

UKRAINIANS

OF THE EASTERN DIASPORA



ATLAS



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UKRAINIANS OF THE EASTERN DIASPORA : AN ATLAS



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FOREWORD

The atlas *Ukrainians of the Eastern Diaspora* is the first such publication concerning Ukrainians living outside their ethnic territory and scattered throughout the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union during the course of the last century.

Since time immemorial, most Ukrainians have resided on their ethnic territory. Here they formed one of Europe's largest nations and created the state known as Ukraine. It is therefore appropriate that the atlas should begin with a map of the basic Ukrainian ethnic concentration at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. It was precisely in this period that Ukrainian ethnic territory reached its apogee, encompassing the territory from the Sian River to Subcaucasia. This was also the period of the greatest mass emigration from the Ukrainian lands.

Many researchers, tapping diverse sources and employing various methodological principles, have sought to determine the territorial distribution of the Ukrainian people and its ethnic borders. These scholars, whose names and works are only now justly being restored to the Ukrainian nation, include: Oleksander Rusov, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Fedir Maksymenko and, among Ukrainian diaspora scholars, Stepan Rudnytsky, Myron Korduba, Tymish Olesevych, Volodymyr Kubijovyč, and Arkadii Zhukovsky.

The problem of defining the ethnic frontiers of the Ukrainian people has constantly attracted the attention of scholars. One school of thought (comprising Stepan Rudnytsky, Myron Korduba, and Vasyl Koshovy) argued that the area of compact ethnic settlement should be defined as the territory where Ukrainians formed an absolute or relative majority among the rural population (less than 50%, but more than any other nationality). Others, such as A. T. Bilimovych, added localities with an absolute or relative majority of Ukrainians vis-à-vis the total urban and rural population combined. Oleksander Rusov considered that only regions with an absolute Ukrainian majority constituted Ukrainian ethnic territory.

The last Soviet census of 1989 enumerated more than 6.8 million Ukrainians outside Ukraine in the republics of the former Soviet Union alone. In addition, at least two million Ukrainians, according to official statistical data, reside in various countries of Europe, the Americas and even in Australia. They constitute the so-called "diaspora," a term which has become ever more current lately to denote the dispersal of Ukrainians beyond their historical homeland, in territories detached from it. The "Eastern Ukrainian diaspora" refers to the dispersion of Ukrainians on the territory of the former USSR outside Ukraine.

The first Ukrainian diaspora settlements in the Russian Empire took shape long before the twentieth century. For instance, according to data furnished by Volodymyr Kabuzan, who studied the "revisions," as early as 1719 448,900 Ukrainians (or 7.8% of the total Ukrainian population) were calculated as living outside Ukraine. From the seventeenth century, these Ukrainians were represented in considerable numbers among manufacturers, army personnel, exiles of various social origin (especially representatives of the clergy) and, later, revolutionary and political activists. They played a notable role in the economic, socio-political and cultural development of the new lands.

Waves of mass migration from Ukraine were induced, in the first instance, by economic factors. Peasants from overpopulated Ukrainian *gubernii* settled in regions of Southern Siberia, Kazakhstan, and the Far East. Some 725,600 Ukrainians from Left-Bank Ukraine alone settled in these regions during the period 1871-96, according to the findings of Solomon Bruk and Volodymyr Kabuzan. In subsequent years the number of settlers grew still further: in the period 1897-1916, the initial colonists were joined by 572,300 individuals from Left-Bank Ukraine and 340,500 more from the Right-Bank territories. Until the Second World War, most of them (close to 60%) were permanent settlers in the Asiatic portion of the USSR. The factors that stimulated their migration were similar to those which motivated the first and, in part, the second wave of emigration to the Americas from Western Ukraine.

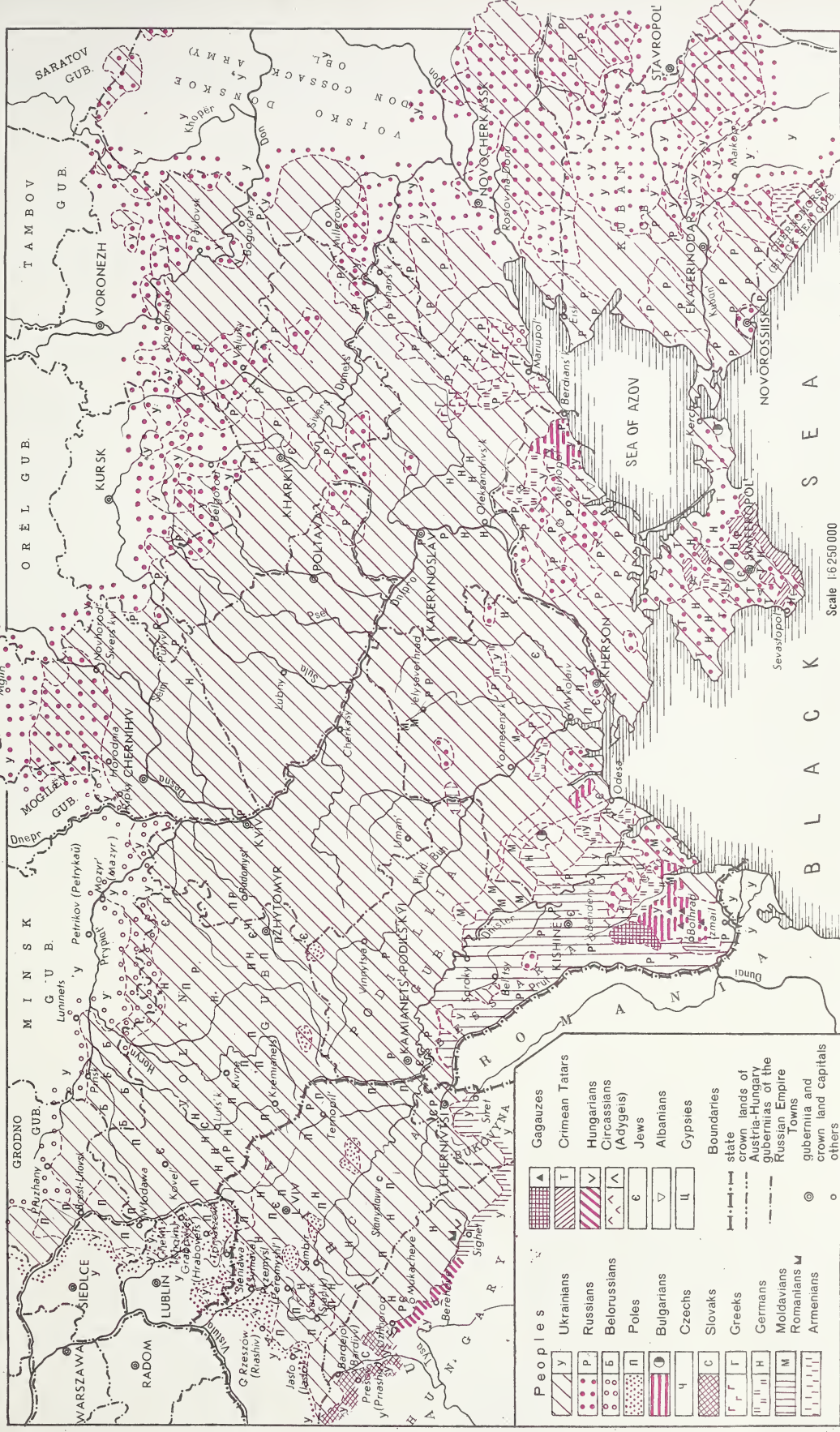
Thereafter, waves of resettlement were more frequently due to political repression. Ukrainians were now deported, as happened during the period of collectivization, when more than a million so-called *kulaks* (i.e., peasants accused of exploiting hired labour), were exiled. Others were fugitives from the artificially induced famine of 1932-33, or were banished from their homes as a result of political persecution during the 1930s and the postwar period. Deportations continued during World War II, along with the evacuation of enterprises and their staff. There was also resettlement by "organized recruitment" of cadres, and other similar measures. The resettlement of most Ukrainian migrants to places outside their ethnic territory in the former Soviet Union had occurred by the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century. By that time they numbered some 8,344,400, or approximately 22.4% of all Ukrainians. Their "decline" in subsequent years can be explained by defects in the official enumerations, and most of all by the continuing state policy of denationalization, which was conducted not only in tsarist times, but also, in no lesser degree, during the Soviet period. In the early 1930s, all educational institutions for Ukrainians in the eastern diaspora employing Ukrainian as their language of instruction, numbering in the hundreds, were liquidated, along with scores of Ukrainian publishing houses, national theatres, and mass media. As a result of imperfect and tendentious national-territorial demarcations, millions of Ukrainians found themselves beyond the borders of the Ukrainian SSR in regions that constituted extensions of Ukrainian ethnic territory. These included parts of the Brest region in Belarus, as well as parts of the Kursk, Voronezh, Kuban and other regions in the Russian Federation. Thus there was a concerted drive to assimilate Ukrainians not only in the Eastern diaspora, but also in their areas of historical settlement adjoining Russia and Belarus. The Ukrainian ethnos also decreased as a result of natural assimilative processes in areas settled by peoples closely related by ethnicity and language (Russians and Belarusians), as well as through urbanization and reemigration (of two million Ukrainian settlers in the Asiatic portion of the USSR, nearly a quarter returned to Ukraine).

At the same time, this atlas shows that the geographic distribution of Ukrainian settlement expanded considerably in many regions of the territory under consideration. Despite the aforementioned unfavourable conditions, the Ukrainian ethnos in the diaspora remains vital, as demonstrated by the contemporary research of Ukrainian ethnologists.

The maps of the atlas are based on the official censuses of 1897, 1926, 1959, 1970, 1979 and 1989. The principle of defining nationality in terms of self-identification was the one used by Soviet census-takers. However, under the conditions of a totalitarian regime, these censuses did not always establish the true numbers of national groups. Still, the data of these censuses so far constitute the only source of simultaneous large-scale research on ethnic composition. The task of refining these data through multi-faceted programmes of research and analysis awaits a more propitious time.

It should be stressed that in researching problems of the historical population and territorial settlement of the Ukrainian people, we in no way intend to suggest a review of current political boundaries, nor do we wish to advance any geopolitical claims on the lands of neighbouring peoples. This research is necessary to establish historical fact, which incontrovertibly attests to the erroneous nationality policies of the countries of which Ukraine was a constituent. These include the former USSR, which followed a policy of denationalization with respect to many peoples, among whom Ukrainians were no exception. This research, which should be continued and deepened, will serve to raise the national dignity and self-identification of the Ukrainian ethnos, and will foster the establishment of cultural centres in many areas, especially outside Ukraine, as well as the strengthening of the bonds that link all Ukrainians with their ancestral homeland.

Ethnic Territory of the Ukrainian People in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries



The map *Etnograficheskaia karta Belorusskogo plemeni* prepared by Evfimii Karsky et al. For the Kursk guberniia we have drawn on the works of S. Vvedensky. An important source for determining the ethnic boundaries of Ukrainians in the western regions were the maps of Stepan Rudnyi, Volodymyr Kubiiovych and Arkadii Zhukovsky.

In preparing this map, the authors proceeded on the assumption that there is little point in drawing a continuous single line as an artificial division between areas of contiguous ethnic settlement. During the period under consideration, territory settled by Ukrainians and other Slavs close to them in language and culture, or by peoples equally deprived of social rights, such as the Moldovans, was subject to administrative division on

political grounds. Accordingly, ethnic boundaries are shown as wide mixed belts of settlement. Ethnically mixed territories are considered those where ethnic groups were distributed fairly evenly, within a range of 40-60%, or where one group predominated, constituting 60-80% of the general population. The belt of ethnically mixed settlement included both villages populated by a single nationality and those with a mixed population. Towns situated on territory of compact ethnic settlement are shown as belonging to the given people's territory, regardless of their actual ethnic composition. This can be explained by the impossibility of separating towns from the surrounding villages and rural districts.

The map *Ethnic Territory of the Ukrainian People in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (prepared by Vsevolod Nauko and Anatolii Portskiy) is based on the Russian census of 1897 and the Austro-Hungarian one of 1900. For a more precise delineation of inter-ethnic boundaries, we have employed data from later censuses (especially that of 1926, since the 1897 census used "language" as a criterion), as well as the findings of linguistic and ethnographic research. Thus, for Transcarpathia, the ethnic map prepared by Stepan Tomashivskiy was utilized; for the north-western borders, the map of Volodymyr Frantsev; for the Bessarabian guberniia, that of Lev Berg; for the eastern Ukrainian-Russian boundaries, the dialect map of A. Mitrov; and for the Ukrainian-Belarusian boundaries, the

Beyond the Ukrainian national territories, Ukrainians made their appearance at different times.

They began to migrate to the Grand Principality of Moscow at the end of the thirteenth century in order to escape the violence of the invading Tatars. In the same period, Ukrainian migrant artisans began making their way to Muscovite territories to take part in building defensive works in Moscow, Riazan, Tver and other towns.

This movement of Ukrainians to Muscovy gained momentum at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was in this period that they reached the Urals and the Volga region. At the same time, they made their appearance in the Moldovan region (mainly peasants from Podillia, Volhynia and Galicia). In 1557 Dmytro Vyshnevetsky arrived in Moscow with a force of several hundred men. For his services to Ivan the Terrible, he received the town of Belev (south of Tula), with adjoining *volosts* and villages.

In the course of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, Ukrainians from the Chernihiv, Novhorod-Siverskyi and Putyvl regions, who were collectively known as *cherkasy*, settled mainly near defensive outposts in the Kursk and Voronezh areas. From the second half of the sixteenth century, two currents of colonization contended in Slobidska Ukraine: from the north came Muscovite colonists, a movement linked to the construction of military defence lines to protect the Muscovite state; from the west came Ukrainians, owing to the strength of Ukrainian economic expansion under conditions of extensive cultivation. This wave of Ukrainian settlement, associated with manufacturing and hunting carried on by Ukrainians of the Dnieper lands, was subsequently strengthened by the servitude and exploitation imposed by the Polish nobility. By the end of the sixteenth century, Ukrainians formed the majority of those in the Muscovite border garrisons. The English merchant Giles Fletcher reported in 1588 that on the southern Muscovite border, of 4,300 hired infantry close to 4,000 were Ukrainians.

The number of Ukrainian settlers on the southern territories of the Muscovite state increased primarily because of the Polish suppression of Cossack uprisings. Participants in these insurrections moved to what was at that time Muscovite territory, particularly to the lands of the later Slobidska and Don regions, establishing many new settlements along with other colonists.

In 1618, after Petro Sahaidachny led an army of 20,000 against Moscow, a segment of his Cossack forces settled on Muscovite territory. At the beginning of 1619, 700 Ukrainian Cossacks under the command of Colonel Konsha entered the service of the tsar.

From 1626 the tsarist government began to enlist Ukrainian settlers into active military service. The Mykhailiv *cherkasy*, in particular, were recruited to the Royal Guards.

The Ukrainian colonization of the Slobidska region took place in several waves in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It assumed a mass character in the 1630s, following the defeat of Cossack rellions, when the insurgents crossed the border into Muscovy and obtained permission to settle in Slobidska Ukraine. During the Khmelnytsky era, the wave of settlers became still more numerous.

The dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian population with the Treaty of Zboriv (1649) induced another wave of emigration to Muscovy, which was anticipated by the Muscovite state. Moreover, when Ukrainian Cossacks were called upon to settle the wild steppes, the Muscovite government endeavoured to scatter them. Thus, after the the Battle of Berestechko, Muscovite governors were ordered to "distribute the emigrants for permanent residence in small parties, and, if they should arrive in large groups, send them to the Volga, to Simbirsk and other towns, but do not leave them on the border belt."

The Cossacks of the Chernihiv and Nizhyn regiments, under the com-

mand of Colonel Ivan Dzykovsky, arrived in Muscovy in 1652 after the signing of the Treaty of Bila Tserkva. Numbering 2,000 men, they took with them their families and property and founded the town of Ostrogzhsk and other settlements.

The settlement of Ukrainians on Muscovite territory intensified considerably after the signing of the Treaty of Pereiaslav (1654).

The 1670s and 80s witnessed a new wave of Ukrainian colonization; at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was still another, linked to the suppression of the Palii uprising of 1711-14. A final wave of colonization in the 1720s and 30s was connected with the resumption of Polish noble rule in Right-Bank Ukraine, the suppression of the *haidamaka* movement in 1734, and the intensified exploitation of the Cossack and peasant population of the Hetman State by the Cossack elite.

For a long time the Muscovite government was favourably disposed to the Ukrainian settlement of the Slobidska region, which provided it with the opportunity to colonize the open spaces, draw on a well-trained-military force to defend its southern frontiers, and check the flow of fugitive Muscovite serfs to the Don.

As a result of the Ukrainian settlement of the Slobidska-region, in the course of a single century Ukrainian ethnic territory was enlarged by nearly 100,000 sq. km. and its limits advanced 120-200 km. to the east.

The beginning of permanent Ukrainian settlement of the lower Don steppes dates from 1570, when 5,000 Zaporozhian Cossacks, returning from an expedition to Astrakhan, stopped near the Turkish fortress of Azov and founded the town of Cherkassk. A charter of the Polish king Stefan Batory states that the Zaporozhian Cossacks had winter shelters in the Don region as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In 1621 the Muscovite ambassador to the Don informed Moscow that Zaporozhian Cossacks were arriving in the Don region individually and in groups for permanent residence. Later Ukrainian peasants also resettled to the black-earth steppes of the Don, which the Don Cossacks scarcely cultivated.

By 1638, Ukrainians made up almost half the population of the Don region.

Because they were immediate neighbours, with a similar organization and mutual interests, the Zaporozhian Sich and Don Cossack Host were closely linked from their inception until the eighteenth century. These relations were manifest in the frequent Zaporozhian settlement of the Don.

Concurrently with the mass resettlement to the north-east (primarily to Slobidska Ukraine, but also to the Don and Volga regions), there was a steady flow of migrants to Muscovy. They included skilled workers, who moved individually or in groups, especially to Moscow, for temporary or permanent settlement. They were summoned by the Muscovite government or by the large landlords of the boyar class; others, aspiring to a career or wage-earning opportunities, came on their own initiative. This category of settlers was mixed, including clergymen (priests and monks), scholars and teachers, artists, translators, singers, merchants, industrial labourers (especially potash workers, glass-workers, and miners, who worked in central Muscovy and the Volga region from the mid-seventeenth century), artisans and others.

A permanent Ukrainian colony had been formed in Moscow by the second half of the seventeenth century. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries considerable numbers of Ukrainians settled—voluntarily or forcibly—on the estates of Cossack senior officers on Muscovite lands adjacent to Ukraine (Sevsk, Trubchevsk, etc.).

A separate category of Ukrainian emigrants, coerced to settle on Muscovite lands, were those deported from Ukraine by the Russian government—prisoners, internees or exiled Ukrainian hetmans and Cossack officers of an anti-Russian orientation, real or potential opponents of Moscow. The deportees were exiled to Siberia, and later to Arkhangelsk, the Solovetskii Islands monastery and other monastic prisons in northern Russia. Among the first political prisoners in Moscow were the relatives of the former Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky, who refused to sign the new coercive articles of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, and Colonel Ivan Nechai, the son-in-law of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The greatest wave of deportations occurred during the reign of Peter I, when after their defeat at the Battle of Poltava (1709) many Mazepists were banished to Siberia or Arkhangelsk, for the most part with their families.

A massive, mainly forced, influx of Ukrainian Cossacks and commoners came as a result of the building of St. Petersburg, numerous fortresses and defence works, and canals (especially the Ladoga canal) in the first half of the eighteenth century. From the Kyiv *guberniia* alone 2,125 individuals were conscripted for labour to build St. Petersburg in 1710, another 1,365 in 1712, 1,790 in 1713 and 1,436 in 1714.

The history of the Volga Cossack Host is also linked with Ukrainian settlement in the post-Poltava period. This host was formed by Ukrainians, who, summoned by the Russian government, began settling from 1717 along the Tsaritsyn Line in the lower Volga valley. After the liquidation of this army (1870), some of the Cossacks were registered with the Astrakhan Cossack Host and the rest settled on the Terek, where they became part of the Terek Cossack Host.

The reign of Peter I witnessed a significant growth of Ukrainian participation in the ecclesiastical, cultural and economic life of the Muscovite state. Many scholars and specialists from Kyiv were brought to Moscow and St. Petersburg to assist in ecclesiastical and educational work. To quote Aleksandr Brückner, this Ukrainian influence Europeanized Moscow.

Between the 1720s and 1770s, Ukrainians settled en masse in the lower Volga region and southern part of the central agricultural region (Voronezh *guberniia*) of Russia. Ukrainians constituted almost a quarter of the inhabitants of Bessarabia and the Don Cossack Host. There was no Ukrainian settlement along the lower Volga in 1719, but by 1782 the newcomers accounted for 4.4% of the population of the region (in the Saratov *guberniia*—6.8%, in the Astrakhan *guberniia*—1.4%). Simultaneously, the number of Ukrainians in the Voronezh *guberniia* increased significantly, owing to intensive colonization by the Ostrogozhsk regiment.

In the 1780s and 90s Ukrainians actively colonized the lower Volga and central agricultural region. Along the lower Volga, Ukrainians registered the most marked increase in the Astrakhan *guberniia* (from 1.4% to 3.6%).

In order to populate the lands along the Kuban River, as well as for political reasons, Catherine II issued a decree on 30 July 1792 delineating territory for the settlement of the Black Sea Cossack Host (formed by Zaporozhian Cossacks after the destruction of their *Sich*). The Black Sea Cossacks founded 42 administrative units called *kurins* (the tsarist regime later renamed them *stanitsy*), which, except for the Berezan and Kateryna units, were given the same names as the *kurins* of the former Zaporozhian *Sich*. In 1794, the Black Sea Cossacks founded the town of Ekaterinodar. Almost 25,000 Black Sea Cossacks settled in the Kuban region with their families.

Later colonists in the Kuban were primarily Cossacks from the former

Hetman State and from Slobidska Ukraine; they were joined by former Zaporozhians and fugitive serfs, who registered as Cossacks. Because males predominated among the new settlers, the tsarist regime arranged the forced resettlement of several thousand girls from Left-Bank Ukraine in 1832.

Owing to the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) with the Turks, Russia gained the entire Black Sea coast from Anapa to Gagra, and Ukrainians began to colonize these regions. Most of the settlers were Azov Cossacks who returned from Turkey in 1832.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Ukrainian ethnic component grew most markedly in the northern Caucasus. Between 1792 and 1858 their proportion increased from 2.4% of the total population to 18.6%.

Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, the rate of Ukrainian migration to the North Caucasus accelerated. Although individual *cherkasy* had earlier moved to Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, it was in this period that mass Ukrainian emigration to those regions began in earnest.

After 1861, Black Sea and Azov Cossacks and Ukrainian peasants, together totalling some 85,000 persons, began to settle the Trans-Kuban territories, which had become depopulated following the deportation of the defeated Circassians to Turkey. The population of the Kuban began to increase substantially after 1868, when non-military settlers were also allowed to acquire land: in the following 15 years almost 250,000 peasants, mainly Ukrainians, came to settle in all parts of the Kuban.

Quite precise data on the number of Ukrainians in Russia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be gleaned from census material and church records. In Russia the censuses of the eighteenth century (I-V from 1719 to 1795) registered Ukrainians separately, since they were obliged to pay special state taxes until the 1780s. Only in the first half of the nineteenth century did this separate enumeration gradually cease, and subsequent censuses fail to provide reliable information. In the mid-nineteenth century, on the initiative of Academician Petr Köppen, parish priests began to gather data on the ethnic composition of the population of the whole empire (in 1857-58). The ethnic origin of the Russian Empire's population was determined by enumerations in the years 1859 and 1867.

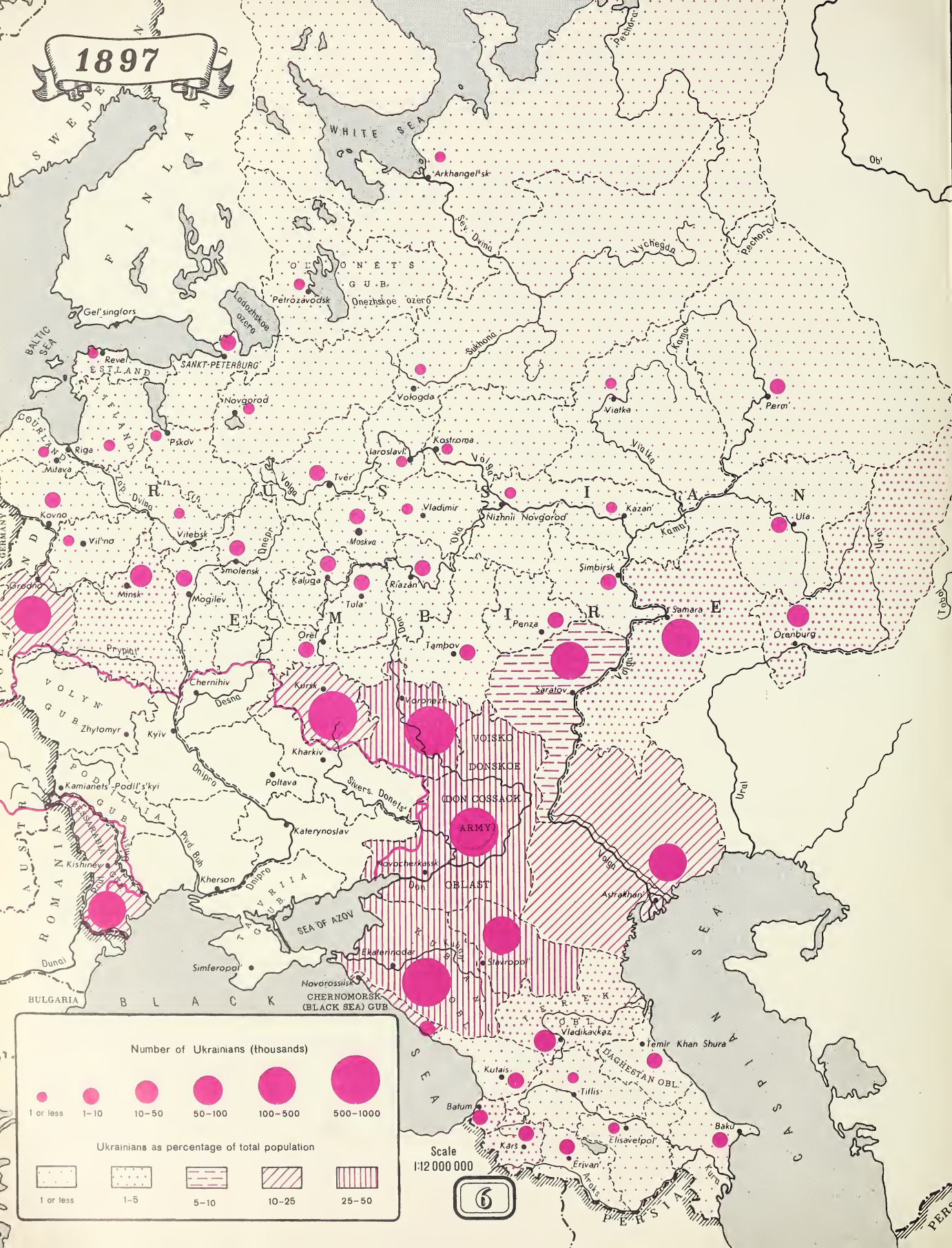
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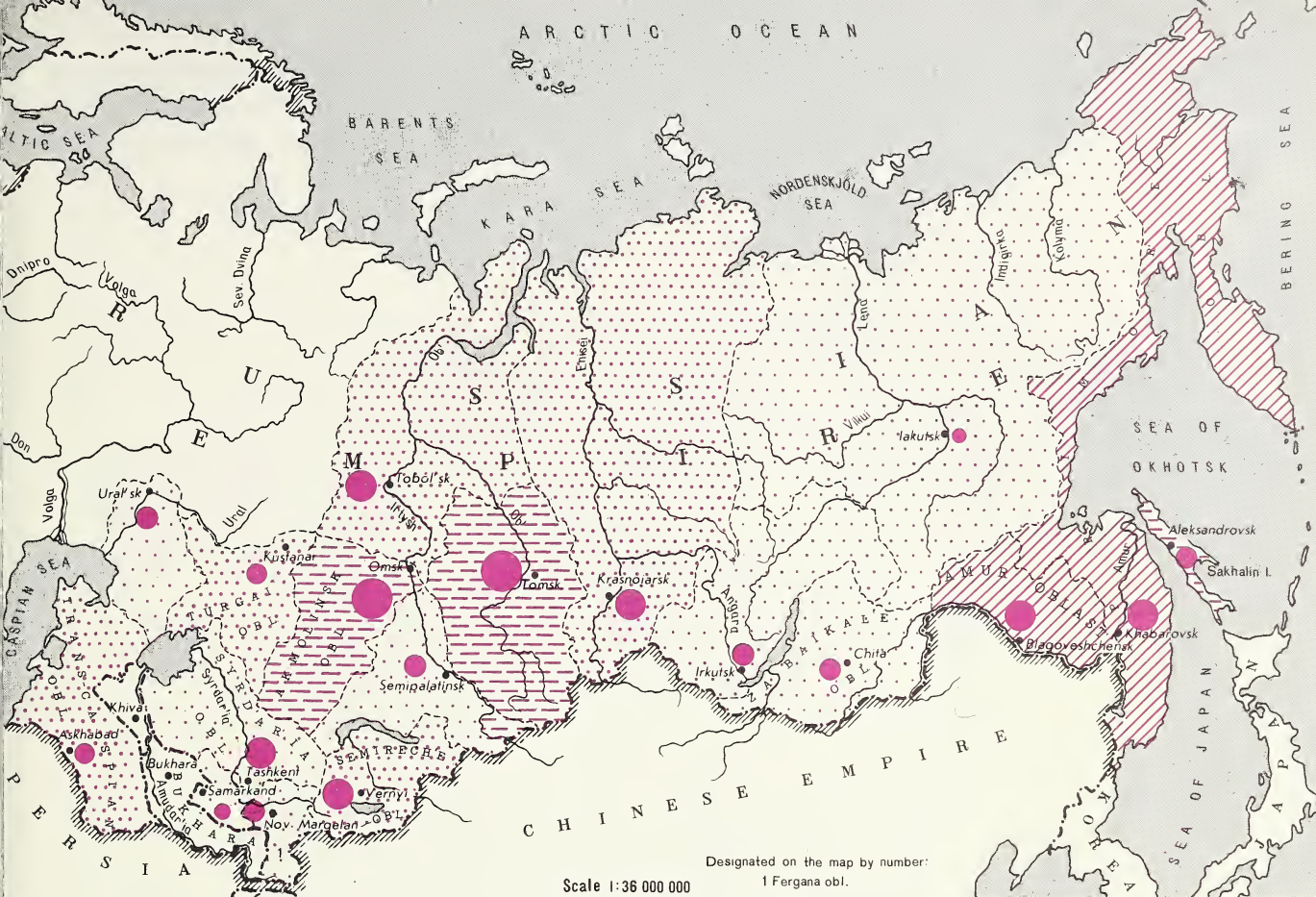
Boundaries

— · — · State	— — — guberniia, krai or oblast
— — — Soviet Republic uезд, district or raion
— contemporary Ukraine	

- Notes. 1. Administrative units named after their principal towns are not indicated on the maps.
2. Internal divisions of Soviet republics in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia are not indicated on the maps.
3. No statistical data are given for administrative units not pertinent to the subject of the atlas.

1897





In 1897 a scientific census was conducted of the population of the Russian Empire, a shortcoming of which was the use of language as a criterion for ethnic identification. Accordingly, this census significantly underrepresented the number of Ukrainians, especially of those living outside Ukrainian ethnic territory. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian proportion was substantial, especially on their ethnic territory.

According to this census, the Voronezh *guberniia* was inhabited by 915,883 Ukrainians, or 36.2% of the total population. They formed an absolute majority in the *uezds* of Ostrogozhsk (236,452 individuals, or 93.5% of the population) and Boguchar (249,334, or 82.2% of the population). They also formed a majority in the Biriuch (130,039, or 69.3%) and Valuiki (95,928, or 52.9%) *uezds*. In the Kursk *guberniia*, the census recorded 528,242 Ukrainians (20.4% of the population), and they formed a majority in the *uezds* of Graivoron (57.3% of the population), Putyvl (51.9%), and Novyi Oskol (50.8%).

In the North Caucasus Ukrainians accounted for 33.6% of the population (in 1858 the proportion was 18.6%). In the Kuban *oblast* they numbered 908,818, or 47.4% of the total population, compared with 816,734 Russians (42.6%). They numbered 319,817 in the Stavropol *guberniia* (36.6%), 719,655 (28.1%) in the *oblast* of the Don Cossack Host, and 9,252 (16.1%) in the Black Sea *guberniia*. In the Kuban, Ukrainians predominated in the divisions of Temriuk (75.2% of the population), Eisk (73.9%), and Ekaterinodar (51.8%). In the Don region, they formed a majority in the district of Taganrog (61.7%), and in the Stavropol *guberniia*, they were a majority in the *uezds* of Medvezhe (58.4%) and Novogrigrorvskoe (50.7%).

The 1897 census enumerated 362,526 Ukrainians in the Grodno *guberniia* (22.6% of the total population). They were predominant in the *uezds* of Kobrin (146,789, or 79.6%) and Brest (140,561, or 64.4%). By contrast, only 10,069 Ukrainians lived in the Minsk *guberniia* (4.7% of the total population).

Ukrainian representation was negligible in the Baltic *guberniias*. In Estland, they constituted 0.05% of the population (230 persons), 0.6% in

Courland (363), and 0.05% in Livonia (638). The same applies to the northern *guberniias*: 31 Ukrainians were recorded in Arkhangelsk (.05%), 101 in Vologda (.01%) and 95 in Viatka (.01%). There were also few Ukrainians in the Transcaucasus. They numbered 4,008 in the Kutais *guberniia* (.4% of the total population), 2,682 in the Erivan *guberniia* (.3%), 861 in the Elisavetpol *guberniia* (.09%), 3,372 in the Baku *guberniia* (.4%) and 5,279 in the Kars *oblast* (1.8%).

At that time there were 379,698 persons of Ukrainian nationality living in the Bessarabia *guberniia*, or 19.6% of the total population.

In Kazakhstan, the majority of Ukrainians dwelled in the Akmolinsk *oblast* (51,103, or 7.5% of the total population), especially in the *povit* of Kokchetav, where they constituted nearly a quarter of the population (24.6%). Smaller concentrations could be found in the *oblasts* of Semireche (18,611, or 1.9%) and Syr Daria (12,853, or .9%). In the Turgai, Semipalatinsk and Ural *oblasts*, Ukrainians numbered 4,588 (1.0%), 3,257 (.5%) and 2,959 (.5%), respectively.

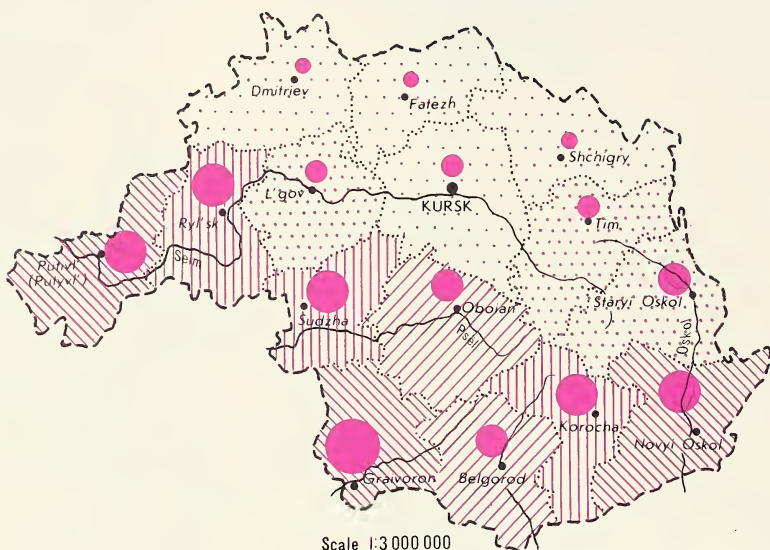
Ukrainians also constituted an insignificant percentage of the population in Central Asia. In the Trans-Caspian *oblasts*, they numbered 5,151 (1.3% of the total population), and in the *oblasts* of Fergana and Samarkand, 1,698 (.1%) and 1,391 (.2%), respectively.

In Siberia, most Ukrainians lived in the Tomsk *guberniia* (99,300, or 5.2% of the total population), followed by Tobolsk (37,769, or 2.6%) and Enisei (21,421, or 3.8%). They were an insignificant element at that time in the Irkutsk *guberniia* (2,177, or .4%) and the Yakutsk *oblast* (315, or .1%).

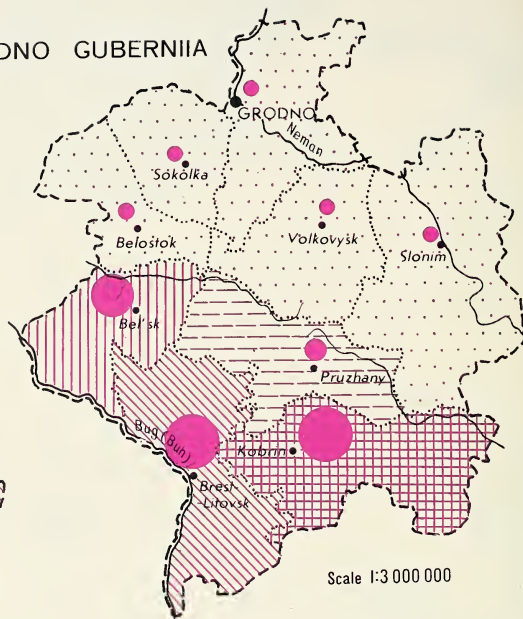
They figured more significantly in the Far East. This was particularly true in the *oblasts* of Primore (33,326 Ukrainians, or 14.9% of the total population) and Amur (21,096). On Sakhalin Island, 2,368 Ukrainians were enumerated (8.4% of the total population), and there were 5,497 in the Trans-Baikal *oblast* (.8%).

1897

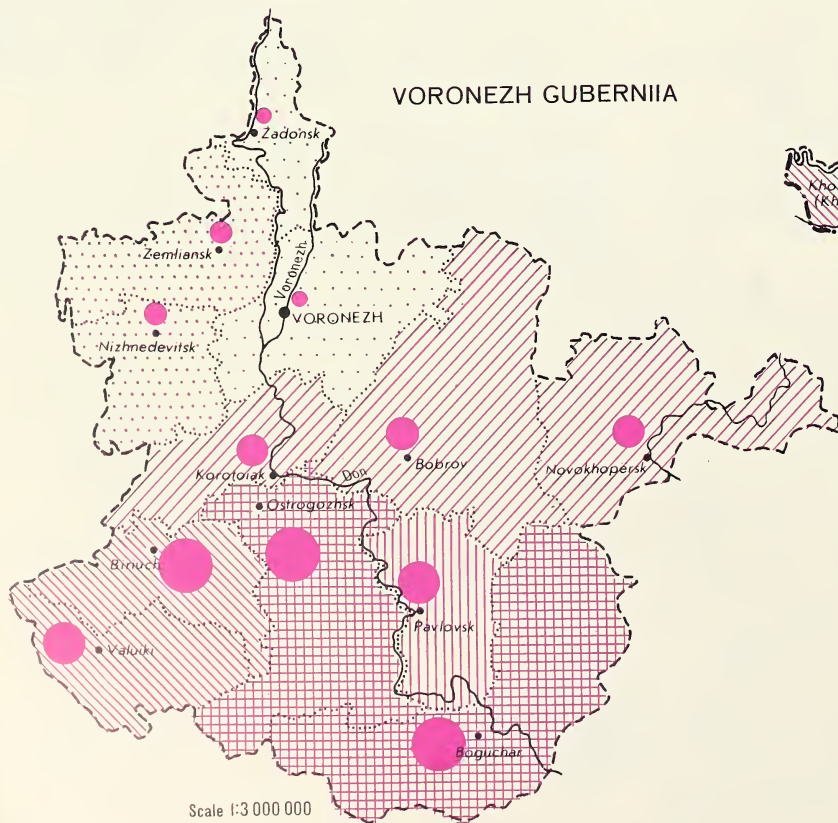
KURSK GUBERNIIA



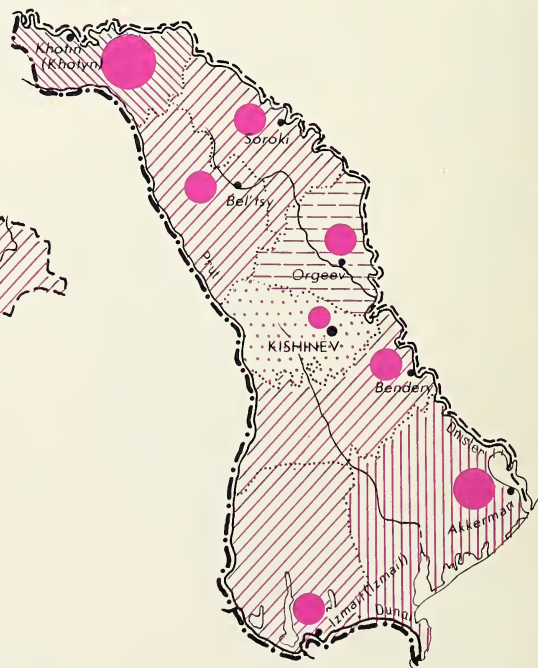
GRODNO GUBERNIIA



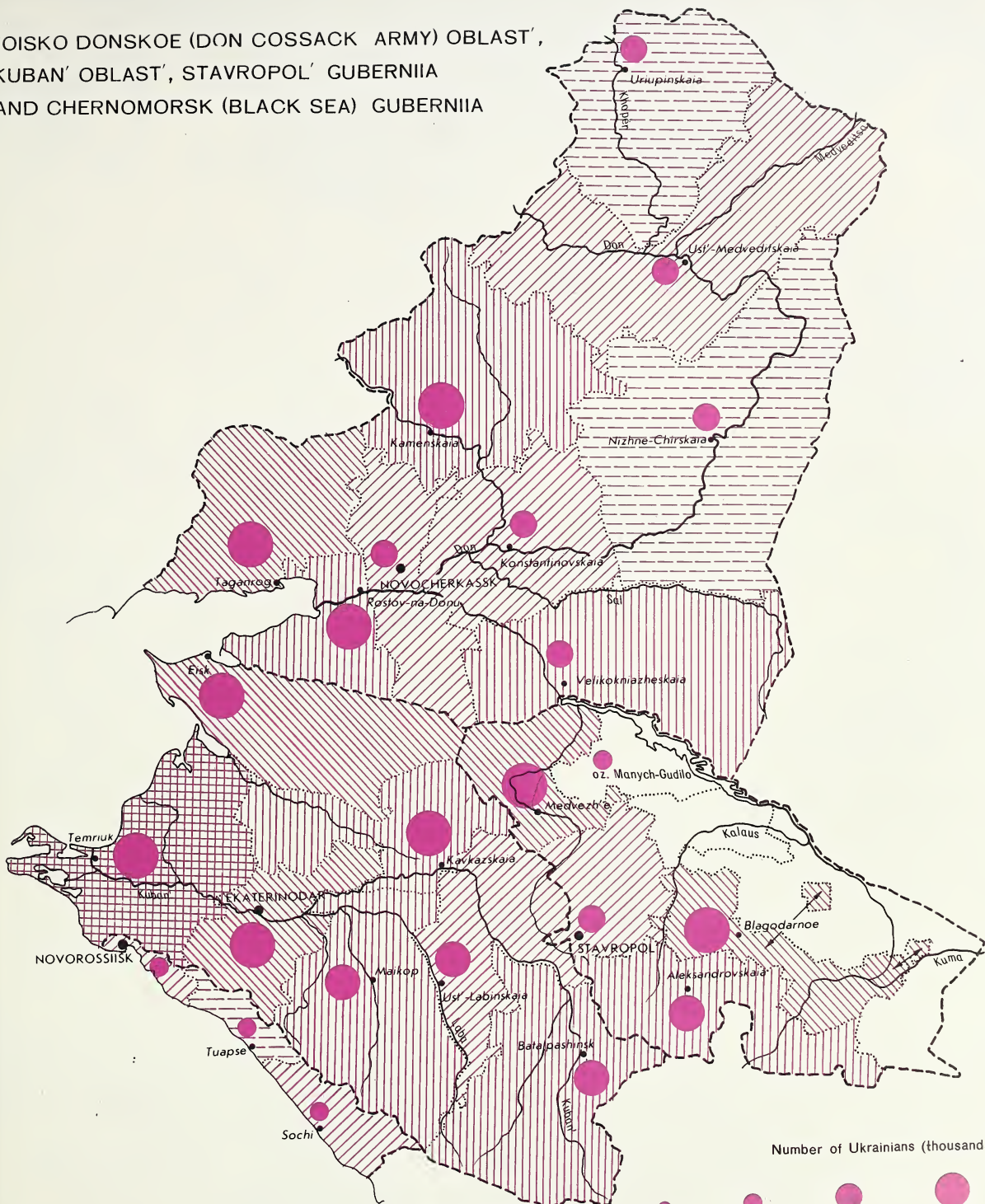
VORONEZH GUBERNIIA



BESSARABIA GUBERNIIA



VOJSKO DONSKOE (DON COSSACK ARMY) OBLAST',
KUBAN' OBLAST', STAVROPOL' GUBERNIIA
AND CHERNOMORSK (BLACK SEA) GUBERNIIA



Scale 1:4 000 000

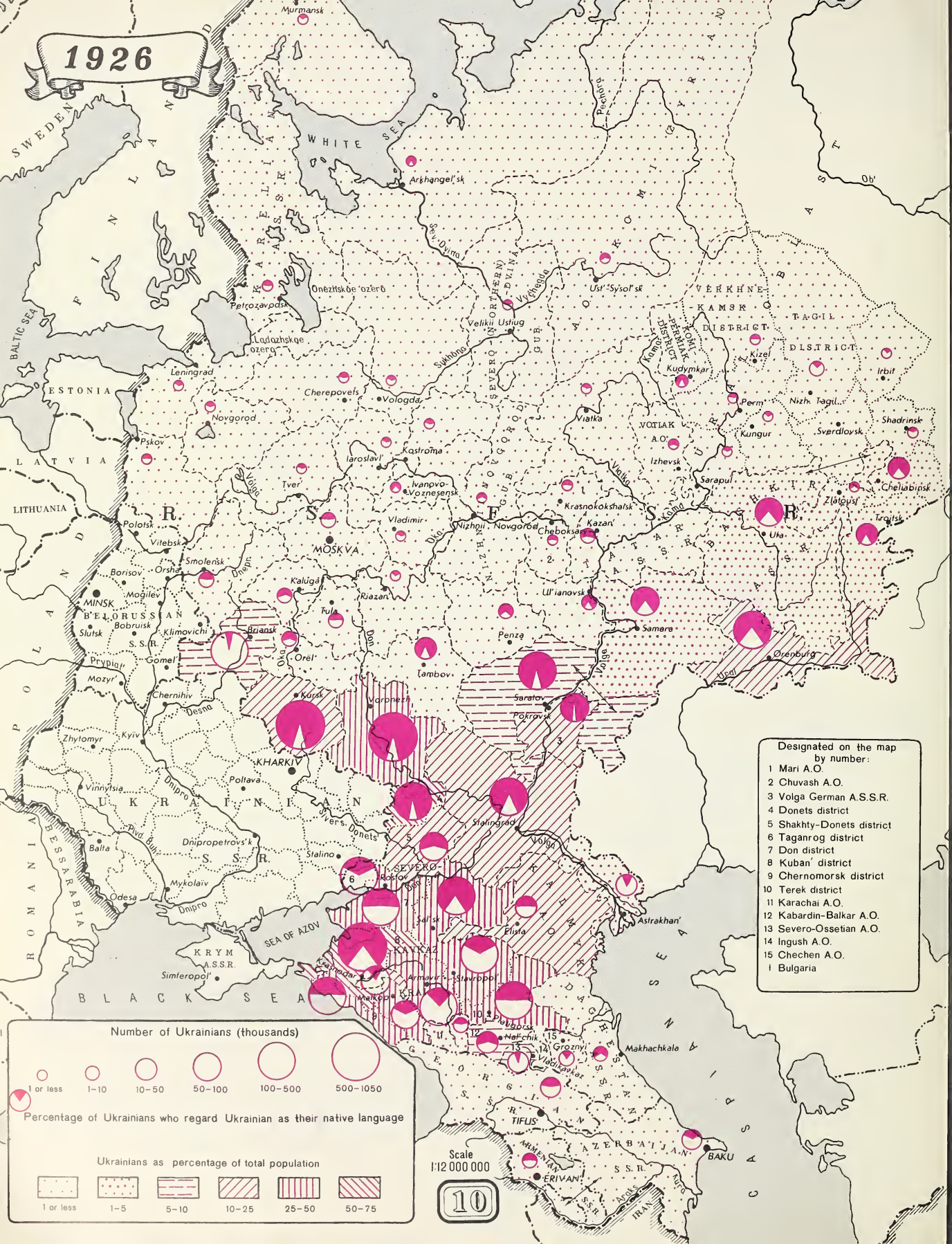
Number of Ukrainians (thousands)



Ukrainians as percentage of total population



1926





At the beginning of the twentieth century Ukrainian peasant emigration assumed even greater proportions, and was fostered in part by state policy (for instance, laws enacted in 1904 and 1906 that stimulated migration). The root causes of this emigration remained as before: agrarian overpopulation and the lack of stable wage-earning opportunities.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also witnessed the growth of spontaneous emigration. With no state support, and at times even without permission to resettle, these emigrants were obliged to seek a better fortune outside Ukraine. Thus, in the period 1896-1905 alone, 216,700 unponsored Ukrainians were recorded as having left their homeland for other parts.

In the 20 years preceding the First World War, close to two million Ukrainians moved to the Asiatic territories of the Russian Empire. Waves of emigration varied in strength from one period to another. The rate of outmigration was particularly intensive during the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway (1891-1905), averaging 42,000 Ukrainians annually between 1894 and 1903. With the advent of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), the number declined to 27,000 per annum, but increased again after the conflict. In 1906-10, during the Stolypin reform period, emigration from the 9 Ukrainian *guberniias* reached a magnitude of 200,000 persons per annum, peaking in 1909 with 290,000 emigrants.

The destinations of these Ukrainian emigrants were, as before, Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and the North Caucasus. During the years 1910-14, more than 500,000 emigrants from Ukraine settled in these regions.

During the First World War, emigration ceased almost completely.

The first years of the twentieth century saw the beginning of Ukrainian assimilation with the Russian group, especially in those regions where Ukrainians were in the minority. The process of rapid Ukrainian assimilation was particularly apparent among the ever-increasing number of Ukrainians in the large cities and industrial centres.

A census conducted in 1926 gave a fairly accurate portrayal of the distribution of the Ukrainian diaspora and some of its demographic characteristics. But this census, too, underrepresented Ukrainians. For instance, while it registered 41,300 Ukrainians in the central agricultural region, the census also revealed that 120,000 inhabitants of this zone had been born in Ukraine. The census also attested to the growth of Ukrainian communities in the large cities. For instance, while in 1897 there were 4,500 Ukrainians recorded in Moscow, by 1926 the number had risen to 16,100; in Leningrad the corresponding figures were 5,200 and 10,800, respectively.

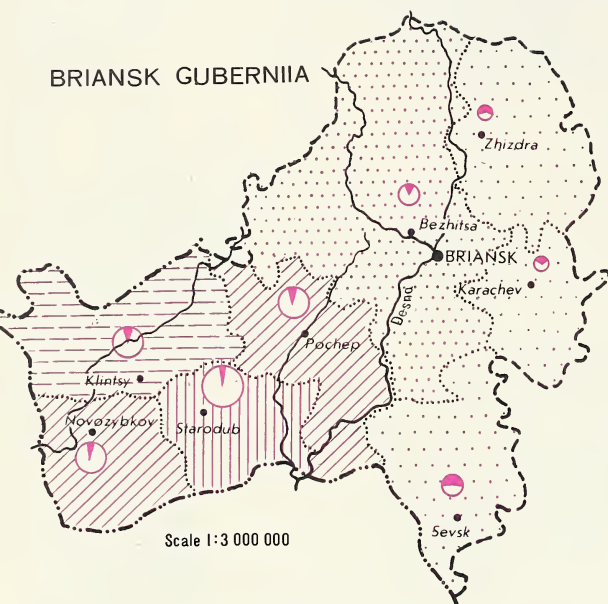
By 1926, the Ukrainian diaspora in the Asiatic portion of the Soviet Union was more numerous than in its European regions. Some 2.2 million Ukrainians were scattered across Soviet Asia (compared with 328,000 in 1897), accounting for 62% of the entire Ukrainian diaspora in the USSR.

On emigrating, Ukrainian peasants, akin to those preceding them, sought out sites whose topography was similar to that which they left behind. Accordingly, they settled in compact groups in two principal regions: in the Far East (an area that the Ukrainian immigrants called *Zelenyi Klyn* [the Green Wedge]) and the so-called Central Asian Steppe Region (*Siriy Klyn* [the Grey Wedge] or *Sira Ukraina*)—a belt of forest and steppe land encompassing south-western Siberia and the northern *oblasts* of Kazakhstan, which was an extension of the Ukrainian black-earth belt.

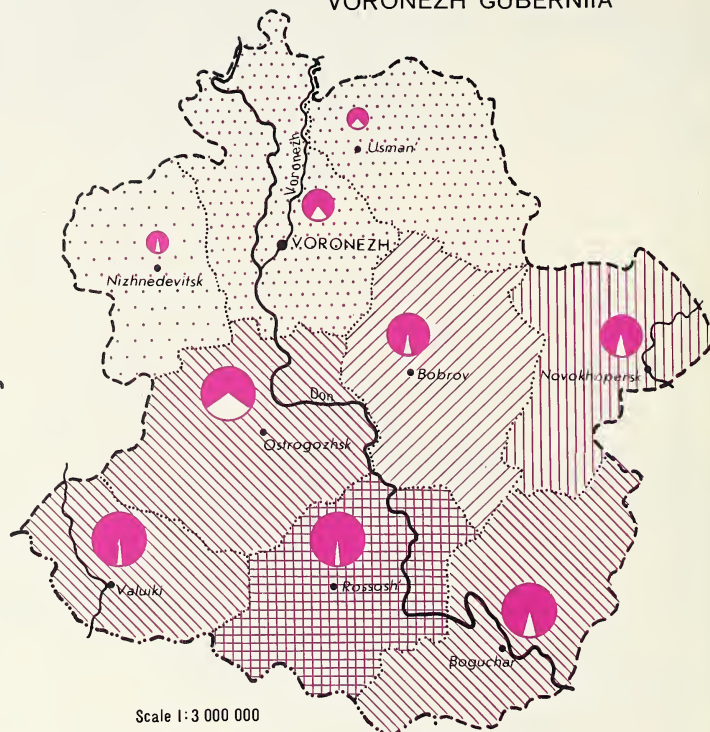
According to the 1926 census, one-quarter of Ukrainians scattered throughout the USSR declared Russian as their mother tongue. This statistic should be treated with caution, as the true figure was doubtless considerably smaller. One can explain this discrepancy in the first instance by flaws in the procedure of assessing ethnic identification, as well as the incompetence of the census takers. Working against linguistic Russification was the fact that 95% of Ukrainians were peasants who tended to live in large compact settlements or villages practising a traditional way of life. There were few mixed marriages, and all the Ukrainians in Soviet Asia were immigrants from Ukraine or their immediate offspring.

1926

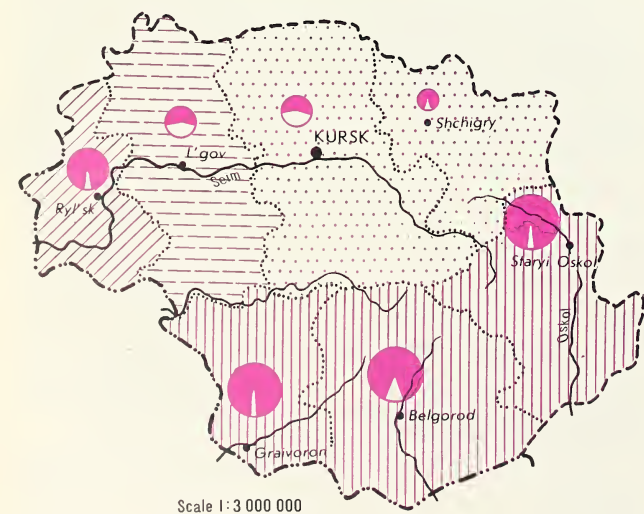
BRIANSK GUBERNIIA



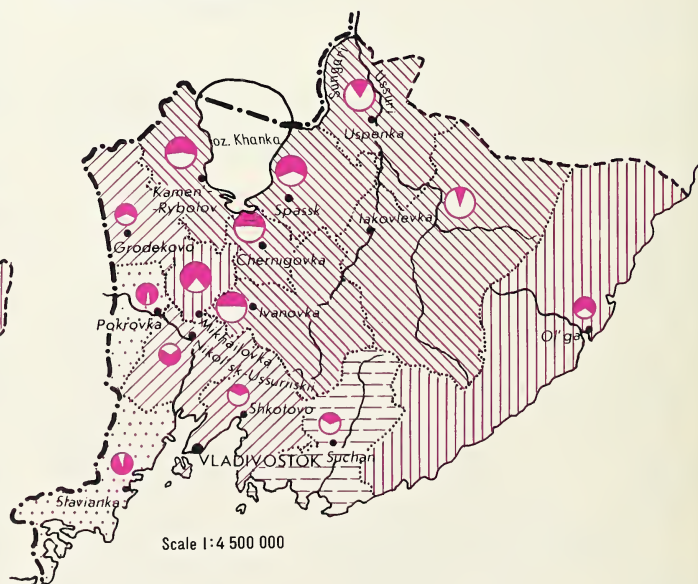
VORONEZH GUBERNIIA



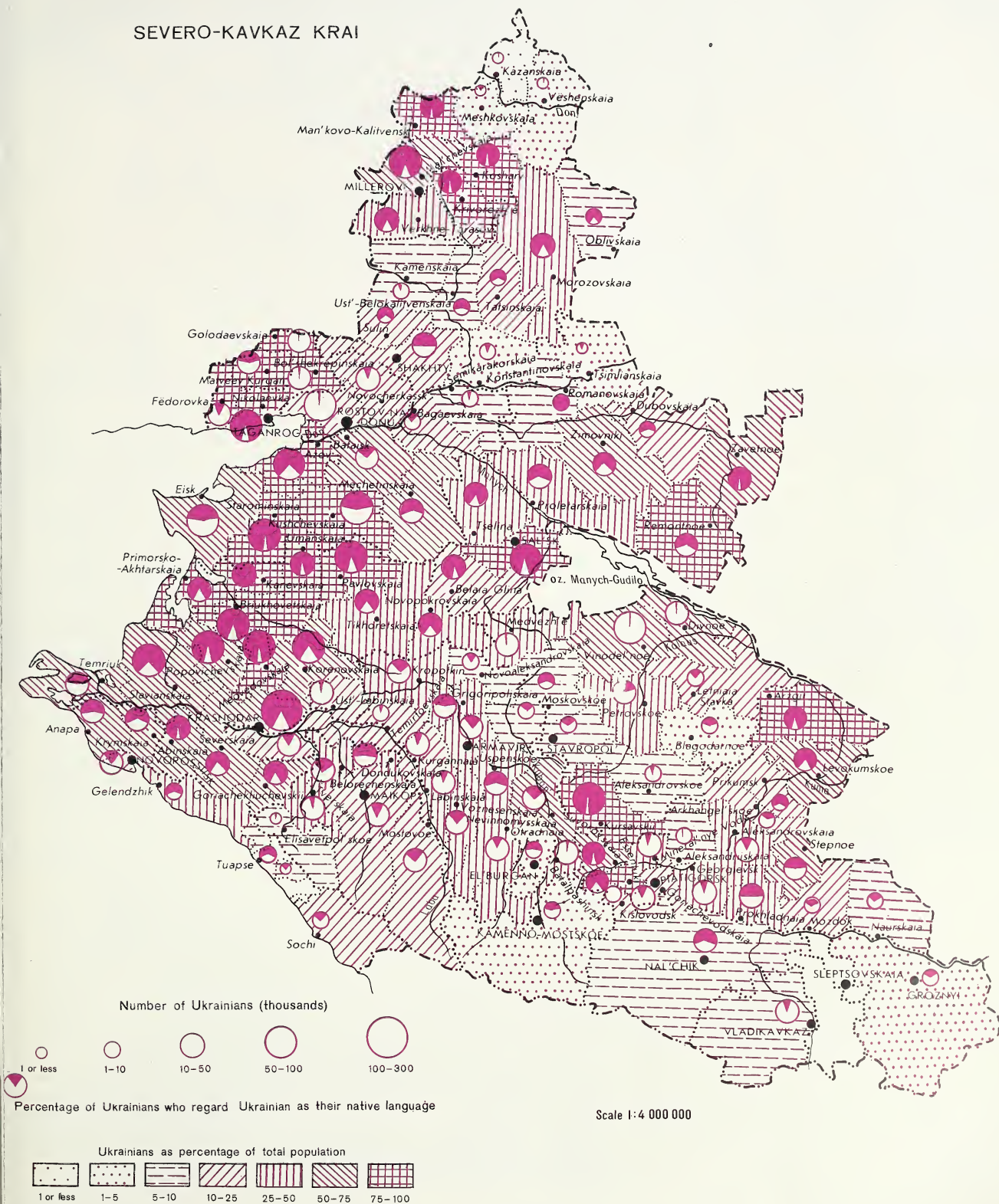
KURSK GUBERNIIA



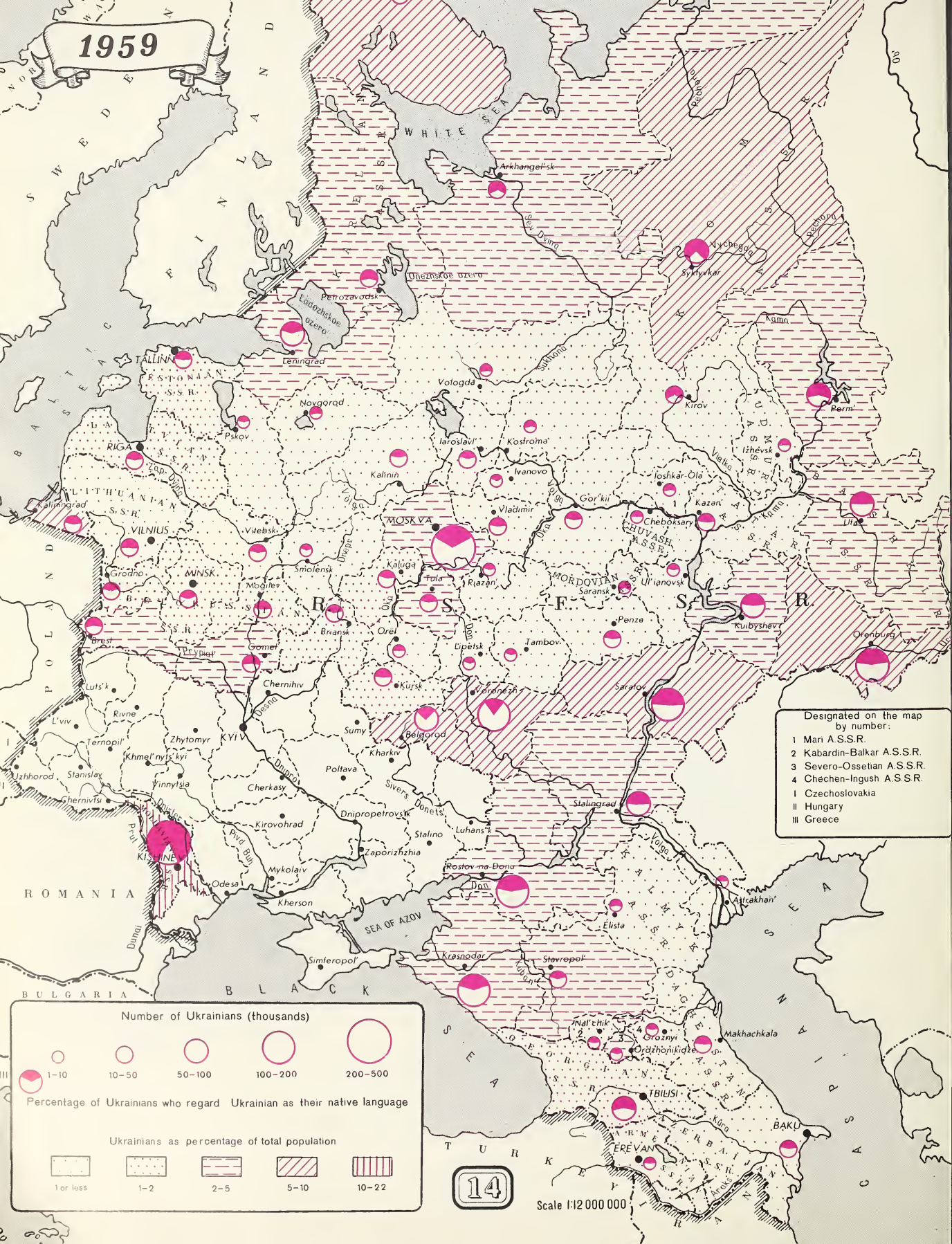
VLADIVOSTOK DISTRICT OF DAL'NII VOSTOK (FAR EASTERN) KRAI

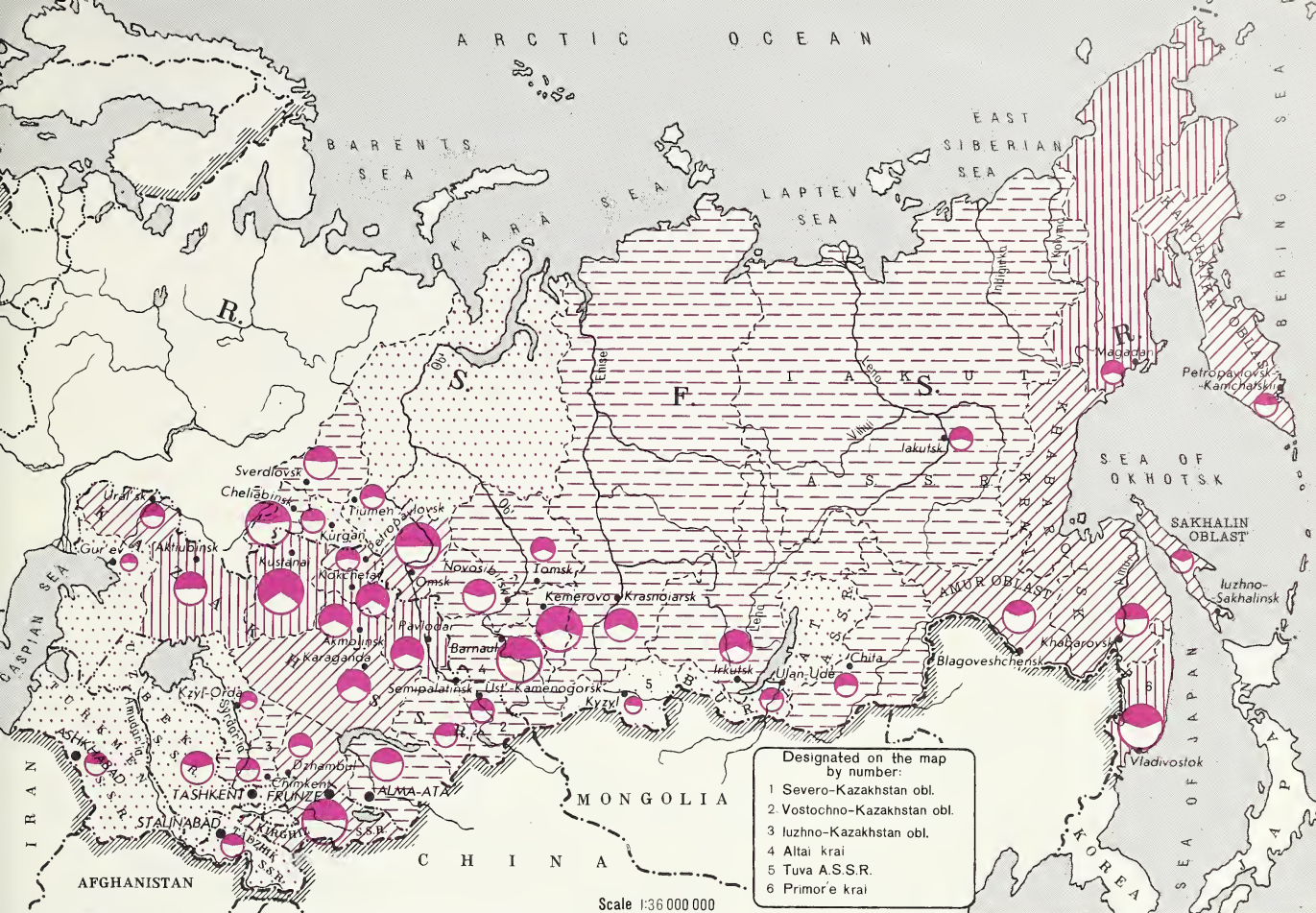


SEVERO-KAVKAZ KRAI



1959





From the end of the 1920s to the 1950s the Ukrainian Eastern diaspora underwent considerable quantitative and qualitative change.

The mid-1920s saw the beginning of state-regulated agrarian resettlement to the lands of the so-called colonization fund in order to resolve the problem of agrarian overpopulation by socialist methods. The regions designated for resettlement were the Far East, Siberia, Sakhalin, and the Karelian ASSR. During the period 1926-39, 2.8 million settlers from Ukraine moved to these regions, while more than 220,000 from other parts of the Soviet Union settled in Ukraine. It is difficult to account for such artificial mixing of ethnic groups except as a deliberate attempt to create an empire inhabited by a homogeneous Russified ethnos to be known as "one Soviet people."

At the beginning of the 1930s, owing to the process of collectivization, and after it, the famine (which claimed the lives of 3 to 8 million Ukrainians, not only in Ukraine, but also in the North Caucasus and other regions of the USSR), Ukrainian resettlement was directed mainly to industrial centres.

The end of the 1920s marked the beginning of forced resettlement. Priests and parishioners of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, *kulaks* and their families were deported predominantly to Siberia and the North. Thousands of peasants were interned in concentration camps according to the resolution of the Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) and the USSR Council of People's Commissars "On the defence of socialist property" (1932). The resolution "On measures to prevent the squandering of communal lands," adopted in the same year, resulted in the deportation of 165,000 persons to regions along the Volga River, Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Far East, the Urals and the European North.

At the beginning of the 1920s thousands of cultural activists associated in whatever fashion with the Ukrainian People's Republic or the Ukrainian national movement in general were arrested and sent to concentration camps.

Repression extended to representatives of academia, the arts, and the

armed forces. In particular, on the false pretext that they were to blame for the famine of 1932-33, many Ukrainian agronomists, as well as members of agrarian institutions and cooperatives, suffered persecution.

With the approach of the Second World War, measures were enforced to prevent desertion to the enemy, including a law on the deportation of the families of those who did not return from abroad.

At the beginning of the war, an extensive if chaotic evacuation took place to the Urals and Central Asia. Among those forcibly displaced were a large number of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia (academics, writers, researchers, actors, etc.). After the war, many Ukrainians remained on those territories.

During the war and in its aftermath, forced deportations gained momentum. In the period 1944-52, more than 200,000 people ("Banderites", "accomplices of bands," *kulaks*, Jehovah's Witnesses and their families) from the Western Ukrainian *oblasts* (and the Izmail region) were deported, principally to Siberia and the North.

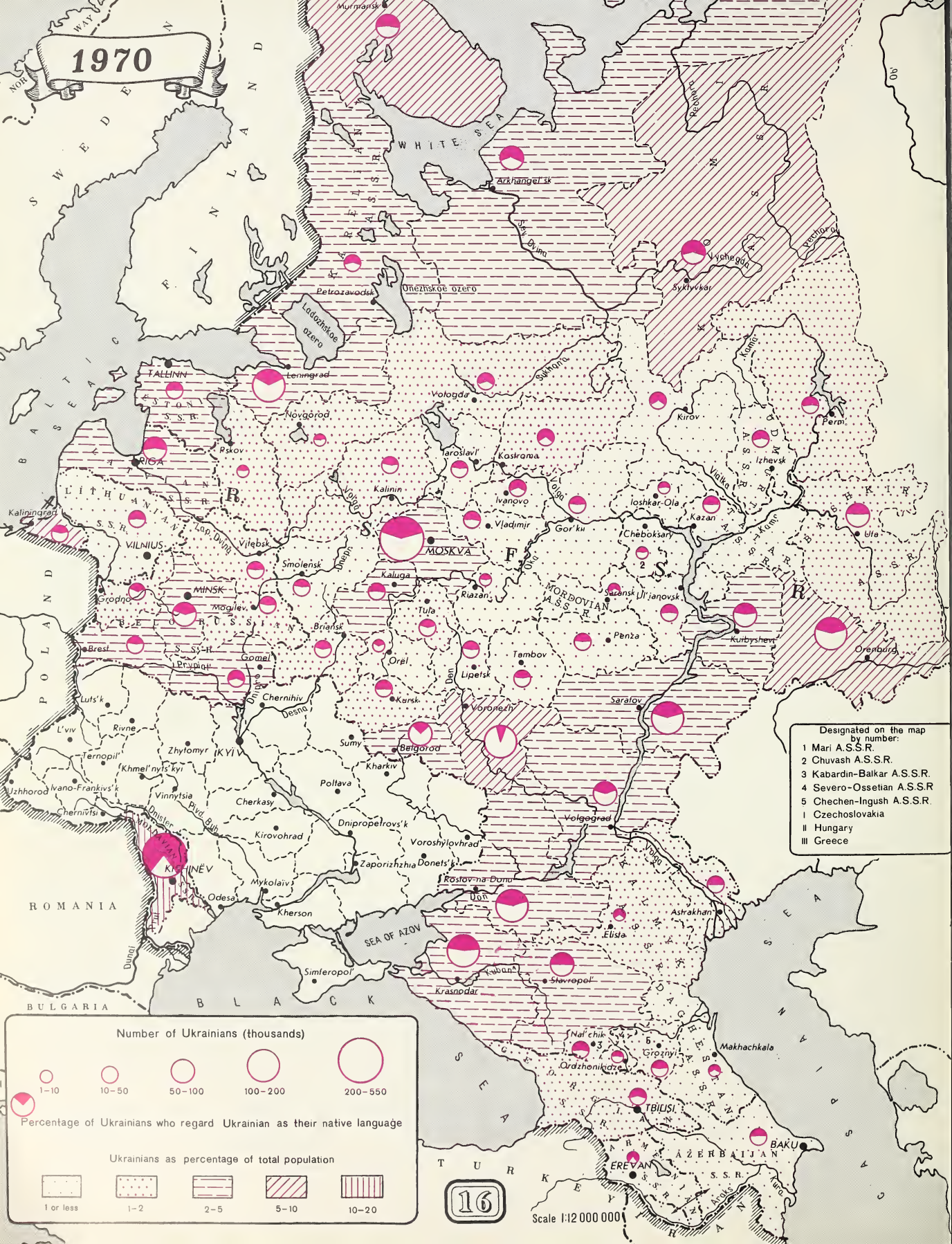
The phenomenon of agricultural resettlement did not abate after the war. The regions of settlement were by now all too familiar to Ukrainians: Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan, the Karelo-Finnish SSR, as well as the Volga region and the North Caucasus. More than 400,000 persons were transferred to these regions in the period 1949-53.

In 1954-56, in response to the Virgin Lands campaign in Siberia and Kazakhstan, more than 80,000 young men and women "on Communist Youth League vouchers" departed for these regions.

Census figures attest to the progress of Russification, which was a constituent of official nationalities policy:

Ukrainians	1926	1959
By Nationality	7,976,000	5,095,000
By Language	5,376,000	2,663,000

1970



Designated on the map by number:

- 1 Mari A.S.S.R.
- 2 Chuvash A.S.S.R.
- 3 Kabardin-Balkar A.S.S.R.
- 4 Severo-Ossetian A.S.S.R.
- 5 Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.
- I Czechoslovakia
- II Hungary
- III Greece

Number of Ukrainians (thousands)



Percentage of Ukrainians who regard Ukrainian as their native language

Ukrainians as percentage of total population



16

Scale 1:12 000 000



In the 1960s Ukrainian agricultural emigration continued to the eastern regions of the USSR. In the first half of 1963 alone, 21,000 Ukrainians resettled in Kazakhstan; 8,800 more followed in 1964 and 10,900 in 1965.

The mobilization of Ukrainian labour emigrants for work in the construction of heavy industry ("All-Union and Republican Construction Brigades") also persisted. A significant number of Ukrainians moved to the eastern and northern regions in search of better living conditions (higher wages and job seniority). The authorities encouraged Ukrainian emigration to the republics of Central Asia, the Baltic republics and the Caucasus, as well as simultaneous immigration from these regions to Ukraine.

Owing to resettlement and the natural increase of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan, their numbers in this republic rose markedly from 762,100 in 1959 to 933,500 in 1970. A similar trend occurred in Moldova (an increase from 420,800 to 506,500 in the same period), Belarus (from 133,100 to 190,800), Latvia (29,400 to 53,500) and Estonia (15,800 to 28,100).

"Fraternal assistance," which began to be rendered immediately after the Revolution of 1917 by the "Russians, with the most active support of Ukrainians and Belarusians" to the nationalities of the former Russian Empire in various spheres of social and cultural life, "required the participation of many thousands of political activists, engineers, agronomists, doctors, artists, and others." This "fraternal role," which was carried out at all costs, combined with the influence of a non-Ukrainian linguistic and ethnic environment, only served to Russify the Ukrainian population still more. The results of the census of 1970 attest to this:

Ukrainians in the Eastern Diaspora

Ukrainians	1959	1970
By Nationality	5,095,000	5,469,000
By Language	2,663,000	2,650,000

In the 1960s Ukrainians in the USSR outside Ukraine were totally deprived of national rights (in contrast to Russians living in Ukraine). This was true even in the territory of the Northern Sloboda and the Kuban, which belong to Ukrainian ethnic territory and where Ukrainians formed the majority of the population in the 1920s and 30s. They had to do without any Ukrainian schools, periodical literature and books, or Ukrainian associations and organizations.

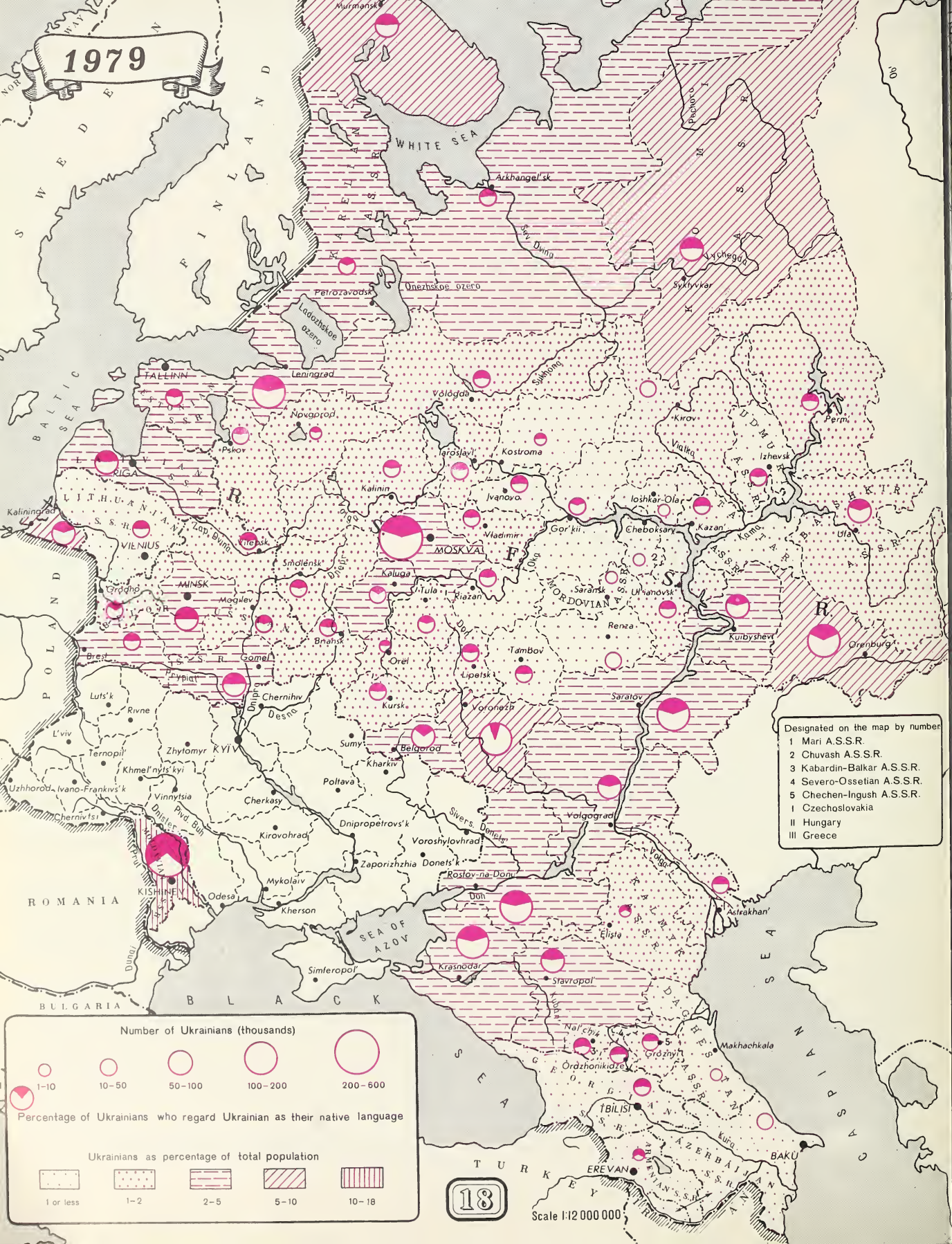
Ukrainians in the diaspora characteristically failed to learn the languages of their adopted lands. Thus, scarcely 17% of the Ukrainians throughout Moldova (1970) knew Moldovan (even though most of them lived in villages). The corresponding percentages for Belarus, the Baltic republics and Central Asia are 14.4%, nearly 7%, and 2%, respectively. On the other hand, all these Ukrainians knew Russian.

According to the Soviet census of 1970, 65% of Ukrainians in the Eastern diaspora were urbanized. But the rate of their urbanization was uneven. Moldova was the only republic where most Ukrainians (56%) were rural dwellers; the corresponding figure in Kirghizia was 49%. Ukrainians were most urbanized in the Baltic republics, the Transcaucasus and the industrial heartland of Central Russia. Such urbanization naturally altered living conditions, leading to increased intermarriage.

In the 1960s there was a new wave of emigration to the central industrial region. Some 96,500 persons left Ukraine for these parts in 1968-69, while 59,400 new immigrants arrived in Ukraine. The greatest concentration of Ukrainians was always to be found in Moscow: in 1897 there were 4,500, but by 1970 their numbers had increased to 184,900. Ukrainians ranked second after Jews among the ethnic minorities in Moscow. Despite their numbers, even in Moscow there was not a single Ukrainian cultural centre. In Leningrad, too, the number of Ukrainians grew considerably: from 5,200 in 1897 to 97,000 in 1970.

As far as Ukrainian emigration to the North is concerned, males predominated. A large proportion were deportees, and their influx into the concentration camps continued through the 1960s.

1979



Designated on the map by number

- 1 Mari A.S.S.R.
- 2 Chuvash A.S.S.R.
- 3 Kabardin-Balkar A.S.S.R.
- 4 Severo-Osetian A.S.S.R.
- 5 Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R.

I Czechoslovakia
II Hungary
III Greece

Number of Ukrainians (thousands)

Percentage of Ukrainians who regard Ukrainian as their native language

Ukrainians as percentage of total population



In the 1970s and 80s the eastern and northern regions of the USSR became a major focus of investment and settlement. Agrarian colonization of these regions was still important. This can be demonstrated by the resettlement plan of 1972 for eastern regions, whose quota was fulfilled by 102.2%, and for Kazakhstan by 100%. But Ukraine could no longer carry out these Moscow-imposed plans without detriment to itself. Toward the end of the 1960s the average annual growth of the labour force required to meet the needs of Ukraine was 470,000, but the actual increment amounted only to 260,000. The reserves of able-bodied persons engaged in domestic labour and market gardening—the basic sources of additional manpower—were virtually depleted.

Ukrainian emigration to Siberia and the Far East in this period was linked to various new industrial projects: the establishment of the Western Siberian oil fields complex (in the Tiumen *oblast*), the construction of the Kansk-Achinsk fuel and power complex in the Krasnoirsk *krai*, the construction of the Baikal-Amur railway (embracing the Amur and Irkutsk *oblasts* and the Yakut and Buriat autonomous republics) and the economic development of this zone, as well as gold mining. Important incentives for moving to these distant places were the regional wage differentials and pay supplements for workers and civil servants.

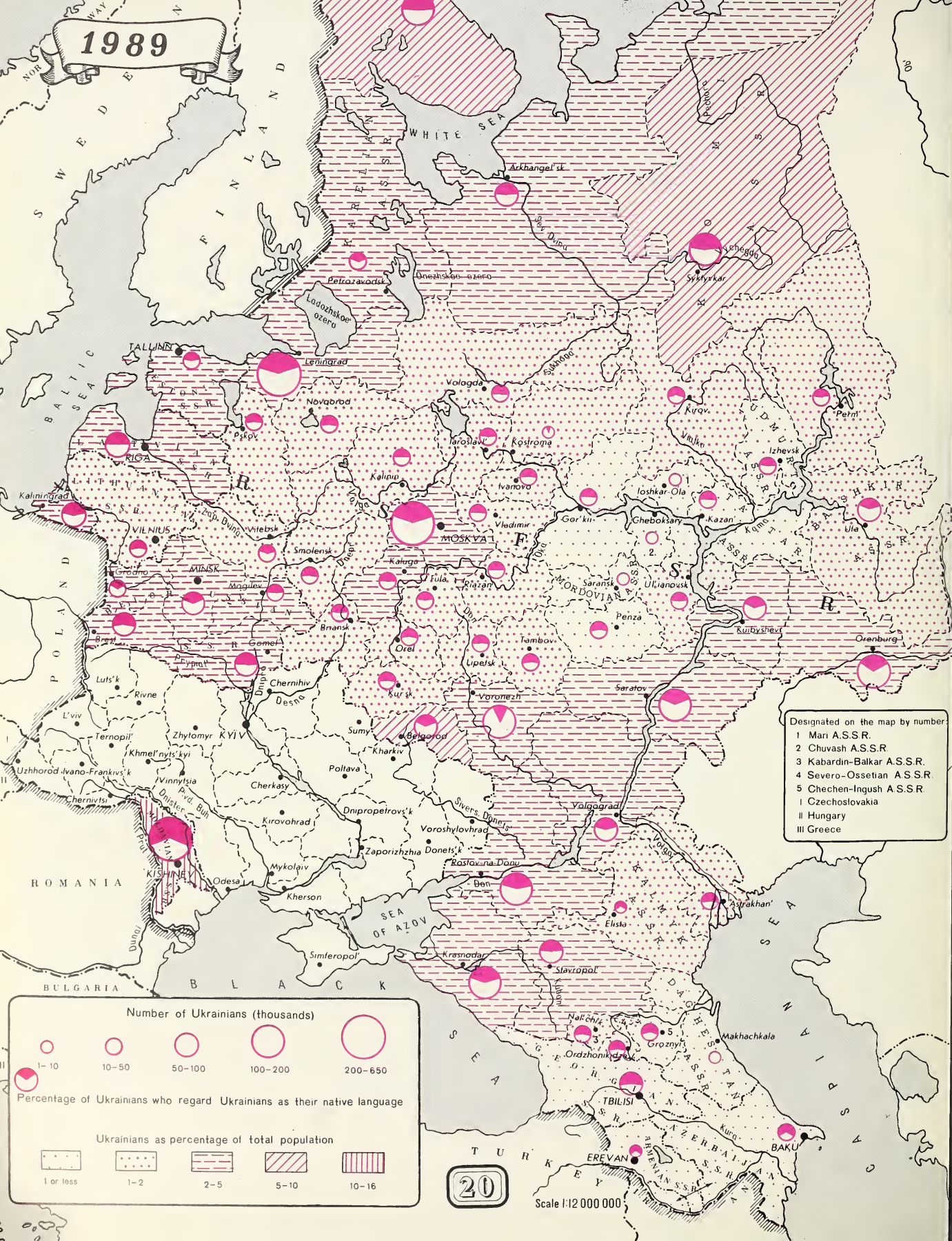
As a result of this new wave of emigration, the Ukrainian population in the Tiumen *oblast* increased more than tenfold (from 25,800 in 1970 to 260,200 in 1989), and nearly doubled in Murmansk *oblast* in the same period (from 56,300 to 105,100).

In contrast to the period before Second World War, Ukrainian emigrants moved principally to cities and industrial centres. The rate of urbanization for the Ukrainian Eastern diaspora reached 65.8% by mid-1970.

Another trend characterizing this group was its numerical decline in some regions of Siberia and Kazakhstan. In Kazakhstan, for instance, their numbers dropped from 933,500 in 1970 to 897,900 in 1979, and to 896,200 by 1989. This decline was undoubtedly due not so much to physical causes as to the advance of assimilation. Among the contributing factors was intermarriage. In the cities of Belarus, for example, 94% of Ukrainians who wed in 1979 married a partner of another nationality. Outside Ukraine, the offspring of a Russian-Ukrainian couple tended to adopt Russian nationality. Thus, in the Baltic republics, 65-75% of the children of Russian-Ukrainian marriages declared themselves as Russians in the mid-1970s. The basic reason given for this choice of nationality was the widespread use of the Russian language as a medium of "international communication, as well as a powerful tool for gaining access to the cultural values of other peoples of the USSR and of world culture." This was only to be expected. There was little hope of checking assimilation in a multi-ethnic country such as the USSR, especially when the tacit goal of nationality policy was Russification.

According to the 1989 census, the number of those who declared Ukrainian as their mother tongue in the diaspora did not exceed 50%. The percentage of those who spoke it fluently fluctuated between 5% and 15% on average (ranging from 24% in Moscow to .01% in the Khanty-Mansiisk Autonomous District).

1989





The progressive processes that unfolded from the mid-1980s and climaxed with the formation of a number of independent states on the territory of the former USSR raised the national consciousness of many ethnic groups. Ukrainians were among the first to experience a national revival. In the late 1980s and early 90s they founded Ukrainian societies in Nizhnevartovsk, Barnaul, Irkutsk, the Amur *oblasti*, Dushanbe, and Tallinn; a number of associations (the Taras Shevchenko Association in St. Petersburg, Slavutych in Moscow, Kobzar in Ufa, Druzhba in Vorkuta, Ukrainska Rodyna in Surgut, Slavutych in Norilsk, Kleit in Irkutsk, Zelenyi Klyn in the Primor'e *krai*, Kyivska Rus' in South Sakhalin, Chervona Kalyna in Tiraspol and Erevan, Zapovit in Minsk, Zoloti Vorota in Riga), and various cultural and community entities whose purpose is to unite Ukrainians and instill in them awareness of their roots. Ukrainian communities of the Eastern diaspora have also initiated Sunday schools, serving children and adults alike, in Moscow, Alma-Ata, Erevan, in Lithuania (Vilnius, Jonava, Mažeikiai), Riga, Tallinn, and Belarus (in the Kobryn and Drahichyn raion of the Brest *oblast*).

The Ukrainian communities maintain vocal and dance ensembles, have

air time on local radio and television broadcasting services, libraries, and various economic programmes (in Riga, Irkutsk, and elsewhere). Their activities include the fostering of contacts with their compatriots in Ukraine and other countries, exchanges of delegations, the organization of festivals, and the commemoration of national and religious holidays and specific historical anniversaries. Some of the Ukrainian associations have established specialized sections (for literature, language, culture, history, youth, children, etc.), in order to cater more efficiently to a growing number of enthusiasts of all ages.

Nevertheless, in most of these Ukrainian centres, not all is well. They lack material support for their activities from either the local authorities or Ukraine. In the republics of Central Asia, Latvia and Estonia, the burning issue of citizenship has yet to be resolved. Qualified teachers are lacking. In some cases the local authorities ignore applications for premises and facilities for Ukrainian community pursuits. Their attitude in places such as the Primor'e *krai* and the Belgorod *oblast* is one of outright opposition to Ukrainians attempting to assert themselves and, if not meet their own needs, at least provide for those of their children.

1989





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