of the Central Committee, the publication of the journal Moloda Ukrayina (Young Ukraine), the formation of Junior ODUM, the adopting of uniforms and the calling of international conferences all resulted from the initiatives of ODUM in Canada.

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<sup>106</sup>Burianyk, S.U.S., pp.39-40.

<sup>107</sup>M.Horhota (Dalny) was both Catholic and from Galicia; Interview, W. Wakulowsky, March 4, 1974, Toronto.

## CHAPTER V

### CO-ORDINATION

#### Ukrainian Youth Council of Canada

##### Committees for Co-operation

Co-operation became a key word among Ukrainian Canadians after the establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (KUK). There were numerous projects which could transcend the religious and political differences of the Ukrainian organizations, which the Ukrainian leadership discovered when it concentrated on the over-all benefits of any joint venture. Assistance to the Canadian war effort, assistance to the Ukrainian Canadian war veterans and assistance to the Ukrainian displaced persons were successful undertakings co-ordinated by KUK. The youth organizations were also actively involved at the local levels in co-operating in these endeavours. For example in February 1946 a committee of various Ukrainian youth organizations in Winnipeg co-operated in honouring the Ukrainian Canadian War veterans of Winnipeg.<sup>1</sup> In September 1947 MUN and UKYu in Montreal held a joint concert which raised \$200.00 to aid the displaced persons.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ukrainian Canadian Veterans Association Newsletter, Winnipeg: May 1946, Vol.2, no.1, p.11, lists the following organizations: UKYu of St. Vladimir and Olha Parish, SUMK Local 81, UKYu of Blessed Virgin Mary Parish, The Ukrainian Reading Association Youth Group, the Institute Prosvita Social Club and MUN.

<sup>2</sup>Holos Molodi, [Youth Speaks], Winnipeg, September 6, 1947, Vol.XVIII, p.6.



With the arrival of the third wave of Ukrainian immigrants and with their establishment of the three youth organizations, the former balances and understandings were strained and forced to come to terms with an influx of new ideas and positions. One of the earliest post-war attempts to bring representatives together to discuss their differences and similarities occurred in Toronto. On December 24, 1951, the local representatives of MUN, Plast, SUM, ODUM and Zarevo came together and formed a Committee for Understanding Among Ukrainian Youth Organizations in Toronto (Komitet Poruzuminnya Ukrayinskykh Molodechkykh Orhanizatsiy v Toronto--KOPUMOT).<sup>3</sup> They elected an executive which rotated every six months and which was charged with promoting co-operation in the areas of education and Ukrainian holiday observances.<sup>4</sup> Although this was a first step towards greater co-operation, it did not represent all the Ukrainian youth organizations in Toronto. Much groundwork had yet to be covered before the National Executives of all the Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations could sit down at the same table.

#### Ukrainian Youth Council of North America

The initiative for a more comprehensive and broader co-ordination of Ukrainian youth activity came from the Ukrainian Youth's League of North America (Liga Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Pivnichnoyi Ameryky--UYLNA). This was a youth organization in the United States which was formed in 1930 during the World Fair held in Chicago. A very active organization, it had good relations

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<sup>3</sup>Moloda Ukrayina, November 1951.

<sup>4</sup>Members of the first executive were: President--A. Dobriansky (Zavero), Vice President--Michael Orychiwsky (MUN), First Secretary--Wadim Wakulowsky (ODUM), Second Secretary--Walter Sochaniwsky (Plast), Member--B. Hirnyk (SUM).

with a number of Ukrainian Canadian and American youth groups. In 1952 their Executive Board was faced with the fact that instead of integrating with the established Ukrainian youth organizations, the new immigrants had formed numerous new organizations on both sides of the border. For their 14th Convention the UYLNA decided to pose the questions "Should the Ukrainian youth be united?" and "Can they be united?". They made the theme of their convention "United We Stand" and scheduled a panel discussion to analyse the questions.<sup>5</sup>

The panel was to be composed of one individual who would represent the point of view of Canadian youth, one who would represent the views of the older Ukrainian American youth organizations, and one to represent the newly arrived youth. For a Canadian viewpoint they approached MUN who offered the services of their Honourary President, Professor Paul Yuzyk of the University of Manitoba. The newly arrived youth were represented by Walter Stoyko of SUM of America, and the UYLNA member, Genevieve Zerembiak, represented the older organizations.<sup>6</sup>

At the Convention held in Cleveland, Ohio between August 29, and September 2, 1952, Professor Yuzyk elaborated on the MUN resolution adopted at their 17th Convention (Winnipeg, July 28-30, 1952):

For the sake of unity the Dominion Executive of the UNYF suggests the formation of a Ukrainian Youth Council composed of the larger youth organizations in the United States and Canada on equal basis.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol.13, UYLNA correspondence with MUN.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Holos Molodi, Summer 1952, Vol.VI, no.3, p.18 and Fall 1952, Vol.VI, no.4, p.21.

He went on to suggest that a North American Ukrainian Youth Congress composed of delegates from the various youth organizations could be convoked; the initiative for such a Congress should be taken by UYLNA which was in the best position to approach the various youth groups. He stressed that in the initial stage certain principles and aims should be accepted, notably:

1. Preservation of the Democratic way of life
2. Perpetuation of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage
3. Support of the Ukrainian liberation movement
4. Promotion of sport, recreational and social activities.<sup>8</sup>

The panel, chaired by Joseph Lesawyer, came to the same conclusions.

As a result the UYLNA Convention reached the following decision:

Resolved - that the Executive Board of the UYLNA be empowered and directed to sponsor a conference of representatives of all national Ukrainian youth organizations in the United States and Canada, including the youth organizations of newly arrived immigrants, for the purpose of exploring the possibility of establishing a Council of Ukrainian Youth Unity. This Council is to serve for the purpose of affecting a better understanding of the aims and purposes of these organizations and bring about greater harmony and more effective co-ordination of their respective activities.<sup>9</sup>

Such a conference was held in November 15-16, 1952, in Buffalo, New York at which representatives of 12 major national Ukrainian youth organizations of the United States and Canada brought into existence an interim Ukrainian Youth Council of North America (Rada Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Pivnichnoyi Ameryky--RUMPA).<sup>10</sup> The conference also resolved to prepare a constitution for this new co-ordinating body and agreed to call the first youth congress.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, vol.13, RUMPA File.

<sup>10</sup>Representatives of Canadian organizations were from MUN, SUM, PLAST, SUMK, ODUM and the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans Association.

On March 28-29, 1953, at Niagara Falls, Ontario, the First Congress of Ukrainian Youth of North America saw over 150 delegates and guests accept a wide plan of co-operation between the youth groups of Canada and the United States. In addition to organizing joint sport recreational and social programs, this council, headed by W. Bakad, obligated and dedicated itself "to make every effort and apply all means whatsoever to secure freedom of speech, religion and thought, together with the right of self-government for Ukrainians and other subjugated peoples".<sup>11</sup>

#### Ukrainian Youth Council of Canada

During this time in Canada a similar movement was taking root but it concentrated on bringing together the Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations to discuss options for unity and co-operation. At the 17th National Convention of MUN held in Winnipeg on July 28-30, 1952, the delegates accepted the proposals of Bohdan Bociurkiw, a long-time advocate of unification in both the student section and the youth organizations, that the time had come to establish liaison and close co-operation among the Ukrainian youth organizations in Canada.<sup>12</sup>

The youth organizations had virtually no direct voice in the deliberations of the major co-ordinating body--the Ukrainian Canadian Committee

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<sup>11</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol.13, RUMK file. B. Bociurkiw to SUMK. The elected Members of the Council were President--W. Bakad (UYLNA), V.P. for Canada--Wm. Hladun (MUN), V.P. for U.S.A.--W. Dubniak (ODUM), Secretaries--M. Popowich (Zarevo of U.S.A.), L. Husyn (SUM), Treasurer--P. Kit (SUMK), Controlling Committee--S. Pawluk (Ukrainian Canadian War Veterans), B. Yaciw (Plast Canada) and W. Omelchenko (SUM of America).

<sup>12</sup>Holos Molodi, Summer 1952, Vol.VI, No.3, p.18.

(Komitet Ukrayintsiv Kanady--KUK). SUMK, MUN and UKYu were represented in the proceedings of KUK by their parent bodies SUS, UNO and BUK respectively; but the newly established Plast, SUM and ODUM had no access whatsoever to the decision-making body.

In the fall of 1952 KUK was planning to hold a special Pre-Congress Community Conference (Hromadska Pered-Kongresova Narada) to analyze and discuss the effectiveness of KUK prior to the calling of the Fourth KUK Congress in the summer of 1953. Through its UNO representative to KUK, MUN requested that all the Ukrainian youth organizations be invited to send representatives to this Conference.<sup>13</sup> When KUK finally resolved not to limit the Conference only to its accredited membership, Bohdan Bociurkiw wrote to the Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations outlining the noticeable lack of co-operation among the organized Ukrainian youth in Canada.<sup>14</sup> He noted that at the Pre-Congress Community Conference to be held on December 6-7, 1952, "it would be, in our opinion, worthwhile and necessary to take a position on the above problem (co-ordination) to analyze in community discussion, and to have meetings of representatives from dominion organizations of Ukrainian Canadian youth and to come to some concrete resolutions in this matter".<sup>15</sup> Bociurkiw then suggested the formation of a possible centre at KUK which would be a Ukrainian Canadian Youth Committee (Komitet Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady--KUMK).

The Pre-Congress Community Conference adopted the MUN proposal and announced:

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<sup>13</sup>PAC, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, MG 28 V 9, Minutes of Meetings, October 14, 1952.

<sup>14</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol.13. RUMK File, B. Bociurkiw to SUMK.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

We call to life a Commission on Youth, to be composed of representatives from the dominion-wide Ukrainian youth organizations, to work on and to present to the KUK Congress a constitution and program for a Ukrainian Canadian Youth Committee (KUMK) which would have the same status in KUK as the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee. This Commission is also authorized to prepare in conjunction with the student and sports organizations, a system of centralization of the student and sports organizations within KUK.<sup>16</sup>

The responsibility for realizing this project rested with the Praesidium of KUK. At the invitation of KUK, Taras Cirka of MUN accepted the chairmanship of the Youth Commission. At the first meeting held in Winnipeg on June 17, 1953, all six Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations were represented.<sup>17</sup> The delegates all agreed to work towards the same ends and decided to elect three members who would, in conjunction with the Executive of KUK, prepare a Constitution and guidelines for program co-ordination.<sup>18</sup>

Although a constitution for the Ukrainian Youth Council of Canada (Rada Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady--RUMK) was available in time for the 4th KUK Congress which was held in Winnipeg on July 8-10, 1953, the Congress first had to make provisions in the KUK constitution to allow RUMK to enter into the KUK framework. In addition to this the Congress also granted RUMK five delegates to future congresses and a seat on the KUK Praesidium. The RUMK constitution was left to the KUK Praesidium Council for ratification.

On October 24, 1953, the Praesidium accepted the RUMK constitution and on November 3, 1953, the Praesidium Council also gave its approval. This paved the way for the calling of the first official RUMK meeting for

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<sup>16</sup>PAC, SUMK Records, MG 28 V 15, Vol.17, File 423, SUMK report on RUMK.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., SUMK, MUN, UKYu, Plast, SUM and ODUM were present.

<sup>18</sup>Elected were B. Bociurkiw (MUN), Ivan Loboda (ODUM) and Roman Senchuk (Plast).

November 14, 1953 and the election of the first RUMK Executive in the following composition:

President	- Taras Cirka (MUN)
1st Vice President	- Ivan Lobod (ODUM)
2nd Vice President	- William Verbeniuk (UKYu)
Secretary	- Ann Figus (SUMK)
Treasurer	- Tetiana Mohylnycky (Plast)
Cultural-Educational Officer	- Bohdan Bociurkiw (MUN)
Sports Officer	- Nestor Romanyshyn (Plast) <sup>19</sup>
Press Officer	- Orest Gorchynsky (SUMK)

As can be noted from the list of Executive Officers only five of the six Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations founded RUMK. Although SUM had taken part in the deliberations of the Youth Commission, it had refused to become a member of RUMK. Two major reasons emerged for their boycott. The first dealt with their relationship with the League for the Liberation of Ukraine (Liga Vyzvolennya Ukrayiny—LVU) and the second with their membership within KUK. LVU and SUM had very much in common; they shared the same ideological beliefs and the same physical accommodations for organizational activity. LVU was an organization of elder members of the community while SUM was the youth organization. Although LVU and SUM continuously declared that the two were distinct and independent organizations, the majority of Ukrainian Canadian organizations considered their relationship to each other to be the same as that of SUS-SUMK, UNO-MUN and BUK-UKYu. Since the latter three mentioned youth organizations were represented in KUK by their parent bodies and by RUMK, it was considered that such a status was accordable to SUM.

When, at the 4th KUK Congress, Plast and ODUM were accepted as independent organizations into KUK, SUM was infuriated. Insult was added to injury

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<sup>19</sup>PAC, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, MG 28 V 9, Minutes of RUMK Meeting, November 14, 1953.

when LVU who had also applied in 1953 for KUK membership was rejected. Even though LVU was accepted three years later, SUM was not and it continued its boycott of RUMK.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the lack of total co-operation which resulted from the boycott, the establishment of RUMK was hailed as a major breakthrough in the Ukrainian youth movement in Canada. RUMK proposed an ambitious program of establishing branches of RUMK in all the major Canadian cities to co-ordinate youth projects in those centres and to co-operate with those branches of KUK which were co-ordinating broader Ukrainian activities on location. The results of RUMK were positive. Youth from various Ukrainian organizations was able to familiarize itself with the membership and activities of their counterparts. They were able to take part in inter-organizational festivities, holiday observances and joint social functions. The Ukrainian press in Canada referred to the establishment of RUMK as the dawning of a new era in youth relations and as the maturing of the Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations.

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<sup>20</sup>SUM finally was allowed membership in KUK on February 23, 1962 and joined RUMK in 1965.



## Ukrainian Canadian University Students Union

### Student Associations

The problems faced by the student sector of the community in many ways resembled those of the general youth associations. The Great Depression, however, took a heavier toll among the Ukrainian Canadian student population. This was clearly indicated by the decline of the number of active student clubs prior to the outbreak of the war. Of the seven clubs of the Ukrainian Students National Association, none were functional by 1937. The Alpha-Omega Society of the University of Saskatoon also ceased its activities in 1937. Others such as the Prometheus Students Club at the University of Manitoba lasted until 1943 before faltering. A few clubs, such as the one at the University of Toronto, managed to continue a small program of activities throughout this difficult period.

The Alpha-Omega Society did stage a comeback at the University of Saskatchewan in 1941, and in 1945, under the initiative of Nestor Ortynsky of Canora, Saskatchewan, the Society was also established at the University of Manitoba.<sup>21</sup> The majority of Ukrainian students at the Manitoba campus were Canadian-born and in the process of integration within the mainstream of Canadian society had become alienated from the problems facing Ukraine. In establishing the Alpha-Omega Society they declared that "this is not a nationalist organization, neither is it a revolutionary one".<sup>22</sup> Instead, their objectives were solely

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<sup>21</sup>The Alpha-Omega Society in Saskatoon is also discussed in Chapter III.

<sup>22</sup>Bohdan J. Lesack, "Alpha-Omega in Manitoba" in Opinion, July 1948, Vol.4, No.4, p.3, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

of a cultural, social and educational nature. These concepts they embodied in their constitution; specifically,

1. To form a nucleus for all the students in the University of Manitoba who are interested in the studying and fostering of Ukrainian culture.
2. To discuss problems of adjustment of the Ukrainian culture to the Canadian way of life.
3. To promote education among Ukrainian Canadian youth and to assist financially needy but promising students of Ukrainian origin.<sup>23</sup>

Their membership was not restricted only to Ukrainian students although these naturally composed the majority of members. The society hoped that the non-Ukrainian members would be able to gain more insight into the Ukrainian way of life. By associating with Ukrainian students they could discover why Ukrainians behaved as they did and the significance of their customs and their traditions. In this way it was hoped that much could be done "to eradicate those baleful racial stereotypes and those pernicious scapegoat theories so prevalent in Canadian society to-day and yet so detrimental to our own internal co-operation".<sup>24</sup>

The Society stressed that membership was qualified by neither nationality, nor religious faith, nor political affiliation. However, since it was not the intention of the originators of the Alpha-Omega Society "to organize a revolutionary movement upon the campus", the Society was on guard to exclude any "corruptive elements".<sup>25</sup>

Not all Ukrainian students on the University of Manitoba campus accepted the Alpha-Omega Society's policy of membership. This was especially true of

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

a number of Ukrainian Catholic students on campus who had been associated with the Roman Catholic Newman Club. In 1945 at the request of the Bishop B. Ladyka, Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, these students established a Ukrainian Catholic University Students Society at the University of Manitoba.<sup>26</sup> They felt that the Greek rite greatly differed from the Latin rite, and that the Ukrainian Catholic students would benefit more from an organization of their own rather than from the Newman Club or the Alpha-Omega Society. For campus life they adopted the Greek letter name "Gamma Rho Kappa" which was to signify Greek Rite Catholics.

With increasing numbers of Ukrainian students arriving from Germany, Ukrainian Canadian students were made aware of the hardships facing Ukrainian students in Europe. Their attention was also focused upon the activities of the Ukrainian Student Aid Committee (Komisia Dopomohy Ukrayinskomu Studentstvu--KODUS). KODUS was an organization which was active throughout Western Europe in assisting the more distinguished Ukrainian students to continue their studies in the universities of Belgium, France, England, Spain and Germany.<sup>27</sup> Upon the urging of the Central Committee of KODUS, located in Germany, a group of concerned members of the community formed the Ukrainian Student Aid Committee of Canada.<sup>28</sup> As a non-political body it aimed: to assist both morally and financially the Ukrainian students who had just emigrated to Canada to complete their university studies here, and to assist Ukrainian

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<sup>26</sup>P.Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1953, p.154.

<sup>27</sup>Novy Shliakh, May 26, 1948, and September 18, 1948.

<sup>28</sup>Committee Members: Dr. Isidore Hlynka, Prof. P. Yuzyk, W. Matsiw, S. Roshko, I. Tyktor.

students in other parts of the world by financially supporting the Central Committee.

The new immigration also brought to Canada the Ukrainian Catholic Student Organization Obnova. Obnova, an equivalent to the National Federation of Newman Clubs, was formed in Lviv, Ukraine in 1930. Its objectives were to unite Ukrainian Catholic students and to train them in accordance with Catholic Principles of faith, morals and ethics. In 1934 Obnova was incorporated into the International Movement of Catholic Students--Pax Romana. With the arrival of the Soviet Regime in Western Ukraine, Obnova was suppressed; but resumed its activities in 1946 in Munich where many of the leaders of the Catholic movement were gathered. They considered it essential that Obnova continue its work in exile. In Canada, Obnova clubs were established at the larger universities. For example, Ukrainian Catholic students established an Obnova club on the University of Saskatchewan campus on January 21, 1953.

In May 1953 a national convention of the newly organized Obnova Clubs was held in Winnipeg and the following Universities were represented: McGill, Toronto, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.<sup>29</sup> The Canadian Federation of Ukrainian Catholic Student Organizations--Obnova came into existence to unite Ukrainian students of Catholic faith with the purpose of "developing a Ukrainian Canadian intellectual apostolate".<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>B.Kazymyra & Fr. W.Iwaszko (eds.), Yuvileyna Knyha Apostolskoho Ekzarhatu Ukrayintsiv Katolykiv Saskatunu, 1905-1955 [Jubilee Book of Ukrainian Catholics of Saskatoon] (Saskatoon, Ukrainian Catholic Council of Saskatchewan, 1955), p.191.

<sup>30</sup>Bulletin SUSK, Vol.5, p.6.

The Ukrainian Students Association for National Solidarity—Zarevo (Zarevo Obyednannya Akademichnykh Tovarystv Natsionalnoho Solidarysmu) was another Ukrainian student organization which was first established in Europe and came to Canada with the new immigrants. Formed in Germany in 1948, Zarevo united various student groups with Sitch (an ideological association). At their first Congress held in Munich on May 28–29, 1949, Zarevo adopted an ideological platform which stressed solidarity with Ukrainian nationalism.<sup>31</sup> The organization aimed at propagating the idea of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for self-determination and published the journals Rozbudova Derzhavy (Rebuilding the State), Smoloskyp (The Torch), and Yunist (Youth). Zarevo also hoped to establish ties with the young generation in Ukraine and prepared a program to assist them in the eventual rebuilding of the Ukrainian non-communist state. Although an autonomous branch of OUN, Zarevo also had membership in CESUS and stressed the avoidance of narrow political platforms.

When the President of the Central Executive of Zarevo, Dr. Marko Antonowych and the Secretary, Mykola Plawiuk, emigrated from Germany to Canada in 1950 the Central Executive was also transferred to this country. With the new Central headquarters located in Montreal, a branch headed by Plawiuk was quickly established in the city that same year. Another Zarevo branch was formed in Toronto a year later and in the fall of 1953 Bohdan Bociurkiw formed the third branch in Winnipeg.<sup>32</sup>

The Michnowsky Association of Ukrainian Academic Youth (Tovarystvo Ukrayinskykh Studentiv im. Mykoly Mikhnovskoho—TUSM) was founded in Germany

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<sup>31</sup>PAC, UNYF Collection, MG 28 V 8, Vol.14. Zarevo file. Address by M. Antonowych at the First Zarevo Congress, 1949.

<sup>32</sup>B.Bociurkiw Archives, Report of Zarevo to First SUSK Congress, 1953.

in 1949 as "a defense against the Bolshevik offensive (which) aimed at destroying our Ukrainian identity".<sup>33</sup> The association was nationalistic and was established as an ideological-political organization. The TUSM leadership stressed that their membership must understand the nuances of the nationalist movement and the problems facing Ukraine. Instead of just teaching the members about the need of defending Ukrainian nationalism, TUSM prepared them to be active propagandists for its advancement. This was accomplished through conferences, study seminars and congresses. In Winnipeg in 1952 a TUSM branch was established which claimed "the member of TUSM is he who consciously prepares himself for active service to the Ukrainian nation, he is part of the Ukrainian nation's future spiritual leading elite".<sup>34</sup> Within a year, two other TUSM clubs were formed at the universities in Toronto and Montreal.<sup>35</sup>

#### Post War Student Problems

The Ukrainian students who arrived from overseas were struck by the comparative weakness of Ukrainian student life in Canada. Coming from well established academic and ideological Ukrainian student organizations in Europe, they found it difficult to understand the reasons for the religious conflicts among the various clubs here. They were also surprised that these Ukrainian Canadian student clubs had limited their programs after the war to only social-recreational activities. Bohdan Bociurkiw, a post-war immigrant student noted:

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<sup>33</sup>Thor Stebelsky, "Tsili i Zavdannya Tovarystva Ukrayinskoyi Studiyuychoyi Molodi im. M. Mikhnovskoho" [Aims and Objectives of TUSM] in Byuleten [Bulletin] No.2, Ukrainian Canadian University Students Union, Toronto: 1961, p.27.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p.28.

<sup>35</sup>Homin Ukrayiny, January 16, 1954.

"they do not touch upon ideological problems, nor academic; nor do they have any established student traditions".<sup>36</sup> For the most part the European students remained outside of the few Canadian student clubs, instead they established clubs based on European tradition such as TUSM, Zarevo and Obnova.

The two groups of students--the Canadian-born and the new arrivals--were separated by their different environmental and sociological backgrounds. On the one extreme were the Canadian-born students who were proud of being Ukrainian Canadian but could barely speak the language and could not in any way identify with the struggle for Ukraine's liberation. At the other end of the spectrum were those newly arrived students who were actively engaged in the Ukrainian nationalist movement, who were very proud of their fluency in Ukrainian and who were pleased to be in Canada because of the freedom it gave them to concentrate on the on-going events in Ukraine. The new arrivals wished to revolutionize and re-activate the Canadian youth organizations into the moulds they had emerged from, and vice-versa. As a result, priorities differed as did the projects. The common grounds for communication on the basis of past shared experiences was blatantly non-existent. Perhaps most significant was the rude awakening for many Ukrainian Canadian youth who came into contact with the newly arrived intellectuals; these were not the stereotype barefoot peasants of Ukraine who they had read about.

Such divisiveness and disorganization was bringing irreparable harm to the Ukrainian community in Canada. Of approximately 1000 Ukrainian students at Canadian universities less than 25% took part in Ukrainian student activities.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>B.Bociurkiw, "Za Obyednannya Ukrayinskoho Studentstva v Kanadi" [For the Union of Ukrainian Students in Canada] in Holos Molodi, Spring 1951, Vol.V, No.1, p.14.

<sup>37</sup>Holos Molodi, September 1953, Vol.7, No.9, p.1.

Yearly, hundreds of Ukrainian students were graduating without having had the opportunity of becoming aware of the depth of the Ukrainian Canadian environment. They were not able to gain the experience of working within the Ukrainian Canadian community and therefore could not feel a closeness with other Ukrainian Canadians across Canada. As a result, the society felt its loss when these young Ukrainian Canadian professionals and businessmen did not enter the leadership cadres of the community. Of greater consequence was the fact that these same talented individuals were not able to take part in the educational processes of future generations of Ukrainian Canadian intellectuals.

At this stage in Ukrainian Canadian life there was no co-ordination of the community work carried on by the various student and youth organizations. Nor was there any co-ordination between the student programs and those of the general community. Since the students were active members of the Ukrainian Canadian community, they had a moral responsibility to it. Therefore the union of Ukrainian students in Canada became one of the most burning issues which confronted the student population.

#### Attempts at Student Union

The first attempt at student unification after the Second World War came from the Alpha-Omega Society. Commencing in 1948 out of the close co-operation that existed between the Alpha-Omega Societies representing Ukrainian student interests at the Universities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, there grew a desire to establish the basis for permanent contact.<sup>38</sup> In the last semester of the 1948-1949 academic year an

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<sup>38</sup>Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, p.154.



Interim Central Committee of Ukrainian Canadian University Students was formed in Winnipeg, receiving the sanction of all the Alpha-Omega Clubs.<sup>39</sup> During the 1949-1950 school year, this committee prepared a formal plan of student activities and resolved to name itself the Upsilon Xi Central Student Committee. Upsilon Xi were the first letters of the Greek words for Blue and Yellow--the colours of the Ukrainian national flag.

It should be noted that this central committee did not intend to act as a co-ordinating body which would influence the internal affairs of the local student clubs.<sup>40</sup> Instead Upsilon Xi wished only to act as a central information committee on Ukrainian student activities. The constitution which was adopted embodied the following aims: to serve as a medium of information exchange between the Ukrainian university student societies; to promote fraternal spirit among Ukrainian students; to compile and maintain a list of students and graduates; and to encourage scholarships.

One of Upsilon Xi's main objectives in 1950 was to interest as many Ukrainian student societies as possible in joining the committee. This objective was not attained. Their greatest difficulty was in interesting the Ukrainian Catholic student clubs, especially Gammo Rho Kappa of Winnipeg, in co-operating with the other student clubs.<sup>41</sup> Instead of joining the

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<sup>39</sup>Yuzyk, "Centralization of Alpha-Omega Societies" in Opinion, Vol.5, No.5, May 1949, Winnipeg: p.7. The Committee was composed of President--Isidore Hlynka, Secretary--Paul Yuzyk, John Chalaturnyk, Leon Kossar, Modest Mycyk and Nicholas Shenderevich.

<sup>40</sup>Holos Molodi, September-October 1950, Vol.IV, Nos.8-9, p.5.

<sup>41</sup>Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, p.154.

Upsilon Xi Central Student Committee, the Ukrainian Catholic student clubs united in forming the Canadian Federation of Ukrainian Catholic Student Organizations--OBNOVA. Similar central bodies were established for both Zarevo and TUSM. In addition to the above unions, there was some co-operation on campuses which had more than one student club. Such was the case in Montreal where two Ukrainian student clubs united on February 23, 1952 and formed the Ukrainian Student Federation of Montreal (Ukrayinske Studentske Obyednannya Montrealu--USOM).<sup>42</sup>

#### Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union

As early as the spring of 1951 Bohdan Bociurkiw raised the issue of the need to unify the entire Ukrainian Canadian student population.<sup>43</sup> He noted that some Canadian universities, such as at Toronto, Winnipeg and Montreal, had two or three Ukrainian student clubs on campus, whereas at the campuses at Edmonton, Kingston, Hamilton and Ottawa where there were significant numbers of Ukrainian students nothing was being done to organize them. Furthermore, the various unions of similar clubs had halted the progress of wider federation. He urged the student organizations to call a student congress at which delegates from all Ukrainian student clubs could attend and establish one union with one central executive. He suggested the names Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (Soyuz Ukrayinskoho Studentstva Kanady--SUSK) and Canadian Union of Ukrainian Students (Kanadiyski Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Studentiv--KSUS) for the proposed over-all student body.

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<sup>42</sup>Holos Molodi, Spring 1952, Vol.VI, No.2, p.42.

<sup>43</sup>B.Bociurkiw, "Za Obyednannya", p.16.

None of the student organizations responded to Bociurkiw's request. So he again took the initiative. At the Pre-Congress Community Conference called by KUK in Winnipeg on December 6-7, 1952, when he was presenting the proposal to establish a Youth Commission to centralize the activities of the Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations, he added a significant clause which was adopted by the Conference:

This Commission is also authorized to prepare in conjunction with the student and sports organizations, a system of centralization of the student and sports organizations within KUK.<sup>44</sup>

The responsibility for realizing this project also rested with the Praesidium of KUK. When the preparatory work for RUMK was finalized KUK invited Vera Zarowski of OBNOVA to chair a Student Commission which would establish a union of Ukrainian university students in Canada.

In the month of August 1953 Vera Zarowski and Bohdan Bociurkiw invited representatives from the student clubs of OBNOVA, Alpha-Omega, Zarevo and TUSM to meet in Winnipeg and to form an Interim Committee whose sole purpose would be to call and prepare a Congress of all Ukrainian students in Canada. The aim of the Congress was to be the creation of an all-Canadian Ukrainian students' central body to be known as the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (Soyuz Ukrayinskoho Studentstva Kanady--SUSK).

Between August 1, 1953, and December 21, 1953, the Interim Committee held ten meetings.<sup>45</sup> They prepared the constitution, the rules and regulations which were to govern the first Congress, and the Congress Program.

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<sup>44</sup>PAC, CUYA [SUMK] Records, MG 28 V 15, Vol.17, File 423. SUMK report on RUMK.

<sup>45</sup>Membership of the Committee: President--Vera Zarowski (OBNOVA), Vice President--Serge Radchuk (Alpha-Omega), Secretary--Bohdan Bociurkiw (Zarevo), Treasurer--Yaroslav Barwinsky (TUSM), Members--V. Deneka, M. Kosiy, Dr. B. Lysok, Z. Yankiowsky and Prof. P. Yuzyk, in B. Bociurkiw Archives, "Report of the Interim Committee to the SUSK Congress 1953".

The 1st SUSK Congress was held at the St. Charles Hotel in Winnipeg on December 26-27, 1953. In attendance were delegates from Alpha-Omega, Zarevo, Obnova, TUSM, the Ukrainian Students' Club of Toronto, Montreal USOM and CESUS. Representatives from the organizations of Zarevo and TUSM in the United States were also on hand to observe the proceedings.<sup>46</sup>

The Congress was opened by Vera Zarowski who spoke about the "Formation of the Union of Ukrainian Canadian University Students".<sup>47</sup> Bohdan Bociurkiw presented an address on the "Organizational Aspects of the Proposed Union". Yaroslav Barwinsky elaborated on "A Program of Activities for the Proposed Union". Lew Wynnyckyj, who was authorized to replace Mykola Plawiuk, the CESUS representative in Canada who was unable to attend, discussed "The Collaboration of the Union of Ukrainian Canadian University Students and the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS)". Guest speakers at the student banquet were Professor Paul Yuzyk and Professor L. Biletsky.<sup>48</sup>

The first Ukrainian Canadian student Congress was a success. The Congress delegates resolved that a Ukrainian Canadian scholarship fund was needed to allow graduate students to continue their studies in M.A. and Ph. D. programs. This scholarship was to be administered by SUSK and KUK. The Congress also called upon the 2000 Ukrainian students in Canada to take an active part in Ukrainian student affairs on their campuses and in their communities. Most important was the fact that the student organizations agreed that there be established one union for all the student clubs and organizations in Canada.

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<sup>46</sup>Novy Shliakh, January 1, 1954.

<sup>47</sup>B. Bociurkiw Archives, Program Booklet of the First SUSK Congress.

<sup>48</sup>Novy Shliakh, December 18, 1954.

They adopted a constitution for the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union--(SUSK).<sup>49</sup> A twelve member central executive, as outlined in the first constitution, was voted into office for two years in the following composition:

President	- Miss Vera Zarowski, B.Sc.(Hons)M.Sc. (Obnova--Winnipeg)
1st Vice President	- Bohdan Bociurkiw, B.A. (Zarevo--Winnipeg)
2nd Vice President	- Paul Hleck, (Alpha-Omega--Saskatoon)
3rd Vice President	- Paul Palijenko, B.A.Sc. (USK--Toronto)
1st Secretary	- Victor Deneka, B.Arch. (Obnova--Winnipeg)
2nd Secretary	- Zenon Pohorecky, B.A. (Alpha-Omega Alumni-- Winnipeg)
Treasurer	- Yaroslav Barwinsky (TUSM--Winnipeg)
Organizer	- Constantine Zelenko (Alpha-Omega--Saskatoon)
Student Affairs Chair- man	- Eugene Roslycky, B.Sc. (Winnipeg)
Publicity Chairman	- Nestor Olynyk, B.A. (Toronto)
Social Activities Chairman	- Miss Helen Brenenstul, B.A., B.S.W. (Winnipeg)
Representative to CESUS	- Lew Wynnyckyj, B.Comm. (USOM--Montreal) <sup>50</sup>

SUSK became an independent union of Ukrainian student federations and individual organizations which co-ordinated its activities with the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS) and through that body represented the Ukrainian Canadian students on the international sphere. SUSK also worked in co-operation with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (KUK) with the President acting as a liaison for student affairs.

The formation of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union was viewed as the start of a new era in the Ukrainian Canadian student movement. SUSK joined the avant-guard of the community in proposing new dimensions in the areas of Ukrainian educational, cultural and political affairs. The year

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<sup>49</sup>PAC, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, MG 28 V 9.

<sup>50</sup>Novy Shliakh, January 1, 1954, and B.Bociurkiw Archives.

1953 was a turning point in the history of the Ukrainian Canadian student movement, and made a significant impact on the life of the Ukrainians in Canada.

### Conclusion

The most arresting highlights of 1953 for the Ukrainian Canadian community were the establishment of the Ukrainian Youth Council of Canada (RUMK) and the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (SUSK). These two bodies were co-ordinators par excellence in bringing together the old and the new organizations. This was a very important stage in the development of Ukrainian youth organizations in Canada, for any history of Ukrainians in Canada will admit to the differentiation and the factionalism in their community life. It had been this divisiveness that fostered the age-old adage that wherever two Ukrainians gathered there invariably arose three organizations. From now on, co-operation and unity were to be the dominating features of Ukrainian Canadian life.

There were a number of factors which accounted for the complex organizational development of Ukrainian youth in Canada. Three, however, stand in the forefront. The first was cultural and linguistic retention. This basis was fundamental to the continuation and development of the Ukrainian identity in Canada among the younger generation. The second, religious differences, was instrumental in giving birth to one Ukrainian youth organization--Ukrainian Catholic Youth--and in helping differentiate two others--SUMK and ODUM (Orthodoxy). The third factor was Ukrainian politics, more specifically, Ukrainian nationalism. The role of this phenomenon cannot be discounted in the formative years of many of the earlier youth and student associations. After the Second World War it again came to the forefront as the youth

organizations became divided into a Canada-oriented group and a Ukraine-oriented group.

Although Ukrainian nationalism was but one thread in the immense tapestry of the Ukrainian organizational life in Canada, it struck deep into psychological substance of the people and was capable of stimulating an enthusiasm not easily aroused by most other influences. The goals set by nationalism did not attract the pure rationalists but they often had a profound emotional appeal. In the past three-quarters of a century Canada has witnessed numerous Ukrainian political programs, many of which suddenly attracted a devoted following and were able to develop when the circumstances permitted them to capture the emotions of the Ukrainian Canadian people. Many of the Ukrainian youth organizations were caught up in this spirit. Some organizations focused their activities around Ukrainian nationalism to a greater degree than others, but in the final analysis all had to come to grips with it.

The Ukrainian communist youth who had embraced the "Ukrainianization" for Ukraine policy had to come face to face with the cold reality and the long reach of Moscow control before passing out of the Ukrainian nationalist camp. The Sich movement, which propagated a monarchist nation-state, failed to provide any concrete program for its youth and slowly watched its ranks dwindle away. SUMK gradually replaced its stress on nationalism with that of religious conviction—Ukrainian Orthodoxy. The UKYu membership almost immediately shied away from the concepts of nationalism being offered by their organizers, preferring instead to remain deeply involved in Ukrainian Catholicism and Canadian citizenship. MUN, one of the strongest proponents of Ukrainian nationalism during the thirties and forties, began to stress cultural endeavours and participation in Canadian life more than Ukrainian political action



by the mid-fifties. SUM in the fifties took over where MUN left off, and in its firm convictions that an independent Ukraine would be re-established resembled somewhat the MUN organization in its early years. Plast began its well-developed program of producing nationally-conscious youth, with little reference to Canada. Also not mooring itself in Canada, ODUM developed a policy of propagating tolerance and democracy in the nationalist movement. Of the youth organizations examined in this study, the latter six mentioned are strong and active in the Ukrainian Canadian community in the mid-1970's.

After each of the two latter Ukrainian immigrations the antagonisms between the old and the new immigrants which ensued were based on the problem of the newcomers' assumptions that the older settlers were "too Canadian", too preoccupied with their own establishments and lacking in Ukrainianism and nationalist conviction. After the Second World War the youth split into two groups, a division which remains relevant today. On the one side there were the older organizations--SUMK, MUN, UKYu which were created in Canada. On the other hand, those which traced their origins to events in Europe--Plast, SUM and ODUM, were composed of predominantly newly arrived immigrants and their children. Unlike SUMK and UKYu, which by the early fifties had a predominantly Canadian-born membership, MUN absorbed many of the new immigrants into its ranks. This factor played a major role in the development of both RUMK and SUSK. However, MUN's structure and basis had more in common with the first group than the second.

The first group of organizations consisted of teenagers and young adults and provided club-like activities. They were affiliated with the large community organizations SUS, UNO, and BUK whose facilities they used. This first trio was loosely structured and largely autonomous. The second group, on the other hand, arrived in Canada as adults. They quickly established programs

modelled on the Baden Powell Scouting movement and retained much of the latter's early para-military character and structure. The membership of this second group was recruited from early childhood (6-8 years of age) unlike that of the first group (14 years of age).

Another major factor of differentiation was fluency in the Ukrainian language. The language was a sine qua non for Ukrainianism and membership within Plast, SUM and ODUM. They stressed that without the linguistic base the youth could only "feel" Ukrainian, they could never really "be" Ukrainian.<sup>49</sup> Without complete fluency in the Ukrainian language the youth was regarded by the new organizations as already lost to the cause. Any organizational activity of this section of Ukrainian Canadians was left to the three older organizations, SUMK, MUN and UKYu. With the exception of UKYu, MUN and SUMK were not prepared to accept such a clear cut value judgement of being Ukrainian. They adopted the argument that language was but one factor of Ukrainian culture and any Ukrainian regardless of his language base could actively assist in promoting the Ukrainian national cause.

The various youth groups tended to perpetuate the division between the new immigration and the Canadian born. They segregated the youth not only in different organizations but also in different types of organizations. Thus they provided them with different types of experiences; they built up different types of loyalties; and where common values were transmitted, they developed different intensities of commitment to such values or goals. They tended to

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<sup>49</sup>T.Buyniak, "Nashi Problemy i Zavdannya" [Our Problems and Tasks] in 15 Krayovay Zyizd SUM [15th National SUM Congress] Toronto: December 25-27, 1970, p.3.

give the members different images of what it meant to be Ukrainian. These youth organizations continually campaigned for Ukrainian membership and support. It was they who were attempting to help form Ukrainian opinion in Canada; it was they who were directing Ukrainian youth activity and who aspired to Ukrainian leadership among Ukrainian youth. Through speakers, through the press, through their branches, many Ukrainians were more aware of the conflicting demands for leadership.

With the establishment of RUMK and SUSK aspirations for co-ordinated activity rose; many Ukrainian nationalists hoped that co-ordination would eliminate the wasted efforts and energy of feuding and petty politicking. They hoped that the new immigrants could infuse the devotion and patriotism to Ukraine that many of the Canadian-born had lost or never known. SUM's refusal to enter RUMK was a serious blow to the concept of nationalism within that body. The older organizations had begun to downplay the importance of Ukraine in their programs and instead focused on the development of their religious, cultural or social programs. The newer organizations Plast and ODUM were too actively engaged in developing their educational programs to be able to spare the leadership necessary to provide nationalist incentive and guidance to the established Ukrainian Canadian youth organizations. As a result RUMK was headed by Canadian-born youth who had little familiarity with the problems facing Ukraine. Although RUMK played a major role in minimizing any friction in its membership, unlike SUSK it never became a major force in the arena of Ukrainian political activity.

One of the most interesting features of the life styles of Ukrainian Canadian youth was the need perceived by the older Ukrainian population to support the establishment of youth organizations. The Ukrainian youth

organizations did not arise as a revolt against the values of adult society as many youth organizations do. Ukrainian youth organizations were and continue to be the vehicle for the transmission of the values of the existing society or some portion of it. They "train young people to take their proper place in adult life as envisaged by the elders"; in this case, in perpetuating the existence of organized Ukrainian Canadian community.<sup>50</sup>

The Ukrainian youth organizations brought together a number of people with similar interests and united them to strive for some higher collective goal. Members gained experience in interpersonal relations and acquired social skills that were very useful for interaction within the Ukrainian society. The Ukrainian youth organizations were practical schools where characters were moulded and where responsible leaders were developed. This character and leadership training has proved invaluable for many young men and women of Ukrainian background who have utilized their talents in active roles in the political and public life of the Canadian society. Members of SUMK such as John Hnatyshyn, Senator; John R. Solomon, Judge; Michael Stechishin, Judge; Orest Bendas, Judge; and John Decore, Member of Parliament, were prominent leaders of the society-at-large. Bernard (Bronyslav) L. Korchinski of the Canadian Sitch Organization was a Member of the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly. Senator William M. Wall (Wolochatiuk), Judge Mary Wawrykow and Judge Peter Greschuk had all been active members of UKYu. MUN also had numerous prominent individuals emerge from its membership, such as: Paul Yuzyk, Senator and Professor; Michael Starr, Federal Minister of Labour and Mayor of Oshawa; Anthony Hlynka, Member of Parliament; Ambrose Holowach,

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<sup>50</sup>Hans Kahn, "Youth Movements" in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol.XV.

Member of Parliament and Provincial Secretary of Alberta; Joseph Romanow, Brigadier General; Bohdan B. Bociurkiw, Professor of Soviet Studies; and Michael Wladyka, Mayor of Port Hope.

The Ukrainian youth and student organizations played a major role in fostering the Ukrainian identity in Canada. They taught about the work of the Ukrainian fathers and forefathers. They stimulated a devotion to Ukrainianism which allowed the youth to proudly identify itself as Canadians of Ukrainian descent or cultural background, or simply as Ukrainian Canadians. As a result, the younger generation today takes great pride that the Ukrainian culture is a part of the general Canadian cultural mosaic. The Ukrainian youth and student organizations continue to develop this desire among young Ukrainian Canadians to carry out their obligations to both the Ukrainian Canadian community and to Ukraine. Without the established youth organizations it is questionable if the Ukrainian Canadian community could perpetuate itself for any length of time.

The sense of Ukrainian nationality in Canada has been grounded upon a definite conception of Ukraine's past, her history of struggling for freedom, her cultural traditions and language, and her mission of the future to eliminate the occupational forces which keep the nation in bondage. There is no doubt that the desire to maintain the Ukrainian identity and the aspirations for an independent Ukrainian state have been factors which have constantly touched deep into the hearts of the Ukrainian people.

In following the intricate pattern of organizational support for Ukrainian nationalism it is easy to unconsciously magnify its importance. One must constantly remind oneself that the active participants of the Ukrainian Canadian community, or rather those who belonged to the organizations described,

were few when one considers the size of the Ukrainian population in Canada. Furthermore, the growth and consolidation of Soviet power during the sixties makes it unlikely that Soviet rule in East Europe can be shaken in the near future in any predictable fashion. Obviously this situation makes the prospect of success for Ukrainian nationalism questionable. On the other hand, the fate of the Ukrainian nationalist movement is now more closely related than ever to the general opposition to Communist power. As a result, the future of Ukrainian independence appears to depend far more on the contingencies of international relations, and Ukrainians outside of the Soviet Union have continuously presented for public scrutiny the hard realities of the Soviet system: the communist suppression of member republics, the Russification of the various languages and cultures, the disrespect of basic human rights, and the political dominance by Moscow. In an unpredictable international setting it would be unwise to discount the future of a movement which has shown much persistence in adversity as in Ukraine and such support and determination in other countries, such as Canada.

Ukrainian nationalism as described in the study belongs to the recent past, but the problems with which it grappled and the states of mind that it represented are not totally unrecognizable in the present. The Ukrainian youth organizations are excellent examples, both of the diversity in the Ukrainian Canadian community, and of the depth and complexity of the continuing struggle for a free and independent Ukraine.

## APPENDIXES

### Appendix 1

Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association. Charter (No. 218891), as issued by Government in Ottawa on October 16, 1925.

By Letters Patent dated the 21st of October, 1924, the above Company is Incorporated by the Secretary of State of Canada under the Company's Act, Amendment Act of 1917. The following are the purposes:

- a) To render moral and financial assistance to the Ukrainian working people and to the cause of labour in general.
- b) To promote a feeling of brotherhood among the members of the association and to unite or affiliate with other associations of a like charter.
- c) To assist and direct immigrants to locate here and protect and care for immigrants and their families until they are settled and to establish homes for the care of the immigrants.
- d) To promote the interest and in every way to advance the cause of labour and generally to aid and assist workmen in their relations with their employees.
- e) To promote a broad education among its members.
- f) To arrange public lectures, concerts, and theatrical performances; in short, to develop and cultivate knowledge and arts.

- g) To establish and maintain homes for school children of members and others.
- h) To establish and maintain a public library.
- i) To establish and maintain athletic and social clubs for members, their children and others.
- j) To send lecturers and organizers to various places in the Provinces of the Dominion.



Appendix 2

Dominion Charter of the Ukrainian Boy Scouts and Sporting  
"Sitch" Association of Canada<sup>1</sup>

CANADA

By the Honourable Arthur Bliss Copp.-----

Secretary of State of Canada.

To all to whom these presents shall come, or whom the same may in anywise concern, Greeting:

AND WHEREAS,

Right Reverend Nicetas Budka, of the city of Winnipeg, in the province of Manitoba, Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, Reverend Father Andrew Sarmatiuk, Clergyman, Vladimir Bosy, Instructor, and Wasyl Boyko, Labourer, of the City of Toronto, in the province of Ontario, and Reverend Father Roman Krupa, of the City of Brantford, in the said Province of Ontario, Clergyman, have made application for a Charter under the said act, constituting them and such others as may become members in the Corporation thereby created, a Body Corporate and Politic, under the name of

"UKRAINIAN BOY SCOUTS AND SPORTING "SITCH" ASSOCIATION OF CANADA".

For the purposes hereinafter mentioned, and have satisfactorily established the sufficiency of all proceedings required by the said Act to be taken, and the truth and sufficiency of all facts required to be established previous to the granting of such Letters of Patent, and have filed in the Department of the Secretary of State a duplicate of the Memorandum of Agreement executed by

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<sup>1</sup>Published in Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, June 16, 1926

the said applicants in conformity with the provisions of the said Act.

NOW KNOW YE that I, the said Arthur Bliss Copp,-----Secretary of State of Canada, under the authority of the hereinbefore in part recited Act, do by these Letters Patent, constitute the said Right Reverend Nicetas Budka, Reverend Father Andrew Sarmatiuk, Vladimir Bosy, Wasyl Boyko, and Reverend Father Roman Krupa, and all others who may become members in the said Corporation, a Body Corporate and Politic without share capital, by the name of

"UKRAINIAN BOY SCOUTS AND SPORTING "SITCH" ASSOCIATION OF CANADA".

with all the rights and powers given by the said Act and for the following purposes and objects, namely:

- (a) To foster and propagate sport, education, culture, religion and welfare among the Ukrainian people in Canada;
- (b) To purchase, take on lease, hire or otherwise acquire lands and buildings, or any interest therein for the purpose of parks, sport, recreation, amusement and entertainment;
- (c) To erect buildings on such lands, or any of them for the purpose of boy scouts work, skating, curling, hockey and other amateur amusements and for the purposes of entertainment and education and to equip same with gymnasium and other apparatus;
- (d) To use, convert, adapt and maintain all or any of such lands, buildings and premises for the purposes aforesaid, or any of them, with their usual and necessary adjuncts;
- (e) To carry on a literary and debating club, or an educational institution for the discussion of literary and philosophical questions of public debating and platform speaking by the members;

- (f) To encourage and promote lawful amateur games and exercises;
- (g) To encourage reading of books and newspaper and to give lectures and courses in education for youths and adults;
- (h) To conduct a native school for the teaching of the Ukrainian language to the Ukrainian children;
- (i) To conduct a class for illiterate and to encourage members of the corporation to become good citizens of Canada;
- (j) To conduct a class for the teaching of English to adults;
- (k) To teach and foster Ukrainian music and theatres;
- (l) To arrange concerts and performances;
- (m) To commemorate and observe public holidays, to arrange manifestations, picnics, evening parties, social gathering, sport, education and welfare of the Ukrainian people.

The operation of the Corporation to be carried on throughout the Dominion of Canada and elsewhere.

The chief office of the said Corporation is situated at the City of Toronto in the Province of Ontario.

That the said Reverend Father Andrew Sarmatiuk, Vladimir Bosy and Wasyl Boyko, are to be the first or provisional directors of the said Corporation.

It is hereby ordained and declared that the business of the said Corporation shall be carried on without the purposes of gain for its members and that any profits or other accretions to the Corporation shall be used in promoting its objects.

PROVIDED ALWAYS that nothing in these Presents expressed or contained shall be taken to authorize the construction and working of Railways or of Telegraph or Telephone lines, or the business of Baking, and the issue of

paper money, or the business of Insurance, or the business of a Loan Company or of a Trust Company by the said Corporation.

Given under my hand and Seal of Office, at Ottawa this Third-----day of December, 1924.

A.B. Copp.

Secretary of State, of Canada.

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CANADA

BY THE HONORABLE ARTHUR BLISS COPP, SECRETARY OF STATE OF CANADA

To all to whom these Presents shall come, or whom the same may in any-wise concern,

GREETING:---

WHEREAS, "UKRAINIAN BOY SCOUTS AND SPORTING "SITCH" ASSOCIATION OF CANADA" was duly incorporated under the provisions of the First Part of Charter 79 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1906, known as The Companies Act and amending Acts;

AND WHEREAS, it has been made to appear to me the Secretary of State of Canada that the name of the said company is objectionable and liable to be confounded with the name of another duly incorporated company now in existence;

AND WHEREAS the said "UKRAINIAN BOY SCOUTS AND SPORTING "SITCH" ASSOCIATION OF CANADA" has agreed to change in the said name to that of "UKRAINIAN SPORTING "SITCH" ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (associated with the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association)";

NOW KNOW YE THAT I, ARTHUR BLISS COPP, Secretary of State of Canada, by virtue of the power in ME by the said Act and amending Acts and of any other power or authority whatever in ME vested in this behalf, do by these my

Supplementary Letters Patent change the Corporate name of the said company from that of "UKRAINIAN BOY SCOUTS AND SPORTING "SITCH" ASSOCIATION OF CANADA" to that of "UKRAINIAN SPORTING "SITCH" ASSOCIATION OF CANADA" (Associated with the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association)".

GIVEN under my hand and seal of office at Ottawa, this Eleventh day of February, 1925.

A.B. Copp,

Secretary of State of Canada.

Appendix 3List of Branches of the Youth Section of the  
Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association prior to 1932<sup>2</sup>

Branches	Membership in March 1927	Membership in May 1927
1. Winnipeg, Manitoba	380	420
2. West Fort William, Ontario	98	98
3. Fort William, Ontario	72	45
4. Timmins, Ontario	68	108
5. Fort Frances, Ontario	66	42
6. Transcona, Manitoba	84	85
7. Smoky Lake, Alberta	48	40
8. Vancouver, B.C.	45	21
9. Edmonton, Alberta	55	55
10. Port Arthur, Ontario	39	45
11. Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan	37	40
12. Vegreville, Alberta	34	35
13. Calgary, Alberta	37	30
14. Ford City, Ontario	35	34
15. Browd Valley, Manitoba	31	30
16. East Kildonan, Manitoba	40	67
17. Thorold, Ontario	29	29
18. Regina, Saskatchewan	31	31
19. Sudbury, Ontario	28	28
20. Forest Land, Manitoba	26	26
21. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan	24	26
22. Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario	24	25
23. Lethbridge, Alberta	21	26
24. Winnipeg Beach, Manitoba	19	-
25. Kolhorst, Alberta	18	18
26. Medicine Hatt, Alberta	16	16
27. Ottawa, Ontario	17	17
28. South Porcupine, Ontario	15	16
29. Drumheller, Alberta	14	36
30. Hamilton, Ontario	14	14
31. Kardiff, Alberta	12	12
32. Welland, Ontario	31	31

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<sup>2</sup>Svit Molodi, March 1927, May 1927.

Other Branches of the Youth Section of TURF Dim Prior to 1932<sup>3</sup>

33. Kitchener, Ontario
34. Oshawa, Ontario
35. Montreal, Quebec
36. West Toronto, Ontario
37. Kamsack, Saskatchewan
38. Beverly, Alberta
39. Welland, Ontario
40. Prudhomme, Saskatchewan
41. Portage La Prairie, Saskatchewan
42. Bienfait, Saskatchewan
43. Verigin, Saskatchewan
44. Mearce, Manitoba
45. Hvas, Saskatchewan
46. Ansonville, Ontario
47. Pokan, Alberta
48. Lake Elisa, Alberta
49. Morvina, Manitoba
50. London, Ontario
51. Turcot, Quebec
52. Lachine, Quebec
53. Teulon, Manitoba
54. Sunset House, Alberta
55. Red Deer, Manitoba
56. Rosedale, Alberta
57. Crowland, Ontario
58. The Pas, Manitoba
59. Leniuk, Alberta
60. Simcoe, Ontario
61. Rouyn, Quebec

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<sup>3</sup>Compiled from: Svit Molodi, 1927-1930, Boyova Molod, 1930-1932.

Appendix 4List of Branches of the Ukrainian Sporting  
Sitch Association of Canada<sup>4</sup>

Branches	Date Established
Toronto, Ontario	May-June 1924
Hamilton, Ontario	May-June 1924
Windsor, Ontario	June 1924
Preston, Ontario	June 1924
Brantford, Ontario	June 1924
Winnipeg, Manitoba	December 1924
Montreal, Quebec	October 1925
Modelfarm, Saskatchewan	January 1926
Bedfordville, Saskatchewan	January 1926
Ituna, Saskatchewan	February 1926
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan	February 17, 1926
Melville, Saskatchewan	March 1926
Wroxton, Saskatchewan	June 1926
Roundhill, Saskatchewan	June 1926
Wishart, Saskatchewan	July 11, 1926
Krasne, Saskatchewan	July 11, 1926
Holer, Saskatchewan	July 11, 1926
Insinger, Saskatchewan	July 15, 1926
Beaverdale, Saskatchewan	July 20, 1926
Donwell, Saskatchewan	July 22, 1926
Olesha, Saskatchewan	July 25, 1926
Goodeve, Saskatchewan	August 8, 1926
Edmonton, Alberta	October 2, 1926
Chipman, Alberta	December 5, 1926
Winnipegosis, Manitoba	December 10, 1926

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<sup>4</sup>Compiled from Kanadiyski Ukrayinets, 1924-1927.



Other Branches of the Ukrainian Sporting  
Sitch Association of Canada<sup>5</sup>

Hubbard, Saskatchewan  
Lanigan  
Dysart  
Verigin  
Regina  
Willowbrook  
Arran  
Guernsey  
Winthrop  
Humbolt  
Baconham  
Stornoway  
Jedburgh  
Mundare, Alberta  
Lishor-Skaro, Alberta

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<sup>5</sup>Compiled from J.Tarnowych, Wolodymyr Bossy: 40 Rokiv Na Fronti  
Ukrayinskoyi Spravy [Walter Bossy: 40 Years at the Forefront of the Ukrainian  
Cause] Toronto: Lypynski Educational Institute, 1954.

Appendix 5List of Branches of the  
Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association<sup>6</sup>

<u>Branch No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Branch No.</u>	<u>Name</u>
1.	Saskatoon, Sask.	38.	Fedorah, Alta.
2.	Hafford, Sask.	39.	Kahwin, Alta.
3.	Redfield, Sask.	40.	Egremont, Alta.
4.	Buchanan, Sask.	41.	Regina, Sask.
5.	Winnipeg, Man.	42.	Moose Jaw, Sask.
6.	Tarnopol, Sask.	43.	Gronlid, Sask.
7.	Cudworth, Sask.	44.	Brooksby, Sask.
8.	Gilbert Plains, Man.	45.	Glaslyn, Sask.
9.	Brooksby, Sask.	46.	Wahstao, Alta.
10.	Slater, Man.	47.	Eldorena, Alta.
11.	Sopoff, Sask.	48.	Stry, Alta.
12.	Pine River, Man.	49.	Mayfair, Sask.
13.	Ashville, Man.	50.	Teulon, Man.
14.	Heinsburg, Alta.	51.	Winnipeg, Man.
15.	Garland, Man.	52.	Winnipeg, Man.
16.	Roblin, Man. (Merridale)	53.	Oakburn, Man.
17.	Fishing River, Man.	54.	Radway, Alta.
18.	Transcona, Man.	55.	Olha, Man.
19.	Norquay, Sask.	56.	Dauphin, Man.
20.	Hamilton, Ont.	57.	Pleasant Home, Man.
21.	Hyas, Sask.	58.	Thorold, Sask.
22.	Arran, Sask.	59.	Wimmer, Sask.
23.	Canora, Sask.	60.	Preeceville, Sask.
24.	Canora, Sask.	61.	Glaslyn, Sask.
25.	Samburg, Sask.	62.	Edmonton, Alta.
26.	Meacham, Sask.	63.	Buchanan, Sask.
27.	Smuts, Sask.	64.	Buchanan, Sask.
28.	St. Julien, Sask.	65.	Baysland, Alta.
29.	Shortdale, Man.	66.	Roblin, Man.
30.	Smoky Lake, Alta.	67.	Weasel Creek, Alta.
31.	Elphinstone, Man.	68.	Brandon, Man.
32.	Whitkow, Sask.	69.	Birmingham, Sask.
33.	Yellow Creek, Sask.	70.	Windsor, Ont.
34.	Reynaud, Sask.	71.	Melville, Sask.
35.	Insinger, Sask.	72.	Buchanan, Sask.
36.	Spedden, Alta.	73.	Rama, Sask.
37.	Rosthern, Sask.	74.	Buffalo, Alta.

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<sup>6</sup>PAC, Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, MG 28 V 15.

<u>Branch No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Branch No.</u>	<u>Name</u>
75.	Danbury, Sask.	123.	West Bend, Sask.
76.	Glen Elder, Sask.	124.	Barkend, Sask.
77.	Venlaw, Man.	125.	Willingdon, Alta.
78.	Bohdan, Man.	126.	Willowbrook, Sask.
79.	Dauphin, Man.	127.	Whitford, Alta.
80.	Petlura, Man.	128.	Saskatoon, Sask.
81.	Winnipeg, Man.	129.	Sheho, Sask.
82.	Stenen, Sask.	130.	Tuffnell, Sask.
83.	Goodeve, Sask.	131.	Desjarlais, Alta.
84.	Halich, Man.	132.	Spring Creek, Alta.
85.	Geonard, Sask.	133.	Sheho, Sask.
86.	Bellis, Alta.	134.	Toronto, Ont.
87.	Rhein, Sask.	135.	Donwell, Sask.
88.	Inland, Alta.	136.	Soda Lake, Alta.
89.	Calgary, Alta.	137.	Theodore, Sask.
90.	Vegreville, Alta.	138.	Wasel, Alta.
91.	Fenwood, Sask.	139.	Samburg, Sask.
92.	Fort Frances, Ont.	140.	Hafford, Sask.
93.	Swan Plain, Sask.	141.	West Bend, Sask.
94.	Montreal, P.Q.	142.	Preston, Ont.
95.	Dufrost, Man.	143.	Parkerview, Sask.
96.	Bird's Hill, Man.	144.	Menzie, Man.
97.	Fort William, Ont.	145.	Edmonton, Alta.
98.	Redwater, Alta.	146.	Deepdale, Man.
99.	The Pas, Man.	147.	Sniatyn, Alta.
100.	Angusville, Man.	148.	Vita, Man.
101.	Mears, Man.	149.	Sandilands, Man.
102.	Sandy Lake, Man.	150.	Rosa, Man.
103.	Birdtail, Man.	151.	Sapton, Man.
104.	St. Julien, Sask.	152.	Carlowrie, Man.
105.	Edmore, Sask.	153.	Poplarfield, Man.
106.	Hamton, Sask.	154.	Meleb, Man.
107.	Vernon, B.C.	155.	Fisher Branch, Man.
108.	Vancouver, B.C.	156.	Gardenton, Man.
109.	Glendon, Alta.	157.	Arran, Sask.
110.	Vilna, Alta.	158.	Rorketon, Man.
111.	Stornoway, Sask.	159.	Malonton, Man.
112.	Hamton, Sask.	160.	Janow, Sask.
113.	Tuffnell, Sask.	161.	Donatville, Alta.
114.	Gorlitz, Sask.	162.	Tolstoi, Man.
115.	Royal Park, Sask.	163.	Caliento, Man.
116.	Theodore, Sask.	164.	Caliento, Man.
117.	Tyndall, Man.	165.	Fraserwood, Man.
118.	Foam Lake, Sask.	166.	Ledwyn, Man.
119.	Burgis, Sask.	167.	East Selkirk, Man.
120.	Parkerview, Sask.	168.	Sioux Lookout, Man.
121.	Insinger, Sask.	169.	Pathfinder, Alta.
122.	Kaleland, Alta.	170.	Wroxton, Sask.

<u>Branch No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Branch No.</u>	<u>Name</u>
171.	Oshawa, Ont.	216.	Waskatenau, Alta.
172.	Wynyard, Sask.	217.	Two Hills, Alta.
173.	Shipman, Sask.	218.	Dauphin, Man.
174.	Wostock, Alta.	219.	Winnipeg, Man. (Junior)
175.	Slawa, Alta.	220.	Winnipeg, Man. (Trinity Senior)
176.	Rosburn, Man.	221.	Sheho, Sask.
177.	Sundown, Man.	222.	Yorkton, Sask.
178.	Poplar Park, Man.	223.	Fort William, Ont.
179.	Sirko (Sundown) Man.	224.	Roblin, Man.
180.	Myrnam, Alta.	225.	Lachine, P.Q.
181.	Prince Albert, Sask.	226.	Whally, B.C.
182.	Pine River, Man. (Vimmy Ridge)	227.	North Surrey, B.C.
183.	Chatham, Ont.	228.	North Battleford, Sask
184.	Warspite, Alta.	229.	
185.	Wakaw, Sask.	230.	Winnipeg, Man. (Sobor)
186.	Honeymoon, Sask.	231.	Myrnam, Alta.
187.	Ituna, Sask.	232.	
188.	Yorkton, Sask.	233.	New Westminster, B.C.
189.	Alvena, Sask.	234.	Brosseau, Alta.
190.	Hudson Bay Junction, Sask.	235.	
191.	Rhein, Sask.	236.	Bruderheim, Alta.
192.	Stornoway, Sask.	237.	
193.	Sheho, Sask.	238.	Blaine Lake, Sask.
194.	Calder, Sask.		
195.	Andrew, Alta.		
196.	Zawale, Alta.		
197.	Niagara Falls, Ont.		
198.	New Toronto, Ont. (Long Branch)		
199.	Aylsham (Meteor), Sask. (Nipawin)		
200.	Sarnia, Ont.		
201.	West Fort William, Ont.		
202.	Grimsby, Ont.		
203.	Sudbury, Ont.		
204.	Waterford, Ont.		
205.	Pembina, N.D.		
206.	Weirdale, Sask.		
207.	Thorhild, Alta.		
208.	Zalisia, Man.		
209.	Senkiw, Man.		
210.	Calmar, Alta.		
211.	Brantford, Ont.		
212.	St. Catharines, Ont.		
213.	Seech, Man.		
214.	Oshawa, Ont.		
215.	Edmonton, Alta.		

Appendix 6Statistics of Active Branches of the  
Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association<sup>7</sup>

YEAR	BC	ALTA	SASK	MAN	ONT	TOTAL
1931			3	5	1	9
1932		2	10	10	4	26
1933		11	26	18	4	59
1934		14	37	22	4	77
1935		14	38	22	4	78
1936	1	16	36	17	4	73
1937		14	33	13	3	63
1938		12	25	9	5	51

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<sup>7</sup>Compiled from the PAC, Records of the National Executive of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, MG 28 V 15, based on the correspondence from the Branches to the National Executive.

Statistics of Active Branches of SUMK<sup>8</sup>

YEAR	BC	ALTA	SASK	MAN	ONT	QUE	TOTAL
1942	1	9	19	2	4	1	36
1943	1	4	18	4	3	1	31
1944	1	5	15	5	6	1	33
1945	1	8	21	16	6	1	53
1946	1	6	20	9	3	0	39
1947	1	8	21	16	6	1	53
1948	2	8	16	9	5	1	41
1949	2	2	6	3	11	1	25
1950	1	12	10	9	9	1	42
1951	1	3	11	4	5	1	25
1952	0	1	8	1	4	0	14

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<sup>8</sup>PAC, Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, MG 28 V 15.

Appendix 7

List of Branches and Conventions of the  
Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada<sup>9</sup>

Branch/Convention	Date Established/Held
1st National Convention of UNO (Saskatoon) Formation of NUM	July 27, 1934
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan	July 27, 1934
Montreal, Quebec	January 19, 1935
Kirkland Lake, Ontario	February 19, 1935
Oshawa, Ontario	March 21, 1935
Toronto, Ontario	March 26, 1935
1st National Convention (Saskatoon)	July 13-15, 1935
Windsor, Ontario	December 27, 1935
Espanola, Ontario	December 27, 1935
Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan	1935
Marlin, Saskatchewan	1935
Weasel Creek (Radway), Alberta	January 1936
St. Boniface, Manitoba	January 29, 1936
Sudbury, Ontario	February 24, 1936
Redberry-Hafford, Saskatchewan	March 1, 1936
Redwater, Alberta	March 9, 1936
Fort William, Ontario	1936
2nd National Convention (Saskatoon)	July 4-6, 1936
Port Arthur, Ontario	October 4, 1936
Montreal (Point St. Charles), Quebec	October 13, 1936
St. Catharines, Ontario	November 8, 1936
Timmins, Ontario	November 18, 1936
Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario	1936
Calgary, Alberta	February 21, 1937
Donwell, Saskatchewan	March 8, 1937
Edmonton, Alberta	April 1, 1937
Delph, Alberta	April 5, 1937
Stevenson, British Columbia	April 7, 1937
London, Ontario	April 7, 1937
Gorlitz, Saskatchewan	April 11, 1937

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<sup>9</sup>Compiled from PAC, Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada Collection, MG 28 V 8.

Branch/Convention	Date Established/Held
Regina, Saskatchewan	April 26, 1937
Bedfordville (Ituna), Saskatchewan	June 6, 1937
Beaver Hills, Saskatchewan	June 10, 1936
Egremont, Alberta	
3rd National Convention (Saskatoon)	June 26-28, 1937
Valley River, Manitoba	1937
Zelena, Manitoba	1937
Welland, Ontario	1937
Vernon, British Columbia	1937
Krydor, Saskatchewan	1937
Honeymoon, Saskatchewan	January 23, 1938
Noranda, Quebec	April 24, 1938
Ladywood, Manitoba	June 4, 1938
4th National Convention (Toronto)	July 15-18, 1938
Hamilton, Ontario	October 1, 1938
Winnipeg, Manitoba (4 SUMK Branches)	November 21, 1938
Leamington, Ontario	1938
Hubbard, Saskatchewan	1938
Jasmin, Saskatchewan	1938
Eldorena, Alberta	1938
5th National Convention (Saskatoon)	July 28-31, 1939
Geralton, Ontario	November 5, 1939
Val D'Or, Quebec	December 24, 1939
Prince Albert, Saskatchewan	1939
Herzel, Saskatchewan	1939
Winnipeg, Manitoba	
6th National Convention (Winnipeg)	December 27-29, 1940
Thorold, Ontario	February 8, 1941
West Toronto, Ontario	November 14, 1941
7th National Convention (Winnipeg)	July 28-30, 1941
8th National Convention (Winnipeg)	January 15-17, 1943
9th National Convention (Winnipeg)	August 31 - September 1, 1943
10th National Convention (Winnipeg)	July 29-30, 1944
West Fort William, Ontario	October 5, 1944
Lulu Island, British Columbia	October 15, 1944
Grimsby, Ontario	June 1945



Branch/Convention	Date Established/Held
11th National Convention (Winnipeg)	July 29-31, 1945
12th National Convention (Winnipeg)	July 27-29, 1946
Rouyn, Quebec	1946
Vancouver, British Columbia	May 11, 1947
13th National Convention (Winnipeg)	July 1-3, 1947
Lethbridge, Alberta	1948
14th National Convention (Winnipeg)	June 30 - July 3, 1949
15th National Convention (Winnipeg)	July 29-31, 1950
16th National Convention (Toronto)	October 20-21, 1951
17th National Convention (Winnipeg)	July 28-30, 1952
18th National Convention (Toronto)	May 22-24, 1954

Appendix 8Statistics of Plast Membership and List of  
Branches in Canada as of June 30, 1951<sup>10</sup>

Branches*	Date Established	Novices (7-11)	Membership			Total
			Adolescents (11-17)	Young Adults (18-25)	Seniors (over 25)	
Winnipeg	Mar. 19/48	77	30	29	27	163
Toronto	Apr. 4/48	103	73	76	61	313
Montreal	Spring 1948	78	29	32	10	149
Edmonton	Aug. 17/48	50	34	28	7	119
Windsor	Sept. 16/48	13	2	4	8	27
Hamilton	Sept. 16/48	9	6	5	2	22
Lethbridge	Oct. 20/48	6	18	4	-	28
Ottawa	Mar. 10/49	4	-	7	3	14
Vancouver	1949	-	1	3	2	6
Individual Members						<u>20</u>
						861

\*Branches were established in St. Catharines (June 23, 1948) and Saskatoon which ceased activity in 1950.

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<sup>10</sup>O.Tarnawsky, "Zvidomlennia z Pratsi Holovy K.P.P.". "Report of the Work of the Head of K.P.P." in Plastovay Vistnyk, August 25, 1951.

Appendix 9List of SUM Branches in Canada<sup>11</sup>

Toronto, Ontario	July 4, 1948	(united November 14,
Toronto, Ontario	August 18, 1948	1948)
Oshawa, Ontario	December 1948	
Edmonton, Alberta	March 1949	
Winnipeg, Manitoba	April 1949	
Fort William, Ontario	April 1949	
Windsor, Ontario	May 1949	
Sudbury, Ontario	June 1949	
Brantford, Ontario	July 1949	
Noranda, Quebec	July 1949	
St. Catharines, Ontario	September 4, 1949	
Vancouver, British Columbia	October 2, 1949	
Montreal, Quebec	1950	
Hamilton, Ontario	1950	
Calgary, Alberta	1950	
Lethbridge, Alberta	1950	
Lachine, Quebec	1951	
Welland, Ontario	1951	
Bisset, Manitoba	1951	
Preston, Ontario	1951	
Geraldton, Ontario	1951	
Colman, Alberta	November 17, 1951	
London, Ontario	December 9, 1951	
Val D'Or, Quebec	1952	
Woodstock, Ontario	1952	
Ottawa, Ontario	1953	

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<sup>11</sup>Compiled from M.Figol, (ed.), Istoriya Spilky Ukrayinskoyi Molodi v Kanadi z Nahody 25 Littyi [History of SUM in Canada on the occasion of its 25th Anniversary] (Toronto: Ukrainian Echo Publishing Company, 1974).

Appendix 10Membership Statistics of SUM as of September 1957<sup>12</sup>

Location	Name of Yunatstvo Branch	SUM Yunatstvo Members	SUM Members
Montreal	1. Kiev	111	70
Fort William	2. Kruty	30	40
Toronto	3. Halych	255	140
Hamilton	4. Kharkiw	32	130
St. Catharines	5. Chyhryn	49	13
Windsor	6. Lviv	23	-
Winnipeg	7. Vinnitsia	30	105
Oshawa	8. Sevastopol	54	30
Val 'Dor	9. Uzhorod	13	32
Sudbury	10. Poltava	25	40
Edmonton	11. Cholm	21	47
Welland	12. Kaniv	21	15
Brantford	13. Berestia	20	33
Calgary	14. Kaniv	10	30
Vancouver	15. Zaporozhia	7	9
Ottawa	16. Odessa	16	45
Woodstock			9
Ruyan			13
Lethbridge			6
Non Resident Members			36
Total		<u>717</u>	<u>844</u>

Of the 844 members, 502 were over 30 years of age.

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p.43.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BUK	Bratstvo Ukrayintsiv Katolykiv Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood
CESUS	Centralia Soyuzu Ukrayinskoho Studentstva Central Ukrainian Students Union
CPC	Communist Party of Canada
CUSK	Centralia Ukrayinskykh Studentskykh Kruzhkiv Central Council of Ukrainian Student Clubs
FKUM	Federatsiya Kanadsko-Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation
KAUM	Katolytska Aktsia Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Ukrainian Catholic Youth Action
KODUS	Komisia Dopomohy Ukrayinskomu Studentstvu Ukrainian Student Aid Committee
KOPUMOT	Komitet Poruzuminnya Ukrayinskykh Molodechykh Orhanizatsiyi v Toronti Committee for Understanding Among Ukrainian Youth Organizations in Toronto
KSO	Kanadiyska Sitchova Orhanizatsiya Canadian Sitch Association
KUPO	Konferentsiya Ukrayinskykh Plastovykh Orhanizatsiyi Conference of Ukrainian Plast Organizations
KUK	Komitet Ukrayintsiv Kanady Ukrainian Canadian Committee
MUN	Molodi Ukrayinski Natsionalisty Ukrainian National Youth Federation
ODUM	Obyednannya Demokratychnoyi Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association
OUN	Orhanizatsiya Ukrayinskykh Natsionalistiv Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

Plast	Ukrayinske Tovarystvo Plast Ukrainian Organization Plast
RUMK	Rada Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady Ukrainian Youth Council of Canada
RUMPA	Rada Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Pivnichnoyi Ameriky Ukrainian Youth Council of North America
SDP	Social Democratic Party
Sitch	Ukrayinske Sportove Tovarystvo Sitch v Kanadi Ukrainian Sporting Sitch Association of Canada
SUM	Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Ukrainian Youth Association
SUMK	Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Kanady Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association
SUNM	Soyuz Ukrayinskoyi Natsionalistychnoyi Molodi Union of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth
SUPE	Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Plastuniv Emigrantiv Association of Ukrainian Plast Emigrés
SURD	Stovaryshennya Ukrayinskykh Robitnychykh Dim Ukrainian Labour Temple Association
SURM	Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Robitnychoyi Molodi Union of Ukrainian Labour Youth
SUS	Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Samostinykiv Ukrainian Self-Reliance League
SUSK	Soyuz Ukrayinskykh Studentiv Kanady Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union
TURFDim	Tovarystvo Ukrayinskay Robitnycho-Farmerskay Dim Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association
TUSM	Tovarystvo Ukrayinskykh Studentiv im. Mykoly Mikhnovskoho Mikhnovsky Association of Ukrainian Academic Youth
UCFC	Ukrainian Central Flying Club
UKTODONM	Ukrayinske Krayeve Tovarystvo Okhorony Ditey Ta Opiku Nad Molodyu National Ukrainian Association for the Protection of Children and Direction of Youth

UKYu	Ukrayinske Katoletske Yunatstvo Ukrainian Catholic Youth
UNO	Ukrayinske Natsionalne Obyednannya Ukrainian National Federation
UPA	Ukrayinska Povstanska Armiya Ukrainian Insurrectionary Army
USOM	Ukrayinske Studentske Obyednannya Montrealu Ukrainian Student Federation of Montreal
UVO	Ukrayinska Viyskova Orhanizatsiya Ukrainian Military Organization
VSUM	Vykhovna Spilka Ukrayinskoyi Molodi Educational Association of Ukrainian Youth
YCL	Young Communist League
YP	Young Pioneers

## ABSTRACT

Ukrainian Canadian Youth:  
A History of Organizational Life in Canada, 1907-1953

by Paul M. Migus  
University of Ottawa, 1975, 302 pages

The youth of Ukrainian ancestry in Canada has in recent years been very active and vocal in the discussions about Canada's bilingualism and multiculturalism. They have also been publicly critical of the continuing persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals in the U.S.S.R. Although it is generally accepted that they form part of one of the best organized ethno-cultural groups in Canada, nevertheless, to date, no attempt has been made to document the organizational development of Ukrainian Canadian youth. The main purpose of this study is to trace the histories of the Ukrainian organizations in Canada which have played a major role in developing the Ukrainian youth in Canada to be proud of their linguistic and cultural heritage. Throughout the study one dominating factor continually emerged to the forefront. Every organization was influenced, albeit to different degrees, by Ukrainian nationalism.

The first chapter traces the initial stages of organizational life in Canada from the arrival of the first settlers in 1891 to the end of the first world war. The major force behind the growth of national consciousness was the Ukrainian teaching profession which held its first conference in 1907. Conflicts arose between the more nationally oriented members of the community and the

Ukrainian Catholic Church over the jurisdiction of student control. This gave rise to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada and to various Ukrainian student clubs which fostered Ukrainianism within the Ukrainian student residences in Canada.

Chapter Two examines the development of Ukrainian nationalism in Ukraine and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian nation-state. The failure of the Ukrainian Revolution resulted in a large exodus of Ukrainian politicians, intellectuals and war veterans, many of whom found refuge in Canada. They brought with them an intense spirit of nationalism which inflamed the Ukrainian community in Canada. Two powerful youth groups developed in Canada in the period up to the depression. The Youth Section of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association gradually swung into the Communist camp, while the Ukrainian Sporting Sitch Association of Canada adopted a pro-monarchist stand.

The third chapter analyzes the organizational growth of the student movement before and during the depression. The formation of the Central Executive of Student Clubs, the Alpha-Omega Society and the Ukrainian Students' National Association had a significant impact on the formation of other broader-based Ukrainian youth organizations. The Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, the Ukrainian National Youth Federation and the Ukrainian Catholic Youth were all established in the thirties and played a major role in developing various religious dogmas and political ideologies among the youth.

Chapter Four relates the events which gave rise to further complexity in the nationalist positions during and after the second world war. The third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, arriving from displaced persons camps in Europe, did not integrate into the existing Ukrainian Canadian youth

organizations. Finding that they had little in common with the older organizations, the new arrivals re-established the youth organizations which they were familiar with in Europe. The political struggles in Ukraine again played a major role in the formation of the Ukrainian Organization Plast, the Ukrainian Youth Association and the Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association.

By 1953 the spirit of co-operation and co-ordination had become an important aspect of the organizational life of the Ukrainian Canadian youth. The final chapter discusses the events leading to and the establishment of two co-ordinating bodies which symbolized a turning point in the histories of both the general-interest youth organizations and the student associations. Both the Ukrainian Youth Council of Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union which were formed in 1953 gave new direction to the Ukrainian youth movement in Canada.