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Education of Ethnic Leadership: A Case Study of the Ukranian Ethnic Group in the United States (1970-1974)

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**EDUCATION OF ETHNIC LEADERSHIP:
A CASE STUDY OF THE UKRAINIAN ETHNIC GROUP
IN THE UNITED STATES
(1970 - 1974)**

by

Daria Markus

**A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment**

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VITA

Daria Markus, nee Hasiuk, was born January 15, 1935 in Ukraine. During World War II her family left the country and in 1948 immigrated to Toronto, Canada, from the Displaced Persons' camps in Germany. In 1952 she matriculated from Bloor Collegiate in Toronto, Canada, and in 1955 received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from the University of Toronto. In the years 1955-1957, as a recipient of a scholarship, she continued her studies at the University of Louvain, Belgium, where, in 1957 she presented a thesis in diplomatic history: "On the Refusal of the United States to Join the League of Nations," and obtained a License degree in the field of International Relations.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education of ethnic leadership needs to be, first of all, defined in its component terms and in their relations to each other. Whatever definition one chooses for education - education as transmission of culture, as "reconstruction of experience," expansion of consciousness, a progress towards Ultimate Mind, or any other of the innumerable formulations reflecting various philosophical and practical inclinations, in its application to the context of an ethnic group in America, the definition narrows to one single purpose: preservation of the ethnic community. Only within the context of self-preservation are other purposes possible. The moment that self-preservation ceases to be desired, the ethnic community disappears. For it does not depend on any biological factor as, for instance, race does. Ethnic consciousness is not automatically inherited, but depends on cultural transmission which requires a conscious effort. Education, then, in the context of this study, primarily refers to that process which generates in an individual an awareness of the cultural heritage of one's ancestors with a view to form a commitment for a preservation and further development of that heritage.

The term ethnicity has been variously defined. Etymologically it comes from the Greek word ethnos meaning people. The International

Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences states that "an ethnic group is a distinct category of the population in a larger society whose culture is usually different from its own. The members of such a group are, or feel themselves, or are thought to be, bound together by common ties of race or nationality or culture."¹ The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences gives basically the same definition, adding that the ethnic groups "may occupy a position of self-sufficient isolation or they may have extensive dealings with the surrounding population while retaining a separate identity. . . . (They are) bound together with traditional culture complex."² The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia uses the term ethnic group in regards to "those local sub-groups of people or a nation who have preserved certain elements of the autochthonous culture and customs."³ Such a definition reflects a particular situation of the ethnic groups in the Soviet Union but not wholly applicable to the ethnic reality in the United States, where a majority of ethnic groups are not derived from the autochthonous population. The American perspective is better expressed by Andrew Greeley who uses a Weberian definition of ethnic groups as "human collectivities based on an assumption of common origin,

¹H. S. Morris, "Ethnic Groups," International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, ed. David L. Sills (New York: The Macmillan Co. and the Free Press, 1968), Vol. 5, p. 167.

²Caroline F. Ware, "Ethnic Communities," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931), Vol. 5-6, p. 607.

³Bolshaya Sovyetskaya Entsiklopedia, ed. B. A. Vredensky (Gosudarstvennoye Nauchnoye Izdatelstvo, 1949), 2nd ed., Vol. 49, p. 248.

real or imaginary."⁴ He describes them as:

those groups who keep cultural traditions alive, provide us with preferred associates, help organize the social structure, offer opportunities for mobility and success, and enable men to identify themselves in the face of the threatening chaos of a large and impersonal society. On the other hand, they reinforce exclusiveness, suspicion, and distrust and . . . serve as ideal foci for conflict.⁵

For Michael Novak, a prominent American Catholic philosopher who, despite his position and education, still experiences the "primordial ties" with the group, ethnicity is "a form of historical consciousness."⁶

A more precise and encompassing definition than any of the above is given by anthropologist Frederik Barth. He perceives that the difficulty in defining an ethnic group is not the emergence or adaptability of such a group to a larger society. It lies in a situation where persistence and maintenance of identity occur in the absence of any objectively observable reason for it. Barth makes this observation a focal point in his definition. For him, an ethnic group is that distinct population within a larger society which (a) is largely biologically self-perpetuating, (b) shares fundamental culture values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms, (c) makes up a field of communication and interaction, and (d) has membership which identifies and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories

⁴Andrew Greeley, "Ethnicity as an Influence on Behavior," Ethnic Groups in the City, ed. Otto Feinstein (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1971), p. 4.

⁵Andrew Greeley, Why Can't They be Like Us? (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, American Jewish Committee, 1969), p. 30.

⁶Michael Novak, "The New Ethnicity," The Humanist, Vol. 33 (May/June, 1973), 18-21.

of the same order.⁷ In the last analysis, concludes Barth, it is the act of self-identification which is the most important factor in ethnicity.⁸

In the study of ethnicity four major problems can be singled out for investigation: emergence, adaptability, change, and persistence within a larger society.⁹ The emergence of ethnic groups can be caused by migration, military conquests, or altered political boundaries.¹⁰ All those kinds are found in the United States. The Indians became ethnics because of military conquest, French in Louisiana or Spanish in New Mexico became such because of altered political boundaries. But by far the largest proportion of ethnic groups in America derives from immigration. To understand the eventual outcome of the relations between an ethnic group and a larger society a study of cultural and social structure prior to migration, of patterns of migration, and of the nature and context of initial contacts is necessary.¹¹ This outcome can result in one of the following forms of social relations: exclusion, symbiosis, ethnic stratification, pluralism, or assimilation.¹²

⁷Frederik Barth, "Introduction," Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. 10.

⁸Ibid.

⁹A. T. Barth and L. Noel, "Conceptual Frameworks for the Analysis of Race Relations: An Evaluation," Social Forces, Vol. 50 (March, 1972), p. 334.

¹⁰Morris, loc. cit.

¹¹Barth and Noel, op. cit., p. 337.

¹²Ibid., p. 336.

Adaptability from the point of view of an ethnic group is the "ability to enhance its status relative to other groups in a society," and from the society's point of view it is "facility to maintain distributive justice between groups and sufficient efficiency in transactions with the environment to assure order."¹³ Most of the studies of ethnic groups in the United States have concentrated on the nature of contacts and adaptability, that is, they have treated the subject from either the historical or behavioral and acculturationist perspective.¹⁴ In the last decade the Civil Rights movement has redirected the emphasis of ethnic studies towards change caused by conflicts resulting from the incongruities between the real and the professed attitudes of the larger society towards minorities.

It is in the field of persistence of the ethnic groups that the least amount of research has been conducted, probably on the assumption that sooner or later the ethnic groups in the United States will assimilate or disappear within the "melting pot."¹⁵ The experience of the

¹³Ibid., p. 341.

¹⁴Different theories of ethnicity have been examined by G. de Rohan-Czermak in the paper presented at the International Anthropological Congress in Chicago, September, 1973. He classifies these theories according to their main tendencies into seven groups: (1) the classical cultomorphologist, (2) German ethno-sociological, (3) Russian historico-economical, (4) European ethno-ecological, (5) international ethno-historical, (6) French ethno-political, and (7) American behaviorist and acculturationist. IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, abstract no. 0597.

¹⁵It is interesting to notice that in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (1931), Ware concludes her article on ethnic communities: "standardized material culture, elimination of distance and the common language of business are all at work to make the ethnic community a

last decade seriously put in doubt the "melting pot" theory as a workable or a viable solution to the problems of cultural and racial diversity in the United States. The Civil Rights movement revealed that if cultural ethnicity is reinforced by inherited biological traits, as in the case of Blacks, then it becomes a barrier in the access to political power and economic resources. The ideal of equal opportunity becomes applicable only to those who by accident of birth are "melttable."

At this point a distinction should be made between race, ethnicity, and nationality, terms often used ambiguously and interchangeably. According to Barth, the distinction between race and ethnicity lies primarily in the fact that while race is perpetuated only biologically, ethnicity also depends on the process of transmission of cultural values, affiliation with community, and both self-identification and identification by others. When one speaks of Black ethnics in America, they are not ethnics because of racial traits, but because in isolation they have developed their own recognizable cultural patterns, and on that basis they are regarded as ethnics. Race itself can reinforce ethnicity in certain situations, but it is not a basis for ethnic identifi-

relic of a separatist age" (p. 612). H. S. Morris in the newer International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1968), comes to the opposite conclusion. "With the growth of good communication," writes the author, "and the spread of travel, ethnically and culturally diverse societies are likely, in the short term, to increase in number rather than diminish." (p. 172). Robert E. Park in Race and Culture (Glencoe: Free Press, 1950), states that in the race relations cycle "eventual assimilation is apparently progressive and irreversible" (150). The opposite is apparent even upon "a cursory inspection of cross-cultural data" to Barth and Noel (1973). They note that there are four other theoretically possible stable outcomes, besides assimilation (op. cit., p. 336).

cation. The Black peoples of Africa are ethnically as much differentiated as the white people in Europe are.

The term nationality is commonly used in America interchangeably with citizenship; that is, it has a legal connotation. Used in such a way it has a limited but clear meaning. In Europe the term is usually used in the sense of belonging to a people or a nation that form a distinct group by having common descent, language, history, traditions, and territory, even though they lack independent political institutions. In such cases, citizenship cannot be used synonymously with nationality. While in Europe and elsewhere national states are usually rooted in the autochthonous population approximately corresponding to the ethnographic boundaries of the people, the United States became a nation, that is, a political collectivity, without ever having had a single ethnic base.¹⁶ Regardless of this basic difference in the formation of a nation, the ideology of nationalism, which presupposes common ethnicity as the basis for one's loyalty to political institutions, became prevalent in the United States. Public schools often eradicated cultural differences and imposed cultural uniformity on the immigrants' children. In some states, laws were passed forbidding the use of a foreign language as the media of instruction.¹⁷ Immigration Acts erected barriers for the

¹⁶This point is eloquently discussed by Vladimir C. Nahirny and Joshua A. Fishman in Language Loyalty in the United States (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966), p. 339.

¹⁷Two excellent articles reviewing state laws and statutes in the United States regarding the use and teaching of foreign languages are: J. C. Ruppenthal, "English and Other Languages under American Statutes," American Law Review 54 (1920), p. 39-90 and Edward I. Newton, "The Legal

same purpose, allowing only those regarded to be easily assimilated to enter the country. Much of this was done with little thought to the congruity of the professed ideals in the American Constitution and the nature of American population. Still, these measures have not produced an American situation where ethnicity can be used equivalently to nationality.¹⁸

The primary bearer of ethnicity is family, both biologically and as the first source of ethnic consciousness. But a broader knowledge of the goals, values, organizational system, and historical consciousness concerning the ethnic group is derived from sources outside the family, namely, the ethnic community. The very concept of community as "any consciously organized aggregation of individuals residing in a special area or locality, endowed with limited political autonomy, supporting such primary institutions as schools and churches, and among whom a certain degree of interdependence is recognized"¹⁹ implies leadership. A. Tannenbaum observes that "the social system is, so to

Status of Foreign Languages," Elementary School Journal, 24 (December, 1923), p. 270-278. However, it is the dissenting opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court Justices Holmes and Sutherland in the Meyer V. Nebraska case (1923) that is highly reflective of the ideology of nationalism that was at the basis of legal regulations regarding the use and teaching of foreign languages.

¹⁸Nahirny and Fishman, op. cit., p. 329, distinguish ethnic and national collectivities in terms of different sets of symbolisms. "While the primordial collectivity or ethnic group coheres on tradition spontaneously growing out of communal living, the ideological collectivity or nationality presupposes consciously evolved ideology or, at least, ideologically transmuted tradition."

¹⁹E. C. Lindeman, "Community," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 4, p. 103.

speak, 'programmed' through leadership."²⁰ The word leadership can be used to mean both the act of leading and the collectivity of persons engaged in the act of leading. In this study, it is used in the latter sense. The function of leadership is to establish goals or purposes, to create structures through which these purposes are fulfilled, and to maintain and enhance their functioning. It is this last function on which much of the research has focused, investigating the role of leadership in "maintaining the integrity and viability of collectivity against threats, both internal and external, in maintaining collective order and unity, in minimizing dissension and conflict, and in motivating members and fostering their acceptance of the collectivity, of its goals, and of leadership itself."²¹ To gain an understanding of a community, then, it is necessary to have an understanding of its leadership.

Scope of Study. It is significant that when one talks from the point of view of the larger society it is usually in terms of persistency of the ethnic communities, and when one talks from the point of view of the ethnic community one talks of retention of ethnicity. Ultimately, since the process of conscious identification is fundamental to the ethnic group, it would be through a study of conscious efforts by the community to retain and transmit ethnic consciousness that a

²⁰Arnold S. Tannenbaum, "Leadership: Sociological Aspects," International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 9, p. 102.

²¹Ibid., p. 101.

better understanding of ethnic groups in the United States, and by the same token, of a larger society, could be gained.

Ethnicity is both a global and a historical phenomenon, not limited only to the United States. Ancient empires, as well as modern ones, contained ethnically diverse populations. Chinese ethnic groups are found throughout the Southeastern Asia, Indian communities exist in Africa, the Soviet Union is a mosaic of ethnic groups, and Canada and Australia have, similar to the United States, a history of ethnic communities through immigration. Such communities have existed and do exist throughout the world, but only in the modern times with the rise of nationalism and democracy have they become a serious political problem. Dominant nations have devised various policies aimed at obliterating cultural differences and, thereby, solving the minority problem. In the Russian Empire the use of certain native languages was forbidden in schools and in publishing. In Nazi Germany the method in regards to the undesirable minority was extermination. In the United States it was the "melting pot."

But do the ethnic minorities really pose a threat to the dominant group? If the ethnic minority is an autochthonous population, sufficiently numerous, and consciously claiming a right to political self-determination, then the threat might be real. In the case of the United States no such claims were made by any of the ethnic groups. At most what they have claimed was the opportunity to exercise the rights granted to them by the Constitution. In retrospect, given the nature of American immigration, one could hardly conclude that ethnic groups

ever formed a real threat to the United States. But they did incite fear of such a possibility, and the reaction was at first popularly expressed through such groups as Know-Nothings or the American Protective Association²² and later officially through restrictive Immigration laws. On the other hand, ethnicity has never served officially as a basis, except where it was coincidental with race, upon which an individual was denied access to political power or economic resources or prevented from enhancing his status. On the contrary, an individual was encouraged, regardless of his ethnic background, to enter the American mainstream, but as an individual. The group remained in "benign neglect" long before Moynihan made this phrase famous.

The existence of ethnic groups under such liberal conditions is easily understood in the case of the immigrants for whom the group often served as a means of survival, as a stepping stone into the new world. In the case of the American-born and educated generation no longer was such a stepping stone needed. In such a situation as long as there is a fresh supply of new immigrants, the continuation of an ethnic community might be assured. But what happens if there are no longer new immigrants arriving? Does an ethnic community provide a viable field of public activism for the young American-born and educated people? A case of ethnic groups affected by the Johnson Immigration Act of 1924 provides a situation for a study of the above problem. The flow of new arrivals from Southern and Eastern European countries was

²²John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925. (New York: Atheneum, 1969).

reduced decisively by this Act.²³ Actually immigration almost totally ceased with the outbreak of the First World War, so that by the decade preceding the Second World War ethnic communities of the Eastern and Southern European origin found themselves in a situation when their continuation depended on the American-born generation. After the Second World War these communities were replenished by new immigrants due to the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. Now, some twenty-five years later, ethnic communities, whose ancestral countries fell under communist regimes, have experienced an immigration drought and find themselves in a situation similar in certain respect to that of the 1930's. Poland and Yugoslavia continue to have both emigration and contacts between the American communities and the homeland are relatively unobstructed. Other East European countries are much more restricted, and, when it comes to the Soviet Union proper, emigration and contacts are minimal.²⁴ Ethnic groups such as Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians,

²³The National Origins Act, 1924, revised the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, further limiting the immigration of the "undesirable" people. It changed the base year from 1910 to 1890 and reduced the quota to 2% of the number of people of each nationality living in the U.S. in 1890. The effects of the law were felt immediately by the Ukrainian group which, by official statistics, had in one year, 1910, 27,907 newcomers and in the period of ten years, 1921-1930, 8,213. Halych, "Rozmishchennya Ukrainskoi Imigratsii v Zluchenykh Derzhavakh," Propamyatna Knyha, p. 455.

²⁴In 1973, 1,248 persons were admitted to the U.S. whose "Country or region of birth" was the USSR, and which does not necessarily mean that they came to America directly from USSR. There were 7,582 from Yugoslavia and 4,914 from Poland. Interpreter Release, An Information Service on Immigration, Naturalization and Related Problems (New York: American Council for Nationalities), Vol. 51, No. 3 (April 17, 1974), p. 102.

have had no newcomers from their homelands joining their American communities since the immigration of post-war displaced persons. Moreover, there are no indications that the situation will change in the near future. If the community is to continue, it will have to depend on leadership which it would have to produce itself. Is such a leadership possible in the case of an American white ethnic community? The outside society is enticing the individual, and there are no unsurmountable obstacles such as biological traits to severing his ties with the ethnic community. It is primarily, as already has been stated, one's own conscious identification with the group that is basic to ethnic commitment. Therefore, the problem can be restated in terms of the community's ability to organize its efforts to produce the necessary awareness in the younger generation which is fundamental to its perpetuation.

The Ukrainian group provides an interesting case in the study of ethnic persistence in the United States. Historically, there were three periods when the group's existence was critically dependent on leadership. In the 1880's when there was already a sufficient number of the immigrants, no organization of a community was undertaken till the arrival of individuals who traditionally by the virtue of their occupation enjoyed the status of leadership in the old country and were recognized as such by the immigrants. Once the community was organized along the typical lines of any immigrant group, that is, church, parish, mutual aid societies, the persons entrusted to maintain and enhance these structures then were drawn from the ranks of immigrants

and supplemented by newcomers.

Maintaining and enhancing existing structures historically had been the predominant functions of ethnic leadership. The crisis in leadership occurred when the goals and purposes of the community had to be defined or redefined to correspond to the new situations and to a new character of relationships of the ethnic group and the outside society, or when the new structures promoting community goals and purposes had to be invented or altered for the sake of efficiency. The crisis refers not to the conflict between the leading proponents of particular views or rivalry for particular positions, but to the lack of individuals willing and able to take upon themselves the responsibility of redefining the goals and restructuring the channels for their realization.

In the 1930's the Ukrainian group entered a period of potential crisis in leadership. Unless the American-born generation involved itself in the community's activities, the prospects of the group's preservation in the absence of new immigration were bleak. The purposes of ethnic community founded by immigrants in many instances did not correspond to the needs of American-born generation, and this is especially true in regards to the practical goals. For an immigrant it was often the language barrier, illiteracy, and unfamiliarity with the new world that made an ethnic community a haven of relative security. For the American-born generation it was a matter of self-identification with the community of their parents, a parental heritage so to speak, that played an important role. If they experienced a language barrier,

illiteracy, and unfamiliarity with customs and traditions, it was not so much in regards to the larger society, but to the ethnic community.

Basically a similar situation exists in the 1970's. The Ukrainian group for over twenty years, that is, for a generation, lacked a new immigration, and there are no prospects for change. The community can no longer recruit its leadership from amongst the immigrants, who might find ethnic institutions helpful in their process of adjustment to the new country. Ethnic continuity again depends on the commitment of the new generation. There is evidence that, just as in the 1930's the American-born generation found its ethnic community meaningful from a personal point of view and the causes expounded by ethnic leadership worthy of support, so, too, does a young generation of the 1970's largely remain in the folds of the ethnic community. But in both instances a certain reorientation in the goals and purposes and certain organizational restructuring is necessary to accommodate the new generation.

Excellence is generally expected of leadership.²⁵ In evaluating leadership such characteristics as charismatic personality and exceptional intelligence are being taken under consideration. Though such traits are universally desirable in leaders, in the case of an ethnic group the basic prerequisite is ethnic consciousness and a commitment to the community. Because the commitment is largely a matter of choice in the case of an American-born generation, the formation of such a

²⁵The whole issue of *Daedalus*, Vol. 90 (Fall, 1961), is dedicated to "Excellence and Leadership in a Democracy."

commitment is a vital concern of the group. The prevalent assumption in an ethnic community is that if a young person learns about the past history of his people, becomes familiar with the customs and traditions as a symbolic expression of a particular Weltanschauung, and gains an understanding of the causes upheld by the community, then commitment will be its natural outcome.

This study does not deal with the process that makes a person simply conscious of his ethnicity. Ethnic awareness can be achieved at any stage of life by telling the person convincingly who he is. This is usually accomplished by the family at the early stages of one's life. Such limited consciousness in itself does not produce, with some possible individual exceptions, a commitment to the perpetuation of the group. The hypothesis of this study is that the commitment on the part of the young generation is a result of the organized educational efforts of the community.

A second hypothesis is that the involvement of young generation in ethnic activism is contingent on the compatibility and complementarity of the ethnic group and the larger society. Compatibility here refers to the value systems upheld by the two collectivities, and complementarity to the social organization for implementation of these value systems as well as for satisfaction of human needs of socialization, recognition, self-expression. The values which a community holds to be important and worthy of preservation are those promoted by the organized educational programs. By analyzing the educational efforts of a community certain conclusions on compatibility of the values held

by the ethnic group and the larger society can be reached.

Complementarity is often subjectively perceived even in the cases when there is no overt policy of exclusion on the part of the larger society, and an ethnic group member might still feel himself to be rejected by the outside group. On the other hand, larger society might not be satisfactorily organized to cater to the different categories of human needs. While it might provide a viable field for economic and political activities, it might not be capable of providing channels for the expression of social and psychological needs of man which greatly depend on the personal type of human interactions. Within the range of possible alternatives such as professional groups or social clubs, ethnic communities might be a preferred choice in complementing the larger society.

Plan of Study. The immigrants' experience, that is, their response to the new environment, was, to use Dewey's expression, funded in the past. Chapters II and III concentrate on the historical roots of the Ukrainian community both in the Ukraine and the United States. It is a selective overview in the sense that it concentrates on the ideological orientation of the leadership throughout different stages of Ukrainian history. Also relevant to the understanding of the present structure is the role of the clergy and the socio-economic conditions of the peasants at the time of emigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Basically, ideologies and conflicts have shaped the Ukrainian community in America, and to know them is indispensable to any meaningful interpretation of the community's past ex-

perience and present status. Ideological orientations contain the very causes that gave a deeper meaning to the involvement in communal activities, reaching beyond the stage of adaptation to the new environment and transcending the immigrants' need for a community as a stepping stone into a new society.

Chapters IV and V discuss the institutions, organizations, programs, and methods of educational network of the community as they presently exist and also give a brief historical background of their development. Family and community in general are considered to provide informal, albeit very important, education. Such institutions as church, school, and youth organizations are the main vehicles of ethnic education. They will be studied from the perspective of making the group's elite.

Chapter VI probes the educational background of the actual leadership in order to determine to what extent they have participated in the educational enterprise established by the community. Also to discern diverse influences on the formation of a strong ethnic identity. Leadership, in this particular case, includes persons in a position to formulate policies and to direct organized community activities, that is, persons who hold elective offices in various organizations as well as such groups as writers, artists, teachers in ethnic schools, and priests who, though not holding an elective office, do have a significant influence on the formation of ethnic opinion and consequently on a group's activities.

To evaluate the results of the educational efforts of the com-

munity several approaches were utilized, such as interpretation of a correlation between the educational participation and ethnic involvement, the teachers' and parents' appraisal of ethnic educational activities, and assessment of these by the young leadership themselves. Chapter VII, then, focuses on a critical analysis of the community's educational organization and its contribution to the group's self-preservation. The concluding chapter summarizes the results of this research interpreting them from the point of view of the complementarity of an ethnic community and the democratic social order of the larger society.

The necessary information for this study was obtained by various methods. Published materials relating to the topic, both in American and Ukrainian literature, were examined. Most of them served as secondary sources. Ethnic calendar-almanacs, jubilee books, and pamphlets also served in many instances as primary sources for the historical background of the Ukrainian community in the United States since they contained reports and memoiristic materials. Manuals and by-laws of different organizations, circulars, annual reports, bulletins, minutes of meetings, school curricula and textbooks served as primary reference.

The principal source of information was an extensive questionnaire sent to those persons between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-six who hold elective offices in different organizations or whose occupations as priests, teachers in ethnic schools, artists, or writers place them in positions of influence in regard to ethnic activism. The organizations canvassed for the addresses of such persons were those

registered with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Of the fifty-nine registered organizations, eleven did not have young membership because of the specific reasons for their association, e.g., First World War Ukrainian Army Veterans "Sichovi Striltsi." In the few cases when an organization could not or would not provide the requested information, newspapers were perused for the reports of elections of new officers and the addresses then were obtained through private channels. Altogether, 515 questionnaires were sent out, followed by a reminder card. Two hundred and twenty-three were returned filled out, 43.3% of the total.

In addition, other questionnaires were utilized for the purpose of verifying or supplementing the above data. One was addressed to the Ukrainian National Women's League of America chapters that are composed of young membership. The Ukrainian National Women's League of America was selected because it is the most extensive and best administered Ukrainian organization in the United States. Also, being a women's organization, it contains a high percentage of mothers and, therefore, some pertinent questions regarding children's education could be asked. The purpose of this questionnaire was to see if any significant differences exist in the educational background of the leaders and the rank and file members, to discern certain attitudes towards their children's ethnic education, and to find out in what kind of organizations the husbands are active, if any. The president of the organization estimated that there are approximately 500 members in the junior chapters. The questionnaire was filled out during their

regular monthly meeting and the response totaled 230 individual answers.

Another questionnaire was directed to the teachers of ethnic language schools. It contained chiefly the same questions that were in the main questionnaire concerning ethnic language schools, as well as questions regarding teacher's age and qualifications. The questionnaire was sent out to forty-one schools, twenty-eight of them affiliated with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America School Council and thirteen with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Council. Altogether twenty-two schools have cooperated in distributing the questionnaire among the teachers, eighteen of these were affiliated with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America School Council and four with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The response totaled 142 individual answers.

A third questionnaire was sent out to the parochial day schools, both of the Ukrainian and the Byzantine rite.²⁶ There are fifty elementary day schools, twenty-six Ukrainian and twenty-four Byzantine rite. Since the parochial day schools were mainly established by the old immigration, the purposes of the questionnaire were to find out whether the schools have become a common socializing milieu for the children of the old and the new immigration, to what extent a program for specifically ethnic education is promoted, and whether the teaching faculty were, themselves, members of the ethnic community or outsiders. Twenty-six schools provided the requested information.

²⁶The Ukrainian and the Byzantine church rites are basically the same. The distinction lies in the national self-identification of the two groups. The descendants of the immigrants from the Carpatho-Ukraine call themselves Catholics of Byzantine rite. See more chap. II.

A series of interviews with various community leaders provided valuable information and insights into the problems of the ethnic community. The questions asked during the interviews pursued the following pattern: (a) personal background and one's own evaluation of the influences leading to his/her ethnic activism; (b) perceptions of the purposes and problems of the particular institution or organization represented by the person interviewed, as well as those of the whole community; (c) how does he/she view the relationship in the community between the old and the new immigration; (d) what does he/she consider to be crucial issues in the community at present; and (e) what prognosis does he/she have for the future. The selected persons for the interviews represented both the old and the new immigration, as well as different age groups and sexes, educational institutions (i.e., schools, churches, and youth organizations), and two strong and representative ethnic organizations, the Ukrainian National Association--the largest and oldest Ukrainian fraternal mutual aid society in America--, and the Ukrainian National Women's League of America that has a network of chapters throughout the United States. Also, visiting different communities in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Detroit; attending a number of meetings such as teachers' conferences, youth rallies, Ukrainian Teachers of America convention; and visiting different ethnic schools, provided an opportunity for a close observation of educational efforts of an ethnic community in America.

Review of Related Literature. Literature regarding ethnicity in the United States sprung, in the first place, from a concern over the

making of a nation. The American Revolution introduced a concept of the American nation, which changed the status of newcomers from colonists to that of immigrants. Almost from that moment a preoccupation with the nature of American nationality found its expression in literature. As early as 1782 Crèvecoeur observed that an American is one whose grandfather was an Englishman with a Dutch wife, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. "Here," wrote Crèvecoeur, "all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great change in the world."²⁷ Over a century later the same idea of "melting" was dramatically presented by Israel Zangwill in a play pointedly called The Melting Pot.²⁸ Since the Anglo-Saxon group was the dominant one, it was assumed that the resulting alloy would proportionately manifest the Anglo-Saxon characteristics. However, even before Gordon's and Moynihan's studies, it was obvious to many that the melting theory was not reflecting the real trends in immigrants' adaptability patterns. Kallen challenged both the assimilation and the "melting pot" theory by formulating a theory of cultural pluralism as a more compatible and desirable way of dealing with cultural diversity in a democratic society. The speculative approaches, then, to the diversity in the United States developed mainly along four lines: assimilation, "melting pot," cultural

²⁷Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, "What is an American?", The Annals of America, ed. Helen Hemingway Benton, (Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1968), Vol. 2, p. 586.

²⁸Israel Zangwill, The Melting Pot, (New York: Macmillan, 1909).

pluralism, and, in the case of racially different people, exclusion. Acculturation and integration are but variations on the "melting pot" theme. Gordon defines acculturation as behavioral assimilation and integration as structural assimilation, that is, entrance into social cliques, organizations, institutional activities and general civic life of the receiving society. He writes:

If this process takes place on a large enough scale, then a high frequency of intermarriage must result, for although the ethnic group member feels a general sense of identification with all the bearers of his ethnic heritage, he feels comfortable in intimate social relations only with those who also share his own class background or attainment.²⁹

Besides the ideologues, the historians and the sociologists found immigration and the resulting racial and cultural diversity a rich field for investigation. Recently, under the title of Americanization Studies, ten important early works regarding immigrants were republished.³⁰ They contain a wealth of material concerning different ethnic groups and patterns of their adjustment to the new country. Scattered throughout different volumes is information about Ukrainian as well as other Slavic settlers, groups which are ignored in the excellent collection of docu-

²⁹Milton M. Gordon, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," Daedalus, Vol. 90 (Spring, 1961), p. 279-280.

³⁰William S. Bernard, Americanization Studies: The Acculturation of Immigrant Groups into American Society, (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1971), 10 vols. The studies include the following works: (1) Frank V. Thompson, Schooling of the Immigrant; (2) John Daniels, America via the Neighborhood; (3) William I. Thomas, Old World Transplanted; (4) Peter A. Speek, A Stake in the Land; (5) Michael M. Davis, Jr., Immigrant Health and the Community; (6) Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, New Homes for Old; (7) Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control; (8) John Palmer Gavit, Americans by Choice; (9) Kate Holladay Claghorn, The Immigrant's Day in Court; (10) William M. Leiserson, Adjusting Immigrant and Industry.

ments regarding immigration edited by Edith Abbot.³¹ In general, certain groups such as Irish, German, Scandinavian, and Jewish are extensively researched, while such people as Rumanians, Bulgarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, have scarcely been examined. This predilection is reflected in the recent Ethnic Chronology Series, a commendable effort to bring to a researcher on ethnicity easily accessible general information on different ethnic groups.³²

Some works by social scientists and historians by their scope, perceptions, and interpretations are milestones along the ethnic research path. Such, for instance, is Thomas' and Znaniecki's Polish Peasant in America dealing with the immigrants, Whyte's Streetcorner Society concerned with immigrants' children, Handlin's The Uprooted presenting a sweeping view of a particular period in the making of a nation.³³ An upsurge in the volume of research on ethnic question in recent years

³¹Edith Abbot, Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926).

³²Ethnic Chronology Series (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceania Publications, Inc.) contains the following ten volumes: (1) Henry C. Dennis, The American Indian, 1492-1970, (1971); (2) Irving J. Sloan, Blacks in America, 1492-1970, (1971); (3) Irving J. Sloan, The Jews in America, 1621-1970, (1971); (4) Anthony F. LoGatto, The Italians in America, 1492-1972, (1972); (5) Pamela and J. W. Smit, The Dutch in America, 1609-1970, (1972); (6) Howard B. Furer, The Scandinavians in America, 986-1970, (1972); (7) Howard B. Furer, The British in America, 1578-1970, (1972); (8) Howard B. Furer, The Germans in America, 1607-1970, (1973); (9) Frank Rankiewicz, The Poles in America, 1608-1972, (1973); (10) William D. Griffin, The Irish in America, 550-1972, (1973).

³³William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1958), 2 vols.; W. H. Whyte, Street Corner Society, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, (New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1951).

was, no doubt, buttressed by the Civil Rights Movement and the ethnic support of President Nixon's election.³⁴ A number of books directly bear on the political involvement of ethnic groups.³⁵ A great deal of the recently published works would go to support Handlin's contention that "serious attention to the operations of these (ethnic) groups has focused primarily upon the pathology of their relations with one another . . . For whatever reason, the normal functioning of American pluralism has been largely neglected."³⁶

The studies of the Ukrainian group in American literature are meagre. Even the U. S. Census publications commonly choose to relegate minor groups under a hardly informative rubric of "others." At the beginning of this century Charities carried articles on Ukrainians

³⁴The celebrated book by Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmelt-able Ethnic, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971), culminates in a call to form an Ethnic Democratic Party which would be "at the very least, a caucus within the Democratic Party," (p. 279). The Republicans, by this time, had a well established network of ethnic Republican groups.

³⁵Some titles of recent books on the political involvement of ethnic groups: Harry Bailey and Ellis Katz, eds., Ethnic Group Politics, (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1969); D. N. Cox, How Does a Minority Group Achieve Power? (New York: John Wiley, 1969); Cynthia Enlos, Ethnic Conflict and Political Development, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972); Mark R. Levy, The Ethnic Factor: How America's Minorities Decide Elections (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1972); Perry L. Weed, The White Ethnic Movement and Ethnic Politics (New York: Praeger, 1973); Edgar Litt, Ethnic Politics in America: Beyond Pluralism, (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1970); Brett W. Hawkins, The Ethnic Factor in American Politics, (Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1970).

³⁶Oscar Handlin, Daedalus, Vol. 90 (Spring 1961), p. 220. If there was any shift in focus it was from the views regarding immigrants as dangerous to society expressed by such at one time eminent sociologists as Edward A. Ross and Henry Pratt Fairchild, to a concern over society's prejudices and discriminatory patterns against minorities.

or Ruthenians, as they were sometimes called at that time.³⁷ Before the Second World War, Balch, Davis, Czyz, Halich and Lichten were the important authors who published in English on the Ukrainian group in the United States.³⁸ In the post-war period Kubijovic and Markus co-authored a concise history on the Ukrainians in America.³⁹ There are also several master's and doctor's dissertations presented at American universities,⁴⁰ one of which was published as a book.⁴¹

³⁷Emily Green Balch, "Slav Emigration at Its Source," Charities and Commons, vol. 16, 1906; Ivan Ardan, "The Ruthenians in America," Charities, Vol. 13, 1904-05.

³⁸Emily Green Balch, Our Slavic Fellow Citizens (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969); Jerome Davis, The Russians and Ruthenians in America, (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922); Y. J. Czyz, The Ukrainian Immigrants in the United States, (Scranton, Pa.: UWA, 1939); Wasyl Halich, Ukrainians in North Dakota, (Bismark: 1956); Wasyl Halich, Ukrainians in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937); Joseph L. Lichten, "Ukrainian Americans," in One America, eds., Francis J. Borwn and Joseph S. Roucek (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952); Yaroslav Czyz and Joseph Roucek, "Ukrainian Americans," in Our Racial and National Minorities, eds. Francis J. Borwn and Joseph S. Roucek (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939).

³⁹Volodymyr Kubijovic and Vasyl Markus, Ukrainians Abroad, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

⁴⁰Alexander Kuman, "Churches as Sources of Unity and Disunity Among the Ukrainian-Americans," (unpublished Master's dissertation, Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, 1942); Stephen W. Mamchur, "Nationalism, Religion and the Problem of Assimilation Among Ukrainians in the United States," (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Graduate School, Yale University, 1942); Wasyl Halich, "Economic Aspects of Ukrainian Activity in the United States" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Iowa, 1934); Walter C. Warzeski, "Religion and National Consciousness in the History of the Rusins of Carpatho-Ruthenia and the Byzantine Rite Pittsburgh Exarchate," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Pittsburgh, 1964).

⁴¹Alex Simirenko, Pilgrims, Colonists, and Frontiersmen: An Ethnic Community in Transition (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

The above works are largely historically oriented. Closely related to the present topic of ethnic education are three studies: Natalie Czuba's superficial survey of Ukrainian Catholic schools (1956), Bociurkiw's detailed probing into ethnic identification among Ukrainian students at the University of Alberta (1972), and a monumental research project conducted under the direction of J. Fishmann on language maintenance by ethnic groups in the United States (1966).⁴² The book contains a case study by sociologist V. Nahirny on the efforts by Ukrainians to maintain their language. The work is that rarity in ethnic research literature: it treats ethnicity not, as Handlin would have put it, in its pathological aspect, but in its normal functioning in the American pluralistic society.⁴³

Materials in Ukrainian on history and cultural maintenance of the group in the United States are scattered throughout numerous publications such as newspapers, almanacs, jubilee books, periodicals, or they are still in the raw state of organizations' reports and minutes of the meetings in private or public archives. There is no extensive up-to-

⁴²N. Czuba, Ukrainian Catholic Parochial Schools (Chicago: 1956); Bohdan Bociurkiw, "Ethnic Identification and Attitudes of University Students of Ukrainian Descent: The University of Alberta Case Study," in Slavs in Canada, ed. Cornelius J. Jaenen (Ottawa: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1971), Vol. 3, 15-110; Joshua Fiahman, et al, eds. Language Loyalty in the United States (London and the Hague: Mouton, 1966).

⁴³Another author interested in language maintenance is Einar Haugen. His works on the subject include: The Norwegian Language in America: A Study of Bilingual Behavior (Bloomington, Inc.: Indiana University Press, 1969), and Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1956), Pub. No. 26 of the American Dialect Society.

date work on the Ukrainian group in the United States which makes it tedious for those students engaged in a research on specific aspects of the group's activities who need a general historical background. Also, the works published in the organizations' almanacs and jubilee books often present an unbalanced view overemphasizing the importance of one organization and ignoring others. Generally speaking, there is no scarcity of source materials, with a possible exception of materials representing the viewpoint of the communist faction. The difficulty lies in the disorganized state of these materials, lack of indexes to a number of periodicals and especially newspapers, and an absence of extensive annotated bibliography.

The best book in this field is the early work of Bachynsky which covers the period up to 1914.⁴⁴ For its scope, perceptions, wealth of factual material and vivid style it is unequalled by any other work on Ukrainians in America. Approximately the same period is covered by Shlepakov. His study of Ukrainian labor immigration,⁴⁵ however, should be read cautiously because of its Marxist ideological bias. The Ukrainian National Association's Jubilee Book of 1936 has an important collection of short histories of various local communities, reminiscences, and an extensive historical overview by its editor, Luka Myshuha.⁴⁶ In

⁴⁴Julian Bachynsky, Ukrainska Immigratsia v Z'yedynenykh Drzhavakh Ameriky, (Lviv: Shevchenko Scientific Society Press, 1914).

⁴⁵A. M. Shlepakov, Ukrainska Trudova Emigratsia v SShA i Kanadi, (Kyiv: Academy of Science of the Ukrainian SSR, 1960).

⁴⁶L. Myshuha, ed., Propam'yatna Knyha, (Jersey City, N.J.: Svoboda Press, 1936).

the 1950's, attempts to up-date Myshuha's work were made by Dragan and Stachiw,⁴⁷ each writing from the point of view of the particular fraternal organization he represented. Several books and a number of articles dealt with a particular aspect, such as The Ukrainian Press in the United States (Czyz) or statistics (Halich) or were of memoiristic character (Prystaj, Yasinchuk, Skehar, Stasiuk).⁴⁸ Also noteworthy as sources of information, a kind of Ukrainian "Who's Who," are the early Ukrainian Professional Association publications (1935, 1939) and the Guide to Ukrainian Businessmen and Professionals in the United States compiled by Weresh (1956).

Surprisingly, there is no comprehensive study of the post Second World War Ukrainian immigration to the United States. An article by Mudry gives a general survey on the pre-emigration period in the Displaced Persons camps in Germany and Austria,⁴⁹ and Nimchuk describes

⁴⁷A. Dragan, "Orhanizovane Zhyttya Amerykanskykh Ukraintsiv," in Yuvilejnyj Kalendar-Almanakh Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Soyuzu na 1949 rik (Jersey City, N.J.: UNA, 1949); A. Dragan, "Ukrainsky Narodny Soyuz v Mynulomu i Suchasnomu," in Ukraintsi u Vilnomu Sviti, eds. L. Myshuha and A. Dragan (Jersey City, N.J.: UNA, 1954), p. 46-85; M. Stachiw, "Nova Ukraina v Amerytsi," in Yuvilejna Knyha Ukrainskoho Robitnychoho Soyuzu, 1910-1960 (Scranton: UWA, 1960), p. 73-118.

⁴⁸Prystaj, Z Truskavtsya u Svit Khmaroderiv, (Lviv: Dilo, 1933), 4 vols.; Lev Yasinchuk, Za Okeanom (Lviv: Ridna Shkola Press, 1930); Lev Yasinchuk, Dla Ridnoho Krayu: Vidhomin Yuvilejnykh Sviat v Amerytsi u Chest Ridnoji Shkoly, (Lviv: by the author, 1933); H. G. Skehar, Po Amerytsi, (Winnipeg, Man.: Iwan Andrusiak, 1940); Platon Stasiuk, V Novomu Sviti: Spomyny i Dumky Bysnesmena, (New York: R. Krupka and A. Bilan, 1958).

⁴⁹Wasył Mudry, "Nova Ukrainaska Emigratsia," in Ukraintsi u Vilnomu Sviti, eds. L. Myshuha and A. Dragan (Jersey City, N.J.: UNA, 1954).

Wasył Mudry, "Ukrainska Emigratsia v Evropi," in Yuvilejnyj Kalendar-Almanakh Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Soyuzu na 1949 rik, (Jersey City, N.J.: UNA, 1949), p. 107-122.

cultural and artistic life in those camps.⁵⁰ Yet, materials abound, both published and unpublished witness accounts, but they have not been gathered and analyzed to produce a general survey of the adaptation processes and organized life of this new immigration. Actually, it is this last immigration that today constitutes the mainstream of the Ukrainian community in America.

Materials regarding educational efforts of the community in particular have also not been gathered and analyzed from the historical perspective. A number of articles by leading ethnic educators in the early period (Kaskiw, Pyrch) are enlightening, and the yearbooks and jubilee books of various schools along with youth organization publications contain much pertinent information on the subject of ethnic education. Among these, the book commemorating the Ukrainian Catholic College Day in Philadelphia,⁵¹ has a comparatively outstanding collection of essays and historical overviews of the development and functioning of the Ukrainian Schools in America. Presently, two doctoral dissertations, one recently completed and one in progress,⁵² deal with

⁵⁰Ivan Nimchuk, "Na Sluzhbi Natsii: Ohlad Praci Ukrainskykh Teatriv i Khoriv sered Ukrainskykh Skytaltsiv v Evropi," in Yuvelejnyj Kalendar-Almanakh Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Soyuzu na 1949 rik (Jersey City, N.J.: UNA, 1949), p. 128-136.

⁵¹Propamyatna Knyha Iz Svyatochnoho Obkhody Ukrainskoho Katolytskoho Kaledzha (Philadelphia, Pa.: America Press, 1940).

⁵²Myron Kuropas, "Ukrainian Education in a Pluralistic Society," (an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education, University of Chicago, 1974), and L. Kazanivsky is working on a doctoral dissertation on the education in the early period of Ukrainian immigration in the United States at the School of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Ukrainian education in the United States.

There is no comparative study of educational efforts among the various ethnic groups. Also, literature regarding ethnic education usually concentrates on schools and neglects to examine the important contribution of youth organizations. Articles dealing with bi-lingual education in American schools approach the problem from the point of view of Americanization and the importance of self-concept of the child to school performance, but not from the point of view of group continuity. And, the programs as such, are viewed as temporary and transitory stages. A different stand is taken by Canadian educators where multiculturalism is being implemented as national policy.⁵³

An outstanding source for general information regarding Ukraine and Ukrainians is the Ukrainian Encyclopaedia edited by V. Kubiyovych, both in its extended Ukrainian version and the concise edition in English.⁵⁴ The Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopaedia has been to a great extent ideologically tailored for a communist society.⁵⁵ Other works

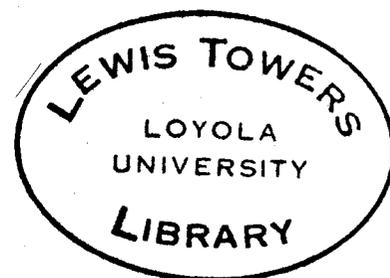
⁵³The myth that bi-lingualism confuses the child has been dispelled by Canadian researchers. See, for example, C. A. Ramsey and E. N. Wright, Language Backgrounds and Achievement in Toronto Schools (Toronto: The Board of Education for the City of Toronto, 1969).

⁵⁴Volodymyr Kubiyovych, ed., Entsyklopaedia Ukrainoznavstva (Munich: Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc., 1949 -), 9 vols., and Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963-1971), 2 vols.

⁵⁵Ukrainska Radyanska Entsyklopedia (Kyiv: Adademiya Nauk Ukrainskoi Soctzialistychnoi Respubliky, 1959).

regarding Ukrainians in the United States are but marginally related to the present study.⁵⁶

⁵⁶For a more extensive review of literature regarding the Ukrainians in the United States see Vasyl Markus, "Ohlad Prats' ta Problemy Doslid Istorii Ukrainskoi Imigratsii v SShA," Ukrains'kyj Istoryk, VIII (1971).



CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Leading Classes in the Old Ukraine. The first Ukrainian immigrants who started to come in numbers to the United States in the 1840's from the Carpathian and Galician regions of the present-day Ukraine, had problems in identifying themselves nationally. Of their country's history they knew but little. They might have known that Prince Volodymyr the Great introduced Christianity to their country. But what happened before or after that, what historical forces shaped the past and the present of which they were a part, the peasants had never had a chance to learn. In songs and tales, popular among common people, many names and events from actual history survived to give the peasants a vague historical sense but not strong enough to give them any understanding of what led to their servile conditions in the nineteenth century. Political events, be they historic or contemporary, were beyond the grasp of the majority of Ukrainian peasants. The only link that they had with their country was the Antean attachment to the soil on which they, as well as their innumerable ancestors toiled and lived. The very word "otchyzna," which they used, meant both the country and the inheritance that one gets from his father. Their "otchyzna," in the broad meaning of the word, their "country," had antecedents reaching back a thousand years in recorded history.

In medieval times, when the Kievan state began to flourish, the feudal notion of subordination of the population to the ruling princes was basic to the social organization as it was in the Western Europe of the time, but not to the same extent. In the West, after the fall of the Roman Empire, the Church became the chief organizer and the highest authority, recreating the ancient ways of the Roman system of power delegation and centralization. Because of the sacred character of the Church with her dominance in both the religious and secular spheres of human life, the notion of subordination became the eleventh Commandment not to be challenged on the penalty of eternal damnation. The Church had no such influence in the Kievan state. In comparison to the West, Christianity in the East was a late-comer. The new religion was accepted as a political expedient by the outstanding and brilliant ruler, Prince Volodymyr the Great, who made it the official religion of his state in 988.

From the very beginning the new religion blended with the old beliefs. The fact that the Gospel was translated into a vernacular Slavonic language by Saints Cyril and Methodius, who also devised a special alphabet for this purpose, facilitated the integration of the old and the new religion, making the Church a part of native culture. The results were not unlike those of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, when the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages gave impetus to the development of national cultures.

Emergence of the Clergy as a Leading Class. The fall of the Kievan state in the mid-thirteenth century, due both to the Tartar

invasions and to the preceding rivalry among princes for the "otchyzna" because of the inappropriate succession rules, shifted the focus of national life to the western regions of the country, Volhynnia and Galicia. Also a sizable portion of the native population had fled there in search of safety. A large part of the Eastern Ukraine became known as "Dyke Pole" - the Wild Steppes, totally uninhabited, where Tartar hordes roamed making it dangerous for habitation. The Galician-Volhynian state continued to flourish as long as there were heirs to the throne retaining basically the old Kievan system of rights and privileges for the different social classes. With the death of the last king, Yurij II, the lands passed in the second half of the fourteenth century to the Polish and Lithuanian rulers as a legitimate inheritance. There were no deep conflicts with the Lithuanian rulers, simply because they did not attempt to assimilate the new realm. However, the situation was different under Polish rulers. Poland, deeply dedicated to Catholicism, felt that she had a religious mission to convert the schismatic Orthodox world. The aristocracy and the townspeople found themselves under pressure either to change their religious affiliation or to forfeit their rights and privileges. Having much to lose by resisting and much to gain by complying, a great portion of the aristocracy gradually embraced Catholicism and became polonized. The bulk of the population, the peasants, remained Orthodox. They had nothing to gain by changing their affiliation since serfdom was their destiny regardless of religion.

Another class that had nowhere to go was the Orthodox clergy.

They remained in league with the native population and by virtue of their occupation, which provided them with extensive contacts and influence over the masses, they filled the void and became the leading class of their people. Yet not always was the clergy clearly aware of its own position. It was but a small portion of the lay and clerical elite which chose to remain faithful to the traditions of their ancestors, who recognized the importance of the role of the Church in their self-preservation as a people at a time when there was no longer a political authority of their own to protect their interests. This small group of clerical and lay elite rallied around the Church as the only remaining effective institution with which they could nationally identify. At one time during the sixteenth century this unassimilated lay elite played a key role in the defense of the Orthodox Church, thereby giving a precedent to a partnership between the Church and secular society. At that time lay brotherhoods were formed in various towns, and their activities ranged over financing of new buildings and renovations of the churches, supporting education, publishing, organizing health facilities, orphanages, and other charitable works. They became an influential social and political force of Ukrainians under the Polish rule, thus contributing to the preservation not only of the Church at the time of crisis, but of national culture as well.

To reach an accommodation for the Orthodox Church within the Polish domain, a union with Rome was formalized at Berestya in 1596. The Orthodox negotiators for this union clearly recognized the importance of the non-religious role of the Church. The condition for the accep-

tance of the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff was that the religious rite, which had become a symbol of national unity, be maintained intact. The Union was far from being unanimously accepted by all the eparchies. The struggle between the factions favoring Orthodoxy and those favoring Union was prolonged and bitter, motivated more by the political situation than dogmatic considerations. It took more than a century for the Lviv Eparchy to join the Union, while in Kiev by 1620 the Orthodox Church already reasserted its influence. By the nineteenth century the Uniate Church actually retained its dominion only in the Western parts of the Ukraine which were under Polish, and then under Austrian, rule, both Roman Catholic countries. It was clearly distinct from the Latin rite Catholic Church and was known as the Greek Catholic or Ruthenian Church. It was the only institution that the common people could identify with as their own.

The Kozak Military Leading Class in the Eastern Ukraine. In the Eastern Ukraine, the center of the ancient Kievan Rus, historical events took a somewhat different turn. This part of the country, after almost three centuries of diminished historical importance, started its comeback at the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time feudal conditions under Polish domination became so oppressive that for many a young man the dangers from the Tartar manhunters roaming the eastern steppes became less frightening than the situation in the safety of their own villages. A clandestine exodus of young men began into the steppes. They were joined for a variety of reasons by some highly educated aristocrats, such as Prince Dmytro Wyshnevetsky, who gave the

whole movement organization and direction. The men called themselves "kozaks" - a Turkish word meaning "free men." In the next two and a half centuries these serf refugees populated the wild steppes, set up a military self-governing organization, raided Turkish seaports in defense of the Holy Christian Orthodox Faith, fought wars on the side of Poland and Russia, concluded treaties, made Kiev again into a lively cultural and religious center, and their name a legend.

The historical origins of the Kozak movement coincide approximately with the beginnings of the North American colonization, and took place under roughly similar conditions. Because of religious, economic-political oppression and an adventurous spirit, the Kozaks colonized little known and dangerous territory. At the time of Cromwell, a brilliant leader, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, led a successful revolt against Poland and established a new political entity in Eastern Europe, the Ukrainian Kozak State. However, the defense alliance concluded with the northern neighbor, Muscovy, gradually led to the downfall of the Ukrainian State. By the time of the American Revolution, the central and historically symbolic fortress, the Zaporizhska Sich, on the Dnipro River, was destroyed by the Russian Empress Katherine II as a final act of the liquidation of the Kozak autonomy. The Kozak military elite, which constituted the upper classes of society, was subjected, similarly to the West Ukrainian nobility in previous times, to the pressures of assimilation into the ranks of the dominant powers. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the upper classes were already considerably russianized, but the Kozak traditions were still

very much alive in the population. This historical consciousness of the past, together with the retention of the language by the masses, formed the basis for the national renaissance in the last century. Here, in the Eastern part of the Ukraine, it was the historian, the writer and the ethnologist who played prominent roles in the national awakening.

There was a difference in the role that the Church played in the retention of national identity in the Eastern and the Western parts of the Ukraine. The historical situation in the Western Ukraine assigned to the clergy a leading position in the retention of national identity. There was no similar development in the Orthodox Eastern part of the Ukraine. As long as there was a Kozak state, the Church played a distinct and distinguished role in the cultural development of the country. Kiev became a religious and cultural center not only for the Ukraine, but for the whole of Orthodox Eastern Europe. The Mohylyanska Academy was the highest institution of learning in that part of Europe and the Pecherska Lavra became a seat of Orthodox spirituality. During the eighteenth century the Orthodox Church of the Ukraine was gradually brought under the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the absence of any profound differences in rite, Church language or dogma, she became subservient to Russian Orthodoxy which, in turn, was a handmaid of the Russian state. In this position the Church in the Eastern Ukraine served more as an assimilating agent than a retentive one in maintaining national identity. To a great extent this was the reason why in the national renaissance movement of the nineteenth cen-

ture there were no leading clerical figures in the Eastern Ukraine, while in the Western parts of the country the clergy were primarily responsible for the national cultural revival.

The symbolic figure of the nineteenth-century national struggle was a genuinely gifted artist and poet, Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861). Born a serf, he was redeemed from slavery because of his impressive artistic talent and then persecuted by the Czarist regime for both his liberal ideas regarding social justice and freedom and his involvement with the Ukrainian political organization, the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Shevchenko's poems became widely circulated and had a tremendous impact on the Ukrainian population of all ranks and in all parts of the country.

The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the first modern Ukrainian political organization, had a short span of existence. Founded clandestinely in 1845, it was suppressed by the Czarist government in 1847, and its leading members were banished from the Ukraine. Yet, the Brotherhood was important, both by reason of the quality of its members who were outstanding Ukrainian writers and intellectuals and of the ideas that it exposed. It gave a precedent to the formation of Hromady (associations), which in the short period of liberalization under Czar Alexander II in the 1860's flourished in all the large cities of the Eastern Ukraine. Under this influence a whole movement emerged with a view of reviving Ukrainian consciousness, promoting education, and upgrading the social conditions of the peasants. Their activities were of a cultural character, but with

political implications. Interested in Ukrainian history, language, literature and ethnology, they also started so-called Sunday schools for teen-aged and adult Ukrainians, conducted in the native language.

Noteworthy of this movement was the fact that it was led by a newly emerging social class of intelligentsia, people whose social status was derived not from the traditional socio-economic situation, but primarily from their educational achievement. To a great extent they directed their activism towards the education of the peasantry whom they regarded to be the true carriers of national identity. The educational opportunities of the peasants had progressively declined since the mid-eighteenth century, when Katherine II appropriated the land holdings of the Ukrainian monasteries, thereby taking away the financial basis of the schools.¹ The introduction of the Russian language into the Ukrainian schools as the language of instruction further precluded the peasants' participation and advancement on the educational ladder because of their persistent retention of their native tongue. A severe blow to the movement came in 1863 when it was prohibited by law to print Ukrainian books in the Ukraine and, a year later, when another law made it illegal to teach at any school in any other language than Russian. No longer could the Sunday

¹In 1768, eight years before the final liquidation of the Kozak State, there were, for instance, in the territory of Chernihiv, Horodenka, and Sosna counties 134 schools or one school per 746 population; in 1875 on the same territory there were only 52 schools or one per 6,750 population. "Osvita i Shkilnytstvo," Entsyklopedia Ukrainoznavstva, ed. V. Kubyovych, (Munich: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1949), Vol. 1, p. 920.

schools function legally and on a regular basis. After that they flourished sporadically whenever the government showed signs of tolerance. This movement among Ukrainians under Russia, oriented towards reviving of historical consciousness and rediscovering folk traditions as the mainsprings of cultural vitality and national identity, was decisive in the formation of modern Ukrainian national consciousness.

Nineteenth Century National Movement in Western Ukraine. In the Western Ukraine, which had been under Austro-Hungarian rule since the partition of Poland (1772), political conditions were more favorable. On taking over these territories, the "enlightened" monarchs, Maria Teresa and Joseph II, tried to improve cultural and economic conditions which were quite backwards by the end of the eighteenth century. In 1774 a special theological seminary, the Barbareum, was opened in Vienna for the training of Ukrainian clergy. Ten years later the University of Lviv was established, and in a short time an Institute for Ukrainian studies, the Studium Ruthenum, was added to it. Even though the Ukrainian character of the institution was later suppressed (1805), its influence was, nevertheless, significant. The educated class in the first half of the nineteenth century in Western Ukraine was predominantly the clergy. Priests, such as Wahylevych, Shashkevych, and Holovatsky, played a prominent role in the national revival. Their thinking was deeply influenced by the events of 1848, the year of the "spring of nations." Holovna Ruska Rada (The Central Ruthenian Council), mainly composed of priests, was established that year. It put forth a demand to the Austrian government for a separation of Ukrai-

nian Galicia from the Polish territories, a demand that the Austrian government never met. This led to the reorientation of a part of the clergy towards Russia in the hope that the Russian Czar, being himself a Slav, would support their political program. The russophile tendency persisted well into the twentieth century.

A new populist trend, the "narodovtsi," developed in the 1860's. They initiated contacts with the Ukrainian activists in the Eastern parts of the country. Realizing that the obstacles to obtaining Ukrainian territorial autonomy in Austria were insurmountable, they turned their attention to educating and organizing the Ukrainian population. Hromady of students were formed at various secondary and higher schools with a view to cultural and educational activities. In 1868 the Hromady founded a society called Prosvita (Enlightenment). Through it, the movement effectively reached the peasant population. Soon there were chapters of Prosvita established throughout Galicia.² The activities centered on promoting schools, libraries, choirs and drama clubs along with publishing Ukrainian textbooks and literary works. Besides cultural activities, the populist movement, under the influence of a notable historian and political thinker, Mykhajlo Drahomaniv, developed a definite political program.³ In 1885 the narodovtsi estab-

²In 1914, 75% of all the Ukrainian settlements in Galicia had Prosvita reading libraries and 20% of all men were members of this society. Ibid., p. 931.

³Mykhajlo Drahomaniv (1841-1895), professor at the University of Kiev, lived in exile since 1875, at first in Switzerland and then in Bulgaria where he was a professor at the University of Sophia. His political views aiming at decentralization and local self-government within a loosely federated state were developed mainly under the influence of Proudhon.

lished Narodna Rada (National Council), which adhered to the principle of the national unity of Ukrainians in Austria and Russia, constitutional reform and educational progress. By this time, the educated lay class started to predominate in the national movement and soon, in the 1890's, it was no longer the clergy, but the intelligentsia who led the way.

The rise of the Ukrainian political parties marks the beginning of the modern national period. The Radical Party (established 1891), among whose leaders was Ivan Franko, a brilliant intellectual and a talented poet and writer of peasant origin, promoted ideas of peasant socialism and was clearly anti-clerical. The leaders of the moderate liberal National Democratic Party (1899) also belonged predominantly to the intelligentsia. Their influence over peasants in eastern Galicia was extensive. But in the Carpatho-Ukraine, where the clergy and the intelligentsia were assimilated into Hungarian culture, though there was still a tiny russophile segment among the clergy, the modern national Ukrainian movement at the end of the nineteenth century was almost non-existent. And this was the region where the Ukrainian emigration to the United States originated.

Social and Economic Causes of Emigration. The conditions of the serf peasants in the nineteenth century were similar, regardless in what part of the Ukraine they resided. The abolition of serfdom (1848 in Austria and 1861 in Russia) did not bring any sudden and permanent improvement in the standard of living among the villagers. One significant difference between the Eastern and the Western Ukrainian regions in the first half of the nineteenth century was the possibility

of colonization by Ukrainians of the South-Eastern steppes and Siberia, where servitude was less extensive and conditions of peasants generally better. Several historians have suggested that this was the main reason why the emigration to the United States had not spread to the Eastern parts of the Ukraine.⁴ The Western territories under Austria-Hungary had no such Lebensraum nearby. There the main reason for emigration was the fact that the majority of the population could not make a living on the small plots of land they owned. In Galicia, for instance, 83% of the population lived in villages, but 40% of all lands were owned by less than 0.5% of the population.⁵ A similar situation existed in Carpatho-Ukraine where, among the wealthy landowners only one person, Count Schonborn, owned 20% of all the territory.⁶ The average size of the peasant land holdings decreased constantly, so that while in 1859 the average holding was five acres, by 1900 it was only half of it. Debt-ridden and without any prospects for improvement, the peasants did not need an agent to persuade them to emigrate. A heresay about a place where one can make a better living, and earn more money was inducement enough.⁸

⁴A. M. Shlepakov, Ukrainska Trudova Emihratsia v SShA i Kanadi (Kiev: Akademia Nauk Ukrainskoi RSR, 1960), pp. 42-43.

⁵Ibid., pp. 14-15. ⁶Ibid., p. 29.

⁷Entsyklopedia Ukrainoznavstva, op. cit., p. 701.

⁸Z. Kuzela underlines the importance of agents in his article "Prychynky do Studii nad Nashoyu Emigratsiyeyu," Zapysky N. T. im Shevchenka: Naukova Khronika (1911), Vol. 105, p. 187, while V. Melnyk, Istoriya Zakarpattya v Usnykh Perekazakh ta Istorychnykh Pisnyakh (Lviv: Lvivskij Universytet, 1970), p. 131, observes that no agent could have persuaded the people to emigrate had the economic conditions been not desperate. His conclusion is based on the analysis of the folk-songs about the emigrants.

One of the early Ukrainian immigrants, Denys Holod, tells that ever since the time he witnessed as a ten year old boy in 1878 a departure of the son of one of the well-to-do peasants in his country, Povel Khyлак, the thought of going to America never left him until his own emigration at the age of seventeen. This Povel Khyлак became a Columbus for his district. Once he wrote home that there were good paying jobs in America, the people started to emigrate in great numbers.⁹

Perhaps the very first emigrants were like Khyлак, clever and literate, coming from well-off peasant families, who attended school and besides their own language also knew Polish and German well, which helped them to adjust relatively easily to the new country. Their addresses were carefully secured by the emigrants from their districts who, once they arrived in the United States, knocked at their doors for advice and help. Certainly the majority of the later emigrants were not of the caliber of Khyлак. They were poorer than other emigrants from Austro-Hungary and uneducated.¹⁰ At the time when the illiteracy level of the immigrants in the United States was 23.3%, it reached 59% among Ukrainians.¹¹ Back home no one, besides their families and villagers, paid much attention to the exodus.

Besides illiteracy, lack of funds, and language difficulties, the Ukrainian immigrants at the end of the nineteenth century had an-

⁹Denys Holod, "Spomyny Staroho Imigranta," Propamyatna Knyha, ed. Luka Myshuha (Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1936), pp. 255-57.

¹⁰Kuzela, op. cit., Vol. 105, p. 155.

¹¹Ibid., Vol. 107, p. 147.

other drawback in comparison to other groups. There was neither a previous Ukrainian immigration which could have helped them in adjusting to the new environment, nor were there educated lay people or priests accompanying them.¹² The Germans had both political and religious immigration; both kinds contained a segment of well educated people. There was Polish political immigration, especially after the unsuccessful revolt in 1831. The Irish had former pioneers, so did the French, and the Italians could trace their predecessors to Columbus. Though the causes of the nineteenth century emigration were generally common to all groups - poverty and disasters - the fact that there was a previous immigration and institutions were established towards which the new arrivals could turn, made a crucial difference in the adjustment patterns of the various immigrant groups.¹³

Beginnings in the United States. The Ukrainian emigration did not take place with a view to permanent settlement, except for a small group of religious refugees, the Stundists, who settled on farms in North Dakota.¹⁴ The bulk of the emigrants were men between the ages

¹²Actually by that time there already were Ukrainian settlers in Alaska and Northern California, but they had no contact with the Ukrainian immigrants in the Eastern regions of the United States. An outstanding personality among them was Agapius Honcharenko (1832-1916), editor of the Alaska Herald, 1868-73. See Theodore Luciw, Father Agapius Honcharenko: First Ukrainian Priest in the United States (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1970).

¹³Kuzela, op. cit., Vol. 106, p. 186, lists the causes of emigration to America as lack of education, poverty, wide-spread alcoholism, economic conditions, and the activities of the agents.

¹⁴See Wasyl Halich, Ukrainians in North Dakota (Bismarck: 1956) and Yaroslav Chyz and Andrew Dubovey, "Ukrainski Kolonii v Nort Dakoti," Almanac of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association (Scranton: Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, 1936), pp. 134-145.

of fourteen and forty-five, many of whom left parents, wives and children behind. They intended to stay in America only long enough to save money to pay off their debts and buy some land when they returned home. They did not settle on the farms, their traditional occupation, but went to work in shops and mines, usually directed there by labor agents. There they were, along with other Slavs, often used as strikebreakers in the disputes between American labor and the capitalists, a situation which they did not understand, and nobody was there to explain it to them.¹⁵ In search of people with whom they could communicate, the Ukrainian immigrants joined Slovak or Polish communities and parishes in the absence of their own. When asked what nationality they were, they would most often reply "Greek Catholic." Yet they could always differentiate between other nationalities and their own, recognizing "their own people."

The arrival of Reverend Ivan Volyansky in December, 1884, heralded the beginning of the organized community life of Ukrainians in America. In January, 1885, he organized a fraternal mutual aid group, the Brotherhood of Saint Nicholas. Less than two years after his arrival, he consecrated the first Ukrainian Church in the United States in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania. He traveled extensively, visiting various Ukrainian settlements, organizing both fraternal groups and church building committees. In this he had the helping hand of his wife. But it was not enough. Volyansky wrote to Metropolitan Sembratovich

¹⁵See Victor R. Green, The Slavic Community on Strike, (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968).

to send more priests and at the same time persuaded a young student, Volodymyr Simenovych, to come to the United States. Reverend Volyansky made a tour of all the known Ukrainian settlements visiting such far-away places as St. Louis, Missouri and Minneapolis, Minnesota. Within a short time, less than five years of his stay in the United States before his recall to Galicia,¹⁶ he started organizing parishes and building churches, publishing the first Ukrainian newspaper America, establishing mutual aid societies, which numbered one in 1885, six in 1887 and fourteen in 1889, and cooperative stores.¹⁷ It was difficult to entice people from the ranks of the intelligentsia to emigrate, and there were problems as far as the clergy was concerned, since the Vatican did not want married clergy to immigrate to the United States.¹⁸ And it was this kind of people that the budding community needed most. The second immigrant priest, Father Lakhovych, died the same year that he arrived in America. A celibate priest, Reverend K. Andrukhovych, laid foundations for the future organizational patterns of the community. Besides the above mentioned activities, they also organized the first church choirs, the first ethnic schools, the first library-reading rooms. In their activities they were not confined to the internal affairs of the group only. Both Volyansky and Simenovych joined the

¹⁶Rev. Volyansky was recalled on the insistence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy because he was married.

¹⁷By 1889 there were six cooperative stores; all of them collapsed after Rev. Volyansky's departure. Julian Bachnysky, Ukrainska Immigratsia v Z'yedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky (Lviv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1914), pp. 338-341.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 287.

Knights of Labor and took a definite stand in the labor disputes. While other Catholic religious leaders had no sympathy for the strikers, "the Greek Catholic leader, Father Volyansky, was singular in his support of the strike."¹⁹

The first priest to arrive from the Carpatho-Ukraine was Father Dzubai in 1889, the year that Volyansky was recalled. At that time the entire intelligentsia consisted of four priests and five students. Two years later there were sixteen priests from the Carpatho-Ukrainian region and only three from Galicia. By 1894 the number of Carpatho-Ukrainian priests went up to twenty-six, when those from Galicia rose only to four. The disputes for parishes, most of them originally organized by Father Volyansky, began. The conservative clergy from the Carpatho-Ukraine suddenly confronted by a new Ukrainian national ideology were unable to absorb the new trends and actively opposed Ukrainization. In the absence of a strong energetic personality of Father Volyansky's stature, the organizational foundations laid by him started to disintegrate. Attempts by the newly arriving priests to capture what already was thriving, such as cooperative stores, mutual aid brotherhoods, and parishes, introduced a period of national and religious disorientation. In 1891 the Uniate parish in Minneapolis, Minnesota, prompted by the conflicts with the Roman Catholic hierarchy and enticed by the help offered, was the first to switch its allegiance under the leadership of their pastor, Father Toth, to the Russian Or-

¹⁹Green, op. cit., p. 106.

thodox Church.²⁰ It started a movement among Ukrainian Catholics, well subsidized by the czarist government, to adopt Russian Orthodoxy.

As a response to the demands of the Uniate Catholics and as a preventive measure to the Russian Orthodox activities, the Vatican appointed a Ukrainian bishop for the immigrants in the United States. Bishop Ortynsky arrived in 1907. He considerably fended off the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. However, he did not restore peace and order to the warring Galician and Carpatho-Ukrainian groups. Upon his death in 1916, the two were separated administratively and remain so until the present time.

The first fraternal organization was started as a parish society by Father Volyansky in 1885. Two years later a meeting of six existing chapters was called for the purpose of unifying their activities. But the disputes between the Galicians and Carpatho-Ukrainians soon led to separate organizational structures. The recurrent attempts at unity had failed. In 1892 the Carpatho-Ukrainian mutual aid societies formed a federation called the Greek Catholic Union (Soyedynenyiye) and a year later the Ukrainians established a Ruthenian (Ukrainian) National Association,²¹ both still in existence. In 1894, the Ukrainian National

²⁰A. A. Granovsky, "Ukrainian-American Organizations and their Aspirations," (Immigrant Archives, University of Minnesota, 1943), P. 21. (Manuscript.)

²¹Ruthenian was the official name for Rusyn (old name for Ukrainian) in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The name Ruthenian National Union (Rus'ky Narodny Soyuz) was officially changed at the Thirteenth Convention in 1914 to the Ukrainian National Association. A. Dragan, "Ukrainsky Narodny Soyuz v Mynulomu i Suchasnomu," Ukraintsi u Vilnomu Sviti, eds. L. Myshuha and A. Dragan (Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1954), p. 64.

Association started to publish a newspaper Svoboda.²² This newspaper became the most influential Ukrainian paper in the United States, reflecting the trends, activities and preoccupations of the community. Later other mutual aid societies were established, the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association (1911), the Ukrainian Catholic Association "Provydinnya" (1912), and the Ukrainian National Aid Association (1914).²³ How important these organizations were to the self-identity of the early immigrants is reflected in the memoirs of Platon Stasiuk. "Not till I joined these organizations," writes Stasiuk, "did I begin to feel that I really belong somewhere."²⁴

Until the arrival of Bishop Ortynsky only a limited interest was shown on the part of the old country in the activities of their overseas countrymen. The exception was a small group of young and dedicated seminarians in Lviv in the 1890's who formed a so-called "American Circle." Progressive in their national outlook and in sympathy with the Radical Party which was oriented towards improvement of the social and economic conditions of the peasants, they chose the Ukrainian American community as their field of pastoral work. Since married

²²Svoboda was published weekly until August, 1915. From 1914 to 1920 it appeared three times a week, and in January, 1921, it became a daily. Myshuha, Propamyatna Knyha, p. 45.

²³By 1914 there were ten fraternal organizations with Ukrainian membership in the United States. Some of them separated themselves ideologically from the mainstream of Ukrainian community, others ceased to exist. See Bachynsky, Ukrainska Immigratsia, pp. 330-331, for brief characterization of these organizations.

²⁴Platon Stasiuk, V Novomu Sviti: Spomyny i Dumky Byznesmena (New York: by the author, 1958), p. 17.

clergy was not welcomed in America, they decided to remain celibate. By 1898 all eight of them were in the United States.²⁵ They closely cooperated in rebuilding the foundations laid by Father Volyansky for promoting not only religious adherence, but also national awareness by means of organizations. They started schools both for the children and for the adults, published popular books, promoted amateur drama clubs, social evenings, concerts, and new fraternal chapters for the purpose of mutual help. In the field of church activities, they called a convention of the Ukrainian parishes in Shamokin, Pennsylvania, in 1901, at which only the Galician representatives appeared; the Carpatho-Ukrainians refused to attend. There a Central Council for the affairs of the Greek Catholic Church was elected, consisting of three priests and three laymen. This reflected the progressive approach of the "American Circle" priests, to share the community leadership with the lay people and to put the religious and national interests as equally important. The same group of priests was instrumental in calling the first rally of all organizations in Jersey City in 1900, dealing with the problems of Ukrainian immigration in the United States. Four such rallies took place between 1900 and 1905. With the arrival of Bishop Ortynsky in 1907, the activities of the "American Circle" priests became subordinated to a higher church authority. Bishop Ortynsky was not disposed to share authority with priests and laity.

²⁵The priests of the "American Circle" were: Nestor Dmytriv, Mykola Stefanovych, Ivan Ardan, Ivan Konstankevych, Stefan Makar, Antin Bonchevsky, Mykola Pidhoretsky, Pavlo Tymkevych. Bachynsky, Ukrainska Immigratsia, p. 292.

He was in a difficult position; he had to reconcile the Galician and Carpatho-Ukrainian clergy without having himself an independent jurisdiction, but serving initially only as a Vicar of local Roman Catholic bishops. Unable to accept the new American reality, his old-country conservative approach to the Church's role and his devotion to building a strong Ukrainian Catholic Church and community in America led instead to a split in mutual aid societies (pro-clerical and secularist), and later, indirectly, contributed to a creation of two central representative bodies of the Ukrainian community. Nevertheless, Bishop Ortynsky left a strong imprint on the development of the community.

Besides the predominantly educational and social-cultural activities, the community as a whole started at the beginning of the century to engage in political activism. The causes they embraced reflected the trends and events in the old country. "The promoter of the public life," writes Bachynsky,

was the old country. It and its affairs make the immigrants come out from their dirty rooms to the public meetings and it instills in them an interest to public affairs, excites them as an entity, and - what is interesting - brings out in them national consciousness, which they wholly lacked in the old country, or felt it but vaguely.²⁶

The political activism consisted mainly of calling meetings in support of various causes in the old country, collecting money to support these causes, sending petitions to the American government on behalf of Ukrainian leaders imprisoned by the Polish administration and Russian government, and staging demonstrations. With the excep-

²⁶Bachynsky, Ibid., p. 441.

tion of Father Volyansky and his Brotherhood of Saint Nicholas, which joined the American Knights of Labor, there were no involvements with the American political organizations. Even the Ukrainian Socialist Party, which was organized in 1910, did not join its American or any other national or international counterpart until 1919. This expressed prevailing attitudes among the immigrants. They were here only temporarily, and their future was in the Ukraine and not in the United States. Their money built schools, hospitals, orphanages and supported scientific, literary, and political activities in the old country. A string of prominent leaders, visitors from Europe, intensified this link with Ukrainian causes.

The Period During the First World War. At the start of the First World War there were attempts at consolidation of the Ukrainian community not only along the lines of church affiliation or mutual aid societies, but with a view to creating one representative body to proclaim and defend the interests of the Ukraine. A Congress of Ukrainians in the United States was assembled in New York in 1915. Sensing that the clergy might not be given a privileged status at the Congress, Bishop Ortynsky, at the time of the planning of the Congress in 1914, instituted a Ruthenian National Council composed of priests and lay representatives. As a result of the Congress, a representative body called the Federation of Ukrainians in the United States was formed, but it was soon weakened by a split between the progressive socialist-oriented and the clerical conservative factions. The latter formed a separate representation, a Ukrainian National Com-

mittee, which was actually an outgrowth of the Ruthenian National Council. Both the Federation and the Committee conducted similar activities, rivaling for the credit in case of success. For instance, both groups claimed that they were instrumental in the proclamation of the Ukrainian Day by President Wilson, a point largely irrelevant for the masses of the Ukrainian immigrants. The significance of this tag day, the proceeds of which went to the support of war widows, orphans and invalids in the Ukraine, was that it symbolized for the Ukrainians in the United States their own achievement of national awareness and the recognition by Americans as a national group.²⁷

The untimely death of Bishop Ortynsky in 1916 precipitated the final parting between the Ukrainians and the Carpatho-Ukrainians. Separate church administrations were appointed for the two factions by the Vatican, and no serious attempts at reconciliation were made afterwards. The leaders of the two factions were involved only with the internal affairs of their respective groups and never gave priority to the question of consolidating the two communities. The Carpatho-Ukrainians were interested in the fate of their homeland under Czechoslovakia at that time, and the Ukrainians from Galicia were totally engaged in the struggle against the Polish rule in the Western Ukraine.

In 1919 an unofficial diplomatic mission was sent to Washington by the government of the Ukrainian National Republic in Kiev headed by

²⁷The head of the Ukrainian National Committee, Rev. P. Ponia-tyshyn, describes how the name Ukrainian was added to the Ruthenian Day in "Ukrainska Tserkva i U.N. Soyuz," Propamyatna Knyha, p. 295.

Julian Bachynsky. It was warmly welcomed both by the Federation of the Ukrainians in the U.S.A. and the Ukrainian National Committee, but no meaningful cooperation developed between these three representative bodies, all of which ceased to exist with the end of the War. New attempts were made to create a general representation. In 1923 United Ukrainian Organizations (Obyednanniya) were sponsored by the Ukrainian National Association with its well established paper Svoboda, while the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, finding the Obyednanniya too conservative, formed a body with similar objectives, the Ukrainian-American Committee for the Freedom of Ukraine (Oborona Ukrainy). Neither of these super-organizations developed into as effective or as influential bodies as were the mutual aid societies.

During the First World War, the influx of new arrivals suddenly diminished, and then, due to the new immigration laws, it became a small trickle. Still, though small, this new infusion was very important. It contained a large proportion of political émigrés who were highly educated and nationally conscious. They uplifted the cultural and organizational life of the Ukrainians in America, making it more attractive to the upcoming younger generation to whom the Koshetz choir and the Avramenko dance troupes were much more expressive of their Ukrainian heritage than the political bickering among the leaders.

The Shift in Community Objectives After the First World War. The 1920's was a decade when immigrants by and large realized that they would not soon return to the Ukraine, and the education of their children became one of their major concerns. Qualified teachers among

the new immigrants contributed to improving the instruction of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian subjects in parochial schools as well as to the founding of new Ukrainian language schools. A new Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, Konstantyn Bohachevsky, appointed in 1924, was given a much broader jurisdiction than his predecessor. He made schools one of the chief objects on his agenda, establishing the first all-day parochial Ukrainian school in Philadelphia in 1925. By 1940 there were sixteen such schools.²⁸

The organizational life of the Ukrainian group in America between the two World Wars was still greatly tied to the events in Ukraine. Prominent visitors from Galicia, which was now under Poland, such as Metropolitan Sheptycky in 1921,²⁹ Eugene Konovaletz, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1928-29, Olena Kysileska, a renowned feminist leader and senator in the Polish government in Warsaw, Lew Yasinchuk, a leading educator, the young Danylo Skoropadsky, son of the Ukrainian Hetman in exile (head of the Ukrainian state in 1918), and others were welcomed and financially supported by Ukrainians throughout the country. Such events as the Polish persecution of Ukrainian nationalists in the 1930's in Galicia and the

²⁸Propamyatna Knyha iz Svyatochnoho Obkhodu Ukrainskoho Katolytskoho Kaledzha u Filadelphii (Philadelphia: America Press, 1940), p. 51.

²⁹It was Metropolitan Sheptycky's second visit. The first time he visited Ukrainian settlements in the United States and Canada was in 1910, when he attended the Eucharistic Council in Montreal. His visits had an immense influence on the community. See Rev. P. Poniatyshyn, "Z Moyikh Spomyniv: Mytropolyt Andrey Sheptycky v Amerytsi," Ukraintsi u Vilnomu Sviti, eds. L. Myshuha and A. Dragan (Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1954), pp. 19-36.

artificially produced famine in the Soviet Ukraine for the purpose of breaking down both the resistance of the farmers to collectivization and the national spirit of the population, resulted in petitions and demonstrations by the American Ukrainian community. Also monarchist and nationalist ideas of the new political parties were brought over by the newcomers; new parties, the Union of Hetman's Followers (Ukrainska Hetmanska Orhanizatsia) and the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (Orhanizatsia Derzhavnoho Vidrodzhennia Ukrainy - ODVU), gained the upper hand.

During the short period of the Ukraine's independence in the years 1918-1920, the Orthodox Church in the Ukraine broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church and became autocephalous, that is, self-governing. The event had echoes in the United States, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church was established in 1921. It consisted of the new Ukrainian Orthodox immigrants and found converts among the older immigrant group attracted by the Church's national Ukrainian character. Another branch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, recognizing the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople, was formed in the late 1920's as a result of Bishop Bohachevsky's stand against married clergy and his suspected Latinization tendencies.

There also were other developments, not always as obvious and dramatic as the political activism or the church disputes, but deeply affecting the nature of the Ukrainian community in America. It was definitely becoming a permanent American community. Various organizations began to celebrate their jubilees. Old immigrants, pioneers of

the group, were dying. Now the money collections included such causes as old age homes and cemeteries. The community ownership of such properties as organization halls and schools, church and monastery buildings were steadily growing and the question of their inheritance was becoming more sensitive. The turning point was 1933, the year of the World's Fair in Chicago. A Ukrainian Pavilion there became a drawing point for the Ukrainian visitors and gave an opportunity to express these emerging attitudes. New types of organizations, composed of American-born and educated people, were established. Often they had but a meagre knowledge of the Ukrainian language and past, but they wanted to have a place both in the larger American society and in the Ukrainian community. The old forms of organization, designed to accommodate the barely literate immigrants, were no longer adequate to satisfy the needs and aspirations of the younger native generation. In 1933 such important and long lasting American Ukrainian youth organizations were founded as The Ukrainian Youth League of North America, League of Ukrainian Catholic Youth, and a junior chapter of ODVU, the Young Ukrainian Nationalists. In addition, an association of Ukrainian Professionals was also established. Until the Second World War these organizations, along with the older ones, conducted lively activities, holding meetings, conventions, sports rallies and staging cultural and social events.

Many issues that preoccupied the leaders during the First World War and in the 1920's were no longer as vital. Consequently, the political bodies, the Obyednannya and Oborona Ukrainy, faded away. But,

the attitude that there should be a common representation of all the Ukrainians in the United States persisted and was intensified during the outbreak of the Second World War when the hopes for gaining Ukraine's independence once again flared up. Under the leadership of four principal fraternal organizations - the Ukrainian National Association "Provydinnya," and Ukrainian National Aid - 805 delegates representing 168 different communities met in Washington, D. C., in 1940 and laid foundations for the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), headed by Nicholas Murashko. Though the need for such a body was universally recognized among Ukrainians, the UCCA was not, for various reasons, fully supported by all the organizations. After a shaky start, a second more successful Congress was held in Philadelphia in 1944. The purpose and activities of the UCCA were very similar to those of the Ukrainian National Committee and the Federation of Ukrainians back in 1919-1922; that is, the UCCA mainly sought support of the United States for the cause of the Ukraine's liberation. Like its predecessor, the Ukrainian National Committee, which sent a delegation to the Paris Conference in 1919, the UCCA dispatched a delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco and in 1946 to Paris, both headed by an American-born young lawyer, W. Shumeyko. The UCCA had also set up in 1947 a representative body on a broader scale, the Pan-American Conference (PAUC) representing Ukrainians in the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, which, in its turn, was the promoter of the Free World Ukrainian Congress (SKVU) held for the first time in New York in 1968.

Period After the Second World War. The Second World War, on the one hand, reinforced the feeling among Ukrainians that perhaps now the old country would have a chance to achieve independence and the Ukrainians throughout the world should help it, and, on the other hand, the war draft had depleted the organizations of their younger active element and this had its effect on the activities within the community. Moreover, being anti-Soviet, the Ukrainian community was under suspicion of holding pro-German sentiments. The application of subtle pressures by the American government inhibited many people in their activism.³⁰

In the years immediately after the War, the attention of the whole community was almost exclusively turned towards the relief of the Ukrainian refugees in Western Europe, the great majority of whom were in Displaced Persons Camps in Western Germany and Austria. The United Ukrainians American Relief Committee was instituted by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as early as 1944. Its immediate task was

³⁰There were no arrests made on the ground of collaboration with Germans. The only Ukrainian arrested in this connection was an immigrant from Guatemala where he ran allegedly pro-German radio programs. Mr. R. Smook, his lawyer and a prominent activist in the Ukrainian community, said in an interview that the charges against his client were dropped. More publicized were the accusations of American commentator Walter Winchell in his syndicated column and in the A. Kahn and M. Seyers book The Sabotage where L. Myshuha was singled out as a Nazi collaborator. In this connection the FBI raided offices of Svoboda in December, 1941, where Myshuha was the chief editor, but nothing incriminating was found and the accident ended with apologies. The publishers of Sabotage, Harpers Brothers, were sued. The case was settled outside the court with public apologies to the satisfaction of L. Myshuha. See A. Dragan, "Ukrainsky Narodny Soyuz v Mynulomu i Suchasnomu," Ukraintsi u Vilnomu Sviti, pp. 76-77.

to organize a campaign against forced repatriation of Ukrainian refugees into the Soviet Union. Besides a direct aid to the refugees in the form of food and clothing, the Relief Committee was actively engaged in calling for special law permitting immigration to the United States outside the allowable quota. After the passage of the Displaced Persons Act in 1948, by the United States Congress, a mass immigration on the scale that had not been experienced by the American Ukrainian community for at least forty-five years, began. In the years 1948-1952 out of the approximately 250,000 Ukrainians who were not repatriated and remained in Germany and Austria, some 80,000 immigrated to the United States, settling in the largest Ukrainian centers of New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago.³¹ This newest immigration contained people of all regions of the Ukraine, with people from the Western Ukraine in predominance. Unlike the early immigration, which was composed of 99% peasants, now only 45% had such social background; the rest were skilled laborers, tradesmen, and professionals.

The post-war years in the Displaced Persons camps might have seemed to the outside visitor to be depressing and lacking the everyday comforts of life by the American standards, which they certainly were, but culturally and politically the camps were teeming with life. The camps developed, under a benevolent supervision of Allied powers authority, into miniature self-governing city-states. They enjoyed an

³¹The statistical data on Ukrainians in the D. P. camps comes from Vasyl Mudry, "Nova Ukrainka Emigratsia," Ukraintsi u Vilnomu Sviti, pp. 115-136.

internal administrative autonomy, with their own police service. There existed private and cooperative stores and shops, hospitals, churches, schools, theatres, newspapers, various political, cultural and social organizations. An outstanding feature of the refugee camps was the emphasis on educational programs for youth. Briefly, a semblance of the organizational and institutional life as it was in Ukraine was reconstructed in the transitory stage of the camps. It was an invaluable experience, almost a rehearsal for the upcoming more permanent adjustment these people would be required to make. Upon immigration to the United States and other countries, the refugees spontaneously planted these organizational patterns of the Displaced Persons camps into the new environment.

The new immigrants in the 1950's both re-established their own organizations and joined some of the existing Ukrainian American ones. The Church and the fraternal societies provided the initial meeting ground for the two immigrant groups, older and newcomers.³² Already in 1949 there were new immigrants among the delegates to the convention of the Ukrainian Congress of America. However, no full scale integration was achieved, in fact, not even seriously attempted, between the

³² Generally speaking there were three phases of Ukrainian immigration to the United States: old immigration that arrived here in masses before the First World War, a scant middle immigration between the two World Wars, which largely joined the organizations established by the old immigrants, and a new immigration which came here after the Second World War. In this paper, however, the term "old immigration" and "old immigrants" refers to all those who came here before the Second World War, and the "new immigration" and "new immigrants" to those who came here after the Second World War.

American Ukrainian community and the new immigration.³³ Even in the organizations such as Ukrainian National Women's League of America, which existed both in the Ukraine and since 1925 had branches in the United States, only the central executive was integrated. The individual chapters were, with very few exceptions, usually in some small Ukrainian centers, composed either of the old immigrants and their children, or the new immigration members. A similar insulation took place in parishes and mutual aid societies.³⁴ There was no meeting ground established whatsoever for the youth organizations. It is only rather recently that some integration has taken place in the League of Orthodox Youth, but the nondenominational organizations, such as the League of Ukrainian Youth of North America, or the Ukrainian National Youth Federation, both old immigration organizations, and the new immigration organizations, the Plast (Ukrainian Scouting), Ukrainian American Youth Association (SUMA) and Association of American Youth of Ukrainian Descent in USA (ODUM) have remained segregated.

In the early post-war years an impact on the Ukrainian community was made by the admission of the Ukraine to the United Nations. It has been hotly protested that the representation is but a puppet of Soviet

³³In February, 1947, when there were only 200 new immigrants, they started to organize separately by establishing a mutual aid society (Orhanizatsia Samodopomohy Novoi Ukrainskoi Imigratsii), even though similar Ukrainian organizations existed which the new immigrants could easily join. A. Dragan, "Orhanizovane Zhyttya Amerykanskykh Ukraintsiv," Juvilejnyj Kalendar-Almanakh Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Soyuzu na 1949 rik (Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association Press, 1949), p. 76.

³⁴The relations between the old and the new immigrations are more extensively discussed in the next chapter.

Russian design while the country itself is enslaved, but the fact that the Ukraine as a separate country was recognized on the international forum was in itself very significant for the community. Also, during the "Cold War" the American Ukrainians were vindicated of the fascist charges and now openly engaged with a messianic zeal in the anti-communist activities.³⁵ In the month of January, a Ukrainian Day commemorating the Independence of Ukraine was being proclaimed by a number of states and cities, which gave an opportunity for Ukrainian manifestations. The "Week of Captive Nations" was instituted by President Eisenhower in 1959, which was a result of a joint effort of various Soviet-dominated nationalities, including Ukrainians. This, too, had an important influence on the community activism. The 1950's also marked a growing involvement of Ukrainians in the American political parties, however, without any tangible results.

The New Trends in the Ukrainian Community. Since 1960, five predominant events that concerned the Ukrainian community throughout the United States were: the fund raising and ceremonial installation of the Shevchenko monument in Washington, D. C. in the presence of the former President Eisenhower, in 1964; the arrival in the West from the Soviet Siberian prison of the Metropolitan of Lviv, Joseph Slipy, and the subsequent ferment in the Ukrainian Catholic Church aiming at the erection of an autonomous Patriarchate; the fund raising drive and the

³⁵This zeal is reflected in an article by the president of the UCCA, Lev Dobryansky, "The Educational Policy of UCCA," The Ukrainian Quarterly, Vol. XXI, No. 3, Autumn, 1965, which actually deals not with education but with a plan for anti-communist activities in the United States.

establishment of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University; the first Congress of the Ukrainians in the Free World in New York City in 1968 which finalized the coordination of Ukrainian organizations in diaspora; and a new wave of dissident movement in the Soviet Ukraine which inspired American Ukrainians, especially the youth, to activism.

The present organizational framework for activism in the Ukrainian community is ample. There are sixty-one central organizations with chapters in various localities which are affiliated with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Through these organizations and the churches ethnic activities are conducted, that is, activities which relate to the interest of the group in cultural and political aspects. These interests are centered first of all, on self-preservation as a culturally and historically distinct people both here and in the Ukraine, and, secondly, on the well-being of the group members. Both interests are tightly interwoven in the purposes and activities of the existing organizations.

In one respect the present Ukrainian American community resembles that of the 1930's. It has experienced a period of one generation when there was no significant number of new immigrants arriving, and due to the natural processes, it faces the problem of passing the responsibility of self-preservation to a younger, American-raised offspring. What does the community have to offer to this new generation? On examination of the past and present institutions and organizations, one finds that the most enduring are the churches and the fraternal societies, and the least enduring are political associations. The former are

based on the ever present needs of spiritual expression and security, and the latter bound to changing events and situations. In between there is a growing number of professional associations. Until the 1950's, there was only one professional association, established in 1933, consisting of members of different professional occupations. Now, there are twelve. The division was due not to any internal struggles, a typical case for the multiplicity of political organizations, but to an increase of qualified members in different fields, which permitted creation of separate associations with a particular professional interest. In addition, two scientific societies, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. and the Shevchenko Scientific Society were established. Also, the number of youth and student organizations increased, which directly ties up with the arrival of new immigrants in the early 1950's. Out of seven youth organizations presently affiliated with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, five are products of the new immigration. Since the 1930's there were no new youth organizations formed for the descendants of the earlier immigrants, and the surviving ones dwindled in number to the extent that they no longer conduct any extensive activities.

The veteran organizations, of which seven were represented at the UCCA Congress in 1972, like many political organizations, are timebound since their membership is based on a particular military background, e.g., First or Second World War Ukrainian units, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Ukrainians serving in the American Army, and such others. There are also a number of religious, regional, cultural, educa-

tional and charitable organizations. Their activism and prominence fluctuate depending on a situation. The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, for instance, was very important in the post-war years when the resettlement of the European refugees was taking place. Afterwards, it was periodically remobilized when there was a need for help, as in the case of Ukrainians in Yugoslavia after the earthquake in 1968. The regional organizations, relating not to the regions in America but to those in Ukraine, whose purpose is the preservation of regional culture and traditions as well as defense and help for their regional compatriots in Ukraine, have a precarious future. In the absence of new immigrants from their regions in the Ukraine, they can scarcely count on the new membership of their children whose achievement it would be to retain ethnic consciousness in general, without additional regional variation. If in this category such organizations as Oborona Lemkivshchyny (Organization of the Defense of the Lemkian Region) lasted a long time, it was because of the immigrant membership, and not American-born additions. In summary, whatever one's interests are - religious, political, economic, sports, cultural, educational - there is an ethnic organization to meet these interests. And, even though not all of the existing organizations attract or could possibly accommodate the younger generation, there is no lack of organizations for the membership of younger generation.³⁶

³⁶See Chapter VII for analysis of youth organizations.

CHAPTER III

IDEOLOGIES, ISSUES, CONFLICTS AND LEADERSHIP

The logical path, and perhaps in the long run an inevitable one for the immigrants to this country, would seem to be one of integration into American society, or a total disengagement from any ethnic vestiges. This has not happened yet, despite the fact that acculturation has occurred along with economic integration. Consciousness of ethnic identity persists in varying degrees in different ethnic groups.¹ To gain an insight into the processes of retention of ethnic identity one has to take a closer look not only at the events, but at the prevalent ideologies, issues, conflicts and quality of leadership within the ethnic group. Few other ethnic immigrant groups were more disposed to assimilation, albeit not into the American or dominant Anglo-Saxon mainstream, but into other related ethnic groups such as the Polish or Slovak communities, than were the early Ukrainian immigrants. Illiterate and unpolitical, they were also confused on the question of their nationality. The modern concept of nationality was alien to them. The course of events for the Ukrainian group in America was

¹The subject of ethnic persistence was analyzed from a sociological point of view by N. Glazer and M. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, and from a philosophical and personal point of view by Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics.

changed by one charismatic individual, Reverend I. Volyansky, and the ideology which he represented.

"Ideology," writes Edward Shils, "is one variant form of those comprehensive patterns of cognitive and moral beliefs about man, society and the universe in relation to man and society, which flourish in human societies."² At its roots ideology responds to man's need to impose rationalized order on the world through the selection and simplification of perceptions, values and attitudes of the social reality.³ An ideology arises, according to Shils, because there are strongly felt needs for new visions, new alternatives to the no longer satisfying social order.⁴ "Ideology is a conversion of ideas into social levers," writes Daniel Bell. In the case when ideology can "simplify ideas, establish claim to truth, and, in the union of the two, demand a commitment to action," then it not only transforms ideas, but people as well.⁵

In Search of National Identity. The transformational function of ideology is well illustrated by the processes taking place among early Ukrainian immigrants. The ideological fermentation then centered on the issue of national identity and national awareness. The name "Ukrainian," in contrast to the ancient name "rusyn," became a symbol of new national

²Edward Shils, "The Concept and Function of Ideology," International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 7, p. 66.

³Harry M. Johnson, in "Ideology and the Social System," International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 7, p. 76, says that from simplification and selection necessarily results a distortion.

⁴Shils, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

⁵Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (New York: The Free Press, 1960), p. 400.

consciousness which professed that the Ukraine is a distinct nation within the Slavic family of nations with a historical right to self-determination and political independence. The name "Ukrainian" was not a concoction of contemporary political activists. It was an ancient name, mention of which can be found in the medieval chronicles. It was widely used by the Kozaks but did not gain wide currency in the Western Ukraine, where the medieval name "Rus"--"Rusyny" was prevalent.⁶ In the eighteenth and nineteenth century under the Czarist rule the name Little Russia (Malorossia) and Little Russians was a common designation for Ukrainians; for Russians it meant regional variety of the Great Russian nation, while Ukrainians tended to attribute to this name a meaning of a separate nation and culture. In the nineteenth century when the separatist movement started to gather momentum mainly under the influence of Shevchenko, the name Ukraine, recalling the Ukrainian Kozak State, was preferred to "Rus," chiefly for the purpose of distinguishing the country from Russia. The name was not spontaneously accepted by all the regions of the country. It represented to the conservatively minded bulk of the people too much of a radical change in political thinking. And it found even more hurdles in the immigrant situation where the adherents of the new name "Ukrainian" themselves, were at a loss to communicate it to the American public. This situation is lively described by Bachynsky:

Ukrainian immigrants for some reason could not handle the name "Ukrainian" in English. The name "Ruthenian" which would corres-

⁶Julian Bachynsky, Ukrainska Immigratsia v Z'yednanykh Derzhavakh Ameryky, p. 436.

pond to "Rusyny" the Americans did not know and knew not what nationality it represents. That a common sense would indicate that this name needed to be explained to Americans, this the immigrant leaders somehow did not understand. They wanted to communicate the name in a "practical way," to associate it with a name "Greek" - because "we" are Greek Catholics, after all. Others, such as the priests from the Hungarian regions, instantly found a name for themselves - "Hungarian," and named their churches "Hungarian Greek Catholic Church"; russophiles, they also quickly found their "own" name - Russian, and started to call their churches "Russian Greek Catholic Church." But the Ukrainians-Rusyny, these somehow could not find a name so easily. True, Ruthenian and Russian is not the same, but as far as Americans are concerned, what can such difference mean to them? Anyway, Russian is closer to Ruthenian than Hungarian. And they started to call themselves (in English) Russians even the Ukrainian National Association at the time called itself in English Russian National Union.⁷

With the arrival of the "American Circle" priests to the United States, the name "Ruthenian" was established as proper for the English usage. It was an exact rendition of the Latin or German term for Ukrainian - Rusyn, and a definitely different term from Russian-russkyj.

It was not the name itself, but the very concept of nationality which it represented and the national ideology of independence and self-determinism which provided the immigrants with a focal point of orientation that led to the early split of the group. The old country's regional origin of the immigrants easily predisposed them towards a particular ethnic designation and political ideology flowing thereof. Bachynsky puts the blame for the split directly on the Carpatho-Ukrainian clergy, who were culturally assimilated into Hungarian society and, in contrast to the Galician clergy, were primarily interested in per-

⁷Ibid., p. 291. Also in L. Myshuha, "Yak Formuvavsya Svitohlad Ukrainskoho Imigranta v Amerytsi," Propam'yatna Knyha, pp. 26-27.

sonal material well-being.⁸ But for a common Galician immigrant who had extensive contacts with Carpatho-Ukrainians before the First World War, and who himself did go through the process of acquiring national identity consciousness in the United States, the reason seemed to lie in the feelings of superiority of those who called themselves Ukrainians.⁹ The conflict, symbolized by national designation, resolved itself in the emergence of two separate Ukrainian ethnic communities.¹⁰ In view of the subsequent national revival of the Carpatho-Ukrainians in their homeland in Europe (after 1919) which embraced the modern Ukrainian ideology, the American Carpatho-Ukrainians resorted to conservative interpretations of their separate identity. They argued that throughout history the people of that region formed a separate nationality. Although culturally akin to the Ukrainians and Russians, politically, however, they were separate from them due to the Hungarian domination.¹¹ The interest of the American Carpatho-Ukrainians was geared by their leaders primarily to religion or, more exactly, to the Church rite and the regional culture. An official change of the name of the region from Podkarpatska Rus to Carpatho-Ukraine at the end of 1938 was viewed by some leaders as a sly design by Czechs to destroy the autoch-

⁸Platon Stasiuk, V Novomu Sviti (New York, 1958), pp. 11-12.

⁹Actually, there emerged simultaneously a third ethnic community consisting of Ukrainians who joined the Russian Orthodox Church.

¹⁰Peter E. Zeedick, "Korotkih Ocerk Istoriji Naseho Naroda," Zoloto-Jubilejna Kniha Sojedenenija, 1892-1942 (Munhall, Pa.: Greek Catholic Union of the U. S. A. Press, 1942), pp. 259-296.

¹¹Ibid., p. 296.

thonous character of the old homeland.¹² In the perspective of some sixty years it is clear that it was not a general feeling of belonging to two different nationalities, for both groups identified themselves as "Rusyny," which was instrumental in splitting the Ukrainian immigrants. It was due to the antagonisms among leaders of the two factions, reinforced by the anti-Ukrainian tendencies of the dominating Hungarian and Czechoslovakian influences in the Carpatho-Ukraine, which precipitated organizational polarization and resulted in the development of a distinct Ukrainian national group and a religio-ethnic Byzantine one.

National Ideology and Church Affiliation. Closely tied up with the question of national identity was the question of church affiliation. The religious conflicts do not, by definition, fall under the heading of ideology, since ideology primarily refers to social and political systems. However, in the case of the Ukrainian immigrant, the nature of the conflict regarding church affiliation was primarily concerned with national identity, as it also was the case in the Ukraine. As was already mentioned, the early immigrants identified themselves most often by their religious affiliation which, in their case, was also national identification, since there were no other Uniates or Greek Catholics, but Ukrainians.

The Russian Orthodox Church existed in the nineteenth century in Alaska and on the Pacific coast among Russian settlers there. Her influence started to spread East, when in 1891 a Uniate parish in Minne-

¹²There were educated Ukrainian individual immigrants before the mass immigration, like Father Honcharenko, but they were not involved in organizing the Ukrainian community in the United States.

apolis, Minnesota, together with its pastor, Reverend Alexis Toth, switched its allegiance from the Pope in Rome to the Synod in St. Petersburg. This set a precedent followed by other parishes whose married priests were often frustrated and humiliated by the Latin rite clergy. Moreover, the Russian Church attracted them by generous offerings of financial support and recognition. By 1911 there were eighty-two Russian Orthodox parishes in the United States, composed mostly of some 20,000 former Ukrainian Uniates.¹³ The transfer of allegiance from one authority to another did not make much difference to the people. Their own priests served in these churches, and the services were identical to the Greek Catholic services they knew back home. But the Russian Orthodox parishes provided a fertile ground for Russification of the people, and especially, later, of their children, who did not have a strong national consciousness.

A combination of several factors contributed to the successful campaign of the Russian Orthodox Church among Ukrainians: similarity of Church rites, generous financial support by the Czarist government, discrimination against the Uniate priests by the Latin rite Church hierarchy, and the well imbedded pro-Russian currents among the clergy and intelligentsia in the Western Ukraine, the last one brought over

¹³Bachynsky, *op. cit.*, p. 279. Also, Yaroslav J. Chyz, The Ukrainian Immigrants in the United States (Scranton, Pa.: The Ukrainian Workingman's Association Press, 1939), quoting the Rusko-Amerykansky Pravoslavny Kalendar na 1936 God (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: Russian Orthodox Mutual Aid Society, 1935), p. 112, states that between 1891 and 1917, there were 169 Russian Orthodox parishes organized consisting of the former Uniates.

to the United States by immigrants, as were other old-country political and ideological currents. These russophile tendencies, embellished by Pan-Slavic ideas, had a great appeal to a segment of Ukrainian leaders in the Austro-Hungarian empire. The russophiles viewed the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian people as a historical-cultural nation and not as separate entities.¹⁴ So when the flow into the Russian Orthodox Church started it was accepted by many as "a return to the true faith of our ancestors."¹⁵ Later, disappointed by the Russian nationalist character of the Orthodox Church, many priests and laymen left it.¹⁶ In subsequent splits within the Uniate Church, other affiliations were sought.¹⁷

After the Soviet Revolution of 1917, the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church on Ukrainians declined, although the immigrants who joined her and their descendants largely remained there and today, they

¹⁴On russophiles, see Chapter II, pp.

¹⁵Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 279.

¹⁶All of the priests before the First World War, except Alexis Toth, returned to the Uniate Church. To replace them, Russia started to send Orthodox priests from the Ukraine, the Malorossy. Since these could not win the trust of the West Ukrainian immigrants, the Russian Orthodox Church again started to woo the Uniate priests. Bachynsky, op. cit., pp. 280-281.

¹⁷In some cases when the inner conflicts in the Uniate Church led to splits, a new parish would be formed which might join the Old Catholic Church. These usually changed their affiliation when the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was established in the United States in 1924. See Reverend Ivan Hundiak, "Ukrainska Narodna Tserkva v Chicago," Pro-pam'yatna Knyha z Nahody 50-littyia Parafii Ukrainskoho Pravoslavnoho Katedralnoho Soboru sv. Rivnoapostolnoho Knyazya Volodymyra (Chicago, Ill., 1966), pp. 33-36. Besides the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (1924), there were also established the Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Church (1929) and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (1928).

constitute the bulk of the membership of the Orthodox Church in America (former Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church). The events of 1917-1920 in the Ukraine led to the establishment of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (independent from Moscow). This movement spread to the Ukrainian community in America and found adherents both among the Uniates and the Ukrainians in the Russian Orthodox Church. The arrival from the Ukraine of Archbishop Ivan Teodorovych in 1924 to head this new grouping strengthened the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which considered itself as part of the Autocephalous Church in the Ukraine.

Other splits occurred in the Uniate Church in the late 1920's. Rome definitely prohibited married clergy in North America (1928). This, and the authoritarian personality of the new Ukrainian Bishop Bohachevsky, led to dissatisfaction among certain priests and laymen who formed still another Ukrainian Orthodox Church, this one recognizing the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople. In each instance the departure from the Uniate Church was justified by the argument that actually the new Church was closer to the national traditions of the people. This shows how tightly the Church and national identity were intertwined in the immigrants' minds. Under the influence of these ferments, the Uniate Church herself was becoming more nationally conscious.

National v. Communist Ideology. There was one crucial political-ideological conflict which in the years between the two wars split the community into two camps, a major nationalist and a minor communist

one. Several political party groupings among the nationalists¹⁸ emerged because of the different approaches to contemporary issues and which, at most, were but variations on the same basic ideological theme, that is, aspiration towards independence of the Ukraine. But the split between the nationalists and the communists went much deeper. It was rooted in the interpretations of national self-determination and social and political order in the Ukraine.

The early socialist groups, which held their first convention in New York in 1909 forming a Ukrainian Labor Party (Ukrainska Robitnycha Partiya v Amerytsi), had but a few local chapters. They expressed solidarity with the Ukrainian Radical and the Social-Democratic Parties in the Western Ukraine and did not show any intention to unite with the existing American Socialist Party; thereby, in the view of a Ukrainian Society historian, "it showed its national narrow-mindedness."¹⁹ With time the Party had dissipated, but small socialist-oriented organizations were springing up erratically in different localities. They consolidated their activities in 1915 in Cleveland, Ohio, and joined as a Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party of America the newly formed Ukrainian national representation in the United States, the Federation of Ukrainians in America. The latter attracted socialist elements because its key component organization was the Ukrainian Workingmen's

¹⁸In this context nationalist means one who stands for Ukrainian independence as opposed to the Soviet communist stand aiming at Ukraine's integration into the Soviet Russia. A narrow use of the word nationalist was employed in the 1930's pertaining to a right-wing militant movement, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

¹⁹Shlepakov, Ukrainska Trudova Emihratsia v SShA i Kanadi, p. 103.

Association, which opposed the attempts of Bishop Ortynsky to subordinate organizational life of the whole community to the Church leadership and thereby gave an impression of anti-clericalism. Subsequently, a distinct communist wing developed in the Ukrainian socialist camp, and the split was precipitated by the Russian invasion of the Ukraine (1918-1920). A majority of the Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party in America voiced support of the Soviet regime in Ukraine and opposed the Ukrainian National Democratic Government.²⁰ On September 1, 1919, the Party formally changed its name to the Ukrainian Federation of the Communist Party of America and became a branch of the American Communist Party. Similar processes were going on within other ethnic groups under the influence of the Soviet communist propaganda (Russians, Jews, Hungarians, Poles, etc.). But the conversions to the communist ideology were not as numerous as one could expect among the almost totally proletarian and, in communist view, exploited masses of the immigrants.

Ethnicity found similar forms of expressions both in the nationalist and in the communist camps: fraternal associations, ethnic schools, choirs, drama clubs, and such. What the communist communities lacked was, of course, the church. And this presented for the immigrant masses the obvious difference between the two camps. The ideological premises of the division and the polemics in the press were be-

²⁰The anti-nationalist trends had been seeping into the party for some time. In 1917 they refused to participate in the Ukrainian Tag Day. Matvih Stakhiv, "Nova Ukraina v Amerytsi," Juvilejna Knyha Ukrainskoho Robitnychoho Soyuzu, 1910-1960 (Scranton: Ukrainian Workmen's Association, 1960), p. 105.

yond the grasp of the often illiterate immigrant. He could participate in decisions of immediate and obvious concern to him, such as where to build the organization's hall, and even if such a hall should be built at all. But in the matters of ideology he relied on those whom he considered knowledgeable and whom he trusted. In this situation word of mouth was much more effective than the printed word, and those leaders who had immediate access to the people held the most influential positions in the community.

The followers of the Communist Party, unlike the Carpatho-Ukrainian immigrants or those who joined the Russian Orthodox Church, did not lose their national identity. The ideological conflict in this case centered upon the political and economic system in the Ukraine. Communist influence among Ukrainians was enhanced by skillful use of propaganda which depicted living conditions in the Western regions of Ukraine as oppressively bleak, which corresponded to the immigrants' own experience there. The contacts with the Eastern Ukraine were very meagre. The immigrants, almost wholly originating in the Western parts of the Ukraine, had no families in the Eastern regions with whom to correspond and thus gain information on the real situation there. They relied on the official communist sources which cleverly catered to the Ukrainian sentiments of the immigrants, declaring that the Soviet Ukraine was a self-governing state, that the Soviet government made significant strides in Ukrainization of the country, developed industry, and extended educational opportunities to all.

The inroads made by the communist ideology into the Ukrainian

community in the United States were not numerically as significant as the splits along the regional (Carpatho-Ukrainian) or religious (Russian Orthodox) lines. On the basis of membership in the mutual aid societies, it can be estimated that about 10-15% of the group was under communist influence.²¹ The growth of the communist organization continued during the 1930's and 1940's, buttressed by the American Soviet alliance. But after the Second World War, the arrival of the Ukrainian refugees and the Cold War atmosphere drastically curtailed their activism. Presently, the Ukrainian Communists, once a dynamic group, have dwindled to a status of an ephemeral association of old timers with a marginal rôle among Ukrainians in America. Occasionally the representatives of the Soviet Ukraine attempt to revive their activism thus using them against the national Ukrainian community.

Within the nationalist camp a new political group, the Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine, linked with the underground Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists in the Western Ukraine, was formed in the early 1930's. Soon, it became the dominant Ukrainian political organization in America, promoting the cause of Ukraine's independence, supporting the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine, and opposing

²¹The Ukrainian section of the International Workers Order (communists) in 1935 had 6,000 members, Narodnyj Kalendar na 1939 (New York: The Robitnyk Publishing and Printing Co., 1939), p. 37. The Ukrainian National Association in 1936 had 30,335 members, Ukrainci u Vilnomu Sviti (New Jersey: UNA Press, 1954), p. 57, and the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association had 13,125 members in 1934, Juvilejna Knyha Ukrainskoho Robitnychoho Soyuzu, 1910-1960 (Scranton: Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, 1960), p. 52. There were also the Catholic Association Provydinnya with membership comparable to that of UWA, and the Narodna Pomich with somewhat smaller membership.

communist activities in this country. During the war years, when in the United States the pro-Soviet sentiment gained ground, certain leaders of the Ukrainian national community came under suspicion of both the American public opinion and the investigative branches of the American government for supposedly conducting pro-fascist activities. Charges of collaboration were never substantiated, and it has always been widely suspected in the community that they originated with the communists.²² After the Second World War, when the "Cold War" ensued, the American Ukrainians felt that they were exonerated of these charges and with renewed zeal plunged themselves into anti-communist activity.²³

Emergence of the American Ukrainian Identity. The problem of the national identity of the American-born Ukrainian youth was given serious consideration starting in the 1930's and persisting until the present time. Involved here was not the question of the Ukraine's nationhood, which was at stake in the early controversies, but of the national

²²A best-seller Sabotage by A. Kahn and M. Seyers (New York: Harpers Bros., 1942), accused L. Myshuha, editor of Svoboda of sabotaging the United States. The publishers were sued, and the case was settled out of court to the satisfaction of L. Myshuha. Also Walter Winchell attacked the Ukrainian community in his newspaper syndicated column. The FBI raided the offices of Svoboda in December, 1941, for which they later apologized. See A. Dragan, "Ukrainsky Narodnyj Soyuz v Mynulomu i Suchasnomu," Ukraintsi u Vilnomu Sviti, pp. 76-77.

²³Anti-communist activities dominated almost exclusively the programs of the UCCA. See Twenty Years of Devotion to Freedom: Survey of Purposes and Activities of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on the 20th Anniversary of its Existence (New York: The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1960), and Lev Dobryansky, "The Educational Policy of UCCA," The Ukrainian Quarterly, XXI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1965). The latter is not about education in the usual sense, but about a plan for anti-communist activities.

identity of the American Ukrainians. Again the question of proper designation was raised. The possible choices - Ukrainian, Ukrainian-American, American-Ukrainian, American of Ukrainian Descent, American - were considered by some to be indicative, in the above order, of the degree of loyalty to one country or another and of assimilation. For others, it simply meant an appropriate accommodation to the adopted country. In recent years the question of identity has been greatly disengaged from the question of loyalty on the grounds that the two loyalties are not conflicting; that is, being an American and being a Ukrainian do not result in a conflict of identities.²⁴

But it was a slow evolution towards this concept of a loyal American citizen with a distinct ethnic culture, concerned with the situation in the country of his origins. The question whether the retention of ethnic identity conflicts with being an American was pressed on the younger generation in the 1930's perhaps not so much by their own felt need for clarification of the issue as by the outside society which held the "melting pot" as the ideal of American nationhood and demanded of the American ethnic a clear stand. It would be impossible to assess how many Americans of Ukrainian descent, or for that matter other ethnics, ceased to participate in community life because of a felt conflict of loyalties and how many broke away for other reasons. But for those who remained active, the situation was not an either/or choice.

²⁴One of the best illustrations of this trend is the fact that in 1966 it was the Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent and in 1969 the Congress of Ukrainians in the USA.

In their minds, their American Ukrainian identity consisted in making a genuine contribution to American society and aiding the cause of the Ukraine's liberation. This was eloquently expressed by one of the most prominent American-born Ukrainian leaders, Stephen Shumeyko, when he testified in 1935 before the Conference on Immigration Policy in New York. He summed up the situation as one of consciousness; on one hand, consciousness of being an American and the consequent responsibility towards building a better country and society, and, on the other hand, consciousness of being a Ukrainian:

We cannot forget how for centuries our Ukrainian forefathers fought and sacrificed their lives and fortunes in the cause of an ideal dear to all nations - Freedom The American youth of Ukrainian descent shall strive to make ourselves worthy and useful citizens of our America and at the same time also strive to do our bit towards the realization of that centuries old dream - the creation of a free and independent state of Ukraine.²⁵

Almost forty years later the views expressed by Shumeyko are still prevalent among the younger generation active in the ethnic community. As long as the ethnic community stands on the principles of democracy, then the fact that the ethnic group wants to extend the same political freedom that its members enjoy in the United States to their country of origin does not constitute a basis for conflict. Doubtless-ly, there are also those who choose to be Americans only. Their ethnic identity is hidden and then lost in the future generations. However, it is not true that the only reason for the existence of the Ukrainian ethnic group in America is the cause of Ukraine's liberation or that

²⁵Stephen Shumeyko, "The Ukrainians," Propam'yatna Knyha, p. 496.

the only people who identify themselves as Ukrainians are the ones who support such an ideology. Rather, the ideological mainstream among Ukrainians in the United States since the beginning of the organized life of the community back in the mid-1880's centered on national separatist premises.

In summary, the ideological currents among Ukrainians in America can be classified under four headings: (a) those concerning national designation, e.g., Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Russian, Byzantine, etc., (b) those which concerned Church affiliation, (c) political ideologies, and (d) the identity of the American Ukrainian. In each case splits along these lines have taken away from the ethnic community a considerable number of people. But the mainstream of the group, ideologically characterized by their support of the cause of the Ukraine's liberation and national independence, has also faced other kinds of problems, not necessarily of ideological nature. Some of these problems arose because of a particular situation and were temporary in nature. Such were, for instance, in the first quarter of this century the disputes between fraternal organizations and Bishop Ortynsky or between the two representative bodies, the Federation of Ukrainians in America and the Ukrainian National Committee. The effect of such issues often, though seemingly negative because they tended to polarize the community, was to infuse the group with dynamic activism. While many of the issues had but temporary significance, there were three crucial ones that have had a continuous effect and touched at the very core of community's existence: (a) relations with the larger American society,

(b) relations between the immigrant and his American raised children, and (c) relations between the old and the new immigrations.

The Ethnic Community and the Larger American Society. Many of the immigrants, upon their arrival in the 1870's and 1880's, became pawns in the struggle between labor and the capitalists. Given their peasant background, they could not possibly understand their situation. As was already noted, the Reverend Volyansky, upon his arrival in this country, actively engaged in this struggle on the side of the labor and waged a vigorous campaign among the Ukrainian immigrants that they should not act as strikebreakers.²⁶ The conflict disappeared as labor conditions in the country improved, but the residue of resentment, especially towards the Irish, remained. The encounters of the newly arrived immigrants were not with the old stock native Americans, but with the preceding immigrants, with whom they neighbored and shared jobs. These were mostly Irish. The attitudes of the Irish towards immigrants from Austro-Hungary were more hostile than those of the Yankees because there existed a competition of economic and social interests between these groups.²⁷ Or, as one Irishman put it, it is not the Poles that he objected to, it is simply that the Irish would like to keep the Poles in their right place.²⁸ In a way, the Irish were transmitting their own experience of being discriminated against by discriminating

²⁶Victor R. Green, The Slavic Community on Strike (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), pp. 106-107.

²⁷John Daniels, America Via the Neighborhood, Vol. 2 of Americanization Studies, ed. William S. Bernard (10 Vols.; Montclair, N. J.: Patterson Smith, 1971), p. 439.

²⁸Ibid., p. 437.

against others.²⁹ While on one hand the United States government was encouraging immigration because of the vast lands to be settled and the shortage of labor in a rapidly expanding industrialized economy, on the other hand a nativist movement expressing religious and national prejudices was formenting. In retrospect, this movement presented an obstacle to the integration of immigrants into American society.³⁰ The immigrants, intending to stay in America only long enough to earn some money, reacted to discrimination by retreating into their own ethnic enclaves, feeling that as transients they had no right to interfere with the American social order.

The pains and hardships of adjustment to America of the late nineteenth century labor immigrants have been adequately treated in American literature.³¹ The Ukrainian immigrant of that period was no exception to these tribulations. He was timid in his strange surroundings, respectful, if not fearful of authority, and uneasy in his relationships with the dominant society. His life was filled with joyless work and, had it not been for contacts with his fellow countrymen, with loneliness.³² This profound psychological experience of the immigrant

²⁹Edith Abbot, Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), p. 744.

³⁰On the nativist movements see John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (New York: Atheneum, 1969).

³¹The works of Handlin and Znaniecki on the subject were discussed in Chapter I, p. 25.

³²A vivid description of the hardships of the immigrant life in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania and the meaning of ethnic community is given by Dmytro Kapitula, "Shcho Znachylo Kolys Buty Imigrantom," Propamyatna Knyha, pp. 260-269.

life he expressed often in songs, full of nostalgia for his own village and the people that were close to his heart.³³ While he appreciated the fact that the new country was providing him with a livelihood and material goods, which the old country had failed to do, he could not help feeling that something of intrinsic value in human existence, that which endowed one's life with meaning, was missing here. These feelings and state of mind became additional stimuli to ethnic activism.

On the part of the leadership of the community, the tone of the relationship with the larger American society was set very early by Reverend Volyansky. It was both the involvement in American life (e.g., joining the American labor movement) and ethnic self-preservation (establishing ethnic organizations). Political freedom in America was a highly priced and praised aspect of American life.³⁴ There was a great deal that the immigrant could learn from Americans, but at the same time he was admonished by his leaders not to lose his ethnic culture, not to forget his ancestors, and not to neglect his own church.

³³V. Melnyk, Istoria Zakarpattya v Usnykh Narodnykh Perekazakh ta Istorychnykh Pisnyakh (Lviv: Lvivskyj Universytet, 1970), pp. 130-135; S. Severyna, "Emigratsia v Ukrainskim Pysmenstvi," Propam'yatna Knyha, pp. 408-411.

³⁴Svoboda, No. 17, 1894, writes that many Ukrainian immigrants understand freedom to mean "drinking in the saloons till one is unconscious, playing cards at night, fighting, quarreling, stabbing with knives in the alleys and backyards, spending money foolishly." But the American freedom means something different. "Everyone has a freedom to seek work which would provide him and his family with livelihood, so that he would have food, clothing and shelter. Besides, everyone has freedom to ennoble his heart, soul and mind. Everyone has freedom to learn to read, write and acquire education and knowledge from learned books. There is freedom to think and to express these thoughts in words or in newspapers."

A stigma of treason was attached to activities which repudiated his own ethnic heritage. The immigrant was urged to learn English and to acquire American citizenship.³⁵ For that purpose a network of Ukrainian Citizenship Clubs, whose members were naturalized citizens, was formed.³⁶ With the exception of the communist faction, which aimed at the destruction of capitalism, throughout the history of Ukrainians in America the position of the community leadership towards the adopted country and its social order was one of loyalty and support without the loss of ethnic identity. During the war the Ukrainians were urged by their leaders to buy war bonds.³⁷ There was pride in the young men serving in the American Army.³⁸ The ethnic press was forever admonishing its readers to be law-abiding citizens, to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered in this country, and to better their position in society. But balancing American loyalty and ethnic retention proved to be a difficult task, especially in the period of "melting pot" pressure. The vital test of the feasibility of such accommo-

³⁵Svoboda, No. 38, 1895.

³⁶The activities of a Citizenship Club are well described in Sixty Years of the Ukrainian Community in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: The American-Ukrainian Citizens' Association, 1944). The book also contains an excellent chronology of events of the Philadelphia Ukrainian community from 1870 until 1944, by Paul Dubas, "Vazhnijsi Podii v Orhanizatsijnomu Zhytti Ukraintsiv v Filadelphii," pp. 48-124.

³⁷From January 1942 until August 1944 Ukrainians in Philadelphia alone bought U.S. war bonds for a sum of \$3,524,785. Ibid., p. 118.

³⁸One of the earliest Ukrainians to serve in the American Army was Fetsko Kochan who served in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. His letters were published in Svoboda as early as 1899 (Svoboda, No. 43, 44, 1899).

dation presented itself when the time came to pass on to their children their ethnic heritage.

The Immigrant and His Children. It was obvious that the children of immigrants, born and raised on the American soil, would have a different relationship to the United States and to the Ukraine than their parents had. The early immigrants had little time to spend with their children, and a child "the moment it starts to walk, runs onto the street . . . and gets his education there. On the street it makes no difference what nationality he is and who are his parents," observed Bachynsky.³⁹ Also, in the case of children who were not born on this continent but came here very young, their integration into the peer group, regardless of nationality, came easily. Bachynsky writes:

This fact alone, that they had not as yet formed any commitments, is very helpful in their future life because they can easily adjust themselves to the new American environment to a different set of people in general as well as to the working conditions, especially in the factories. And, what is most important, they learn the language easily. Soon they start to feel like "real Americans." Because of the ease with which they become a part of their environment, the difference between the children of an immigrant and those of American parentage, disappear, and they all become American children.⁴⁰

Little attention was paid to the education of the children by a large majority of the early immigrants, most of whom would take their youngsters out of the American school as soon as the law would permit, and even earlier if they could get away with it, and send them to work earning money. Somehow, it was taken for granted that the children would inherit naturally the language and the customs of their parents.

³⁹Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 228.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 159.

At home, the parents would insist on talking in their own language to the children for two reasons: first, because they themselves did not know English well enough and, second, intending to stay in America only temporarily they saw a need for their children to speak their mother tongue. However, the priests and the emerging lay leadership at the turn of the century were aware that more than ethnic home environment was needed to retain the children in the church and in the community. They started to organize evening and weekend schools and other educational activities for the children and youth. After the First World War, when the Ukrainian territories were divided among foreign powers and the prospects for the return to the old country dimmed, the immigrants realized that America might be their permanent home and this was reflected in their attitudes towards the education of their children. This period roughly coincided with the passage of the new restrictive immigration laws in the United States, which, in the case of Ukrainians, practically brought an end to the influx of new immigrants.

By this time the community had established a number of institutions and organizations. The pioneers had grown old and the question of succeeding generation soon became vital. There was some reinforcement of political émigrés after the First World War,⁴¹ small in number but important in quality from the point of view of their education and their leadership abilities. They revitalized the community by integrating themselves into the existing institutional structure. Still,

⁴¹Vasyl Halych, "Rozmishchennya Ukrainskoi Imigratsii v Zluchenykh Derzhavakh," *Propam'yatna Knyha*, p. 455. Between 1921-1930 there were 8,213 Ukrainian immigrants, while in 1914 alone 36,527 arrived.

it did not solve the problem of community continuation from generation to generation.

It was not until the 1930's that the differences in the attitudes between the older and younger generation came to the fore. Mostly because of the American compulsory school attendance laws, all children, even those whose parents had no appreciation for educational achievement at all, had to attend school, and those among them who had an inclination to learning proceeded to attain higher levels of education and to enter the professions. Some of them, doubtlessly, found their educational attainment a convenient way to escape their ethnic ties and disappear into the larger American society, but a large number remained active in the ethnic community and developed a strong commitment to the Ukrainian cause. It was primarily the traditional family upbringing that was the decisive single factor in this commitment. For even if the old country played but an insignificant role, as was the case of the Carpatho-Ukrainians, the sentiment was the same: "We owe this to our parents."⁴²

When the new generation or "The Third Chapter," as they called themselves, came of age, sometime in the late 1920's and early 1930's, they exhibited an attachment to the ethnic community's church and organizations and a desire to help the people in the old country to achieve freedom and a standard of living enjoyed by the people in America, echoing President Wilson's "make the world safe for democracy."

⁴²Joseph Sudimack, "Does the Future Challenge Us?" pp. 358-359 and Michael Hrebenick, "Our Proud Heritage," pp. 388-390, in Greek Catholic Union of the U.S.A. Golden Jubilee, 1892-1942 (Munhall, Pa.: Greek Catholic Union of the U.S.A., 1942).

The religious and political fighting within the group waged by the older generation did not make much sense to them.⁴³ Neither were the social activities which originated in the needs and culture of the often illiterate immigrants, always acceptable. Sometimes they were even regarded as "the alienating influences" on the younger generation.⁴⁴ It was only when the younger generation started to organize in their own way into choir groups and dancing ensembles, holding their own sports events and rallies, that, in the words of one of them, "we suddenly realized that our ethnic heritage is our great treasure."⁴⁵

The basic difference in the orientation towards the old country between the immigrant and his children was apparent to the pioneer historian of the American Ukrainians, Bachynsky, who in his concluding work observed, without condemning it, that the new Ukrainian generation born in the United States was, in the first place, an American youth with only an awareness of their ethnic background.⁴⁶ Some twenty years later, Yasinchuk, an official visitor to the Ukrainian American community on behalf of the school council Ridna Shkola in the Western Ukraine, made a similar observation. But he also noticed that many children did not speak Ukrainian, even the children of intelligentsia and clergy, that is, the community leaders, who think that "it is enough to make

⁴³Teodor V. Shumeyko, "The Third Chapter, Maye Holos," Juvilejnyj Kalendar-Almanakh Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Soyuzu na Zvyhajnyj Rik 1949 (Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1949), p. 158.

⁴⁴Wladimir Semenyna, "Wondering and Wandering," Ukrainski Profesionalisty v Amerytsi i v Kanadi (Winnipeg, Man.: Promin, 1935), p. 33.

⁴⁵Shumeyko, loc. cit. ⁴⁶Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 491.

the child conscious that he is of Ukrainian descent . . . Such small expectations," adds Yasinchuk, "are frightening because the experience has shown that with the loss of language a Ukrainian also loses his national identity."⁴⁷

Assimilation of children was viewed by many as an all imposing fact of American life. The approaches to this problem ranged from one extreme, which advocated isolating the children completely from involvement in the American life, to another, which viewed assimilation as inevitable and any effort to prevent or even to slow this process as useless. In between there was a middle-of-the-road view which, writes Biberovych, "says that there should emerge a new type of American citizen and patriot, aware of his Ukrainian ancestry and trying at every occasion to support the Ukrainian cause."⁴⁸

The activities in the old immigrant community might not have been very attractive to the younger generation. Still, in the organizations that they themselves had set up, the activities were not totally different from those of their parents. Folk dancing, singing, folk art were still an integral part of their programs. Yet, they were conducted in a different atmosphere, no longer expressive of the way of life, as in the case of the immigrants, but serving primarily as a social outlet and an expression of identity. The activities of the older community were increasingly often criticized for their low standards by the younger generation. Three sources of their discontent can be

⁴⁷Lev Yasinchuk, Za Okeanom (Lviv: Dilo, 1930), p. 97.

⁴⁸V. Biberovych, "Ameryka i My," Ukrainski Profesionalisty, p. 71.

traced: (a) the educational difference between the older and the younger generation, (b) the arrival of recent émigrés, who introduced more refined forms of cultural activities, and (c) aspirations of the younger generation to raise their community life to a higher cultural level, comparable to other American groups.

The criticism of the ethnic community voiced by the younger generation, in the opinion of Semenyna, an American-born Ukrainian activist, was misplaced. Young people tend to make comparisons not between the original social and economic conditions of their parents, the circumstances of their arrival in America, and their present achievement, but between the achievement of the Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian earlier immigrant groups. A valid criticism, he points, should be directed towards the immigrants' neglect of the ethnic education of their children.⁴⁹

⁴⁹"Kid ourselves as much as we will about equal opportunities, we cannot help but realize that the 'first come, first served' rule applies to life as well as it does to movie seats. The older the immigration, the larger percentage of those immigrants that create a well-to-do class with its appendages of social, economic and political influences. The fact that the older immigrations came at a time when this nation welcomed them only improved, or rather had real opportunities thrust upon them, whereas the arrival of the Ukrainians at the time of industrial broadest development enticed them into the factory and its affiliates and thus stunned their natural development which would have come had they settled on the soil. This is the fundamental difference between the Ukrainian settlers of Canada and the Ukrainian industrial workers of the U.S.A.; the American was transferred from the soil to the factory and mine which were strange to him and where he got lost. The new surroundings and conditions awed him and in the hum of industrial life and activity the immigrant was charmed and set to wondering. He began to question himself about how soon he'll be able to save \$550, \$1,000, \$5,000, etc., and go back to the old country, buy lots of land, and be a first-class 'hospodar.' As the years rolled by he kept wondering and the children kept on wandering." Semenyna, op. cit., p. 31-32.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, it was obvious that while not all young people were retained by the community, the ethnic institutions were in no immediate danger of extinction. The American-born generation had contributed new blood to the ranks of the community leadership and had it not been for the disruption of war and the arrival of a new Ukrainian immigration, all indications were that this trend would have continued. The new generation leaders were penetrating ethnic organizations from the local branches to the top central organizations such as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Similarly, the ranks of clergy in the churches were being replenished by American-born priests. Significantly, these individuals did not accidentally become involved in ethnic activism. They were all products of ethnic schools and youth organizations.⁵⁰

The activism of ethnic organizations, especially those with young membership, had been considerably diminished during the war years, when young men from the community were drafted into the armed forces. Those who returned from the war made an effort to revive the organizational activities, but at the same time, they were also preoccupied with restoring normalcy to their own private lives. The arrival of new immigrants and their vigorous activities made the organizations of the American-born generation ethnically marginal and this had a discouraging effect on the latter. In the 1950's a gradual decline of the or-

⁵⁰Such American-born Ukrainian activists as Marusevych, Gela, Piddubchyshyn, Shumeyko, Lapika, Drobotij, Kyselytsya, and many others, all attended parish schools. Propamyatna Knyha Ukrainskoho Katolytskoho Kaledzha, 1940 (Philadelphia: America Press, 1940), p. 45.

ganizations, primarily supported by American-born Ukrainians, started. Annual conventions drew fewer and fewer participants, publications were disappearing, and membership dwindled. By the 1960's the whole Ukrainian American community became dominated by new immigrants and their organizational patterns. Presently, the new immigrants who arrived in America at the peak of their adult life, are growing old and, like the community of the 1930's, are beginning to look to their children as their successors.

In comparing the young generations of the 1930's and the present ones, one difference is apparent: a greater cultural and educational gap existed between the parents and children in the case of the early immigrants than there is at present. Also, the relationships towards America between the early and the recent immigrants differed. Though both groups at the beginning tended to regard America as their temporary abode, there were profound differences in their attitudes towards the new country. The old immigrants were far less critical of the American social order than the new immigrants were. In the case of the latter, the criticism stemmed chiefly from the frustrations of the intelligentsia who, not being able to find immediately employment suitable to their training, usually because of language difficulties, became declass  in America. Though numerically a minority, they set a general tone of attitudes for the whole group. Even after they had made a largely satisfactory adjustment to the new country, the radicalism and the urban ferments of the 1960's and 1970's continued to nourish their critical attitudes, which they also shared with the bulk

of the American middle-class.

To the surprise of some elders, growing up in this country naturally produced in their children a genuine liking for and loyalty towards the place of their birth and maturation. For their children to deny the worth of America would have been equivalent to denying the worth of their own lives which were inexorably tied with this country. The differences between the new immigrants and their children often focus on the question of what it means to be an American or a Ukrainian. In the case of the old immigrants and their children, the differences reflected the educational gap of the two generations. However, in either case, the young generation of the 1930's or the present one, the conflicts and differences raised by the issues of ethnicity were not as deep or as radical as one might have expected them to be. No new generation in the Western society, which is rooted in cultural values of change and innovations, follows exactly the footprints of its predecessors. This is also true of other ethnic communities in America.

The new generations in both cases have shown little or no attachment or appreciation of the particular and often nuance ideological differences within the groups as exhibited through the diversity of immigrants' political parties. On the other hand, they have shown an interest in and attachment to the Ukrainian culture, mostly in its folkloric aspect, that is, folk art, folk dances, songs, customs, traditions, and also in its refined aspects, such as art and literature. In their appreciation of the ethnic culture the young generation was selective often to the dismay of those elders, who would have liked to

see the young people assume their ethnic heritage intact. Yet it was obvious that adjustments to the outside world had to be made and many aspects of the ethnic culture were no longer functional in the new environment.

Rift Between the Old and the New Immigration. It is actually only in the case of the new post-Second World War immigration that certain conflicts and breakdowns in continuity with the previous immigrant community occurred. Its underlying reasons were primarily: (a) the differences in social and educational composition of the older and newer immigration groups, (b) the fact that the new immigration originated not in the economic but in the political conditions in the old country, (c) the new immigration was numerous, and (d) it came to the United States with the experience of the Displaced Persons camps which facilitated its organizational endeavors. The new immigration had also brought over its preconceived ideas about the previous Ukrainian immigrants as those of the lowest, economically depressed and educationally backward social class. The old immigrants have retained many characteristics which marked them as peasants and lower class. Their children, though in many instances they have acquired education, had no opportunity to acquire the language and mannerisms associated with the middle-class in Ukraine and spoke Ukrainian in the dialect of their parents, thereby assigning themselves, in the eyes of the new immigrants, to the same social status as their parents held. Of course, there often were language barriers in communication with the American-born generation who spoke, in many instances, little or no Ukrainian.

There was also a clash of expectations. The old immigration community, as a more established, economically more secure group, developed certain ways of welcoming new immigrants, with good will, opened arms, and an attitude of "we-know-it-here-better-than-you." The pattern was, similarly to their own experience upon arrival, to give the newcomer a temporary shelter and help him find employment. But while employment on the lowest economic levels was accepted by the previous immigrants with humility, the post-Second World War immigrants found it often humiliating and were resentful both of the patronizing attitudes of the old immigrants and their own social displacement. When the immigrant intelligentsia between the two World Wars easily found a niche for itself in the leadership positions of the existing Ukrainian organizations, the new immigration found no room at the top easily accessible. Also, a number of the old immigrant organizations were irrelevant and unsatisfactory to the expectations of the newcomers. The old immigration made a great effort to extend material help and initial hospitality, but soon it discovered that the new immigrants did not have a proper appreciation of their efforts, were arrogant, jealous, and eager to acquire material goods for themselves.⁵¹ Neither side wanted to admit that in the intervening decades of separation a change took place both in the American Ukrainian community and in the old country. The old immigrant in America acquired material goods and independence and ex-

⁵¹These opinions were expressed in the interviews by Reverend W. Bilynsky, Chancellor of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Saint Nicholas, Professor A. Granovsky, former President of the Organization for Rebirth of Ukraine, and Most Reverend Basil H. Losten, American-born Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Philadelphia.

pected to be treated at least as an equal by any arriving from the old country Ukrainian. The new immigrant, on the other hand, did not come from the underprivileged economic class and had known certain technological and economic progress. He was not as overwhelmed by American achievement as the pre-First World War immigrant was. But, more significantly, the new immigrant, while aware that he has to accept America as it is, was not prepared nor willing to accept the existing Ukrainian community in the same spirit. This the American Ukrainian sensed well. "We are aware," writes Shumeyko:

that many of these new immigrants do not understand our customs and way of life . . . (but) those who come to us must realize that they have to adjust themselves to our society and our way of life and act accordingly . . . Therefore, the new immigrants . . . better orient themselves towards cooperation in our existing organizations and thus gradually to become a part of our community.⁵²

This was not a viable proposition from the point of view of the new immigration which considered itself to be political and not economic. The qualification "political" in this context needs to be elucidated. It was "political" not in the sense that everyone in the old country was active in a political organization, but in the sense that had it not been for the Second World War situation and changes of the regimes, there would have been no cause for most of these people to leave their native land. This situation unavoidably sharpened the political and ideological awareness of the people, and in this sense one can speak of the new immigration as political.

Other reasons why the proposition of gradual integration in the

⁵²Shumeyko, op. cit., p. 159.

already established organizations was not opportune were that the new immigration came in a number sufficient to establish a community of its own; the resettlement from Europe took place in a relatively short time of some three years (1949-1952); the people settled in compact groups in several large cities. This has facilitated their efforts to re-establish the organizations as they knew them in the Displaced Persons camps, often even with the same people in the leading positions. This process of renewal of organizations went on not only in the United States, but in other countries where the Ukrainian refugees have emigrated. Coordination of activities became a conscious objective of the central executives of these organizations. Consequently, they have developed into world federations which laid the organizational framework for what is presently known as the Ukrainian Diaspora.

During the past two decades the fact of the separation between the older and the new immigrants has never been raised publicly as a major issue in the community. It was generally assumed that social and educational differences were its underlying causes and, in the case of the American-born generation, who spoke little or no Ukrainian, also a language barrier. None of the above reasons would be applicable in the case of the American educated youth, children of both the old and the new immigration stock, yet but with a few exceptions, there has not been a rapprochement between them. The old immigration youth has not joined the youth organizations of the new immigration and vice versa. Moreover, the old immigration youth organizations have been fading away at the time when those of the new immigration have been vigorously de-

veloping. Generally speaking, there has never been an open conflict between the old and the new immigration that would mobilize the immigrants into two opposing camps struggling to dominate. Rather, the new immigration came like a succeeding wave and inundated the existing community.

Leadership in the Community. In the nineteenth-century Western Ukraine, where the immigration originated, Ukrainian leadership was derived from the clergy and the intelligentsia class.⁵³ Among the Ukrainian immigrants in America, people of those classes were easily recognized and looked up to for leadership. Significantly, it was not until the arrival of the first priest that the community started to be organized. After that, other enterprising individuals from amongst the immigrant masses began to emerge as leaders. These were usually small businessmen such as storekeepers, and saloon owners, who also had a personal interest in the development of the community because their clientele derived from there.⁵⁴ Soon, in the absence of a more qualified competition, average immigrants began to assume positions in ethnic organizations.⁵⁵ Some of them, though lacking formal education,

⁵³The fact that by the nineteenth century there was no significant hereditary aristocratic class in Ukraine prompted a Ukrainian pioneer priest to conclude: "Ukrainians are a democratic nation; they have no nobility of their own; their noblemen renounced their tongue and national customs in exchange for privileges from Poles, Russians, Magyars." Reverend Ivan Ardan, "Ruthenians in America," Charities, Vol. 13 (1904-05), p. 247.

⁵⁴Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 263.

⁵⁵Stasiuk, op. cit., p. 17.

proved to be men of exceptional abilities.⁵⁶ A new type of leadership, more democratic in functioning than in the old country, started to develop. Yasinchuk, on his visit to the United States, summed it up thus:

The American Ukrainian organizations are differently organized than ours (in Ukraine). There the officers of an association can do nothing on their own. They only have to carry out the assignment decided on by the last meeting . . . With every little thing one has to wait till the meeting.⁵⁷

In performing their functions, the leaders were heavily dependent on their constituencies, including the priests. The latter were also financially supported by their congregations. In other words, the activism of the ethnic group had its roots in the membership of local communities and corresponded to the needs and world perceptions of the immigrants. The leaders or the elective officers of ethnic organizations had a mandate to carry out certain policies, but were not in a position to command. Their advantage was that, being more deeply involved in the organizational life, they were in a better position to persuade the people than those who were only marginally active. The character and quality of activism in this situation expressed collective attitudes of the members of the ethnic group as well as their expectations for the future. It did not particularly reflect the visionary or charismatic personalities of its leaders.

The role of the old country in supplying leadership for its

⁵⁶Such, for instance, was Mykola Murashko, president of the Ukrainian National Association, 1929-1949, and first president of the newly created Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in 1940.

⁵⁷Yasinchuk, op. cit., p. 62-63.

American ethnic community historically has been of paramount importance. The question of leadership and of a group's continuity did not become crucial as long as there was a fresh supply of immigrants. For it was principally the immigrant who needed the ethnic organizations to ease his period of adjustment, if not survival, in the new world. In such a situation, a continuity of the ethnic community was not acutely dependent on the American-born generation and the latter's participation in ethnic organizations. Had the ethnic community been tied only to adjustment, then one could reasonably have deduced that with the cessation of the immigrant flow, the ethnic community would also have run its natural course. But the ethnic community not only served the immigrant in his adjustment, it was also a means to preserve cultural values and beliefs. Because of this, it could attract into its fold the American-born generation.

Until the 1930's, the community's leadership consisted chiefly of the clergy, intelligentsia, and the more able individuals from amongst the immigrants, all of them newcomers to this country. They viewed the purposes of the community primarily from the perspective of the old country and its needs. Now a new American-born generation came of age, that generation which Bachynsky, on his visit to the United States in 1904-05, observed as children playing on the streets of small Pennsylvania towns and which he perceptively described thus:

The young Ukrainian generation in the United States is "real American." Nevertheless, it still grows up in its early youth in Ukrainian families, with immigrant parents, where he hears the Ukrainian language, and in the parish schools learns to read and write in Ukrainian, and later on, time and again has contacts with the community of immigrants. And, therefore, even though they

feel themselves to be American and among themselves they use the English language, that is, the language of the American streets on which they have grown up, and of the American school, despite this fact they regard themselves as a part of Ukrainian immigrant community and identify themselves as Ukrainians. But being Ukrainian in their case is not the same thing as being Ukrainian on the part of their parents. The immigrant parents love and respect the old country - 'the old country is like your own mother.' They grew up there and from there they carried out all their memories of youthful years. But their children? What do they know about that country? They know, first of all, that their parents left their country because of poverty and they (the parents) do not want to return to it. Therefore, there is nothing that would entice the children to the old country, the 'vitchyzna.' But they do respect the old country since it is the country of origin of their parents and of the whole Ukrainian immigrant community with which they are familiar. And, therefore, their people are Ukrainian people, but their native country is America. And in case they were to sacrifice their lives, they would do it, but not for their people in Ukraine, but for their native country, the America.⁵⁸

Basically, Bachynsky's views on the attitudes of the American-born generation towards the Ukraine and the Ukrainian American community were confirmed in the 1930's by the new generation themselves. They also have shown a traditional predilection for people with higher education, the intelligentsia, to be their leaders. It was not the businessman, but the professional who was usually elected to the important or representative posts in the organizations. At the same time, lay leadership was constantly gaining ground in the community, displacing the influence of the clergy in secular affairs.

Once a person reached a leadership position, he usually remained there for a long time through a process of re-election. The long tenure in office cannot be explained generally in terms of the outstanding leadership qualities of individuals. It was, rather, due to a combina-

⁵⁸Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 491.

tion of skillful manipulation by the top echelons, who, through years of working together at common projects, developed into little cliques, and to a pervading atmosphere in the ethnic group, suspicious of any opposition, and criticism, even a valid one, as being subversive and aiming to undermine the existing order for the purpose of destroying it. This contributed greatly to maintain the same people in the ranks of leadership. When an opposition arose, it was seldom within the existing organizational framework. To give vent to differing ideas, splits into new organizations often occurred. As a result, there was a proliferation of ethnic organizations which could accommodate almost all willing and able individuals aspiring to a position of leadership, thereby blunting the competition within the organization. When a new individual was elected, usually it was not the dissenter, but one whose views were compatible with those of the mainstream membership.

With few exceptions, such as chief executives of the fraternal associations or editors of the major newspapers, there are meagre or no financial rewards for the work done by the community leaders. They have to hold gainful employment, unrelated to their community activism, in order to sustain themselves. The rewards for ethnic activities are usually of a psychological nature, a kind that the larger society often fails to provide. Community activism can give a person recognition, enhance his prestige, and give him a sense of fulfillment and in attaining meaningful goals within a familiar setting of social relationships.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZED EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF THE COMMUNITY

The Role of Informal Educational Processes: Family, Friends, Society. Before embarking on the study of how an ethnic community is preserved through educational processes, it was necessary to take a closer look at the substance to be preserved. The preceding two chapters examined the dynamics of community life through an investigation of the ethnic heritage and its shaping of the life and continuity of American ethnic groups. Chapter IV deals with the organized educational efforts of the community aimed at self-preservation.

Ethnic consciousness is primarily and fundamentally transmitted by the family.¹ But the degree of commitment to active participation by the young members of the community is influenced by a sum of different factors, such as an individual's personality, the social milieu, church affiliation, membership in youth organizations, formal ethnic education, and familiarity with community issues.

The function of the Ukrainian family in ethnic education is, first of all, to instill in the child an awareness of his antecedents.

¹One of the components of Barth's definition (see pp. 3-4, Ch. 1) is biological self-perpetuation. However, biological self-perpetuation has little meaning in human terms without an accompanying process of acculturation. Andrew Greeley expresses a similar opinion in regards to the role of the family as basic to ethnic identification in Why Can't They Be Like Us? (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1969), p. 8.

It is also to teach the child the Ukrainian language, an evident ethnic identifying factor. As a rule, a child who has not learned to speak Ukrainian at home will not acquire this knowledge elsewhere. It should be noted, however, that the language by itself is not the only, nor the crucial evidence of ethnicity. Just as knowing a foreign language does not give one the identity of the particular people who speak that language, so the lack of knowledge of one's ethnic language does not necessarily mean the loss of ethnic consciousness. Many ethnic Americans, including Ukrainians, do not speak their mother tongue, but do belong to ethnic organizations and do identify themselves with the group. However, lack of language knowledge narrows the scope of ethnic interests, precludes a direct access to the sources of ethnicity originating in the mother country, and blurs the distinctions between ethnic organizations and other similar American ones. Often, it also leads to polarization of the community when parallel or separate organizations develop along language lines.²

Besides transmitting language, the role of the family is to initiate the child into religion. As already stated, among Ukrainians the major churches, Catholic and Orthodox, have a distinct Ukrainian rite and liturgical language. Therefore, church affiliation among Ukrainians is of paramount importance in the development of ethnic consciousness. The religious-ritual distinctiveness of Ukrainians is such a strong and influential factor that even among only English-speaking Ukrainians it forms a basis for their ethnic identification, e.g.,

²The language problem is more fully discussed in Ch. VII.

fourth-generation Ukrainians in Pennsylvania. The initiation into the church begins in infancy, with the baptismal ceremony enriched by ancient rituals and customs. It continues when parents bring the young child to church services. Preparation for the first Communion and religious instruction classes marks the transitional stage when church adherence becomes a responsibility not of parents only, but of the child as well. Also, it is a crucial stage in the case of children who attend Latin rite Catholic parochial schools where they receive religious instruction and can easily participate in the first Communion exercises. When at this stage parents neglect to insist on the priority of the Ukrainian church adherence, the child easily assimilates into the parish of his classmates.

Membership in a Ukrainian youth organization and attendance at a Ukrainian language school also depends on the parents. They have to enroll the child, pay the fees, and more often than not, take the child to school or youth meetings. Yet, it is not an abstract ethnic conviction alone that prompts parents to provide dutifully for their children's ethnic education. There is a social pressure forcing them to do it. Parents are a part of a community where their social life is most likely centered. Friends, personal recognition, and meaningful social relations are maintained within the framework of this community. Stronger communities exert a pressure to conform to the established patterns of behavior if these relationships are to be maintained. To gain recognition in the community one has to give evidence, besides professional and financial achievement in the larger society, of com-

mitment to ethnic values. This is manifested best by the ethnic upbringing of one's own children, along with financial contributions to ethnic causes. A family which fails in the ethnic upbringing of its children usually forfeits its status in the community.

A more detailed study of the role of the family as it acts under social pressure and, in turn, applies pressure on its offspring, is not within the scope of this study which is mainly concerned with organized community efforts to educate its young members. It will suffice to state that the family is the primary carrier of ethnicity. The emotional ties and relations that a human individual has with his family are formative factors not only in the development of his personality, but also of his adult social commitments.

Nor is the role of friendships analyzed here. Yet this cannot be totally ignored. Contacts with the peer group within the ethnic community are made early and persist throughout the growing stages of life. Participation in the same organizations, sharing of similar experiences, one's upbringing in the same religion and ideology, all provide a common ground for personal relationships. This situation was aptly summed up by a young third-generation, American-born Ukrainian priest: "When you are with your own kind you simply do not have to explain everything. You know what one is talking about."³

The Role of the Church in Ethnic Education. Historically, the church has been acclaimed as the teacher of mankind. The teaching tra-

³Interview with Reverend Wasyl Bilynsky, Chancellor in the Saint Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Diocese, Chicago, December 9, 1973.

dition of the church reaches deep into the past of Western civilization because literary education was indispensable to her preservation. By salvaging, after the Barbarian invasion, the literary heritage of the ancient world for her own self-interest, the church has helped to preserve that heritage for the whole Western world. The consequent splits within the church brought hostility and separation among different factions, but still the underlying unity of the ideals embodied in Christianity was established throughout the Christian world, and, in the case of the Catholic Church, reinforced by administrative unity as well. On the other hand, in reaching for the souls of culturally diverse people, the church had to use local culture as a medium through which Christianity became acceptable and could be practiced. As a result, the church performed a dual role: promoting universal unity and nurturing local particularism. This latter aspect was historically important for Ukrainians.

For the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States, the differences in rites from those of the Roman Church helped to retard the assimilation process. In Polish or Italian parishes, for instance, where Latin was a common language used in the Liturgy and where there was no distinct ethnic rite, it was relatively easy to substitute priests of other nationalities. It was more difficult to do so in the case of Ukrainian Catholics for whom the Latin rite would not only be different and unfamiliar, but would also be identified in the minds of people with Poland, historically the neighboring enemy and oppressor. Not well versed in church dogma, the immigrants, when put to the test,

often preferred to accept a similar Orthodox rite rather than tolerate Latinization.

The church has also played an important role in the preservation of the ethnic community because parishes were organizational centers of communal life. A church, with its basement or hall, became a place for social meetings, educational activity, and charity work. Here financial or counseling assistance could be obtained. Children and adults displayed their talents, entertained themselves, commemorated special events, and received the latest news or gossip. Even when other organizations developed and took over from the parish many nonreligious functions, the physical facilities of the church were often used for activities. There was no other institution among the Ukrainians in America which had a greater possibility of contact and influence than the church. The priests, until this day, retain an important position of leadership in the group. The churches or parishes, Catholic and Orthodox, are the focal points of every local community. The education of priests and their own ethnic commitment, therefore, are of paramount importance to the community, because the priests are in a position to influence the ethnic commitment of their flock.⁴

Presently, the educational system sponsored by churches includes day schools, from kindergarten through college, seminaries, Ukrainian language courses, religious instruction classes, and nonscholastic educational activities through various youth organizations. The pastors

⁴Treated in this work are Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Protestant denominations among Ukrainians had a small following and these were usually united with the American Protestant Churches. See Halych, Ukrainians in America, pp. 105-106, 110.

usually have an extensive control over the ethnic aspect of these educational activities and, consequently, the ethnic education of the priests themselves and their own commitment play an important role in determining the ethnic character of the programs. For a long time the Ukrainian clergy in the United States was composed exclusively of immigrants. As late as 1936, all of the Orthodox and 96% of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy were born, and, for the most part, educated in the Ukraine.⁵ There was no problem at that time with the ethnic commitment of the priests. Rather, the difficulty lay in their adjustment to America and in their communication with Ukrainian American youth.⁶ By 1940 this situation began to change.

Education for Service in the Church. Bishop Ortynsky, immediately after his arrival, recognized the problem of educating native clergy and already in October, 1907, he called a meeting of church cantors-teachers (diako-vchyteli), where plans to establish a theological seminary and courses for church cantors were discussed.⁷ However, it was not until 1917 that the first definite steps towards realization of this plan were taken. In that year, Saint Paul the Apostle Little Seminary, a secondary school for boys, was established in Philadelphia, enrolling a total of twenty-seven students in its first year of operation. The school was reorganized by Bishop Bohachevsky in 1924. Then,

⁵Ibid., p. 106.

⁶Ibid., p. 108, quoting Almanac of the Orphan's Home, Philadelphia, 1935, p. 157.

⁷Propamyatna Knyha Ukrainskoho Katolytskoho Kaledzha, 1940, p. 37.

in 1933, the Ukrainian Diocese acquired an estate in Stamford, Connecticut, which became a new home for the school, now renamed Saint Basil's Preparatory School, serving both resident students intending to study theology and commuters interested in general secondary education. At the same site in 1939, the Ukrainian Catholic College, a four year liberal arts school with courses of preparatory study for theology, began its operation. Both schools were chartered by the State of Connecticut.

Until the outbreak of World War II, students intending to enter the priesthood were sent to seminaries in such European Ukrainian Catholic centers as Rome, Innsbruck, and the Western Ukraine. Those who studied in the Ukraine obviously experienced a total immersion in their ethnic culture. For those who went to Rome or Innsbruck, the experience was more intensely ethnic than at any other stage of their education in the United States. While general theological courses were taken at Roman Catholic universities, at the Ukrainian centers of residence the students spoke Ukrainian exclusively. Close contacts between the students from America and those from the Ukraine were established.

With the outbreak of World War II, the American seminarians returned to the United States and were accommodated at the Catholic University of America. This slowly developed into the formal establishment of Saint Josaphat's Ukrainian Seminary in Washington, D. C. in 1950. Now Ukrainian students live at the seminary and take most of the required courses at the American Catholic University, including the history of the Uniate Church. In the seminary, the language of instruction is both English and Ukrainian. The following courses are of-

ferred there one hour per week: Eastern Rite and Liturgy, Old Slavonic, Pastoral Theology and the Ukrainian language. At Saint Basil's College, in Stamford, Connecticut, the language of instruction is English, and the Ukrainian language is confined to a specially designated hour, not unlike a foreign language in a school. Since many of the students who enter Saint Josaphat's Seminary and Saint Basil's College, speak very little Ukrainian and have a scant knowledge of Ukrainian subjects, the ethnic aspect of the educational program in both institutions can be considered weak or inadequate.⁸ In addition, the emphasis on the loyalty to the Catholic Church in the pre-ecumenical days went to the extent of excluding any contact with other Ukrainian denominations. This promoted an attitude of isolation from other members of Ukrainian Orthodox Churches and emphasized relatedness with non-Ukrainian Latin rite Catholic congregations. The universality of the church was accorded a clear priority over national particularism.

The endeavors to educate American-born Ukrainian Catholic priests were successful. Already in 1944, 23% of the clergy were native-born Americans.⁹ Despite a considerable number of priests among the new immigrants, after World War II, the proportion of the American-born to

⁸Reverend W. Bilynsky, who attended this seminary, learned Ukrainian only when he came in the early 1960's to Chicago to work in the parish with predominantly new immigrants. Interview, December 9, 1973. Another American-born priest, Reverend J. Knap, says that he learned Ukrainian when he was a student in the Ukrainian Theological Seminary in Rome, Italy. Interview, November 23, 1973.

⁹Out of 112 priests, twenty-seven were American-born. Sixty Years of the Ukrainian Community in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: The American-Ukrainian Citizens' Association, 1944), pp. 119-120.

immigrant priests almost doubled by 1970 to 44%.¹⁰ More important, out of the four Ukrainian bishops in the United States, three are American-born, thus dominating the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy. In 1974, there were six seminarians at Saint Josaphat's Seminary, twenty-six candidates in Saint Basil's College, and thirty-one studying theology elsewhere.¹¹

The training of the Orthodox clergy has never been as vigorous and demanding as it has been in the Catholic Church. The first Orthodox theological school was the Minneapolis Ecclesiastical Seminary established in 1905 in response to the need for trained clergy, resulting from the numerous conversions of the Uniates.¹² Basically, it was a Russian seminary and did not contribute to Ukrainian community building. In the 1920's when the Ukrainian Orthodox churches were established, the ranks of the clergy were largely made up of the former Uniate priests and for some time there was no acute need for new clergy. The few individuals who were interested in the priesthood before the end of World War II studied at the two Russian Orthodox schools, Saint Tykhon's or Saint Vladimir's seminaries. After the Second World War, American-born Ukrainians went to study Orthodox theology at Saint An-

¹⁰Almanakh Provydinnya na Rik 1972 (Philadelphia: America Press, 1972), pp. 202-217. Reverend W. Bilynsky helped to identify American-born clergy.

¹¹Felician Foy, ed. The Official Catholic Directory (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1974).

¹²Alex Simirenko, Pilgrims, Colonists, and Frontiersmen: An Ethnic Community in Transition, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 50.

drew's College in Winnipeg, Manitoba, which was established in 1946. There the language of instruction was Ukrainian because the liturgical language in the Orthodox Church is also the modern Ukrainian vernacular. Saint Andrew's College is affiliated with the University of Manitoba. The courses offered at the College are open to other students of the University. In the academic year 1973-74, the following courses were offered: Liturgical Studies and Rite, Introduction to Theology, Church Law, Church Slavonic, Elementary and Intermediate Ukrainian, Church Music, History of Eastern Christianity and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Pastoral Theology, and History of the Ukraine. Altogether, eighty-seven students registered for these courses, among which the Ukrainian language and history of the Ukraine were the most popular. Out of eighty-seven students, twelve were in the department of theology.¹³

The percentage of the American-educated clergy in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is considerably lower than that in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In 1970, out of 121 Ukrainian Orthodox priests in the United States, twenty-one (16%) were American-educated, almost all of them having received their training at Saint Andrew's College in Winnipeg.¹⁴ Plans are underway to establish a Ukrainian Theological Semi-

¹³"Pochatok Adakemichnoho Roku v Kolehii sv. Andreyia," Svoboda, October 4, 1973.

¹⁴Statistics compiled on the basis of the directory of clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of U.S.A., published in the Ukrains'ky Pravoslavny Kalendar, 1970 (South Bound Brook, N.J.: Ukrainian Orthodox Church of U.S.A., 1970) pp. 69-72 and with the assistance of Reverend O. Kulick, an American-born Ukrainian Orthodox priest who helped to identify the American-born priests.

nary in the United States on a basis of operation similar to Saint Andrew's College. The seminary would be located on the estate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Consistory in South Bound Brook, New Jersey. Negotiations for affiliation with the nearby Rutgers University are in progress.¹⁵

Parochial Day Schools. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, following the example of other Catholic groups in America, established its first all-day elementary school in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1925. The school was connected with the orphanage and both were supervised by the Sisters of Saint Basil's order.¹⁶ Within fifteen years there were sixteen all-day elementary schools established, serving over a thousand children. In 1974, there were twenty-six elementary schools, four high schools, one junior college and two diocesan seminaries.¹⁷ The peak in school population was the 1966-67 school year when 9,840 students attended. Since then the school population has slowly declined.¹⁸

¹⁵M. Danyluk, "Sobor Majbutn'oho: VIII Sobor Ukrain'skoi Provo-slavnoii Tserkvy v ZDA," Svoboda, October 26, 1974, p. 6.

¹⁶Bishop Ortynsky brought the Sisters over to the United States as early as 1911 for the purpose of conducting schools and orphanages. However, there was a strong opposition in the community to the takeover of the schools by the Sisters. The reason for it was that in the old country the schools were usually conducted by Polish nuns and Ukrainian children attending these schools were easily polonized. In popular mind the suspicion of polonization designs was transferred to all Sisters, including the Ukrainian ones. "Ukrainsky Shkoly v Zluchenykh Derzhavakh vedeni Sestramy-Monakhynyamy," Propamyatna Knyha Ukrainskoho Katolytskoho Kaledzha, p. 48.

¹⁷The Byzantine Diocese had one high school, twenty-four elementary schools, and one seminary. Official Catholic Directory, 1974.

¹⁸The following statistics came from the Official Catholic Directory:

Years:	1958/59	1962/63	1968/69	1973/74
Attendance:	8,577	9,680	9,299	6,126

The idea of establishing a junior college where young Ukrainian girls would be educated in the spirit of their religious rite and ethnic tradition came under serious consideration by the Basilian Sisters as early as 1947. But the Manor Junior College was established and accredited only in 1959 as an extension of the already existing Ukrainian Catholic High School for girls at Jenkinstown, Pennsylvania. Because of the lack of sufficient numbers of Ukrainian students from almost its very inception, the college had to change its by-laws to accommodate non-Ukrainians. Shortages of students and finances constantly accompanied the short history of the college's existence. In 1971, there were only forty-five resident students in the dormitories designed to accommodate ninety. The three hundred student capacity of the college held only 185 students. Of these, only twenty were of Ukrainian descent. This obviously had serious repercussions on the ethnic program offered by the school.¹⁹

There are two main programs of study offered at the Manor Junior College: one is in liberal arts, with courses offered in chemistry, education, early childhood education, English, languages, library assistance, science and social sciences, leading to an Associate in Arts degree. Credits for these courses are transferable to the four year colleges. The other is called the secretarial science program with secretarial training in general executive, legal and medical fields,

¹⁹Leonid Poltava and George B. Krawciw, "Manor College: A Ukrainian School in Need of Ukrainian Students," Svoboda, January 16, 1971, and S. Strokan', "Manor Kaledzhevi - Hromads'ka Uvaha," Ameryka, January 15, 1971.

as well as business administration. The extracurricular activities that concentrate on ethnic traditions are conducted mostly by the Ukrainian Club of the College. In 1971, out of the twenty club members, only eight spoke Ukrainian.²⁰

A similar situation in respect to the use of the Ukrainian language exists in three out of the four Ukrainian high schools. Coincidentally, the three high schools, Saint Basil's Academy in Philadelphia, Saint Basil's Preparatory School in Stamford, and Saint Mary's Academy in Sloatsburgh, were all established in the 1930's when language learning in the Ukrainian group was de-emphasized on the grounds that consciousness of one's ancestry was sufficient for ethnic preservation in America. These three schools also have a high percentage of non-Ukrainian students. In 1971, for instance, among sixty-three graduates of Saint Basil's Academy, only twenty were Ukrainians and, of these, only fourteen have taken courses in the Ukrainian language while in school.²¹

The Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School in Hamtramck, Michigan, was opened in September, 1958, and from the very beginning its student body was exclusively Ukrainian, predominantly children of new immigrants.²² The school has a one-track college prepara-

²⁰S. Strokan', op. cit.

²¹"Tsyohorichni Graduanky Akadmii sv. Vasyliya Velykoho," Ameryka, August 13, 1971.

²²Some 70% of the students are new immigrants and 30% are of old immigrant stock. Interview with Peter Stasiw, principal of the Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School in Hamtramck, Michigan, November 24, 1973.

tory program and 95% of the graduates proceed to higher education. There is a three-level ethnic program in which students are grouped according to their ability to speak and read Ukrainian. The honors course in Ukrainian studies contains some 25% of the 168 students in the school, all of them children of new immigrants. They also attend the Ukrainian Saturday Language Schools. Half of the students are in the intermediate group, and another 25% are in a program designed for those who do not speak or write Ukrainian. This last group is composed predominantly of the children of earlier immigrants. To graduate from the Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School, a student is required to take Ukrainian courses. Religion is offered both in English and Ukrainian, subject to the choice not of students, but of parents. A strong Parents Club and a Board of Education composed of pastor, faculty, and parents are, in the opinion of the school principal, the chief reason for the successful operation of the school.²³

In the parochial day schools, the language of instruction is English. These schools are accredited institutions, affiliated with the Latin Catholic Diocesan Boards of Education in whose areas they function and comply with the legal educational requirements of the state in which they are located. Ukrainian or ethnic programs in these schools are determined individually by each school, or more precisely,

²³The Tenth Anniversary Yearbook, The Icon (Hamtramck, Michigan, 1969), reflects the spirit of the school. Also, Iryna Zakharkiw, "Desyatylittya Ukrain'skoi Vyshchoi Shkoly v Ditroitii," Nova Zorya, November 9, 1969, and V. Nestorovych, "Pershe Desyatylittya Odynokoi Ukrain'skoi Vyshchoi Shkoly v ZSA," Svoboda, December 26, 1969, assess the importance of the school from educational and community viewpoints.

by the pastor of each parish. There is no Ukrainian Catholic School Board that would coordinate the ethnic programs in all of the existing day schools, nor is there a definite cooperation with the School Council of the UCCA.²⁴ Ethnic programs, then, range from those offered by schools that are merely formally affiliated with the Ukrainian Rite Church and provide some religious instruction in that rite in the English language, to programs that include not only the Ukrainian language as a subject, but also Ukrainian history, literature, geography and art, as well as extracurricular activities commemorating national Ukrainian feasts or promoting Ukrainian art.

On the basis of a questionnaire the following picture of ethnic programs emerges. All of the responding schools carry ethnic language lessons ranging from five hours per week throughout all grade levels (37%) to half-an-hour per week in the upper grades (10%). In between (53%), the program ranges from two to three hours per week. Besides language, 63% of schools reported teaching one or more of the following as separate subjects: history, geography, literature, and art of the Ukraine. In some instances, religion is also taught in the Ukrainian language (37% reported teaching it both in Ukrainian and English, subject to student choice), although the majority of schools (63%) use

²⁴In the Philadelphia and Stamford Dioceses, E. Zharsky, head of the UCCA School Council, twice a year confers, on a voluntary basis, with Reverend Fedorek, who oversees school programs in the eastern part of the United States. These conferences have no binding effect on the Ukrainian Catholic Schools. In the Saint Nicholas Diocese in Chicago, an inspector of ethnic programs for the Ukrainian Catholic Schools is appointed upon the recommendation of the UCCA School Council. In 1974 it was Mrs. J. Nazarevych.

only English for this purpose.

Other ethnic programs included celebrations of one or more religious feasts that have ethnic traditions (100%), and Ukrainian civic holidays (74%), such as Independence Day in January. The language used on such occasions was usually both English and Ukrainian (70% both, 20% Ukrainian only, 10% English only). Sixty-eight percent of the schools reported putting on plays during the school year. Just one school reported presenting plays in English only. All the others reported presenting plays in Ukrainian and both English and Ukrainian. Ethnic songs and dances were also popularly included in school activities.

The quality and intensity of ethnic programs varied from school to school and there was no common standard for evaluating students' achievement in the ethnic language or ethnic subjects, the term "ethnic subjects" designating subjects related to the Ukraine, such as history and geography of the Ukraine, Ukrainian literature and art, and, of course, language. On the basis of the questionnaire, the following evaluation of ethnic programs in the schools was established: (1) schools which offered ethnic language instruction five hours per week throughout all grades and one or more ethnic subjects from three to five hours per week were considered to have a relatively outstanding ethnic program; (2) schools which provided two to three hours of language instruction in all grades and at least one hour per week of ethnic subjects taught in Ukrainian or both English and Ukrainian in upper grades were designated as adequate; and (3) those, which in some grades had less than two hours per week of language and one hour or less of

ethnic subject instruction in some grades, were considered to have a weak program, with those providing ethnic subject instruction in English only or not at all, as the weakest.²⁵

Following the above criteria, 21% of the schools were rated strong in ethnic studies, 37% adequate, and 42% weak. In the schools that had a strong ethnic program, the majority of the students were children of post-World War II immigrants and the percentage of non-Ukrainian students was relatively small. They all reported their ethnic programs to be the same or to have increased since 1966.²⁶ The schools with a weak ethnic program had either a low percentage of children of new immigrants or a high percentage of other-ethnic pupils, or both. None of these schools reported an increase of ethnic programs since 1966.

Another characteristic pattern differentiating the schools with a strong or adequate and a weak ethnic program depended on the teaching personnel. In the schools of the "strong" category, 18% of the teachers did not speak the ethnic language, while in the latter, "weak," category the percentage of teachers who did not speak Ukrainian more than doubled to 41%. There was also a difference in the percentage of teachers employed who themselves had attended Ukrainian parochial schools: 38% in the schools with a "strong" ethnic program had teachers who attended Ukrainian parochial schools, and only 28% in those

²⁵One school depended totally on the Saturday School for ethnic instruction and one school did not answer.

²⁶The years 1966/67 mark a beginning of noticeable decrease in school population.

with a "weak" program. These differences become even more pronounced when only the schools with the strongest and the weakest programs were compared. In the former case, 89% of the teachers spoke Ukrainian and nearly half, 41%, had themselves been educated in the Ukrainian parochial schools. In the case of the latter, 27% of the teachers, or one-sixth of the former category spoke Ukrainian, and only 19%, or less than half as many attended Ukrainian parochial schools.²⁷ In teaching the Ukrainian language, a majority of schools (63%) employed only the foreign-born, that is immigrants. In 26% of the schools, both American and foreign-born teachers were engaged for that purpose, while 11% relied on American-born persons only.

Although for Ukrainians religion, that is, church affiliation, and language are considered to be the two outstanding ethnic identity characteristics, in the parochial schools these two characteristics do not reinforce each other in the obvious way that one might expect. Religion is taught predominately (63%) in the English language; 32% offer instruction in both English and Ukrainian, subject to the choice of the student (with the exception of one school, where the choice is made by parents); and only one school offers it exclusively in Ukrainian. In special classes of religious instruction offered by parishes for the students who attend public schools,²⁸ the language of instruction is

²⁷Out of 220 teachers, 38% attended Ukrainian parochial schools, 35% did not speak Ukrainian, 32% were non-Ukrainians, and 3% of Ukrainian teachers did not speak Ukrainian.

²⁸In 1972, 5,811 students attended Ukrainian Catholic Schools, and 5,970 were under religious instruction, a total of 11,781. Source: The Official Catholic Directory.

almost exclusively English.

The textbooks used for ethnic subjects and language in the parochial day schools very often are the same that the Ukrainian Saturday Language Schools use. In some cases, the ethnic program in the day schools is considered by the parents to be equivalent to the Saturday Language School and the children do not attend the latter (e.g., Saint George's School in New York). In other instances, the parochial day school regards the Saturday Schools, especially if they share the same premises, as an extension of its ethnic program. Thus the children, whose parents wish them to acquire or to broaden their knowledge of ethnic subjects, besides attending the Ukrainian parochial day school, are also sent to the Saturday Schools (e.g., Chicago, Detroit).

Ukrainian Language Schools: Historical Perspective. Unlike the parochial day schools, ethnic, or as they are popularly called now, Saturday Language Schools - Shkoly Ukrainoznavstva - are totally private enterprises with no legal accreditation by state authorities. In some cases,²⁹ a high school credit for a foreign language is given upon examination by the state or city school board or a particular college to those completing the Saturday Language School. The main purpose of Saturday Schools is primarily oriented towards the inner needs of an ethnic group in a quest for self-preservation.

The network of the schools of Ukrainoznavstva as they presently exist has no direct organizational continuity with the early immigrant

²⁹Courses are accredited by the School Board in Washington, D.C., and are in the process of becoming accredited in Chicago, Illinois.

schools established at the end of the nineteenth century. These present-day schools were established by new immigrants in the early 1950's and from their very beginning served, almost exclusively, this particular group. Still, despite the lack of organizational continuity, there is a common psychological and ideological undercurrent which has produced a continuous institution of the ethnic community.

The purpose of the ethnic school was summed up by Bachynsky some seventy years ago thus: "to provide the children, aside from American schooling and English language, also with their own, Ukrainian education whereby they could learn their language and history and develop a feeling of belonging to the people of their parents."³⁰ This purpose has been much embellished by sophisticated phraseology at the First Free World Congress of Ukrainians in 1967, where the World Coordinating Educational and School Council (SKVOR) proclaimed the goals and values of Ukrainian education. An educated Ukrainian should be:

A full-fledged citizen of the country of his residence, loyal to his ancestors, an active member of Ukrainian community to which he is tied by bonds of his mother tongue and culture, directing his creative efforts towards enrichment of the spiritual values of the Ukrainian people for the benefit of both the motherland and the country in which he resides.³¹

The document then goes on to elaborate on ideology, philosophical foun-

³⁰Bachynsky, Ukrainci v Amerytsi, p. 384.

³¹"Vykhovny Ideal," Ridna Shkola, September, 1967, p. 2. Also see Myroslav Semchyshyn, "Ukrains'ky Vykhovny Ideal," Svoboda, February 7, 8, and 9, 1974, for a background discussion of the final draft of the "Ideal," and Ivan Holovinsky, co-author of the document, "Idealism i Prahmatyzm Vykhovnoho Idealu," Svoboda, August 15, 16, and 17, 1973, for a discussion of the philosophical basis of this document.

dations, relationships with one's country of residence, etc. There were some minor revisions of the document at the Second Free World Congress of Ukrainians in Toronto, 1973, but basically it enunciated the same principles, with an emphasis on nurturing an "idealistic philosophy of life" to counterbalance the negativistic influences of modern trends of pragmatism and behaviorism.³² A polemic ensued regarding this document. There was a critical reaction to this proclamation on the grounds that it violates an individual's freedom of choice and stifles an individual's growth by imposing on him a particular philosophical straitjacket. The purpose of ethnic education, writes one critic, is simple: to give the child knowledge of the Ukrainian language and the Ukraine. Regarding sciences and philosophies, he writes that:

. . . the danger to our youth does not emanate from any particular philosophical current, but springs from the fact that our youth might not be interested in any philosophical or ideological problems whatsoever . . . pursuit of materialistic goals and pleasures presents far greater danger to the Ukrainian, and every other youth group, for that matter, growing up in an affluent society . . .³³

This observation was emphatically endorsed by a young Ukrainian activist, who also pointed out that "the real danger for Ukrainian youth may not lie in their interest in new ideas and lifestyles, but in indifference and apathy to anything beyond hedonistic and materialistic goals."³⁴ In summary, whatever the ideological ornamentation of ethnic

³²Ridna Shkola, loc. cit.

³³Bohdan Cymbalysty, "Do Ukrain's'koho Vykhovnoho Idealu," Svoboda, February 27, 1974, p. 2.

³⁴Claudia H. Olesnycki, "On Youth and the 'Ideal'," Ukrainian Weekly, March 16, 1974.

education ideals might be, basically, the objectives of their education are to provide general knowledge about the mother country and of the mother tongue in hope of influencing future ethnic commitments of an individual.

Historically, the immediate educational needs of newly arrived immigrants, be they children or adults, were to learn the English language and to acquaint themselves with the American way of life. Since the Ukrainian immigrants at the turn of the century were predominantly young, unmarried, and often illiterate in any language, the early educational efforts in the group were directed towards adult education. A young student, Volodymyr Simenovych, invited to the United States by Father Volansky expressly for the purpose of organizing educational activities, brought along books on how to teach literacy to the adults.³⁵ At a community meeting in Olyphant, Pennsylvania in 1904, Father Tymkevych proposed to provide monetary awards to those persons who would teach ten adults how to read. But while combating illiteracy among adults was a general educational problem, from the point of view of ethnic education, the focus was shifting to the ever-increasing number of children in the group.

The first school for children was founded in 1893 in Shamokin, Pennsylvania. Other communities followed the example. Classes were conducted by the church cantors usually in the church halls, or rather, basements, sometimes in private homes, and some communities put up spe-

³⁵Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 359.

cial buildings to house the schools.³⁶ These were not regular day schools, but served only as part-time afternoon schools, or as Saturday Schools. As time went by and the young population of the group increased, the problem of ethnic education became progressively more urgent, not only from the point of view of ethnic self-preservation in America, but as a practical necessity, because the majority of immigrants planned, after accumulating some money, to return to their motherland. The inadequacies of the existing schools were obvious: unqualified teachers, inappropriate textbooks, unsuitable locations. The newspaper, Svoboda, urged the establishment of new schools and also criticized the conduct of the existing ones.³⁷ At public meetings,³⁸ fraternal conventions,³⁹ and conventions of Greek Catholic priests and church delegates,⁴⁰ particular attention was given to the problem of ethnic education.

With the arrival of Bishop Ortynsky, a new phase in ethnic school development ensued. Within one month after his arrival he called a meeting of Greek Catholic priests in October, 1907, in New York, where

³⁶Among the first communities to build separate school buildings were: Leisering in 1896, Mayfield in 1899, Passaic in 1899, Olyphant in 1901, Mount Carmel in 1903. Bachynsky, p. 386.

³⁷Hryhorij Hrushka, "Nam Treba Shkoly," Svoboda, December 5, 1894; "Nashi Shkoly v Amerytsi," Svoboda, nos. 26-28, 1895.

³⁸The First Ukrainian Assembly in Jersey City, 1900. Assemblies in Yonkers (1903), Olyphant (1904), McKeesport (1905).

³⁹Fourth Convention of the Ukrainian National Association, 1897.

⁴⁰At the Convention of Greek Catholic Priests and Church Deacons in Philadelphia, 1899, resolution was passed to open schools in each parish. For this purpose a special school commission was formed in 1901.

the main topic was that of education. Later that year he called a convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, of both Carpatho-Ukrainians and Ukrainian church cantors, who at that time were also teachers in the parish schools. An association of the cantors-teachers (dyako-vchyteli) was established, and in 1912 it published a quarterly teachers' journal, Diakovchytel. To help the newly established association in its educational activities, in 1913 the Catholic newspaper America started to publish a monthly children's magazine Zirka. But within five years the association split into two separate Ukrainian and Carpatho-Ukrainian organizations. At the time of World War I there were some sixty members of the Ukrainian Cantor-Teachers Association,⁴¹ and it can be assumed that there were also that many ethnic schools. In the years 1918-19, the Association published a monthly, Ridna Shkola, dedicated to the problems of ethnic schooling. After World War I, the educational function of the cantor-teachers was gradually absorbed by the Basilian Sisters and Sisters of Mary Immaculate, who, in time, became chiefly responsible for the education sponsored by the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America. By 1940, some 8,650 children were under Church instruction.⁴² In addition to the sixteen parochial day schools, the Sisters conducted eighteen afternoon or Saturday Religion-Language classes,⁴³ and the cantors took care of ninety-six afternoon or Saturday Schools attended by some 6,500 pupils.⁴⁴

The responsibility for ethnic education has rested mainly with

⁴¹Propamyatna Knyha Katolytskoho Kaledzha, p. 38

⁴²Ibid., p. 46.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 51-52.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 46.

the Ukrainian Catholic Church.⁴⁵ Yet the problem was not limited to the religious aspect only. In a progressively secularized atmosphere in the community, with a continuously dissolving religious homogeneity into different religious factions, the question of ethnic education was more and more often debated at meetings and conventions of different secular organizations. The XII Convention of the Ukrainian National Association in 1912 established a scholarship fund and an Educational Commission which, at its first meeting, proclaimed an ambitious plan to establish a uniformity of school programs, to organize new schools, provide new textbooks, and to publish a magazine for children and adolescents.⁴⁶ For a short time the Ukrainian National Association published a journal, Flowerette (Tsvitka), for children.

After World War I, the Federation of Ukrainian Organizations in America established a Board of Ukrainian Schools in America (Uprava Ridnoji Shkoly v Amerytsi). Plans for action were extensive, embracing all aspects of ethnic education.⁴⁷ However, people who actually conducted the schools, the Sisters and the Association of Cantor-Teachers, refused to acknowledge the authority of the Board,⁴⁸ thereby confining the effectiveness of the latter to devising educational plans, writing

⁴⁵At the beginning of this century the Orthodox schools were Russian. Only in the 1920's did the Ukrainian Orthodox Church start to conduct Ukrainian language schools, which quickly proliferated and Kaskiw counts some fifty of them in existence by the end of that decade. Propamyatna Knyha Ukrain's'koho Katolytskoho Kaledzha, p. 41.

⁴⁶Osypp Stetkevych, "Ukrain's'ke Shkilnytstvo v Amerytsi," Propamyatna Knyha Ukrain's'koho Narodnoho Soyuza, pp. 337-338.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 338-342.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 341.

resolutions, and publishing proclamations.

It generally was observed that the results of ethnic education were disproportionately meagre in comparison with the efforts made.⁴⁹ Probably the only exception was the Ukrainian school in New York City, conducted in the years 1924-1931 under the sponsorship of the Ukrainian Home Association and under the direction of the School Council composed of representatives of different Ukrainian institutions and organizations. The teaching staff consisted of professional teachers, usually post-World War I immigrants and nonprofessionals, but highly educated persons.⁵⁰ A number of American-born Ukrainian activists attended these schools.⁵¹ Their success was due to a number of qualified teachers, adequate physical facilities, an ample financial base, and an intelligent dedication of the people in charge of administration. The decline set in primarily when the parish of Saint George in New York was split into Catholic and Orthodox factions and, consequently, the school system was also divided.

From the educational point of view, the 1930's are marked by two trends: an increase in the all-day parochial schools and a decrease in the efforts for language preservation. It became generally accepted

⁴⁹Bachynsky: "These schools, from whatever point of view you look at them . . . are but one great pedagogical absurdity," (Ukrains'ka Immigratsia v Z'yedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky, p. 386); Stetkevych: "quite primitive" (Propamyatna Knyha Ukrains'koho Narodnoho Soyuzu, p. 342); "their standards not high, teaching unsystematic; unqualified teachers . . . results among the young generation are very meagre," (Propamyatna Knyha Ukrains'koho Katolytskoho Kaledzha, p. 42).

⁵⁰Propamyatna Knyha Ukrains'koho Katolytskoho Kaledzha, pp. 40-41.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 41.

that English would inevitably be the language of the young generation and that the effort should be directed primarily towards inculcation of national awareness, that is, knowledge about the Ukraine. For that purpose, a number of English language publications appeared, often in the form of a supplement to the existing newspaper, aimed at youth: Ukrainian Juvenile Magazine (1927), The Nestorian (1930), Junior America (1930), The Ukrainian Review (1931), The Ukrainian Trend (1933), Ukrainian Weekly (1933), The Nationalist, Ukraine, The Trident (1933), The Chronicle (1936), Ukrainian Youth (1936), Ukrainian Life (1940), The American-Ukrainian Herald (1940).

The events of World War II urgently called for an intensified political activism by the Ukrainian group in America. In 1940, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America was instituted. Educational considerations were put aside for some years, even though this was a crucial time in the Ukrainian community in regard to ethnic education. During the war years, emphasis on American patriotism was intensified. Ethnic loyalty was regarded as both divisive and dangerous, especially if the mother country happened to be on the side of the Axis powers, or simply, as was the case with the Ukrainians, being against the Soviet Union. Older youth in the community were drafted into the army, thus leaving larger than usual the generation gap between the young and the old. Alienation of the adolescents from the community became noticeable.⁵² Yet,

⁵²Feeling a larger than usual communication gap between the older and the younger generation, Teodor Swystun wistfully writes: "We hope that when the Second World War veterans will come back home, they will be able to bridge the gap between the younger and the older generation." "Tovarystvo Ukraïns'ko-Amerykans'kykh Horozhan u Filadelfii," Sixty Years of Ukrainian Community in Philadelphia, p. 47.

not much was being done during the 1940's to bridge this gap.

A new phase in ethnic education ensued with the arrival of new immigrants shortly after World War II. Obviously, teaching their children Ukrainian was not a primary educational concern of the newcomers. The need of both young and old was to learn English. A number of existing Ukrainian institutions, most often the Ukrainian American Citizens Clubs, sponsored courses in the English language. The all-day parochial schools swelled with immigrant children who found that the bilingualism of these schools facilitated the process of transition into the American school system. On the other hand, these new immigrant children revived a spirit of Ukrainianism in the parochial schools which they attended.

While a number of the new immigrant children entered the Ukrainian all-day parochial schools, many more attended the non-Ukrainian American schools. Even though there once existed supplementary Ukrainian language schools for children in all the larger communities, by the late 1940's and early 1950's, many of them had largely become religious instruction classes and the new immigrants found the courses ethnically inadequate for their children. Also, a great number of teachers among the new immigrants became instrumental in the founding of new schools. Several such schools were established as early as 1949 (Saint Vladimir's School in Chicago, and an Ukrainoznavstvo school in Cleveland). In 1950, the movement of organizing supplementary Ukrainian language schools gained momentum. Usually the schools were started with

but a handful of pupils.⁵³ By the 1953/54 academic year, there were at least twenty-nine new schools operating in twelve eastern and midwestern states.⁵⁴ These increased to seventy-six by 1966, according to the report of the UCCA School Council. Another thirty-eight schools were sponsored by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Council, with a total attendance in both systems of some 11,200 children.⁵⁵ A rapid decline set in in the years 1969 to 1973. Within five years, the number of Orthodox schools and instruction groups dropped to twenty-two and the number of pupils from 1,260 to 817.⁵⁶ In the 1972/73 academic year, only forty schools were registered with the UCCA School Council.⁵⁷

On the basis of the UCCA School Council annual reports for 1972/73, there were 3,840 pupils enrolled in the thirty reporting schools.

⁵³In Philadelphia, for instance, the Ukrainian language course in October, 1950, attracted eight pupils. By the end of the school year in June, 1951, there were already fifty-one children enrolled, and four years later the number increased to 151. Edward Zharsky, "Kursy Ukrainoznavstva," Golden Jubilee (Philadelphia: The Ukrainian-American Citizens' Association in Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 138-139.

⁵⁴Shkilna Rada pry Ukrain's'kim Kongresovim Komiteti Ameryky, Shkoly j Kursy Ukrainoznavstva v ZDA, Shkilnyj Rik 1953/54 (New York: Shkilna Rada, 1954).

⁵⁵The above count is exaggerated. Until 1965/66, when the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Commission was instituted, a number of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Schools were affiliated with the School Council of the UCCA, and here they are included in both reports. Also, the Orthodox school report contains so-called "Ukrainian language learning groups," which do not fall under the category of Saturday Schools. Sources: Shkilna Rada Shkoly Ukrainoznavstva: Shkilny Rid 1966/65 (New York: Ukrainsky Kongresovy Komitet Ameryky, 1966), p. 4; Nasha Shkola, November, 1973, p. 9.

⁵⁶Nasha Shkola, loc. cit.

⁵⁷Annual School Report of the Educational Council of the UCCA, 1972/73 (New York: Archives of the Educational Council of the UCCA).

If the average of 100-110 pupils would be allotted to the ten schools that did not send in their annual reports, the total number of pupils would be approximately 5,000, or half as many as was reported for the years 1965/66. The number of teachers in the schools affiliated with the UCCA has remained nearly the same, around 400.⁵⁸

In the interviews with the head of the UCCA School Council, Dr. E. Zharsky, and Director of the Orthodox Schools, Superintendent Bobrovsky, the following factors were given as reasons for the decline of the language school population: (1) mixed marriages, (2) factionalism within communities or parishes, resulting in withdrawal of children from school by one group objecting to the prevailing influence of another, (3) parents' neglect, (4) exodus into the suburbs, and (5) decline in the child population.

Saturday Language Schools: Administration and Supervision of the Schools.

A. UCCA School Council

Although the Saturday Language Schools were started independently

⁵⁸According to the report given at the meeting of SKVOR (World Co-ordinating School and Education Council) in Toronto, Canada, January, 1973, the School Council of the UCCA had seventy-five registered schools, 495 class units, 392 teachers, and 5,500 pupils. But, the report added, "only 40 of these schools show any systematic functioning." The Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Commission in the United States reported to have over fifty schools with some 230 class units and 2,500 pupils. These included religious instruction classes. The Ukrainian Catholic Dioceses in the United States reported altogether thirty-three schools (elementary, high schools, junior college, college and seminaries) with 7,500 students and 250 teachers. Ridna Shkola, April, 1973, p. 1-2. However, except for the Catholic schools, the reports were exaggerated. The diminishing trend in Ukrainian schools was amply illustrated by reliable statistics on the Ukrainian schools in Detroit, Mich., where the Saturday School population in

in various communities in the early 1950's, the need for coordination of programs and cooperation in sharing school materials was apparent. On March 14, and 15, 1953, a convention of school representatives took place in New York City. Thirteen institutions were represented. The outcome was the institution of a Central School Council affiliated with the UCCA. Professor E. Zharsky was elected president, and he has retained the position, with some short intermissions, until the present time. A twenty point resolution outlined the purposes of the School Council as a coordinating, supervising, publishing, and programming agency for every phase of Ukrainian education activities.⁵⁹ The convention also expressed an intent to renew the activities of a distinguished Western Ukrainian pedagogical association, Ridna Shkola,⁶⁰ and to sponsor private Ukrainian schools. This last resolution was only partially successful. In a few instances Ridna Shkola Associations do sponsor Saturday Language Schools. Other sponsors are Parents' Committees, UCCA chapters, local parishes and civic organizations,⁶¹ all of which are members of the Union of the Sponsors of the Ukrainian Language Schools (Ob'yednannya Sponsoriv Shkil Ukrainoznavstva). While

1969 was 341 and in 1973/74 it dropped to 280 or 18%. Similar trends were in Newark, Chicago, and elsewhere. F. Lubinetska, "Ukrains'ke Shkilnytstvo i Ukrain's'ka Hromada," Svoboda, October 8, 1974, p. 4

⁵⁹Shkoly j Kursy Ukriinoznavstva v ZDA: Shkilny Rik 1953/54, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁰"Ridna Shkola" Association was established in Lviv in 1881 and was active until its dissolution by the Soviet Government in 1944.

⁶¹Ridna Shkola, April and June issue, 1968.

the sponsoring associations play an important role in financing and administering the schools, they have no right in electing the School Council of the UCCA. The latter is elected by the Convention of school principals and school delegates, that is, school teachers. The principals, in their turn, are appointed by the School Council on the recommendation of the school sponsors and teachers. The teachers are hired by the school principal. In the absence of conflicts and competition for teaching positions, this arrangement of appointments and elections has generally been accepted as workable.⁶² When a conflict developed between a school and the School Council, as for instance happened in the case of Ridna Shkola in Philadelphia, the school simply disaffiliated itself from the Council and ceased to send reports or follow directives of that body, though formally it still remains on the Council's register of schools.

B. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Council

The Language Schools of the Ukrainian Orthodox parishes had individually affiliated themselves with the School Council of the UCCA until 1965, when the first convention of the teachers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Schools in Cleveland, Ohio, established a separate School Council.⁶³ Predominance of the Western Ukrainian Catholics in the UCCA School System was the chief reason for this separation. The

⁶²See "Pravylnyk Sponsoriv Ridna Shkola," Ridna Shkola, April-June, 1964, pp. 4-5.

⁶³An initial School Commission of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was formed in 1964 to prepare for the first convention. For more details see Ukrains'ky Pravoslavny Kalendar, 1970, pp. 133-34.

Orthodox parishes have no all-day parochial schools and rely on the Saturday and Sunday schools for religious instruction of their children. They felt that the UCCA School Council programs were either biased or did not give sufficient attention to Orthodox religious instruction. The very fact that the schools often operated on Catholic Church premises was deemed in itself detrimental to the implementation of Orthodox adherence.⁶⁴

The School Council is elected by the convention of Ukrainian Orthodox teachers and educators held every three years. The final approval of the elected Council and the proposed school programs rests with the Archbishop Metropolitan.⁶⁵ The functions of the School Council consist in introducing or revising school programs, recommending textbooks and methods of teaching, and the publishing of a school bulletin,

⁶⁴Interview with Jurij Bobrovsky, Supervisor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Commission, South Bound Brook, N.J., December, 1973.

⁶⁵The Archbishop Mstyslav added to the proposed manual of the School Council: (1) The School Council is a part of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church body, (2) Territory of the schools' activities coincides with the Church territory, (3) Conventions of the School Council take place with the blessing of the Bishop, (4) Statutes of the School Council become binding upon the approval of the Metropolitan Church Council. Thus, the schools officially came under control of the clergy. Minutes of the meeting of the School Convention, Cleveland, Ohio, August 28-29, 1965. (South Bound Brook, N.J.: Archives of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Consistory.) For more information on the purposes of the Ukrainian Orthodox schools and the functions of the School Council as well as the lists of consecutive executives, see J. Bobrovsky, "Parafiyalni Shkoly Relihii i Ukrainoznavstva Ukrains'koi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy v ZDA," Pravoslavnyj Kalendar, 1970, pp. 133-136; J. Bobrovsky, "Aktualni Pytannya Parafiyalnoho Shkilnytstva U.P.Ts. v S.Sh.A.," Nasha Shkola, November, 1973; and "Perebih i Vyslidy IV-ho Shkilnoho Z'iizdu U.P.Ts. v S.Sh.A.," Nasha Shkola, pp. 11-13.

Nasha Shkola. Actually, the difference between the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Council and the UCCA School Council lies chiefly in the denominational concerns of the former.⁶⁶

C. World Coordinating Education and School Council (SKVOR).

In 1967, during the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians in New York, one of the sessions dealt with the problems of the Ukrainian educational system in the free world. The principles and trends of the session were summarized in the "Guidelines of the Ukrainian National Educational System."⁶⁷ As a direct result of that session, Ukrainians in various countries began to establish National Education and School Councils (Krayeva Vykhovno-Osvitna Rada [KVOR]) consisting of representatives of schools and organizations engaged in educational activities. The first conference of this new body in the United States took place in Philadelphia on September 28, 1968.⁶⁸ Twelve different organizations were represented. A notable absence was that of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Council, which, however, had joined KVOR a year later, after the third School Convention of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church held in Chicago, August 23-24, 1969.⁶⁹ Since then, the Ukrai-

⁶⁶Interview with E. Zhars'ky, Head of the UCCA School Council and J. Bobrovsky, Head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Council, December, 1973.

⁶⁷Ridna Shkola, June, September, and October, 1967.

⁶⁸Ridna Shkola, December, 1968.

⁶⁹No. 9 of the resolutions of that Convention stated that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church would agree to cooperate with the KVOR and SKVOR on a condition that "such cooperation would contradict neither the independent activities of our school executive nor the purpose of our Ukrainian Orthodox schools." Pravoslavny Kalendar, 1970, p. 136.

nian Orthodox Church has fully cooperated with the KVOR, their representatives serving as elected officers on the Executive Board.

The National Education and School Councils of different countries,⁷⁰ together form a World Coordinating School and Education Council - SKVOR (Svitova Koordynatsijna Vykhovno-Osvitna Rada) as a branch of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. Its main objectives are to provide a forum of communication among the many Ukrainian organizations engaged in educational activities scattered throughout the world, and to facilitate, by means of gathering and disseminating relevant information, the educational work of the participating members. In practice, however, an efficient cooperation has so far proved to be difficult to attain. National Councils were not sending their reports on time, if at all, thereby undermining the role of SKVOR as an information center.⁷¹ Nor has an instrument been devised to measure the attainment of the objectives set forth in the "Guidelines."⁷²

Saturday Language Schools in Action: Curriculum, Textbooks, Teachers. According to the annual school reports for 1972-73 of the UCCA School Council affiliated schools, the grade divisions ranged from nursery classes and kindergartens through grade twelve. Five out of the thirty reporting schools had nursery classes, nine had kindergartens or

⁷⁰Countries in Europe - Belgium, England, France, Austria, Germany; in North America - Canada and United States; in South America - Brazil and Argentina; Australia. For more detailed information see Ridna Shkola, July, 1971.

⁷¹Ridna Shkola, April, 1973, p. 1.

⁷²Kongres Ukraintsiv v ZSA (New York: UCCA, 1972), p. 122.

school preparatory programs and seventeen schools had classes on the secondary or high school level.⁷³ Schools with eleventh and twelfth grades hold a comprehensive examination called "matura" at the completion of their educational programs. There were eleven schools conducting special classes in English for those children who do not speak Ukrainian.⁷⁴ In the Ukrainian Orthodox system in 1973, five schools had tenth grade and "matura," and two schools had special classes for children who do not speak Ukrainian.⁷⁵ Preschool programs were conducted by six schools.

Curricula in the Saturday Language Schools are programmed by the UCCA School Council and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Council, respectively. The curriculum guide of the UCCA School Council of 1960 (Prohrama Navchannya) has undergone minor revisions since 1968.⁷⁶ Originally, the programs were planned for the pupil who spoke Ukrainian fluently. They closely resembled school programs of the regular schools in the Western Ukraine, and those of the schools in the refugee Displaced Persons camps in Germany in the years 1945 through 1952. But while these programs worked in the unique and transitory situations of

⁷³Annual Report of the School Council of the UCCA, 1972/73. (New York: School Council Archives.)

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Orthodox schools, by a decree of the School Council in 1969, have only ten grades. The eleventh is planned to be introduced as a teacher training course. Before 1969 one school, Saint Volodymyr's in Chicago, had grade eleven. Interview with J. Bobrovsky.

⁷⁶Ridna Shkola, September, 1968; April, 1969; June, 1969; and October, 1972.

the Displaced Persons camps, the problems confronting Ukrainian schools in the United States were different. As time went by, the incoming students progressively displayed a diminishing knowledge of the Ukrainian language. Also, differences in approaches to similar subjects in the American and Ukrainian schools caused further learning problems in the Saturday schools. These problems have not been, as yet, adequately solved despite some revisions in the program. As one educator noted, these revisions "are not easy for the teachers to implement, since there are no accompanying texts."⁷⁷

Subjects taught in the Saturday schools are the Ukrainian language, literature, history, culture and geography. The Orthodox schools eliminated culture as a separate subject, arguing that the material was being covered in literature, language and history classes. Their program instead emphasizes religious instruction, a subject omitted in the UCCA programs on the ground that local church authorities should provide religious teaching to their faithful. Locally, schools make time allotments for religious instruction.

Programming of the above subjects through eleven grades in the curriculum guide is detailed and sophisticated, corresponding in its logic more to the discipline of the subjects than to the stages of the mental development of the student. For example, literature in grade seven ranges from the Byzantine influence on the development of Ukrainian literature in the medieval times to the influences of Western

⁷⁷F. Lubinetska, "Ukrains'ke Shkilnytstvo i Ukrains'ka Hromada," Svoboda, October 8, 1974, p. 8.

European humanism and reformation on the complicated historical processes resulting in the creation of modern Ukrainian literature.⁷⁸ In history, the twelve-year-old seventh grader is expected to delve, among other things, into the problem of the renaissance of national consciousness after a period of intense assimilationist pressures by the dominating foreign powers in the nineteenth century.⁷⁹ The student at this level is not sufficiently capable of handling the material in the way it is outlined in the curriculum guide. The scope of the programs of all subjects includes many detailed studies that make it difficult for a pupil in a Saturday school, not only to integrate the material in a limited time, but even to comprehend it.

In the first grade, the children are expected to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of both reading and writing which is gradually perfected in the next three years so that at the end of the fourth grade, "the children should read and write correctly."⁸⁰ Then, beginning with the fifth grade, the attention is focused on a theoretical aspect of the grammatical structure of the language and the study of grammar continues through the remainder of the school grades. Generally, the conversational aspect of language learning is neglected on the assumption that children speak Ukrainian at home and with their friends.

Starting with the fifth grade, children are gradually introduced to Ukrainian literature, at first through selected readings of major

⁷⁸ Shkilna Rada UCCA. Prohramy Navchannya i Vychovannya (New York: Shkilna Rada UCCA, 1960), p. 20.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 35-36.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

modern writers, and then, starting with grade seven, through a systematic chronological study of literary works from the old medieval to the modern period. At the same time, students are introduced to different literary genres and to theoretical analyses of literary works. An extended version of the course of language and literature is offered in grades nine through eleven.

A similar pattern is followed in history. The subject is introduced in the fifth grade. During that year the period of princely rule (ninth through fourteenth centuries) is covered. In grade six the children learn about the Kozak state (fifteenth through eighteenth centuries). The period of reawakening of national consciousness in the nineteenth century is covered in the seventh grade, and in grade eight the events of the twentieth century are presented. The above course is repeated again in grades nine through eleven, but on a more advanced level.

The course in geography starts in the third grade with an introduction to some rudimentary geographical notions such as map symbols, earth features and names of the important Ukrainian cities, rivers, and mountains. In grades four and five, an overview of physical features, climate and economic resources of the Ukraine are presented. In grades six and seven, the above geographical aspects of the Ukraine are studied on a regional basis and in grade eight a comparison is made from the point of view of population, economic resources and systems of communication between the Ukraine and other countries of the world. Again, on the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade levels, the course is repeated,

dealing more extensively with physical features, economic resources and comparative aspects.

The course in Ukrainian culture is offered only in the upper grades, nine through eleven. The first year, the students learn about folklore, seasonal customs, and ceremonial rituals as well as folk art. The second year, the students are exposed to the history of fine and performing arts, architecture, sculpture, painting, dance, and theater. The program for the third year is rather unsystematic, ranging from folk songs and the role of choir ensembles to a synthesis of the concepts of culture.

Special classes for children who do not speak Ukrainian are designed for a two-year period, at the end of which a child is expected to rejoin regular classes. In the first year, the children learn the names of objects within their immediate reach and proceed to construction of simple sentences. They also learn the Cyrillic alphabet and are given easy writing assignments. They proceed to learn the language in the same way in the second year, at the end of which:

the children should be able to read any text (in Ukrainian), slowly but distinctly and correctly . . . Should be able to write several sentences without blatant mistakes . . . Should be able to express their thoughts concerning certain events or feasts, to report the content of the books read with short, but correctly structured phrases.⁸¹

The primary emphasis in the curriculum is on the Ukrainian language, which is the language of instruction of every subject, and on Ukraine-based developments. In the revised program an attempt was made

⁸¹Ibid., p. 32.

to update the subjects, giving more attention to the contemporary processes as well as the problems of Ukrainians in diaspora. For instance, three new topics were introduced for grade eleven in the history course dealing with Ukrainians living outside the Ukrainian ethnic territory, the only time that this aspect of Ukrainian studies was undertaken.⁸² However, the history of Ukrainian immigration to the United States, contemporary community organization, and contributions of the Ukrainians to American life are insufficiently emphasized. Moreover, no textbook exists which incorporates the above mentioned three points. It is difficult to ascertain how closely the above programs are followed in various schools.

School programs, with their many shortcomings, have generally not been the subject of criticism, either in the press or at school meetings. Perennial sources of vexation are the textbooks and the methods of teaching. Already in 1905, Bachynsky observed:

The fact that learning is based on the old-country textbooks in itself significantly slows down the process of learning. Time and again the children stumble over words which they do not understand and which are difficult to explain satisfactorily to children who had never seen the objects these words represent.⁸³

A number of textbooks assigned today by the UCCA School Council for the Saturday Language Schools were originally written between the two World Wars for the schools in the Western Ukraine. These include textbooks in the history of Ukrainian literature (Radzykevyc, Istoria Ukrainskoi Literatury), Ukrainian grammar (Panejko, Hramatyka Ukrainskoi

⁸²Ridna Shkola, October, 1972, p. 8

⁸³Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 388.

Movy), history of the Ukraine (Krypyakevych, Istoria Ukrainy); the last one was recommended as far back as 1926 by the Ridna Shkola school council as the best textbook in the subject to be used in the United States.⁸⁴ The beginners and intermediate Ukrainian language textbooks by Kysilewsky and Romanenchuk, which actually are readers rather than textbooks,⁸⁵ though composed on American soil, closely resemble the above mentioned category of books in their approach to the pupils. Both authors, who were educators in the Ukraine before World War II, did not study deeply the problem of the ethnic child in America trying to retain his ethnic identity within a context of a larger, culturally dominating, society. Consequently, the books were written as if no special problems of cultural retention existed. No allowance was made for the fact that the children had a better knowledge of English than of the Ukrainian language, and that the conversational vocabulary of a child in an urbanized and technological America differed significantly from that of a child in a primarily rural and agricultural setting of pre-War Western Ukraine. The children were supposed to learn such words as millstone (zhorna), stubble (sternya), sheaf (snip), but would not know the Ukrainian equivalent for such objects of everyday use as, for example, refrigerator (kholodilnyk), vacuum cleaner (pylosos), or subway (pidzemka). As a result, unless the children were taught or corrected at home, in ordinary conversations their speech would be

⁸⁴Propamyatna Knyha Ukrainis'koho Narodnoho Soyuzu, p. 380.

⁸⁵Vyvchaymo Ukrainis'ku Movu (dla 2-ho, 4-ho i 5-ho roku) and Ukrainis'ka Chytanka dla Druhoho Roku Navchannya (New York: Ridna Shkola, 1966).

heavily laden with English words.

The recommended textbooks are published by the School Council of the UCCA and represent the main source of revenue of that body.⁸⁶ Naturally, a textbook published elsewhere is resented by the School Council advocates because the UCCA School Council would experience a great financial loss.⁸⁷ Generally other textbooks published in other countries, e.g., Canada, Western Europe, and Australia, were similar in their methodological concept to the books discussed above. Actually, only readers prepared by Maria Dejko,⁸⁸ published in Australia, presented serious competition. Adopting modern methods of foreign language teaching with emphasis on audio-visual perceptions and automatic grammar learning through phrase repetitions, instead of learning theoretical grammar rules, the author has clearly directed her effort towards a bilingual Ukrainian child growing up in the English-speaking world. The reviews acclaimed the texts of Dejko in general,⁸⁹ and the books were recommended by the Orthodox School Councils both in Canada and the

⁸⁶1961-66: \$46,779.67 out of \$53,485.00 total budget; 1966-69: \$30,776.83 out of \$34,470.05; 1969-72: \$11,820.14 out of \$13,772.98. Source: Financial Reports of the School Council at the UCCA Conventions in IX Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent (New York: UCCA, 1966), pp. 124-25; X Congress of Ukrainians in the USA (New York: UCCA, 1969), pp. 113-14; XI Congress of Ukrainians in the USA (New York: UCCA, 1972), pp. 138-39.

⁸⁷Leonid Poltava, "Dvovovnist' i Pidruchnyky," Svoboda, July 7, 1970, p. 2.

⁸⁸Ridna Shkola, Voloshky, Ridnyj Kraj, Yevshan-Zillya, and Pro Shcho Tyrsa Shelestila, readers for grades one to six (Newport, Australia: Ridna Mova, 1969).

⁸⁹Poltava, loc. cit., M. Mamchur, "Bukvar Marii Dejko," Svoboda, September 11, 1970; Mykhajlo Pawluk, "Na Shkilni Temy," Novy Shlakh, September 6, 1969.

United States for use in their schools. Other Ukrainian schools in Canada, which is an important Ukrainian textbook market, also largely adopted the new texts despite sharp criticism leveled at them by such educators as I. Bilous, a superintendent of the UCCA School Council for the midwestern region, and D. Kyslytsia, himself an author of Ukrainian textbooks.⁹⁰ Coincidentally, there was a sharp drop in the UCCA textbook sales after the appearance of the Dejko textbooks.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Schools have largely adopted the same textbooks as the UCCA schools. But not being bound by financial interests with any particular text, the School Council is much more flexible in its recommendations for new texts, as the adoption of Dejko textbooks illustrates. Moreover, the schools are experimenting with Soviet Ukrainian texts. These are used only by teachers with a view of adopting the methodological approach in language teaching. The texts are not given to the students because of their ideological content.⁹¹

Many of the textbooks are offset reprints of previous editions, thus perpetuating an obsolete production technique: small print, no color illustrations, and a host of typographical errors. Also, few if any references can be found in these books to contemporary issues and problems either in the Ukraine or in the Ukrainian community in America. With the exception of the Dejko textbooks, the books have not been written with a bilingual student in mind, one whose knowledge of the

⁹⁰Ivan Bilous, "Letters," Svoboda, August 25, 1970; D. Kyslytsya "Pro Try Novykh Chytanky," Novi Dni, February, 1969.

⁹¹Interview with J. Bobrovsky, South Bound Brook, N.J., December 11, 1973.

Ukraine is indirect and whose knowledge of the Ukrainian language is usually inferior to his English.

As far as other teaching materials are concerned, sporadic attempts have been made at producing audio-visual materials, such as slide illustrations for history, geography and culture courses. They are not on the list of recommended teaching aids by the UCCA Council, and there is little indication that any other, except the traditional method of lecture-question-answer, is generally practiced in the schools.

All Saturday Language Schools are financed locally by school tuition, that is, they are supported by parents. Some help in the form of the free use of church halls is extended in a number of communities to the language school, especially if the sponsor is a parish group. Profits from such activities as school concerts, plays, and dances are minimal. Teachers' pay ranges from three to five dollars per hour.

To teach in an ethnic school would logically require higher qualifications for successful accomplishment than those generally required in American schools. Ideally, an ethnic teacher should have a normal teacher preparation that will enable him to deal with certain age groups in the classroom. He should be familiar with American schools, since the language school students regularly attend them, in order to understand the students' school expectations and to be able to provide a smooth transition and continuity of learning experience. He also should have an in-depth knowledge of the subject matter he is teaching, i.e., language, literature, history, geography, art. The fact that children attend these schools on their free day from regular school,

Saturday, does not enhance their enthusiasm for disciplined learning. The situation, then, calls for an enterprising teacher, capable of interesting a student in extra study. However, not only is it a formidable task to find a person so qualified, but it is also difficult to interest such a person to make a commitment for the meagre compensation, and to spend every Saturday most of the year teaching children under precarious circumstances.

As far as the actual teaching personnel is concerned, the following characteristics emerge, based on a short questionnaire sent to teachers of Saturday Language Schools.⁹² A statistically average teacher in the sample is middle-aged, forty to sixty years (50%) or older, over sixty years (28%), whose education was totally (40%) or partially (39%) acquired in the Ukraine or Ukrainian Displaced Persons camps. Median years of experience of teaching in the Saturday Language School is six. Seventy percent of the teachers have gone beyond secondary education,⁹³ and of those who did, 68% attended American colleges. Thirty percent of the teachers have themselves attended Saturday Language Schools and they form the young generation of teachers. Ninety percent of these young teachers were hired in the past six years.

⁹²Questionnaires were sent to all schools registered with the UCCA School Council and to all Ukrainian Orthodox Church schools which had four or more grades, a total of fifty-four schools with 447 teachers. Twenty-two schools (40%) responded with 144 (32%) of teachers answering.

⁹³In the Ukraine, a teacher's seminary certificate, which was on the level of a secondary school, was required to teach in elementary schools; a university degree, however, was required for high school teaching.

There is a decided predominance of women teachers (67% women, 33% men).

There is also a small contingent (7% of the sample) of older teachers, who have updated or acquired their teacher training at the educational courses conducted in several communities in the United States. While 52% of all teachers in the sample had attended American schools, probably no more than 30% did so on the secondary or elementary level, the rest only completing their education on the college level. Also, the fact that 90% of the younger generation of teachers came to teach in these schools in the past six years should be kept in mind as further reference to the school evaluation by young community leaders, whose experience with these schools goes back to the time when there were almost exclusively old country teachers with little or no experience in American schools.

Teacher Training Programs. School improvement and continuation is obviously greatly dependent on teacher training programs and, in the absence of such studies at American institutions and a lack of newcomer teachers from the Ukraine, only the ethnic group itself can organize such training. Teacher training courses were sporadically organized by the Orthodox Schools in Cleveland and Chicago,⁹⁴ and by the UCCA School Council in New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Chicago.⁹⁵ Of these programs only those in Chicago have offered courses on a

⁹⁴Pravoslavny Kalendar, 1970, p. 134.

⁹⁵XI Congress of Ukrainians in the U.S.A., 1972, p. 107.

continuous basis.⁹⁶ The teacher training program consists of courses in the subjects to be taught in the Language School, e.g., Ukrainian language, literature, history, geography, and culture, as well as educational foundations courses such as educational psychology, introduction to history and philosophy of education, methods of teaching special seminars dealing with the problems of the bilingual and bicultural child, and practice teaching.⁹⁷

Preschool Education. Closely related to the schools are preschool programs. Nursery schools for children from three to five years of age are almost totally under the administrative supervision of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America. The first kindergarten or nursery school was sponsored by that organization in Cleveland in 1952.⁹⁸ Today, the Ukrainian National Women's League of America Chapters sponsor twenty-one nurseries in twenty localities. The Women's Auxiliary of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of the Ukraine (O.O.Ch.S.U.), Golden Cross and Ukrainian Orthodox Sisterhood each sponsor one nursery school. Representatives of all these organi-

⁹⁶Pedahohichny Instytut im. Petra Mohyly (Pedagogical Institute of Petro Mohyla) was founded in 1963 and has functioned continuously since.

⁹⁷In Chicago, the average yearly enrollment is fifteen students. To obtain a teaching diploma requires three years of attendance at Saturday morning classes. There are no available statistics for other courses organized by the School Council of the UCCA. The three separate short-term pedagogical courses organized by the School Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had a total of twenty-one graduates. Pravoslavny Kalendar, 1970, p. 134.

⁹⁸Interview with Lydia Burachynsky, ex-president of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, Philadelphia, December, 1973.

zations form a Pre-School Education Council affiliated with the UCCA School Council. The Council gives guidance and program planning as well as regularly sponsoring a column dealing with the preschool education in the daily newspaper, Svoboda, and the Women's magazine, Our Life (Nashe Zhyttya). Children in these nursery schools meet one or more times a week. The program emphasizes language learning through games and songs, and fosters friendships among children at an early age. In recent years it was necessary to establish English-speaking sections for children who do not understand Ukrainian and this trend seems to be on the rise.⁹⁹ The Ukrainian National Women's League of America also sponsored training programs for nursery teachers.¹⁰⁰

Some of the Saturday Language Schools also conduct kindergartens similar to those of the regular American schools with the objective of preparing children for the first grade challenges of reading and writing. In the 1972/73 academic year, there were nine kindergartens with 132 children at UCCA schools and six in the Orthodox school complex with seventy-two children.¹⁰¹

Special Schools and Summer Courses. Apart from the above mentioned institutions, there exists also a number of specialized schools which indirectly influence ethnic commitment, though ethnicity is not their primary objective. Such are ballet, music, art, and drama

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Courses were held in Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago. The Instruction Manual for these courses was prepared by Yaryna Telepko.

¹⁰¹Annual Report of the School Council of the UCCA, 1972/73; Nasha Shkola, November, 1973, p. 9.

schools which exist in major Ukrainian centers (New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland). Among these, the Ukrainian Music Institute, a federation of music teachers, has the most extensive network of centers throughout the United States. Some, notably the "Moloda Dumka" choir school in New York, have regional chapters. Others, such as the ballet schools of Pereyaslavets, presently regarded as one of the best ballet teachers in the United States, or Roma Pryjma in New York, the Mehik Art Studio in Philadelphia, Krushelnytska's Drama Studio in New York, and the Theatrical Studio in Chicago, are local enterprises well known to the larger Ukrainian community.

During summers, fraternal associations, such as the Ukrainian National Association and the Ukrainian Workers Association, sponsor courses in the Ukrainian language, history, literature and art at their resort locations. The majority of the students attending these courses, which are coeducational and divided along the age groups into junior and senior sessions, are children who live at a distance from larger communities, without the opportunity of attending a regular Language School or of belonging to youth organizations in their locality. The courses are bilingual, because the meagre knowledge of the Ukrainian language of many participants precludes exclusive use of Ukrainian as the language of instruction.¹⁰² These courses take place at the UNS or

¹⁰²The use of the Ukrainian language at these courses is perhaps better illustrated by a report on a young Ukrainian girl visiting the United States from Venezuela, who attended them and "had a chance to learn the English language," (see "17th Annual Cultural Courses at Soyuzivka Graduates 53" in Ukrainian Weekly, September 5, 1970), than such statistics as "at least 18 of the 53 girls registered at the camp do not speak or understand Ukrainian." Anizia Sawytsky, "Soyuzivka Camp: Notes on the 'Good Life'," Ukrainian Weekly, July 12, 1969.

UWA summer resorts in the Catskill Mountains in New York State, and have an atmosphere of a recreational summer camp sprinkled with a bit of learning about Ukrainian culture.

Within the American system of educational institutions, Ukrainian language and Ukrainian studies-related courses are offered only in colleges and universities. Usually these programs are totally or partially financed by the Ukrainian community. In some instances, Ukrainian Studies courses are offered by the universities themselves within such departments as Slavic Studies, Comparative Literature, History, or Political Science. The language of instruction is English. Even though the courses are open to all students, there is an expectation within the ethnic community that the bulk of the attending students be Ukrainian. Yet, judging by the headlines in Ukrainian papers, it is less difficult to initiate and finance ethnic courses than to generate an interest in them among Ukrainian students.¹⁰³ Presently, among the important centers offering Ukrainian courses are the Catholic University of America; University of Illinois at Urbana and at Circle Campus, Chicago; University of Pennsylvania; Rutgers University; Wayne State University; Columbia University in New York; University of Syracuse; and the University of Chicago.

Ukrainian Studies Center at Harvard University. The principal

¹⁰³The following articles dealt with this problem: "Courses Need Students," editorial in Ukrainian Weekly, July 10, 1971; "Na Vykladakh Ukrainins'koi Movy u Weinskomu Universyteti ye lyshe 10 Studentiv," Svoboda, December 5, 1970; "Ukrainoznavstvo u Universytetakh," Svoboda, August 10, 1971; "Studii Ukrainoznavstva na Weinskomu Universyteti," Svoboda, January 15, 1974.

center of Ukrainian Studies in America is at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. On the initiative of the Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations in the United States at the Students' Congress in 1957, a fund drive for the establishment of a chair of Ukrainian Studies at a leading American University was launched. A special fund raising committee (FKU) was established and it was decided to endow three chairs of Ukrainian Studies, that is, Ukrainian history, language and literature, at Harvard University at a cost of \$600,000 each. On Ukrainian Independence Day, January 22, 1973, the endowment of the three chairs was completed. The Ukrainian community in the United States has donated over \$1,800,000 for this purpose, the surplus going towards the Ukrainian Research Center instituted at Harvard University in May, 1973.

The Committee on Ukrainian Studies is in charge of planning and financing Ukrainian programs at Harvard, but actual organization and administration of the courses, including teaching appointments, is conducted by respective departments, that is, the Department of History and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature, which sponsor the courses. Some of the courses are opened to undergraduates but the program is principally directed towards M.A. and Ph.D. degree students. The Research Center conducts a series of seminars dealing with different aspects of Ukrainian studies, the minutes of which are published at the end of the academic year. The seminars are conducted by guest lecturers as well as graduate students.

The three dominant objectives in the activities of the Committee

on Ukrainian Studies are: (1) training of new cadres of specialists in Ukrainian studies, (2) expansion of University Library holdings, and (3) publication of scholarly papers and books on Ukrainian topics. In 1974, there were already three persons who obtained doctoral degrees in Ukrainian Studies. The Committee appropriates approximately \$5,000 per year for library purposes. The Harvard series in Ukrainian Studies publications has already published a number of books dealing with Ukrainian history and literature. Since the fall of 1970, a journal, Recensiji, appears semi-annually, edited by the graduate students in the Ukrainian Studies program. It reviews Soviet Ukrainian publications in humanities and social studies. Also, a news bulletin, "News from Harvard" (Visti z Harvardu), reports on the activities of the Ukrainian Research Center. The faculty teaching Ukrainian courses usually consists of visiting professors. The first permanent assignment to the chair of Ukrainian history was that of Professor O. Pritzak, a Harvard specialist in Turkology and the head of the Committee of Ukrainian Studies, in January, 1975.

A significant aspect of the Ukrainian program at Harvard is the summer course offerings attracting a larger number of Ukrainian students from the United States and Canada than the regular courses. In the summer of 1973, forty students attended the summer courses, and in 1974 there were thirty-six, including six Ukrainian Catholic priests and one monk, all of the Redemptorist Order from Canada. Courses are offered in Ukrainian language, literature, linguistics, and history. Some local communities and fraternal associations have granted scholar-

ships for the summer courses. The courses, mostly general survey-type, are credited by the University and are open to qualified students, both graduate and undergraduate. A plan for preparatory noncredit courses for Saturday Language School teaching has not as yet been realized, although the Committee on Ukrainian Studies considered implementing them as a tangible way of repaying the generosity of the Ukrainian community. The Harvard Ukrainian Studies Center, including both its regular and summer programs is recognized by the Ukrainian community as the foremost place of training a future intellectual elite of the group.¹⁰⁴

Outside the United States there are, besides several universities in Canada which for some reason do not attract American students, the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany, and the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, Italy, offering summer courses in Ukrainian subjects. Each summer there are a number of Ukrainian students from America attending these courses.

Summary. In summary, knowledge of Ukrainian subjects can be acquired in parochial elementary, secondary, and junior college-level schools, religious seminaries, Saturday Language Schools, at certain American colleges and universities, and to a lesser degree, in specialized schools of music, dance, drama, art and such, conducted by Ukrainian teachers for Ukrainian students. Besides the United States, there are Ukrainian parochial all-day schools in Canada and Brazil, and a

¹⁰⁴The above data was gathered on the basis of reports in Svoboda of July 13, 1973, August 28, 1973, July 14, 1971, October 17, 1974, October 6, 1973, January 23, 1973, October 10, 1973, October 19, 1973; Ukrainian Weekly, August 29, 1970, September 19, 1970; Visti z Harvardu Bulletin, 1968-1975.

secondary school for boys in Rome, Italy. The Saturday Language Schools are to be found in every country where there are Ukrainian communities, thus forging an ethnic unity which transcends geographical boundaries. On a university level, the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome potentially could serve, to a far greater degree than they presently do, to provide an elite education for Ukrainians in Diaspora. As far as contacts with the Soviet Ukraine are concerned, they are nonexistent in the case of Ukrainians in the United States. For example, whereas many Polish schools in America import teachers from Poland and send their students to study in the mother country, no parallel programs exist in the case of Ukrainians. Only in the case of Canada are there limited exchange study programs with the Soviet Ukraine in which Canadian Ukrainians participate. Elsewhere, educational programs of Ukrainian communities are totally dependent on local resources.

CHAPTER V

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

In the Ukrainian community the schools have always been regarded as vital to inculcating ethnic loyalty in the young generation through knowledge of the Ukraine and of the Ukrainian language. At the same time, it had been recognized that the social milieu--the ties of friendships and personal relationships--is an influence of no lesser importance in the retention of the young members within the community.

Early Youth Organization. In a way, most of the early immigrant organizations could be regarded as youth organizations, since the immigrants at the end of the last century were predominantly young, single people, often teenagers. The existence of numerous amateur drama clubs, choirs, and orchestras was greatly due to the fact that these kinds of activities appealed to that particular age group. The idea of organization exclusively for the young began to be propagated at the turn of the century by several energetic, nationally conscious priests. Patterned on the youth sports associations in the old country and bearing the same names, the first clubs of Sokil and Sich were organized in 1902.¹ However, immigrant working conditions were not conducive to sports activities and within a decade these clubs were transformed into junior chapters of fraternal organizations. Then, with the outbreak of

¹Bachynsky, Ukrains'ka Immigratsiya, pp. 383-384.

World War I, political issues and related organizational preoccupations came to the fore.

In the 1920's, attention was focused again on the education of the young. Youth clubs were being organized in different localities. It was a local and sporadic parish effort, and the success of such clubs often depended on the presence of active parish priests or other committed individuals. The youth clubs were social in character, without any central coordinating organization or far-reaching ideological programs. There were attempts to form a Ukrainian Scouting organization in America as an extension of that in the old country, called in Ukrainian, Plast.² But once Plast was forbidden by the Polish government in the Western Ukraine, in 1930, it also faded away in the United States. The American Ukrainian youth needed a different form of organization and activities from that of the youth in the old country, a kind that would reflect the differences in circumstances and the bi-culturalism of American youth.³

In the period between the two wars, the first attempt to extend the number of existing clubs and to consolidate them under one central

²In the 1920's, there were Plast groups in Philadelphia and in New York. Pavlo Dubas, "Tovarystva Molodi," Golden Jubilee of the Ukrainian Citizens' Club in Philadelphia, 1909-1959, p. 177, and A. Sokolyshyn, ed., Golden Jubilee Book of the Organized Ukrainian American Life in New York, 1905-1955, p. 18. However, Mr. R. Smook thinks that it was more often the American Scouting groups, rather than the Ukrainian Plast, which existed in Ukrainian communities in the late 1920's or 1930's. Interview, Chicago, April 2, 1974.

³Myron B. Kuropas, "The Making of the Ukrainian American, 1884-1939. A Study in Ethno-National Education." (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education, University of Chicago, 1974), pp. 457-59.

leadership was made by Father I. Hundiak, involving the youth of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The first convention of the Orthodox youth clubs was held in 1932, and it established the League of Ukrainian Clubs (LUC). The English language magazine, Young Ukraine, became their official organ. At about the same time that the Orthodox Youth Clubs were organized, Ukrainian political groupings began to form their own junior chapters. The Hetman Organization, using the historical name Sich,⁴ organized boys into paramilitary units, whose activities were mainly exercises resembling military training. The girls were organized into Red Cross units.⁵

Another political association, the Organization for the National Renaissance of the Ukraine, also promoted separate chapters for young members, the first of which was formed in New York, in 1933, under the acronymic name of MUN (Molodi Ukrainski Natsionalisty - Young Ukrainian Nationalists). Soon the organization spread throughout the various Ukrainian centers, the largest branches being in New York, Chicago, and Cleveland, with a membership of some one thousand young people, both boys and girls. Similarly to Sich, the MUN activities were colored by

⁴"Sich" was a popular name for sports clubs in Ukraine before the First World War. It is also a name of the Kozak fortress on the Dnieper River in the 16th-18th centuries.

⁵The activities for girls included first aid training; for boys they also involved airplane flying. For example, in Chicago "Sich" had three airplanes for training. The flying enthusiasm was common also to other ethnic groups, e.g., the Lithuanians, Darius and Girenas, tried to cross the Atlantic in the early 1930's. A. Sokolyshyn, ed. Golden Jubilee Book of the Organized Ukrainian American Life in New York, 1905-1955, p. 121.

a paramilitary character, with a clearly defined purpose of helping the Ukraine in her plight for independence.⁶ In 1935, the organization began to publish its own magazine, The Trident, in English. Two years later, in 1937, MUN, hitherto existing as a junior division of ODWU, became an autonomous youth organization with its own by-laws and leadership. The activities of the organization came to a standstill with the outbreak of the war in 1942. An attempt, for a while successful, was made to revive the organization after the war, but, similar to other youth organizations existing between the two World Wars, the success was not a lasting one.⁷

The Ukrainian Youth League of North America was established in 1933. In that year the Ukrainian Pavilion at the World's Fair in Chicago attracted many Ukrainian visitors, thus providing an incentive for organized meetings of different groups. These meetings precipitated the establishment of new organizations, the need for which was felt in the community for some time. These were the Association of Ukrainian Professionals and the League of Ukrainian Youth Clubs. The League adopted a stand of nonalignment with political groups or religious denominations. The Church conflicts and political factionalizing within the Ukrainian community, acute at that time, were not of primary concern for the second or third generation Americans preoccupied with a crisis of identity that sprung from the claims of their loyalty by

⁶Oleh Riznyk, "The History of MUN," The Senior MUN Manual (Chicago: Ukrainian-American Publishing and Printing Co., 1961), p. 6.

⁷Ibid., pp. 9-13.

both the Ukrainian and American communities.

The idea of a League was supported by the Ukrainian Orthodox youth clubs, and they, along with the independent local groups from various communities, joined the newly established organization, although it inevitably led to a decline of the LUC established by the Ukrainian Orthodox Youth Clubs in the previous year. However, the Ukrainian Catholic Youth Clubs found the nondenominational spirit of the Ukrainian Youth League of America (UYLNA) unacceptable and decided to form their own separate Ukrainian Catholic Youth League (UCYL). They were joined by the Sich and Red Cross junior chapters of the Hetman organization. Thus, the Ukrainian American youth in the 1930's were grouped mainly in three national organizations: the UYLNA, the UCYL, and MUN.

The activities in the above organizations had a common goal of ethnic education. The fact that the members were of Ukrainian origin was constantly reinforced. Ukrainian folk dancing, folk art, and songs were the main staples of the program. The Catholic Youth Clubs had obviously given priority to the nurturing of loyalty to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, while the MUN and UYLNA directed their efforts towards fostering of ethnic consciousness and awareness of the political situation in the Ukraine among their members.

The highlights of activities of the youth organizations were festivals, rallies, sports events and annual conventions. Systematic programs and planning of the activities depended on local talent and local leadership. There were drama clubs, choirs, dance ensembles, and

athletic groups. Young people were attracted by the opportunities to participate in such shows as dancing at the World's Fair Exposition in New York (1941), the First Ukrainian Olympic Games in the U. S. A. in Philadelphia (1936), singing on American national broadcasting networks (Labor Day, 1940, on NBC) or appearances at Carnegie Hall. Also, the atmosphere of camaraderie and social life appealed to the young members.

The following excerpt aptly illustrates the spirit of these youth activities:

. . . the Carnegie and Town Hall concerts conducted by Koshetz were something out of this world. But what was especially important was the preparation that went into these concerts. Every Sunday afternoon during the summertime, the young choristers would sacrifice a trip to the beach or to the mountains, and from New York, Newark, Yonkers, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Perth Amboy, Brooklyn and elsewhere, they would regularly arrive by car or bus . . . and in sweltering heat go over and over again the songs under the inspired direction of Koshetz.⁸

There is one important point to be made about the Ukrainian youth organizations of the 1930's. While their activities were oriented towards Ukrainian folklore and knowledge about the Ukraine, the Ukrainian language was not considered to be important, and English became the language of communication in youth organizations and youth publications. Insistence on the Ukrainian language was viewed even by older community leaders such as Luke Myshuha, editor of Svoboda, or Father I. Hundiak, Ukrainian Orthodox Church activist, as a barrier to the retention of young people in the community, and they urged English language publica-

⁸Stephen Shumeyko, "Ukrainian American Youth Activities in New York Metropolitan Area," Golden Jubilee Book, A. Sokolyshyn, ed., p. 40.

tions for the youth.⁹ Consequently, the daily newspaper Svoboda began to publish Ukrainian Weekly in English and it became a forum for the UYLNA. A number of other publications also appeared in English.¹⁰ Such a policy concerning language was regarded as having a double benefit: (a) the publications would be more accessible to the youth who spoke little and sometimes no Ukrainian, thus influencing their ethnic commitment, not to mention an enlarged circulation, and (b) publications in English could also serve to inform the larger American public about the political plight of the Ukraine and about Ukrainians in general.

Before the outbreak of World War II the UYLNA held nine conventions, the last one in Detroit in 1941. Aside from being social attractions, these conventions also provided a forum for serious discussions of the issues in the American Ukrainian community and of the American Ukrainian youths' commitments to the Ukrainian cause. The results of this sporadic and spontaneous activism were highly successful. When the UCCA was established, the American educated participants of the first Congress were the activists of the youth organizations, especially the League, e.g., John Panchuk, Stephen Shumeyko, Bacad, Stephen Jarema, Michael Slobodian, Eve Piddubcheshen, and others.

World War II had interrupted activities in all of the above discussed youth organizations. The UYLNA held its Tenth Convention after

⁹Myron B. Kuropas, "The Making of the Ukrainian American," p. 459, 463.

¹⁰See Chapter IV, p. for a list of Ukrainian publications in English.

a lag of six years in 1947 in Philadelphia.¹¹ On the eve of the influx of new immigrants, the eleventh convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1948, attracted some one thousand participants.¹² But with the dynamic development of youth organizations of the new immigrants, the organizations started in the 1930's ran an almost parallel course of deactivization. There were attempts in the early 1950's to include the newly established organizations into the UYLNA, notably at the Convention in Niagara Falls in 1952, but the twain did never meet. According to Svoboda, the last convention of the League in Garden City, New Jersey, in 1971, remained "unfinished." Actually by this time the League had been inactive for a number of years. By the 1950's, the founding members of the UYLNA no longer qualified for membership in a youth organization, and the younger American-born generation had not shown much interest in the League. Recognizing the differences between the newly-arrived and the American-born youth, the UCCA, whose executive board comprised a number of American-born former youth activists, initiated a series of conferences with the American-born young people, which took place in New York in 1961-1963.¹³ But neither the UYLNA nor the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League was a viable organization by that time. The UYLNA remained on

¹¹Both Bishop Losten and Mr. Lysawyer, President of the Ukrainian National Association and a former activist in the League, pointed out the army draft and high casualties in action as the main reasons for diminished activism.

¹²Antin Dragan, "Orhanizovane Zhyttya Amerykans'kykh Ukraintsiv," Juvilejnyj Kalendar-Almanakh Ukrain's'koho Narodnoho Soyuzu, 1949 (Jersey City, N.J.: UNA, 1949), p. 73.

¹³VIII Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent (New York: UVVA, 1962), p. 73.

the roster of member organizations of the UCCA even in 1972, a year after its last convention, when there were not enough members attending for the executive body to be elected. There was a slight reaction to the demise of the League by the people who thought that "UYLNA has much to offer our long neglected youth groups," meaning the youth of the old immigrant stock.¹⁴ But no definitive action was undertaken to remedy the situation.

The situation of MUN was somewhat different. Unlike the UYLNA, MUN was closely associated with a political grouping, the ODWU, which, in its turn, was related to the nationalist underground movement in the Western Ukraine. Consequently, when the new immigrants started to arrive in the United States in the late 1940's and early 1950's, there were a number of youths who, in the words of an American-born activist, Oleh Riznyk, were "politically inspired, intelligent, and nationalistic and who sought to re-establish MUN," since they were adherents to the same political faction.¹⁵ However, the same group of new immigrant youth simultaneously established their own student organization, called Zarevo, with the same political association as MUN had. A conference in 1953 sought to find common grounds for cooperation between the MUN

¹⁴"To stir enough interest to reactivate the organization," read the caption under the photograph titled "UYLeaguers visit UNA, Svoboda," Ukrainian Weekly, October 26, 1974, p. 3. In response, Mr. Andrew W. Jamba wrote a letter "To Revive Youth League," Ukrainian Weekly, November 9, 1974.

¹⁵Oleh Riznyk, op. cit., p. 9.

and Zarevo, but the latter proved to be more charismatic. In 1971, the activities of Zarevo and MUN were officially consolidated in the eastern states.¹⁶ The education of the teenagers was relegated to the women's division of ODWU, the Zolotyj Khrest (Golden Cross), which conducts summer camps for Ukrainian children in the Leighton Valley ODWU estate called Osela Im. Olzhycha. MUN has ceased to be an active organization and the alliance with Zarevo in the eastern states practically eliminated participation of the young people who were not college students.

The League of the Ukrainian Orthodox youth clubs, formed in 1932, has integrated itself into the UYLNA and ceased to exist even before the outbreak of World War II. After the war, however, the Seventh Sobor Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church decided that there was a need for an organization of young church members, and a Ukrainian Orthodox League was established in 1946. Its membership, regardless of the arrival of the new immigrants, continued to be almost exclusively of the old immigrants' descendants. In 1974, there were twenty-four junior chapters, the bulk of which were located in small Pennsylvania towns. The purpose of the organization is both religious and national: to promote adherence and future leadership of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and to support the cause of the Ukraine's independence.¹⁷ The

¹⁶Oleh Bak-Boyчук, "Molod' ta Jiji Zavdannya u Svitli Procesiv na Ukraini," Ukrainian Weekly, April 19, 1971, p. 4.

¹⁷Ukrainian Orthodox League, 1973-74. "Information Handbook and Guide for Chapter Officers. Region Officers, National Officers." Mim-eograph, p. 1.

League organizes conferences, scholarship drives, and edits one section of the paper, The Ukrainian Orthodox Word, in English.¹⁸ The Manual suggests a number of activities for the League, such as religious lectures and discussions, bazaars, Christmas caroling, bake sales, bingos, folk dancing, singing, folk art, and social and sports events. There is no regular educational program established and none of the above activities are such that would require knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The emphasis is primarily on being together and working together, thus preserving identification with the group. The highlight of the League's activities is the annual convention held in different cities.¹⁹

In summary, the youth of the old immigrant stock, active in the ethnic community, received their ethnic formation in the UYLNA, UCYL, MUN, and the Ukrainian Orthodox League. The opportunity for ethnic education for the future young activists of that group has drastically diminished, since only one of the above organizations, namely the Ukrainian Orthodox League, is presently still conducting regular activities. The Catholic League, for all practical purposes, is nonexistent.²⁰ Language barriers prevent the youth of old immigrant stock from joining youth organizations of the new immigrants, which formally

¹⁸Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁹The League also cooperated with Orthodox Youth Clubs of other nationalities.

²⁰In the years 1971-74, annual youth conferences were held in the Chicago Diocese. Also, Bishop Losten said in the interview that one of his priorities is to renew Ukrainian Catholic Youth Clubs for the forthcoming Eucharistic Congress in Philadelphia in 1976.

adhere to the Ukrainian language. This leaves parishes and parish schools or religious instruction classes as the chief means of ethnic education.²¹ Also, children of the old immigrants, from the point of view of their ethnic commitment, fare much better in small towns with proportionately large percentages of Ukrainians, e.g., in the Pennsylvania coal region, than in large cities. Their sense of belonging to a certain group is strengthened not only by self-identification, but also through identification by others and of others. In the larger cosmopolitan centers, it is that self-identification which is all important and the descendants of the old immigrants, no longer speaking the Ukrainian language, have little to identify with. The churches, schools and dominant organizations in those centers are filled primarily with new immigrants and their children, but it is in the large cities that organizational life is centered and exerts influence as well as visibility in the ethnic community. The fact that the old immigrant youth organizations are no longer visible in the Ukrainian community can be illustrated by the following episode. When in 1971 the UCCA called an important meeting of leaders of Ukrainian youth organizations, none from the older immigrant youth organizations attended.²²

Plast. Dynamic youth organizations with systematic educational programs which dominate the Ukrainian group today are those established

²¹Stepan Kuropas, "Chudo v McAdoo," Svoboda, February 22, 1974; F. Lukianovych, "Festival Molodi na Oseli Olzhycha," Svoboda, July 12, 1971.

²²Ameryka, April 20, 1971, p. 1.

by the new immigrants - the Plast, SUMA, and ODUM. There is a score of other minor youth groups such as dance ensembles, choirs, and local youth clubs, but they have no inherent organizational continuity and no centralized structure, often leading an ephemeral existence largely depending either on certain circumstances or on the enterprising personality of the organizer. Since both SUMA and ODUM are to a great extent patterned on Plast, the Ukrainian version of the International Scouting organization, and also since Plast is the oldest youth organization, a more detailed analysis of its structure and activities is in order.

The history of Plast reaches back to 1911 when, under the influence of the newly formed English Scouting organization, several high school teachers in the Western Ukraine initiated a Ukrainian version of scouting. The youthful members were primarily gymnasium students, which meant that from the very beginning Plast was oriented towards a future intelligentsia. The organization was unabashedly elitist and proclaimed itself as such with a clearly stated purpose of educating a future elite of the Ukrainian society. A typical English emphasis on character training was a central feature of Plast's educational activism. The directives of Baden-Powell's Scouting for Boys were generally followed in its Ukrainized version, Zhyttya v Plasti, by one of the Plast founders, O. Tysowsky, and, with a few modifications, still serves as a basic guide for Plast activities.

From the beginning, Plast injected into its scouting activism a strong dose of nationalistic spirit, and this was the reason for its liquidation by the Polish government in the late 1920's (1928 in the

Volhynia region, 1930 in Galicia). Still, Plast existed clandestinely in the 1930's, the older youth holding their weekly meetings secretly, while, for the younger members, summer camps with a typical scouting program were organized under the sponsorship of various educational or health societies, but no longer under the official name Plast.

Except for a few chapters operating in the years 1917-1920, there was no Plast in the Russian occupied Eastern regions of the Ukraine. In the Carpatho-Ukraine, Plast existed legally during Czech rule from the time of its founding there in 1921 until the Hungarian occupation of that region in 1939, often attracting zealous "plastuny" from Galicia to their summer camps, even if it meant crossing the border illegally. With the Hungarian occupation of the region, Plast was forbidden by the new government. In the Bukovina region, under Rumanian occupation, Plast existed semi-legally in the early 1930's. In several West European centers, Plast existed among Ukrainian political émigrés with its headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

A spontaneous revival of Plast took place immediately after World War II in the Displaced Persons camps of Germany and Austria. In the post-war years, it has played an important role in the preservation of traditional moral norms of behavior among the youth. In educational activities the organization has emphasized the traditional virtues of honesty, hard work, and perseverance, and has promoted a spirit of optimistic outlook and cheerfulness.

The basic organizational unit in Plast is a group of six to eight boys or girls. The younger members from six to twelve years of age are

called "novaky," the equivalent of Brownies. Those from twelve to seventeen years of age are "yunaky" or scouts. Several groups within the above age range form a "kurin" (scouts' troop), separate for girls and boys. Those over seventeen years of age, "Starshi Plastuny" or Rover Scouts, no longer belong to small groups of six to eight members. They form only "kureni" and these have an exterritorial base for their membership, e.g., there can be members of the same "kurin" living in Chicago, Detroit, or New York. One of the attractions of the Rover Scout activities are "kurin" meetings at different places. Above the age of twenty-six one becomes a Senior Plast member. While remaining a member of their Rover Scout's "kurin," the Senior Plast members also belong to the group of Seniors (Oseredok Plastuniv Senioriv) in the locality where they reside. Parents of the Plast members form an auxiliary body called Plast-Pryyat and their chief objective is raising funds to support the organization. All of the above groups residing in the same locality together form a "stanytsia," a Plast center with an elected common executive, who both directs and coordinates the activities of the various branches. There are thirty such centers in the United States, with a total membership of 4,233 in 1969.²³ "Stanytsia" representatives elect the national Plast Council and Plast executive, the supreme ruling body for the "plastuny" in the whole country. Besides the U. S. A., similar Plast organizations exist in Canada, England,

²³"Plastovyj Lystok," leaflet for internal use of Plast Ukrainian Youth Organization, Inc., April, 1975. Mimeograph.

Australia, Germany and Argentina.²⁴ National Plast organizations in turn elect the Supreme Plast Council and Executive Board which directs Plast activities throughout the world. Also, there is a Chief Scout (Nachalnyj Plastun), elected for life, a kind of father figure for the whole movement.²⁵

The Plast units in the United States, not counting the attempts in the 1920's started to be organized in 1948. In 1951, Plast obtained its legal charter as an American organization under the name of Ukrainian Youth Organization Plast. Since that time many local Plast centers - stanytsias - acquired their own buildings for regular activities throughout the year, as well as property for summer camping: "Vovcha Tropa" in East Chatham, New York, "Bobrivka" in Connecticut, "Zelenyj Yar" in Buffalo, New York, "Pysanyj Kamin" near Cleveland, Ohio, "Berkut" near Westfield, Wisconsin, and the "Dibrova" estate near Detroit, Michigan.

The educational activities of Plast fall into three categories: (1) a program of weekly meetings, (2) summer camps and hikes, and (3) celebrations of special occasions such as Ukrainian Independence Day, Plast Golden Jubilee, etc. Basically, the Plast activities are directed towards civic education and socialization. A "plastun" is obligated to develop moral virtues, intellectual capacities, and physical fitness. The above values have a universal human appeal. It is only

²⁴Total membership in 1969: 7,436. W. Yaniv and J. Starosolsky, "Plast," Entsyklopediya Ukrainoznavstva - Slovnykova Chastyna, v. 6, p. 2,106.

²⁵Presently, Nachalnyj Plastun is Jurij Starosolsky.

in the pledge "to be loyal to the Ukraine" that a "plastun" makes - and in the interpretation of this pledge - that a specific Ukrainian character of the organization is underlined. Also, the means by which the educational objectives are achieved are permeated with the Ukrainian spirit; that is, the Ukrainian language, the cult of Ukrainian heroes, and Ukrainian culture in general are constantly emphasized.

To be promoted in rank, a Plast member has to pass a number of tests which are designed to show the integrity of character, familiarity with the organization's structure, specific skills, and a general knowledge about the Ukraine. A "plastun" performs certain duties and responsibilities to indicate his status as a member in good standing. Failing these duties or the tests for promotion in rank results in suspension or expulsion. The claim to be an elitist organization is based on this sifting process. For the "novaky" who are considered to be in a preparatory stage for scouting, the tests are simple and not demanding, which insures everyone of passing. But during the scouting period the tests become more exacting. There are three ranks which are attained by passing these tests, each amplifying the same kind of skills and knowledge.

Preparation for these tests takes place during the regular weekly meetings of the units and in the summer camps. A typical program of a weekly meeting of a unit, which takes place under the supervision of a counselor and lasts about an hour, consists of a talk on Ukrainian subjects (history, literature, folklore, etc.) or Plast related topics (history of Plast, Plast organizational structure, explanation of the

obligations of "plastun," etc.), a game aimed at cultivating certain skills (e.g., that of observation, alertness, decision-making), singing a song, and planning a project for the unit to engage in (such as producing things to sell at a Christmas or Easter bazaar, a Sunday hike in the city, tea for parents, etc.). Each unit chooses a name for itself, usually that of a flower, a bird or an animal, whose chief characteristics the unit members try to foster (e.g., lions are courageous, bees are hard-working, violets are modest), and about which they try to learn as much as possible. The hurtsky (units) which form a kurin (troop) choose a patron of their troop, usually a Ukrainian historical figure, whose special day they commemorate and with whose life, deeds, and significance all kurin members are to become acquainted.

One important aspect of civic education provided by Plast is teaching the process of self-rule, that is, electing officers of the unit and of the troop: the leader, secretary, treasurer, record keeper. Thus, early in life, the young members learn the elementary procedures of organizational life through practice. In respect to specifically ethnic education, Plast members, besides using the Ukrainian language in all of their activities, celebrating national feasts, and dedicating troops to national figures, also are required to attend the Ukrainian Language School. Failure in Saturday School results in suspension from activities in Plast.

Summer camps are the important period of Plast training. Relatively unencumbered by outside influences, a young person can experience an immersion into so-called Plast life. It is a situation where

the peer group is dominant, the learning takes place primarily through games and practical occupations, and the proximity to nature stimulates inventiveness, the sense of adaptation, and fosters other good features. There are several types of camping: (1) the regular camps for "novaky" and "yunaky" usually of three weeks duration, with the main objectives of recreation and education, that is, acquisition of skills through games; (2) specialized camps which concentrate on developing a particular skill, e.g., water sports, camp building, hiking and mountain climbing, skiing, and athletics; and (3) leadership training camps for the unit and camp counselors.

In the summer of 1972 there were thirty-two camps organized at seven Plast campsites in which 1,631 plastuny participated, a decrease of almost 200 from the summer of 1971 when there were 1,832 participants in twenty-five regular camps, four specialized camps and two training camps for Plast leaders.²⁶ For the summer of 1974 there were thirty-three regular camps planned for novaky and yunaky, two leadership training camps and seven specialized camps.²⁷ It is customary for the older youth to participate in the camps outside their districts, even to go abroad to camps in Canada, or Europe, for instance.

The special events activities do not have the educational continuity of the regular programs, but they do contribute to the latter by

²⁶Plastovyj Lystok, 1/121, 1971, pp. 14-16 and 6/126, 1971, p. 28.

²⁷Specialized camps: pioneering skills, mountain climbing, water camping for girls, water camping for boys, sports camp, journalistic skills camp, and "Stezhky Kultury" (Ukrainian Culture Studies camp), the last one conducted for American Ukrainian youth in Rome, Italy. Plastovyj Lystok, 1/136, April, 1974, pp. 28-30.

virtue of their character. Such events as Jubilee rallies, notably those in Grafton, Canada in 1957, Montreal, Canada in 1967, and East Chatham, New York in 1962 and 1972, attended by several thousand youths, were memorable for the participants because they had a chance to meet outstanding activists of their organization, engage in competitions, make new acquaintances, and experience a feeling of unity of Plast organization through contacts with members from other centers. Such events get an extensive press coverage in ethnic papers, which is also an experience flattering to one's ego. Other special occasion activities are usually directed towards fund raising or cultivation of ethnic traditions, if not a combination of both, as is the case with Christmas caroling. These events often provide an opportunity for a display of one's talent and skills. However, they can also be boring, especially when young people are subjected to endless talks and lectures, as is often the case on national feast commemorations in the form of "akademia."

There is a uniformity of Plast activities throughout different countries. The basic unifying factor is the use of the Ukrainian language. Plast periodicals, the Hotuys for "novaky," Yunak for "yunaky," and Plastovyj Shlakh for Rover Scouts and Seniors, all in Ukrainian, serve Plast members throughout the world, further enhancing the unity of Plast. While Plast had to adjust to specific situations in individual countries, the decisions affecting the principles of the organization and its activities are made at the supranational level, affecting all countries.

Other youth organizations established by the new immigrants in America have a similar supranational organizational structure, which the youth organizations of the old immigrants lacked. The only extensions of MUN or UYLNA, for instance, existed in Canada, a country culturally similar to the United States. At meetings, the youth of these two countries had a common language, English, which they used rather than the Ukrainian. This could not be the case, for example, of Ukrainian youth meeting their ethnic peers from France, Germany, or Argentina. In other words, the youth of the new immigrants had a new element in their ethnic identification, and that is a concept of Ukrainian Diaspora.

SUMA. The origins of SUMA (Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi Ameryky, or in its English translation, American Ukrainian Youth Association) are to be found in the Displaced Persons camps of post-war Europe. When the revival of Plast in these camps attracted the gymnasium and university bound students, a great number of older youth who missed secondary education, mostly those forcibly deported to Germany for labor at the end of the war, had no appropriate organization responsive to their needs. In the Displaced Persons camp atmosphere, saturated with political groupings, these young people were ideal subjects for political organizations' rank and file membership. A vigorous political group, known as the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, attracted them into a newly formed organization, SUM (Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi), an acronym also used by a short-lived political underground anticommunist youth organization in

the Soviet Ukraine in the 1920's. At the beginning, the SUM membership centered on the age group of eighteen to thirty years old. Soon, however, it extended downwards, reaching younger members, and a new division of "Yunyj SUM" - Junior SUM, was established in 1948. The educational program of the organization was basically similar to that of Plast, since some of the founders of SUM were themselves educated and active in Plast. The modifications in the program resulted from the fact that SUM was a mass and not an elitist organization. While Plast officially was apolitical, carefully avoiding any political attachments, SUM was openly associated with a political group.

The first attempts to organize SUM in the United States were made in 1949. A year later the organization was chartered under the name American-Ukrainian Youth Association - SUMA. At that time there were chapters in ten cities and a membership of 590.²⁸ The membership increased rapidly with the influx of immigrants and so did the activism of the organization. In 1974 there were thirty-six branches in the United States with a total of forty-seven divisions and a membership of 4,311.²⁹ Besides the United States, there are seven other countries with national SUM associations. A total world membership of SUM in 1973 was 12,350, centered in 112 localities.³⁰

²⁸Valentyna Yurchenko, "Ohlad Diyalnosty Spilky," Pid Praporom SUMA (New York: Holovna Uprava SUMA, 1964), pp. 10-11.

²⁹Statistics compiled on the basis of a report in Avangard, no. 120, 1975, and a circular of the Executive Board of the U.A.Y.A., January 1, 1973.

³⁰"Spilka Ukrain'skoi Molodi Vidbula X Svitovyj Kongres," Svoboda, November 9, 1973, p. 1.

Similarly to Plast, the youth in SUMA is grouped into divisions of children six to twelve years of age (molodshe yunatstvo), adolescents twelve to eighteen years of age (starshe yunatstvo), and older youth eighteen to thirty years of age (druzhynnyky). The youth are then grouped into small units, which hold weekly meetings.³¹ A system of tests is designed to serve as a means for promotion and the objective of the program at the weekly meetings is a preparation for these tests.³²

The objectives of the educational activities of SUMA differ somewhat from those of Plast. SUMA emphasizes more political indoctrination, while in Plast the emphasis is laid on the education of an individual from the point of view of character training. This shift in emphasis is reflected in the priorities given to certain kinds of activities. Plast does not hold annual rallies, while for SUMA these constitute the highlight of their activities. Each year rallies are held in the eastern and midwestern regions, attracting a large number of both participants and spectators. In 1973, for instance, at a rally in Ellenville, New York, there were 1,250 "uniformed SUMA members" and some 9,000 spectators.³³

Another difference in the educational work of the two organiza-

³¹The units are called "roii" for "molodshe yunatstvo," i.e., children, and "kureni" for "starshe yunatstvo," i.e., teenagers.

³²Pravylnyk Yunatstva SUM (New York: Tsentralna Uprava Spilky Ukrain's'koi Molodi, 1961), pp. 125-52.

³³"Desyat' Tysyach Molodi i ikh Bat'kiv Vzyaly Uchast u 22-mu Zdvyyi SUMA," Svoboda, September 5, 1973, p. 1.

tions is reflected in the great number of amateur groups (samodiyalni hurtky) in SUMA which are not promoted in Plast. An amateur group consists of boys and/or girls specializing in a particular art such as singing, dancing, dramatic activities, etc. In 1968, there were twenty-nine dance ensembles; ten orchestra groups; fifteen choirs, five drama clubs; five embroidery clubs; four recitatory circles; three bands; two each of music schools, woodcarving classes, and bandura (a Ukrainian musical instrument) orchestras; one circle of journalists; and one modeling group; a total of seventy-nine amateur groups.³⁴ Most of them perform on various occasions before an ethnic, or a larger American public. Their presence is especially noticeable at Ukrainian political rallies. Also, sports activities are more emphasized than in Plast and amateur sports teams, particularly soccer, are common.

Like Plast, the SUMA members are obligated to attend Ukrainian Language School. The decision in the early 1960's to make attendance obligatory came rather late in comparison to that of Plast. In the opinion of SUMA leaders, the best type of a Ukrainian Language School for the members of their organization would have been a school where the SUMA organization could exert an influence on the ideological content of the program. Consequently, nine schools were established in various localities under the sponsorship of SUMA.

The educational program for children and adolescents came under reconsideration in the early 1960's. In its early stages of existence

³⁴"Zvit z Diyalnosti Holovnoi Upravy." Dvanadtsyatyj Holovnyj Z'izd 23-24 Lystopada, 1968. (New York: Spilka Ukraïns'koi Molodi Ameryky, 1968.) Mimeograph.

in the Displaced Persons camps, SUM was primarily an organization for young adults based on political and ideological foundations. By 1960, the original members of SUM supplied their organization with a new membership, that of their children. While the older generation was not advanced educationally, with the exception of the intelligentsia in the top leadership ranks, their children were taking advantage of the educational opportunities in the United States. The lowered age level of the members, which now started at the age of six, and different educational expectations required a new educational approach.

One of the innovations of the 1960's was a creation of a new cadre of counselors called "druzhynnyky." These were young people over eighteen years of age, a group comparable to "starshe plastunstvo" or Rover Scouts in Plast. Special training camps were organized for them and special troops of "druzhynnyky" were formed on an extraterritorial basis, thus providing for frequent meetings and the opportunity to meet other SUMA activists in various localities.³⁵ With a changing educational caliber of young membership, pressure was put on those adult SUMA leaders, among whom it was customary to enroll their own children in Plast, to transfer their children to SUMA. Such action proved to be beneficial for the morale and for the ranks of the young leadership in the organization.

Summer camping plays an important role in the ethnic education of SUMA members. The organization owns five camping site properties in the eastern and midwestern states. In 1974 camps were conducted on

³⁵Ibid., p. 27.

five sites with 950 participants.³⁶ The various types of camping include recreational, educational--that is, preparatory for the tests required of SUMA members for promotion--leadership training camps, and sports camps.

SUMA publishes two magazines for its members, both in Ukrainian only, the Avangard and Krylati, which serve the organization throughout different countries. Also, the Ukrainian papers, on an irregular basis, often provide a special page to be edited by a particular civic organization. In the daily Svoboda, SUMA calls its page "Shlakh Molodi," and in the daily America, it edits "Sumivska Trybuna."

ODUM. The members of Plast and SUMA have always been overwhelmingly Ukrainian Catholics who trace their origins to the Western Ukraine regions. However, about one-fourth of the Ukrainians in the Displaced Persons camps after World War II were from the Soviet occupied eastern territories.³⁷ The two parts of the country were isolated from each other since the Soviet Revolution and the different experiences produced certain distinct attitudes in the two groups. While a need for a separate organization for the Eastern Ukrainian youth was felt early in the Displaced Persons camp stage,³⁸ it was not until the emigration to

³⁶"Z Litnykh Taboriv SUMA," Svoboda, October 2, 1973, p. 4.

³⁷Estimate of the number of Ukrainians from eastern regions was made on the basis that Orthodox Ukrainians originated there. Statistics according to religious denomination were compiled by Wasyl Mudry, "Nova Ukrain's'ka Emigratsiya," Ukraiintsi u Vilnomu Sviti, (Jersey City, N.J.: UNA, 1954) p. 119.

³⁸Distinguished poet and writer, Ivan Bahryanyj, addressed himself to this problem as early as 1946. Quoted in Mykola Stepanenko, "ODUM v Spoluchenykh Shtatakakh Ameryky," Almanakh-Zbirnyk, 1950-1965 (Toronto: Moloda Ukraina, 1965) p. 41.

the United States started, that definite steps were undertaken in this direction. In the Displaced Persons camps, the youth from the Eastern Ukraine often joined Plast and SUM ranks and a number of them remained in these organizations even after they had the choice to join a new group.

Mainly, there were two reasons why no separate organization for young people from the Eastern Ukraine region was established in the Displaced Persons camps: (a) a fear of repatriation and of difficulties in emigrating overseas once it would be discovered that their documents were forged, as they usually were, and their true identity as citizens of the Soviet Union established;³⁹ and (b) a lack of independent organizational experience, since all associations in the USSR were governmentally established. Only in the relative security of American democracy could a new organization for the youth of Eastern Ukrainian regions be established in 1950, under the acronym ODUM (Obyednannya Demokratychnoi Ukrainskoi Molodi), and incorporated under the name of American Youth Organization of Ukrainian Descent in the U.S.A., with the central office in New York City. Soon there were ODUM branches established in Canada, England, Germany, Belgium, and Australia. But just as quickly as the branches proliferated after their inception, so did they dissipate, in some cases (Belgium, Germany, England) disappearing completely.

A perceptive analysis of the situation was given by J. Kryvolap,

³⁹The repatriation ordeal is well documented. Julius Epstein, Operation Keelhaul (Old Greenwich: Darin Adair Co., Inc.), 1973.

the President of ODUM in the 1970's, and an outstanding activist in the organization from its beginning. In his view, a combination of the attitude among members rejecting any organizational form resembling that of Plast or SUMA, in which they felt they were treated as second-class citizens, together with their own meagre organizational experience (some were Comsomol members back in Ukraine), resulted in the weakening of the organization in the late 1950's.⁴⁰

In the 1960's, organizational renewal began. Basically Plast served as a model for structuring both the programs and the human division into small units of children (novaky), adolescents (yunaky), and youth (starshy ODUM), as well as an auxilliary body of parents and friends called TOP (Tovarystvo Odumivskykh Pryyateliv). A program of weekly meetings, tests for promotion, and summer camping was adopted. Like SUMA, ODUM has amateur groups (choirs, bandura orchestras, dance ensembles), which became very popular among the members and representatives of the type of activities conducted by the organization. ODUM owns one summer camping property in New York State, though it also conducts camps for the midwestern region in the State of Minnesota on a rented camping site. Annual rallies are an important aspect of the activities, where sports competition and artistic performances are highlighted. The membership, which in 1952 was estimated at 1,500 in eighteen localities, was around 800 in nine localities in 1974.⁴¹

⁴⁰Jurij Kryvolap, "U 17-tyrichchya Isnuvannya ODUM-u." Konferentsiya ODUM-u. (Baltimore: Filia ODUM-u u Filadelfii, 1968), p. 11, mimeograph.

⁴¹Oleksij Poshywanyk, President of ODUM in the U.S.A., interview, Chicago, February 2, 1974.

Though ODUM theoretically is an all-Ukrainian organization, unattached to a particular denomination or political grouping, in practice it has closely cooperated with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and from its beginning with a political grouping (URDP - Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party), whose adherents come mainly from Eastern Ukrainian regions. Unlike the Ukrainian Orthodox League, ODUM does not have among its objectives the promotion of priestly vocations among its members, yet in the community it is generally considered to be an Orthodox youth organization and it primarily participates in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church celebrations and often uses physical facilities of that Church for its activities. Since 1970, an attitude towards greater cooperation with the Ukrainian Orthodox League has been promoted. An ODUM periodical is a monthly called Moloda Ukraina, published in the Ukrainian language. There is a close cooperation with the Canadian branch of ODUM, in the form of common rallies, conferences, camps, and publications.

In summary, the educational programs of the three organizations, Plast, SUMA and ODUM, have many similarities: weekly meetings of units, a system of tests and merit badges, camping, etc. In general, the main objective of these organizations is to promote and sustain ethnic consciousness. They are similarly structured for administrative purposes and are associated with identical organizations in other countries outside the United States. All of them exclusively use the Ukrainian language in conducting their activities and in publishing magazines for their members. There is an obligation on young members to attend the

Ukrainian Language School.

The distinctions among these organizations arise from the social and religious background of their members. Plast has traditionally regarded itself as an elitist organization, nondenominational and unaffiliated with any particular political grouping. Its main objective is character training in preparation for leadership or elite positions in the Ukrainian society. SUMA was designed to be a mass organization affiliated with a certain political grouping. Its members are comprised primarily of working class children. The membership of both of the above organizations is predominantly affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Western Ukrainian regions. ODUM, the youngest among them, has enrolled youth with Eastern Ukrainian origins who belong to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. While both Plast and SUMA have a small contingent of Orthodox youth members, especially the children of the intelligentsia, ODUM has also sheltered a few Ukrainian Catholic youths who, wanting to belong to a Ukrainian group, found Plast and SUMA not to their liking. But none of the above organizations has any members descending from the old immigrants. Nor has there been any attempt made to gain such membership.⁴²

Student Organizations. The student organizations offer a transitional stage between a youth educational and a civic organization status. Their roles are threefold: (a) they provide a social recreational setting for their members, (b) they endeavor to extend ethnic education, (c) they undertake the responsibility for promoting certain is-

⁴²Ibid.

sues of their ethnic community. A number of possible functions converge upon ethnic student organizations: a student organization can bridge the ethnic community and the American college campus and serve as a forum for reconciliation of the conflict of the traditional ethnic attitudes and the new modes of thinking; it can promulgate the Ukrainian cause among non-Ukrainians; moreover, it provides young people, hitherto separated in their particular parishes and youth organizations, with a common framework of activities and relationships; and, lastly, it provides a rare opportunity of accommodating the students of both the new and the old immigrant stock.

The first Ukrainian students' clubs in the United States appeared in the 1920's, although there were individual Ukrainian students and groups at American colleges even before the turn of the century.⁴³ These students engaged in educational work in the community, teaching literacy and advancing national consciousness of the early immigrants, but they did not exist as separate student clubs.⁴⁴ Such clubs began to appear in the 1920's.⁴⁵ Regarded as "pany"--upper-class members--the organized students did not gain instant appreciation in the larger Ukrainian community composed of blue collar workers who, at that time, were engaged in a conflict between nationalist and communist fac-

⁴³Bachynsky, op. cit., p. 395.

⁴⁴Myron Kuropas, op. cit., p. 418. Also R. Smook, interview.

⁴⁵O. Z., "Pochatky Ukrain's'koho Students'koho Zhyttya v Amerytsi," Ukrain's'ke Studentstvo v Amerytsi (New York, 1963), p. 17.

tions.⁴⁶ The clubs existed locally without forming a federation. They fulfilled the typical tasks of an educated group within their own less educated ethnic milieu and non-Ukrainian peers. Their activities can be summed up as follows: (a) primarily they were social clubs where Ukrainian students could meet,⁴⁷ (b) they tried to acquaint the American student with the very notion of the Ukraine and being Ukrainian, usually by staging folk dancing and singing performances or art exhibits on campus, (c) in the Ukrainian community and among themselves they promoted ethnic education, i.e., organized Ukrainian courses and lectures, and (d) they participated in Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian sports competitions. An outstanding achievement in the period between the two World Wars was the initiative of the Columbia University Ukrainian Students Club in instituting Ukrainian language and literature courses in the Slavic Department of that University in 1935.

The Ukrainian students' activism acquired a new dimension in the 1950's, when the young new immigrants transplanted their European student organizational patterns to the United States. The small groups of Ukrainian students at various campuses convened for the first time in the United States on April 11-12, 1953 at Columbia University, New York. This Student Congress established a Federation of Ukrainian Student Clubs (hromady) in the United States (SUSTA), and elected its first

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Volodymyr Malevych, "Hromada: Pittsburgh," Propamyatna Knyha Ukrainins'koho Narodnoho Soyuzu, 1936, p. 727. The students' club in Pittsburgh was organized along such lines of activities by the Ukrainian Womens' Organization.

president, an American-born student, Eleanor Kulchytsky. Though there were a number of American-born members in the various clubs, the general direction of the activism was imposed by the new immigrants. These were young people to whom retention of ethnic consciousness was not problematic. Their goals were clearly defined: to be well informed about the Ukraine and Ukrainian problems and to inform the American people about the Ukraine's plight and thus gain their support.

While the student clubs existing at campuses were generally politically and denominationally unaffiliated, there also were established a number of student organizations with definite links: the Obnova organization attempted to unite the Ukrainian Catholic students, the Zarevo organization was oriented towards a more conservative faction of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization, and TUSM was linked with the radical faction of the same nationalist movement.

Among the more important activities of the 1950's were (1) a series of conferences on Ukrainian topics initiated by the Second Student Congress in 1955, (2) a fund raising drive to establish a Ukrainian Chair at a leading American university, as decided upon by the Third Student Congress in 1957, and (3) a preparation for the first Ukrainian Student "Ideological" Congress in the United States held in 1960, which dealt with the political attitudes of Ukrainian students. In the 1950's and 1960's, SUSTA was also an active participant in the United States National Students Association, taking part in the International Student Congresses and sending observers to the communist-sponsored International Festival of Youth.

By the late 1950's, the leaders of the Ukrainian student organizations became aware of the differences in attitudes between those who arrived in the United States as young college students or were in the last years of secondary schooling, and a younger upcoming generation, which completed a greater part of their elementary and secondary education in this country. The older student leaders concluded that the younger people "were not well informed on Ukrainian subjects or well acquainted with the present-day situation in the Ukraine,"⁴⁸ and doubted the attachment of the younger generation to organized Ukrainian life.

However, anxiety over the question of whether the younger generation would join the Ukrainian student clubs proved to be baseless. The American-raised youth did become involved in the Ukrainian student organizations, but unexpectedly turned out to be fiercely critical of their predecessors. The established student magazine, Horizons, or the TUSM nonperiodical publication Phoenix, were unacceptable to the young groups as too traditional, too steeped in the political ideologies of the old country. A contemptuous designation of "D.P. (Displaced Persons) mentality,"⁴⁹ was attached to most of the previous activities of the student organizations. A new magazine, New Directions, became a forum for the expression of the radical faction of Ukrainian students, a very vocal and aggressive minority. The influence of the ideas of the

⁴⁸Mykhajlo Pylypchuk, "Rola Ukrain's'koho Studenta v Nautsi," Ukrains'kyj Student i Joho Problemy (Baltimore: Ukrain's'ka Students'ka Hromada v Baltimore, 1959), p. 7.

⁴⁹Yarko Koshiv, "The Ukrainian Student Movement: From Ukraine to America," New Directions, October, 1969. Unpaginated.

radical movement on American campuses on these people was far-reaching, even to the point that they were talking about a Ukrainian student sub-culture.

One of the basic differences between the so-called Displaced Persons generation and the American-raised one was in the a priori assumption on the part of the former that all young Ukrainian people should become involved in the Ukrainian community life, while the latter were aware that community participation was largely a matter of choice, and that young people have to be enticed by relevant issues to make a commitment to activism. It is interesting to notice that one of the outstanding activists of this group, Nestor Tomycz, in summing up the objectives for the Ukrainian student organization, does not once make reference to the role of the students in propagandizing the Ukrainian cause among Americans, previously a constant theme in student activism. In his view, the objectives were:

- (a) To maintain contact with Ukrainian students during the college years;
- (b) To acquaint Ukrainian students with adult organizations, and serve as a transition and means to joining them;
- (c) To provide the students with the opportunity to develop leadership skills necessary for the well-being of the Ukrainian community in the future;
- (d) To provide the present leadership of our community with important feedback information on the views and attitudes of our young people;
- (e) To give the students a chance to feel that they are indeed an integral part of the Ukrainian community in the U.S. and to develop a sense of genuine commitment to it through meaningful participation in its organizational life.⁵⁰

In other words, by 1969 the emphasis had shifted from "gaining friends

⁵⁰Nestor Tomycz, "A Program for SUSTA," New Directions, October, 1969.

for the Ukrainian cause," to retaining young Ukrainian people in the community.

In the late 1960's, a radical faction of students provoked a widespread discussion in the community.⁵¹ Propositions such as using the English language at the meetings of Ukrainian organizations, supporting socialist ideas, and, growing beards and long hair, a manifestation often more unacceptable by the elder conservative members of the community than any other, were presented. While traditionally the student organizations felt an obligation to give to the community--e.g., in the 1920's to conduct educational activities among Ukrainians, in the 1930's to propagandize the Ukrainian name among Americans, in the 1950's to influence the attitude of American political leaders in favor of the Ukraine's liberation--in the 1960's, the student group voiced its demands to the community thus:

We intend to establish a UKRAINIAN STUDENT FUND, for which we would solicit a contribution from each and every adult organization an amount equal (at least) to 1% of their annual budget (in the future) present community leaders may well appreciate the value of such an investment in youth.⁵²

The students grouped in TUSM were more conservative and traditional in their attitudes than the group affiliated with New Directions. However, the influence of radical ideas of the late 1960's had reached the leadership ranks of that organization also.⁵³ Being a politically

⁵¹"Livyzna sered Ukraïns'kykh Studentiv," Ameryka, September 21, 1973; Anizia Sawytsky, member of SUSTA Executive, interview, Rome, July 2, 1972.

⁵²Nestor Tomycz, loc. cit.

⁵³It was especially true of the Chicago-based group.

affiliated group (with the progressive faction of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization), TUSM was more coherently organized than general student clubs and this has helped TUSM members in the elections to the SUSTA executive board (since 1963 the following presidents of SUSTA were affiliated with TUSM: Futej, Chuma, Saciuk, Kulchycky, Semanyshyn).

Similarly to the student militancy on American college campuses, the radical activism among Ukrainian students has visibly subsided since 1972. The students are still actively engaged in the defense of Ukrainian dissidents in the Soviet Union, but the aggressive demonstrations that were staged in support of the Ukrainian Patriarchate in the late 1960's, or the flamboyant student trips to Europe, had no parallel expressions in the 1973-75 years. This decrease in student activism was noted in the Ukrainian Weekly editorial:

There is no hiding the fact that over the past three or four years, SUSTA has been experiencing a downward slide wholly incomprehensible in the light of the growing number of our young people attending colleges and universities in the United States.⁵⁴

The editorial goes on to point out various reasons for this decline: greater mobility of students, dispersion across the vast reaches of the country, partial alienation, inability of the young students to either comprehend or relate to the tasks and objectives of SUSTA, and, above all, lack of organization and well-defined projects on the part of the student organizations.

The editorial refers primarily to SUSTA, superficially skimming

⁵⁴"Student Revitalization Needed." Editorial in Ukrainian Weekly, September 14, 1973.

over reasons that have become a cliché in the community used to explain a decline of any organization. It did not dwell analytically on issues and people involved in SUSTA leadership, nor did it investigate behind-the-scene fighting for an influence over student organizations of various political groupings. Still, the general statement of the decline of student activism was true.

Summarizing the role and functions of youth organizations in the education of young community members, it is important to notice that the youth organizations established prior to the Second World War, which served the youth of old immigrant stock, no longer are functioning, and, that that particular segment of the American Ukrainian youth has not found any other substitute organizations, with the exception of the Ukrainian Orthodox Youth League.

The youth of the post-Second World War immigrants did not merge into the existing youth organizations, but formed their own, separate organizations, notably Plast, SUMA, and ODUM. It was only in the student associations that a limited intermingling of old and new immigrants' children occurred.

From the perspective of the community's self-preservation and continuation, this immigrational drift presents no lesser a problem to be dealt with by the community leadership than does the generational gap.

CHAPTER VI

YOUNG LEADERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY

In previous chapters an effort was made to describe different periods in the history of the Ukrainian community in the United States, the goals and issues of that community, and the collective organized effort for self-preservation through education aimed at transmission of ethnic loyalty in America. The Ukrainian American community in the 1970's is especially suited to such a study. Ethnic communities in America often rely on contacts with the homeland and on new immigrants for both leadership and reinforcement of their ethnicity, that is, on individuals who know the language well and have strong attachments to the old country. Because of the political situation in Eastern Europe, Ukrainians had scarce contacts with the homeland. No immigration had occurred since the post-Second World War wave of immigrants from the Displaced Persons camps in Germany and Austria who had left the Ukraine back in 1943-44. Under such circumstances the future of the community depends solely on the American-born and/or educated generation and, consequently, on the community's ability to transmit ethnic loyalty in the American environment. Has the community been successful in this endeavor? If so, who are the individuals willing to undertake the responsibility for the community's activities? Was their commitment to ethnicity influenced by the educational experiences organized by the community or are these community efforts at preparing new cadres of

activists of secondary importance to some other factors? The survey of young leadership in the Ukrainian community conducted between 1970-74 was aimed at providing answers to the above questions. In other words, the study deals not with the "Americanization" of ethnic groups here, but with the concerns of ethnic communities for the "ethnization" of their American-born children.

General Remarks. It was already mentioned in the introductory chapter that the term leadership, that is, persons engaged in an act of leading, has a limited functional application in this study. Leaders are considered to be those persons, who either hold executive positions in ethnic community organizations or by virtue of their occupation (priests, writers, journalists, artists) are able to initiate, influence or promote community policies and activities.

In order to investigate the transmission of ethnic loyalty in the United States, it was necessary to exclude persons from the community leadership ranks who were immigrants and whose education was acquired outside of the United States. In the case of Ukrainians, it was possible to achieve this by imposing an age limitation on the sample population. Since the post-Second World War immigration culminated in 1950-1951, persons who arrived in the United States at that time at the age of fourteen or younger had an ample opportunity to make the necessary adjustment and adaptation to the new country and to feel at home here (e.g., Henry Kissinger came to the United States at the age of fifteen). Thus, on one end of the age limit a birthdate approximately in 1936 was set, and on the other end the age of twenty-one was selected at the

time the questionnaire was filled out. Another advantage in setting this age limit concerned ethnic educational institutions and organizations, a number of which did not exist prior to 1950. Altogether, forty-eight Ukrainian organizations were canvassed for leaders who would correspond to the defined category under investigation.¹ Five hundred and fifteen persons, active in a leadership capacity in the community in the years 1970-1974, were located. Given a greater effort in locating all lesser known local groups scattered throughout the United States, the number would have possibly reached 650-700. An extensive questionnaire was sent to all the identified subjects. Two hundred and twenty-three or 43.3% responded. The main objectives of the questionnaire were: (1) to collect personal data such as age, sex, marital status, family background and religious denomination, (2) to gather information on educational achievement both in ethnic and in American schools, as well as on ethnic education in youth organizations, (3) to see the extent of involvement in ethnic and American voluntary

¹In 1972, there were sixty-one organizations registered with the UCCA, grouped under ten categories: 1. fraternal (4 organizations), 2. professional (10), 3. religious, cultural, educational, and humanitarian (9), 4. scientific (2), 5. foundations (1), 6. women's (3), 7. youth and student (8), 8. veteran (7), 9. political, ideological (11), and 10. other (6). Most of the veteran organizations referred to specific wars, e.g., the First World War, the Ukrainian Underground Movement, thus precluding younger membership. In other categories, political and ideological organizations scored lowest in young leadership. In the youth-student category, which yielded most names of young leaders, in the case of one organization, the Ukrainian Youth League of North America, not even executive could be located. Nor was this organization mentioned in the report of Coordinator of Youth Organizations, Mr. M. Semanyshyn. Congress of Ukrainians in U.S.A. (New York, 1972), pp. 52-54, 113-117.

organizations, and (4) to sample opinions on a wide range of topics, from assessing the impact of personal educational experiences on one's own ethnic commitment to expressing attitudes towards current community issues and future prospects.

Personal Data, Family Background, and Knowledge of Language. Out of 109 women and 114 men who answered the questionnaire, half were in the twenty-one to twenty-four years of age bracket (50.2%), 20.6% were between the ages of twenty-five to twenty-nine, 11.7% were from thirty to thirty-four years of age, and 17.5% were over thirty-four. There were no significant differences between male and female respondents concerning age distribution. Had the questionnaire extended to persons of all ages it would probably still be true that the years between twenty-five and thirty-five would have had the lowest percent of leaders or activists relative to other age groups. This is the age of absorption in personal establishment, that is, establishment of one's own family and career, which leaves little time for activities in voluntary organizations.

While 24.2% of the subjects were born in the Ukraine, only 12.3% arrived in the United States after the age of fourteen. A full 79% of the sample were here before they reached the age of ten. A small number (3.2%) came to the United States after the compulsory education age limit, that is, after sixteen years of age. The important point in this calculation is to show that the subjects did have an experience of American education, 61.1% starting from the first grade of elementary school, 16.1% entering American schools at various stages of elementary

grades, and 9.1% on a high school level.

TABLE 1
AGE OF ARRIVAL IN THE U.S.

Age	Rel. Freq.	Rel. Freq. (Pct.)	Adjusted Freq. (Pct.)	Cum. Freq. (Pct.)
1. Born in U.S.	86	38.6	39.3	39.3
2. 0-5 years	49	22.0	22.4	61.6
3. 6-9	38	17.0	17.4	79.0
4. 10-13	19	8.5	8.7	87.7
5. 14-17	15	6.7	6.8	94.5
6. 18-20	5	2.2	2.3	96.8
7. 21-25	3	1.3	1.4	98.2
8. over 25	4	1.8	1.8	100.0
9. no answer	4	1.8	<u>missing</u>	<u>100.0</u>
TOTAL	223	100.0	100.0	

A little over one-third of the subjects (37.2%) were married, and of these, two-thirds (66.2%) had children. In the sample population, the percentage of marriage with non-Ukrainians was low (9.6%) in comparison to the general trend in the Ukrainian group which is estimated at about 50-60%. Divorces (2.4%) were just as low.²

Religious affiliation of the subjects corresponds roughly to the estimated distribution in the Ukrainian American community: 70.9% are Ukrainian Catholics, 25.1% Orthodox, 0.9% Protestant, 1.3% other, and 1.8% none. The designation "other" probably includes Roman Catholics

²Catholic Daily, Nova Zorya, March 17, 1968, gives the following statistics on the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Chicago: in 1965 there were 40% mixed marriages, that is, marriages between Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians; in 1966 the percentage went up to 50%, and in 1967 to 60%.

and some religious cults popular among youth in the late 60's and early 70's, which were unspecified in the questionnaire.

Residence also follows the demographic pattern of Ukrainian settlements in the United States. The bulk of the subjects reside in the New York-Philadelphia area, followed by midwestern cities (Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Minneapolis), small towns of the eastern states, in the Buffalo-Rochester area, and the rest are scattered throughout the United States.

TABLE 2
RESIDENCE

Location	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq. (Pct.)
1. Eastern states large cities	104	46.6
2. Eastern states small towns	20	9.0
3. Buffalo-Rochester	7	3.1
4. Cleveland-Detroit	27	12.1
5. Chicago-Milwaukee	45	20.2
6. Southern and west- ern states	8	3.6
7. Minneapolis and others	10	4.5
8. No answer	<u>2</u>	<u>0.9</u>
TOTAL	223	100.0

Occupationally, as their age might indicate, they are largely students. Only 2.7% are in the labor class. Others are distributed throughout a number of professional and semiprofessional occupations.

TABLE 3
OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq. (Pct.)	Cumulative Freq. (Pct.)
1. Teacher, social worker, researcher	43	19.3	19.3
2. Engineer, architect, accountant, economist	27	12.1	31.4
3. Lawyer	1	0.4	31.8
4. Medical doctor	3	1.3	33.1
5. Business management	4	1.8	34.9
6. Students	91	40.8	75.7
7. Other ^a	45	20.2	95.9
8. Laborer	6	2.7	98.6
9. No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>1.3</u>	100.0
TOTAL	223	100.0	

^aThis category includes clerks, priests, housewives, radio announcers, journalists, artists, military, nurses.

Both parents of the subjects were overwhelmingly Ukrainian (95.5%) and were born in the Ukraine (91.9%).³ In education, the attainment of fathers and mothers differed more perceptively than between the male and female subjects of the sample. While 52.8% of the fathers went to college, only 32.2% of the mothers did so. Also, more often the mothers did not go beyond elementary education (31.0%) than did the fathers (27.8%). Occupationally, 39.5% of the fathers were blue collar workers, others were professionals (26.9%), businessmen (6.0%), teachers (2.0%),

³The percentage of parents both born in the United States was 2.7%, 2.7% had one parent born in America and one in the Ukraine, 1.8% had one parent born in the Ukraine and one in other country, and 0.9% had both parents born in countries other than the Ukraine or the U.S.

white collar workers (14%), self-employed (3.0%) and retired or deceased (8.0%).⁴ The mothers tended to be housewives (41.8%), or laborers (28.4%). Only a small percent had clerical occupations (13.4%), with a similar number engaged in professional jobs (13.0%), including teaching.

The first and foremost barrier faced by an immigrant during his adaptation to American life is the English language. By the subjects' reckoning, most parents speak English sufficiently (65.0%) or fluently (24.9%). In regards to the Ukrainian language, the parents' knowledge is fluent (94.6%) or sufficient (4.5%), with only one percent reporting little or no knowledge of that language by their parents. Yet, 3.6% of the subjects stated that they converse with their parents in English while also occasionally using Ukrainian. The majority of the parents (77.0%), however, though significantly less than the 94.6% who speak fluent Ukrainian, communicate with the subjects exclusively in Ukrainian, and 17.1% do so while occasionally also using the English language.

It is interesting to notice a correlation between the parents' educational attainment, their knowledge of the English language and the preferred language of communication in the family. Parents, who do not

⁴There might be some confusion as to the occupations of parents. In many cases people who were professional in their homeland had to engage in manual jobs in the United States. Therefore, the subjects in some cases could have put present occupations of parents as laborers, even though they had professional training, and in others indicated a profession while their parents actually were employed as laborers here in America. In determining the social status of parents, therefore, both occupations and education should be taken under consideration.

know English are by necessity limited to the Ukrainian language. Those who have sufficient knowledge may find it difficult to choose English exclusively. But those who presumably are fluent in both languages have an open choice of communicating either in English or Ukrainian or both languages. In analyzing the data, it was found that among fathers who speak English fluently, 50% of those with elementary education prefer English only, while with secondary education the percentage goes down to 38.5%, and in the case of those with higher education, it is only 8.3% who resort to the English language exclusively. Conversely, when it comes to using only the Ukrainian language, the preference to it is given by 80.6% of college educated fathers, 25% of those with elementary schooling, and 23.1% of those with secondary education. The rest use both English and Ukrainian.

TABLE 4
PARENTS' EDUCATION

Education	Father		Mother	
	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq. (Pct.)	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq. (Pct.)
1. None	1	0.4	1	0.5
2. Elementary	59	26.5	68	30.5
3. Secondary	40	17.9	74	33.2
4. College	112	50.2	68	30.5
5. No answer	<u>11</u>	<u>4.9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5.4</u>
TOTAL	223	100.0	223	100.0

The following tables deal with father's education, his knowledge of English and the subject's language of communication with parents.

TABLE 5A

FATHER'S EDUCATION ELEMENTARY

FATHER SPEAKS ENGLISH					
Count Row Pct. Col. Pct. Tot. Pct.	Subject Speaks With Parents				ROW TOTAL
	Ukrainian Only	English Only	Ukrainian and some English	English and some Ukrainian	
Fluently	1 25.0 2.5 1.8	2 50.0 100.0 3.6	1 25.0 7.7 1.8	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	4 7.1
Sufficiently	28 68.3 70.0 50.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	12 29.3 92.3 21.4	1 2.4 100.0 1.8	41 73.2
None	11 100.0 27.5 19.6	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	11 19.6
COLUMN TOTAL	40 71.4	2 3.6	13 23.2	1 1.8	56 100.0

TABLE 5B
FATHER'S EDUCATION SECONDARY

FATHER SPEAKS ENGLISH					
Count Row Pct. Col. Pct. Tot. Pct.	Subject Speaks With Parents				ROW TOTAL
	Ukrainian Only	English Only	Ukrainian and some English	English and some Ukrainian	
Fluently	3 23.1 13.6 7.7	3 23.1 100.0 7.7	5 38.5 41.7 12.8	2 15.4 100.0 5.1	13 33.3
Sufficiently	16 69.6 72.7 41.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	7 30.4 58.3 17.9	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	23 59.0
None	3 100.0 13.6 7.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	3 7.7
COLUMN TOTAL	22 56.4	3 7.7	12 30.8	2 5.1	39 100.0

TABLE 5C
FATHER'S EDUCATION ON COLLEGE LEVEL

FATHER SPEAKS ENGLISH				
Count Row Pct. Col. Pct. Tot. Pct.	Subject Speaks With Parents			ROW TOTAL
	Ukrainian Only	English Only	Ukrainian & some English	
Fluently	29 80.6 30.2 26.6	3 8.3 100.0 2.8	4 11.1 40.0 3.7	36 33.0
Sufficiently	63 91.3 65.6 57.8	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	6 8.7 60.0 5.5	69 63.3
None	4 100.0 4.2 3.7	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	4 3.7
COLUMN TOTAL	96 88.1	3 2.8	10 9.2	109 100.0

Number of missing observations = 19

Also, in the case of mothers with a fluent knowledge of English, it is more often the college educated mother who will use Ukrainian exclusively for in-family communication (76.2%) than a mother with secondary (66.7%) or elementary (12.5%) education. Though the study was not primarily directed to language maintenance patterns and the sample is too small for generalization, it nevertheless supports Dashefsky's research on the Jewish group in America, in which he draws a conclusion that ethnic manifestations are predominantly found among middle-class people.⁵

It is rarely that the subjects view their parents as indifferent to the Ukrainian community (2.2%). Some regard their parents as simply belonging (26.5%), but the majority sees them either as leaders (31.4%) or active members (39.9%). Of the respondents, 88.6% stated that their parents belong to Ukrainian organizations, and 65% said they also hold elective offices in these organizations. In American organizations, however, only 5.6% of parents hold such offices and less than a quarter (22%) are members. Often, the subjects (42.3%) feel that their parents are alienated from American life. While this perception on the part of the subjects of their parents' alienation does not totally coincide with the parents' lack of knowledge of English, nevertheless a statistical pattern emerges indicating that parents who do not know English are more likely to be perceived as being alienated. In general, regardless of the parents' knowledge of the English language, more subjects perceive

⁵Arnold Dashefsky and Harold M. Spiro, Ethnic Identification Among American Jews: Socialization and Social Structure. (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974), p. 36.

their parents as not being alienated from American life (58.9%) than those who see their parents as alienated (41.1%).

TABLE 6
PARENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH AND
ALIENATION FROM AMERICAN LIFE

PARENTS SPEAK ENGLISH			
Count Row Pct. Col. Pct. Tot. Pct.	Parents Perceived as Ali- enated from American Life		ROW TOTAL
	Yes	No	
Yes	69 36.7 81.2 33.3	119 63.3 97.5 57.5	188 90.8
No	16 84.2 18.8 7.7	3 15.8 2.5 1.4	19 9.2
COLUMN TOTAL	85 41.1	122 58.9	207 100.0

Since the term "alienation" was not defined in the questionnaire, it would be difficult to define its meaning here, as it was understood by the subjects.

Statistical data points to a certain trend: in the case when parents are perceived as being alienated from American life, fewer subjects agree with their parents' view on America (40.9%) or the Ukraine (68.2%), than when parents are perceived as not being alienated (in

that case, 70.4% agree with the parents' views on America and 84.3% on the Ukraine). Similarly, there is more agreement as to the parents' and the subjects' views on America and Ukraine when the fathers' education progresses from the elementary (50.9% agree on America and 67.3% on the Ukraine) to the college level (67.9% agree on America and 85% on the Ukraine). Altogether, there is more agreement between the subjects and their parents in regards to their views on the Ukraine (76.2%) than on America (58%).

Regarding the knowledge of the language, a small percent of the subjects (2.7%) stated that they speak little or no Ukrainian, with a majority (83.3%) stating that they speak it fluently or (14%) sufficiently. Of those who were married and had children, 16.3% said that their children do not speak Ukrainian. While the sample of those who have children was numerically too small to make any valid conclusions, it was, nevertheless, interesting to note that none of the cases where children did not speak Ukrainian were those of mixed marriages.

In general, the language knowledge shifted relative to the mode of expression, i.e., there were more subjects who spoke Ukrainian fluently (83%) than those who could read it well (77.6%), and still fewer who could write it well (73.5%). The small number of subjects who stated that they could not speak Ukrainian, all had Ukrainian parents who, with one exception, were born in the United States or Canada. The correlation of this small sample between parents born in America and subjects who did not speak Ukrainian, was perfect. Although, again no meaningful generalizations can be made due to a small sample, the re-

sults, nevertheless, point to an important field of investigation of the relationship between language maintenance along generational lines and the general public attitudes towards assimilation. In this case, parents were educational products of the "melting pot" policy period between the two World Wars.

Education. The following table presents an overview of the subjects' educational attainment in American schools:

TABLE 7
ATTAINMENT IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Level of Schooling	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq. (Pct.)	Adjusted Freq. (Pct.)
1. Elementary	3	1.3	1.4
2. Secondary	6	2.7	2.7
3. Technical	5	2.2	2.3
4. Junior college	11	4.9	5.0
5. College	109	48.9	49.8
6. Graduate school	79	35.4	36.1
7. Other	6	2.7	2.7
8. No answer	4	1.8	missing
TOTAL	223	100.0	100.0

The population has predominantly reached a college level of education (84.3%). If students from junior colleges were to be added to the number of college and graduate students, the percentage would rise to 89.2%.

The academic standing of the subjects was as follows:

Average Grade A (very good)	69	30.9%
Average Grade B (good)	117	52.5
Average Grade C (satisfactory)	11	4.9
Grade below C (unsatisfactory)	1	0.4
No answer	25	11.2

Small differences in academic achievement between men and women emerged. All subjects with elementary education were only women as well as most of those with secondary education. Women predominated also in junior colleges and other-schools category, equalling men on the college level, but sharply decreasing when it came to graduate school (38% women to 62% men). There was a slightly better academic standing on the part of women: 36.7% of women had grade A average, compared to 32.7% of men.

Total attendance of the subjects at the Ukrainian schools, either parochial day schools or Saturday Language Schools, or both, was 80.7%. Because of an overlap, that is, attendance at both parochial and Saturday school, the percentage for each type of school separately is as follows:

attendance at parochial schools -- 102 or 45.70%
attendance at Saturday schools -- 158 or 70.85%

TABLE 8
ATTENDANCE AT UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS

	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq. (Pct.)	Cumulative Freq. (Pct.)
1. Parochial schools only	21	9.4	9.4
2. Saturday Language Schools only	79	35.4	44.8
3. Both parochial and Saturday	80	35.9	80.7
4. None or no answer	<u>43</u>	<u>19.3</u>	100.0
TOTAL	223	100.0	

Of those who attended parochial schools, 85.3% did so at the elementary school level, 10.8% at high school level, and 3% at junior college. In the Saturday Language Schools, 29.7% did not go beyond the elementary level, 24.7% reached high school, but did not accomplish the "matura" (a comprehensive examination at the end of the secondary school level), and 45.6% sustained the "matura" examination.

In some cases the subjects also benefited from other kinds of Ukrainian education, besides the above schools. Special courses, such as summer courses at the UNA resort "Soyuzivka," summer courses at Harvard University, at the Free Ukrainian University in Munich, the Ukrainian Catholic University at Rome, community sponsored pedagogical courses, and others, were attended by 18% of the sample. Even more frequently, the subjects would enroll in courses at American colleges which

related to Ukrainian studies; some 29.6% so enrolled.

From the ethnic point of view, the reading of Ukrainian books, periodicals and newspapers is also educational. Only 1.3% admitted that they owned no Ukrainian books, 3.1% did not answer, and the rest provided the following information:

- 25.6% owned less than 20 books
- 31.4 - between 21 and 50 books
- 12.1 - between 51 and 100 books
- 26.5 - over 100 Ukrainian books

When asked to identify if they owned certain books which were selected on the basis of their outstanding information content regarding the Ukraine or because they were the works that were written by important Ukrainian writers (Shevchenko, Franko, Lesia Ukrainka), the subjects gave the following answers:

- 83.4% owned works of Shevchenko
- 80.3 - history of the Ukraine
- 79.8 - Ukrainian-English or English-Ukrainian dictionary
- 76.2 - map of the Ukraine
- 70.9 - works of Ivan Franko
- 65.9 - works of Lesia Ukrainka
- 50.0 - Ukrainian encyclopedia
- 45.3 - history of Ukrainian art

The percentage of subjects who read the Ukrainian press regularly was 76.2%, those who read it rarely was 21.5%, and the rest either did not answer (0.9%) or said that they never read Ukrainian newspapers or

periodicals (2.2%).

The nondenominational daily Svoboda (57.8%) and the youth publications (54.7%) had by far the largest percentage of readers. Others, such as a satirical monthly Lys Mykyta (19.7%), Catholic daily Amyryka (17%), women's magazine Our Life (14.8%), and an arts, politics and literature review Suchasnist' (11.7%), followed in the above order of popularity.

The predominant ethnic educational experience in the sample population was derived from participation in youth organizations. When 80.7% of the subjects attended either or both parochial day schools and Saturday Language Schools, membership in Ukrainian youth organizations reached 88.8%. The following chart does not indicate the leadership status in various youth organizations, only the fact that a certain percentage of the sample population did have a specific educational experience provided by youth organizations. For example, while 46.6% were members of the Plast organization, only 19.2%, that is, less than half, had their principal leadership position there, the rest having attained this status in other organizations.

Of the sample population, 11.2% did not belong to youth organizations. Of those who did belong, almost half (48.4%) had been members for more than ten years, 15.2% belonged for a period between five and nine years, and 10.3% participated for four years or less.

Among the activities which can be regarded as educational from the point of view of developing involvement in the ethnic community, there were summer camping, in which 83.4% of the sample population par-

ticipated, performing groups, such as theater groups, dancing ensembles, choirs, in which 87.9% of the subjects were involved, and sports activities which drew 52.9%.

TABLE 9
MEMBERSHIP IN YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq. (Pct.)	Adjusted Freq. (Pct.)
1. Plast	104	46.6	52.6
2. SUMA	36	16.1	18.2
3. ODUM	37	16.6	18.7
4. MUN	4	1.8	2.0
5. Catholic Youth League	5	2.2	2.5
6. Orthodox League	7	3.1	3.5
7. Other	5	2.2	2.5
8. No Answer	<u>25</u>	<u>11.2</u>	<u>missing</u>
TOTAL	223	100.0	100.0

Activism and Leadership. The young leaders who answered the questionnaire, often had multiple membership and even held elective offices in more than one organization. For the sake of statistics, however, they were asked to identify the organization in which they considered themselves to be most active. In case they failed to do it, there was another question indicating the organizations they belonged to and the positions they held there, which provided the necessary information. In those cases the organization in which they held a most advanced position, e.g., president over secretary or national over local level, was chosen.

TABLE 10

ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH THE SUBJECTS HELD LEADERSHIP
POSITIONS OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE

Organization	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq. (Pct.)
1. Ukrainian Youth Association - Plast	43	19.2
2. Ukrainian National Women's League of America	30	13.4
3. Ukrainian Youth Organization - ODUM	25	11.2
4. Students' Clubs	25	11.2
5. Ukrainian Youth Organization - SUMA	17	7.6
6. Ukrainian Student Organization - SUSTA	15	6.7
7. Ukrainian Student Organization - TUSM	13	5.8
8. Ukrainian Orthodox League	9	4.0
9. Ukrainian National Association	6	2.7
10. Priests	5	2.2
11. Ukrainian Congress Committee of America	4	1.8
12. Ukrainian Teachers Association	3	1.3
13. Selfreliance Association	3	1.3
14. Choir Management	3	1.3
15. Writers	3	1.3
16. Ukrainian Catholic Youth Organization - Borys & Hlib	3	1.3
17. Ukrainian Political Organization - URDP	2	0.9
18. Saturday Language Schools Teachers Ass'n	2	0.9
19. Ukrainian Engineers Association	2	0.9
20. Ukrainian Students Association "Zarevo"	1	0.4
21. Ukrainian Women's Association "Zolotyj Khrest"	1	0.4
22. Ukrainian Economic Advisory Council	1	0.4
23. Ukrainian American Culture Center	1	0.4
24. Artist	1	0.4
25. Ukrainian Youth Organization - MUN	1	0.4
26. Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of the Ukraine	1	0.4
27. Committee for the Defense of Human Rights	1	0.4
28. Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council	1	0.4
29. Ukrainian Workers Association	1	0.4
TOTAL	223	100.0

The organizations in which younger people held leadership positions were mostly youth-oriented, e.g., youth educational organizations and student associations (152 cases or 68.2%). However, because of multiple memberships, which on the average came to 2.8 organizations per subject, and also multiple elective offices held (average 1.9 per subject), it would be better to look on the activism of the subjects in community organizations within a broader context of their involvement.

TABLE 11A

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH SUBJECTS BELONG

Type of Organization	Absolute Freq.	Relative* Freq. (Pct.)
1. Youth organizations	198	88.7
2. Student associations	137	61.4
3. Church organizations	84	37.7
4. Womens' organizations	39	17.4
5. Sports clubs	35	15.7
6. Professional associations	34	15.2
7. Fraternal associations	27	12.1
8. Ukrainian Congress Committee of America	13	5.8
9. Ukrainian political parties	9	4.0
10. Scientific associations	4	1.8
11. Other (choirs, dance ensembles, local committees, etc.)	41	18.3

*Refers to the total sample population of 223 subjects.

TABLE 11B

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH THE SUBJECTS BELONG AND ELECTIVE OFFICES HELD THERE

Type of Organization	Membrs. Abs. Freq.	Elective Offices Held on Level						TOTAL Offices Held	
		Local		Regional		National		Rel. ^b Freq. (Pct.)	Rel. ^c Freq. (Pct.)
		Abs. Freq.	Rel. ^a Freq. (Pct.)	Abs. Freq.	Rel. ^a Freq. (Pct.)	Abs. Freq.	Rel. ^a Freq. (Pct.)		
1. Youth	198	89	39.9	17	7.6	50	22.4	75.8	70.0
2. Student	137	65	29.1	7	3.1	31	13.9	75.1	46.2
3. Church	84	60	26.9	10	4.5	7	3.1	91.6	34.5
4. Women's	39	25	11.2	6	2.7	3	1.3	87.2	15.2
5. Sports	35	11	4.9	2	0.9	1	0.4	40.0	6.3
6. Professional	34	9	4.0	5	2.2	5	2.2	55.9	8.5
7. Fraternal	27	9	4.0	2	0.9	5	2.2	59.3	7.2
8. UCCA	13	12	5.4	0	0.0	1	0.4	100.0	5.8
9. Political Party	9	1	0.4	1	0.4	2	0.9	44.4	1.8
10. Scientific	4	0	0.0	1	0.4	0	0.0	25.0	0.4
11. Other	41	31	13.9	2	0.9	5	2.2	92.7	17.0

^aRefers to percentage of total sample population. N = 223.

^bRefers to percent of subjects holding office out of a total number belonging to a particular organization. N = number in the first column representing membership in a particular organization.

^cRefers to percentage of a total sample population. N = 223.

TABLE 12

TYPES OF AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH
SUBJECTS BELONG AND OFFICES HELD THERE

Types of Organizations	Membership		Hold Office	
	Abs. Freq.	Rel. ^a Freq. (Pct.)	Abs. Freq.	Rel. ^a Freq. (Pct.)
Student	100	44.8	49	22.0
Professional	64	28.7	11	4.9
Political Parties ^b	37	16.6	9	4.0
Sports	35	15.7	10	4.5
Neighborhood Associations	23	10.3	8	3.6
Youth Organizations	22	9.9	7	3.1
PTA	22	9.9	2	0.9
Women's	13	5.8	2	0.9
Other	26	11.7	8	3.6

^aThe percentage refers to the total number of the sample.
N = 223.

^bThis includes Ukrainian sections in the Republican and Democratic Parties.

A number of relationships between levels of leadership, that is, local, regional, and national, and selected issues were probed. No major differences in such comparisons emerged. Those on the national level spent slightly more time on ethnic activities (23.2% reported to spend more than ten hours per week) than did those on the local level (16.9%). Also, those on the national level more often reported that they agree with their parents on the meaning of being a Ukrainian in America (52.9%) than did individuals on the local level (42.9%). Knowledge of language was comparable for people on all three levels, as was

reading of the Ukrainian press, owning Ukrainian books, attitudes toward future participation in ethnic activities, national designation, important issues in Ukrainian community evaluation, attendance at Ukrainian schools, or the importance of preservation of the Ukrainian community in the United States if the Ukraine was independent.

Young Leadership and Community Issues. Throughout the history of Ukrainians in America, the community leaders underlined the cause of the Ukraine's liberation as the first and foremost concern, almost to the point of making it a raison d'etre of the Ukrainian community in America. This issue was no longer perceived to the same extent of importance by the young leaders. Rather, it was the preservation of the community itself which became a priority.

TABLE 13

ISSUES OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE TO UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY

Issue	Very Important or Important ^a		
	Absolute Freq.	Relative Freq. (Pct.)	Adjusted Relative Freq. (Pct.)
Preservation of the Ethnic Community in the United States . . .	215	86.1	89.3
Cause of the Ukraine's Liberation .	209	62.3	89.3
Helping Individuals in their Quest for Self-identity	210	56.0	59.5
Helping Individuals to Assimilate into the American Mainstream . .	202	14.8	16.3

^aEach issue was rated on the scale of 4 (very important) to 1 (not at all). The percentage represents an adjusted cumulative rating of very important and important evaluation. N = 223.

Concern for the preservation of the ethnic community was also reflected in the answers to other questions. For instance, a high percentage of subjects (77.6%) stated that they would consciously try to settle where there are Ukrainians, 69.1% said that the preservation of the ethnic community in case of the Ukraine's independence would continue to be as important as it is at present.

In the opinion of young leaders, an improvement of the ethnic educational system in the community, a better cooperation among various political and religious factions, and more Ukrainians holding elective offices in American government, will all contribute to the community in its efforts for self-preservation.

Two factors, the neighborhood and contacts with the homeland, traditionally regarded as important to ethnic community maintenance, have received the lowest scores. This may disclose that young leaders have not thought deeply and thoroughly enough about the role of the above two factors, or their answers may indicate new attitudes towards the values and functions of an ethnic community. Regarding the neighborhood, this would mean that in an age of the telephone and the automobile, geographic integration into a de-ethnicized or an other-ethnic neighborhood does not necessarily lead to community disintegration. Regarding the relationship to the homeland, this could mean that the young leaders perceive the community as a value in itself and not as a means of attaining some other goals. Ethnicity can serve as a viable principle of social organization in a pluralistic society. It does not have to be limited to a function of cultural preservation, but can also serve as a starting point for new social developments.

TABLE 14
VITAL ISSUES FOR COMMUNITY PRESERVATION

Issue	Very Important ^a or Important (Pct.)	Respondents N = 223
Improving educational system in Ukrainian community	90.1	212
Better cooperation among various political and religious factions	86.9	214
Electing more Ukrainians to American government	75.2	206
Establishment of the Ukrainian Patriarchate	66.2	195
Reorganization of the UCCA	61.1	198
Preservation of Ukrainian neigh- borhoods	59.8	204
More contacts with Soviet Ukraine	55.9	195

^aEach issue was rated on the scale of 4 (very important) to 1 (not at all). The percentage represents an adjusted cumulative rating of very important and important evaluation.

The young leaders saw the greatest threat to the ethnic community in mixed marriages (52.5%), followed by lack of knowledge of the Ukrainian language (34.5%). A successful career in the larger American society was seen as threatening to ethnic ties only by a small number (6.3%).

Despite many criticisms of ethnic educational organizations and institutions, which will be dealt with in the next chapter, in general the young leadership retained positive attitudes towards their commu-

ity. Half of the sample viewed the Ukrainian group just as good as any other ethnic group in America (51.1%), 27.8% said it is better, and 17.5% thought it was worse.⁶

As a means of detecting the ways in which the subjects would support their community, they were asked to mark on a list of thirteen causes, those to which they have or would most likely contribute financially. On the top of the list, far outranking other causes, were Ukrainian studies at Harvard University (91%), followed by a humanitarian cause, helping Ukrainians in other countries (84.5%). The next three causes were of cultural and educational nature. Of the respondents, 80.5% would support Ukrainian artists and writers, 78.4% would build Ukrainian schools, and 77.1% would contribute to Ukrainian Saturday schools. The least popular items were the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (58.6%), the Ukrainian Free University in Munich (56.5%), and Ukrainian political parties (43.5%), all of them linked to political activism in the Ukrainian community. In between, ranging from 72.7% to 64.5%, were building funds for recreational facilities, churches, the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, old age homes, and orphanages.

It would be incorrect to assume that the young leaders would be unconcerned about their ancestral homeland, the Ukraine, because of

⁶But it does not mean that other groups were viewed as equally good. Indicating a preferred neighborhood, other than Ukrainian, 33.6% opted for English and 27% for German. Only 24.2%, still higher than expected, stated that it would make no difference what neighborhood they lived in. The rest were scattered, in order of preference, among Jewish, Polish, Irish, Italian, Spanish, and in one case, Black neighborhoods.

their predilection for the Ukrainian community in America. Their apathy was rather directed towards the internal factionalism among the older generation within the community than towards the Ukraine. Of the subjects, 68% have participated in various Ukrainian demonstrations, and even a greater number has expressed willingness to do so in the future. Most often, the demonstrations were on behalf of dissident writers and intellectuals imprisoned by the Soviets (82.5%), followed by action on behalf of the Soviet oppressed nations (70.9%). The Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, a controversial issue among Ukrainians in America, was third in order.⁷ Of the nonethnic general American issues, only pollution has drawn a sizable attention of the subjects (43.9%). War in Viet Nam, a prevalent cause of demonstrations at the time the questionnaire was distributed, and the Black Civil Rights movement have attracted only 20.6% and 10.8%, respectively.

Finally, the issue of national designation should be mentioned here. There is an assumption in the community that a strong ethnic identification would correspond to the national designation Ukrainian. Then, in order of their diminishing commitment to ethnicity, come the designations American, American of Ukrainian Descent, and American. In the leadership sample it was the second one, Ukrainian American, which was most popular (43.8%), followed by Ukrainian (37.3%), American of Ukrainian Descent (18.0%), and American (0.9%).

Certain statistical calculations support the above assumption of

⁷The percentages are those of the total sample (N = 223) and include those who participated or would participate in such demonstrations in the future.

the correlation between national designation and commitment to ethnicity in some measure. For example, those who speak Ukrainian fluently designate themselves as Ukrainian Americans (45%) or Ukrainians (40.6%) more often than Americans of Ukrainian Descent (13.9%). Those who speak no Ukrainian or little of it, on the other hand, prefer the name of Americans of Ukrainian Descent (50%) to Ukrainian American (33.3%) or simply Ukrainian (16.7%). Also noteworthy may be the fact that more men (26.9%) than women (8.6%) preferred the designation American of Ukrainian Descent. One explanation for it could be that more men work outside the home where it might be advantageous to understate ethnic origins, whereas women stay home and raise children. And, as statistics show elsewhere, ethnicity plays an important role in the upbringing of children. It provides a concrete focal point for parental endeavors to civilize their offsprings.

Concerning future activism in the community, 91.4% of those who designated themselves as Ukrainians gave only an unqualified affirmative answer in comparison to the 86% of Ukrainian Americans and the 74.4% of Americans of Ukrainian Descent. Also, 8.2% of Americans of Ukrainian Descent stated that for reasons of family obligations or other, they do not expect to be as active in the future as they were at the time of filling out the questionnaire, as compared to 5.4% of Ukrainian Americans and 3.7% of Ukrainians.

Upon analysis of the responses to the questions concerning ethnic identification, issues, and attitudes towards community, one can conclude that the young leadership has shown a strong interest in preserv-

ing the ethnic community as a community per se, and not only as a vehicle for the homeland's causes. The cultural and educational considerations in regard to the community preceded ideological or political interests on the part of young leaders. Knowledge of language and national designation can be used as indicators of a predisposition to active involvement in community activism.

Some Comparisons of Leadership Sample to Nonleadership Groups.

There were certain prerequisites in the selection of control groups for the purpose of comparisons: (a) the subjects had to be in a comparable age bracket, (b) not be limited to one geographic area or (c) religious denomination, or (d) a specialized field of activities. An attempt to select a random sample of persons not committed to ethnic activities, that is, those who do not belong to ethnic community organizations, proved to be difficult. Such persons had to be located individually and soon it was obvious that only children of well known community members were identified, thus making the sample group very selective.

After examining various possibilities it was decided that, under the circumstances, members of Junior and English-speaking chapters of the UNWLA (Ukrainian National Women's League of America) would be the best choice. In the leadership sample, few differences were detected between men and women, thus minimizing the importance of the fact that the UNWLA is a women's organization exclusively. The advantages of this selection were that (1) the sample met the above prerequisites to a great extent, (2) was easily accessible, and (3) had members of both old and new immigrant stock, which permitted a comparative overview of

ethnic retention related to immigration waves. Next to church and fraternal organizations, the UNWLA is the oldest, largest, and most diversified Ukrainian organization in the United States. People of different talents and backgrounds can find there an outlet for their involvement in community affairs.

Another group serving as a frame of reference was that of Ukrainian students at the University of Alberta, Canada, as surveyed by Dr. B. Bociurkiw in 1967-68.⁸ Even though the group was Canadian-based, specialized in its activities (all were university students), and largely third generation Canadian, it came as close as any group could to a comparable sample of young Ukrainians selected on a nondenominational and nonorganizational basis for the purpose of studying ethnic identification. The differences in problems of the preservation of ethnicity in the Canadian and American Ukrainian communities are not sufficiently divergent to preclude comparisons.

The comparison of the four groups--the leadership sample, the members of the UNWLA Junior chapters, the members of the UNWLA English-speaking chapters, and the University of Alberta Ukrainian students--concerns their age, family background, knowledge of the Ukrainian language, educational achievement in American and Ukrainian schools, and participation in Ukrainian organizations. Both the UNWLA Junior chapters and the Alberta students are closer in age range to the leadership

⁸Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "Ethnic Identification and Attitudes of University Students of Ukrainian Descent: The University of Alberta Case Study," Slavs in Canada, Proceedings of the Third National Conference on Canadian Slavs, ed. Cornelius J. Jaenen (Ottawa: Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, 1971), pp. 15-110.

group than the English-speaking chapters of the UNWLA. The latter had some 82.1% of its members over forty years of age. But from the point of view of being exposed to American education, the leadership group approaches more closely the English-speaking chapters and the Alberta students, where 85.7% and 93.8% respectively were American or Canadian-born, than the Junior chapters where only 14.5% of members were native Americans. In all cases, the parents of the subjects were both Ukrainians, but the number of parental mixed marriages progressed relative to the period of immigration. Of the parents of UNWLA Junior chapter members, 1.8% were of mixed marriages, as were 9.5% of the English-speaking UNWLA chapter members, and 24.4% of the Alberta students, who had by far the highest percent of native-born parents (64.4% of fathers and 74.2% of mothers were Canadian-born).⁹

There is no statistical data available on the social status of the parents of the UNWLA members, but in the case of the Alberta students, 64.4% of parents were in the laborer category (farmers, unskilled and skilled laborers), 37.1% were in the semi-professional and professional category (white collar, teacher, self-employed/businessman, and professional/executive), and 5.6% were in other occupations. In the case of the leadership sample, the statistical balance was reversed: 39.5% of the fathers were in the laborer category and 52.8% were in semi-professional and professional occupations. This statistical difference is important in light of Bociurkiw's study, which showed a close correlation between the professional/executive family background and a

⁹Ibid., p. 47.

high degree of ethnic identification, participation in Ukrainian churches and clubs, and support for the retention of the Ukrainian language, culture, church, and ethnic identity in Canada.¹⁰

Language is generally regarded as the most important manifestation of Ukrainian ethnicity. In comparing the leadership group to the other groups, we find the former most advanced in knowledge of the Ukrainian language.

TABLE 15

KNOWLEDGE OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS

Group	Speak Ukrainian		Read Ukrainian		Write Ukrainian	
	Very Well	None	Very Well	None	Very Well	None
Leadership group	83.3%	2.7%	79.0%	3.7%	74.9%	6.8%
Jr. UNWLA chapters	74.2	3.8	68.9	7.4	67.1	11.0
English-speaking UNWLA chapters	25.9	23.5	23.5	36.8	16.9	40.0
Alberta students	26.9	17.6	15.5	42.1	16.0	49.0

When, in the case of the English-speaking chapters of the UNWLA and the Ukrainian students at Alberta University, the proportion of American-born (or Canadian-born) subjects far exceeded that in the leadership group, only 14.5% were American-born among the UNWLA Junior

¹⁰Ibid., p. 36.

chapters members. Yet their knowledge of the Ukrainian language was considerably weaker than that in the leadership sample, where 38.1% were American-born.

The questions concerning the use of the Ukrainian language at home were not identical for each group. Nevertheless, some indications could be gathered from the following data: 10.3% of the Alberta students speak only Ukrainian at home. Of those who are married, only 1.7% communicate exclusively in Ukrainian with their spouses, but the percent rises to 7.7% where children are concerned. A similar trend appears among the UNWLA Junior chapters members, where 35.1% of the married members speak Ukrainian with their husbands, but 77.7% of those who have children speak Ukrainian with their offspring. In other words, using the Ukrainian language becomes more important when the education of children is concerned. However, none of the members of the English-speaking chapters of the UNWLA, where 25% of subjects and 28.6% of their husbands speak Ukrainian fluently and communicate with their children in only Ukrainian. It can be hypothesized that being members of an older group, both in age and of the older immigrant stock, they have grown up in the pre-ethnic consciousness period and this has influenced their attitudes towards language maintenance. In the leadership group, on the other hand, where most subjects were offspring of the newest immigration, 77% communicated with their parents exclusively in Ukrainian.

The educational attainment of the leadership group in American schools as compared to that of the UNWLA members was significantly higher. Out of the leadership group, 84.3% of the leaders were at col-

lege level and in the UNWLA sample, 55.2% of the Junior chapters members and 23.8% of the English-speaking chapters reached that level. The Alberta students, of course, were all at college level. However, in their case, comparisons could be made in regard to attendance at Saturday or Sunday ethnic schools. Again, in the leadership sample, 71% of subjects attended Saturday schools, when in the Alberta group, only 45% did so. Also, only 19.2% of the Alberta students belonged to Ukrainian organizations.

The Alberta student sample was not selected on the basis of membership in Ukrainian organizations, whereas the UNWLA sample was. This provided a similarity in selection basis with the leadership group, thus emphasizing the variable of leadership status as a factor in statistical calculations. For instance, when multiple memberships of the leadership group were 2.8 organizations per subject, it was 1.9 per UNWLA member. Also, membership in youth organizations reached 88.8% among the young leaders, but only 37% among the Junior chapters of the UNWLA, and plunged to 3.6% in the case of the English-speaking chapters. In view of the high rating which the youth organizations received as an important factor influencing ethnic commitment, these differences become important.

In summary, during the years 1970-74, the young leadership of the Ukrainian American community was composed chiefly of the children of the latest immigrants. Educationally, these young community leaders were more advanced both in American and Ukrainian schools, had a better knowledge of the Ukrainian language, and were involved in more

community organizations than the comparable nonleadership groups. Similar comparisons of the leadership group to the larger American society yield comparable results.¹¹

¹¹See comparable statistics for the larger American society in Murray Gerdell and Hans L. Zetterberg, eds., A Sociological Almanac for the United States, 2nd ed. (Totowa, N.J.: The Bedminster Press, 1963) pp. 56-58.

CHAPTER VII

YOUNG LEADERSHIP AND EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF ETHNIC COMMUNITY

The preceding chapter gave an overview of the young contingent of leadership in the Ukrainian American community: their family background, education, and involvement in ethnic activism. This chapter will (a) identify sources of influence on the commitment of young leadership to ethnic activism; (b) analyze and assess the importance of the influences of the community organized educational processes on the basis of the young leaders' self-evaluation; and (c) trace continuities and changes in the Ukrainian American community from the historical perspective as they are reflected in the attitudes of the young leaders towards the role of ethnicity and the ethnic community.

Sources of Influence on Ethnic Commitment. One part of the questionnaire, distributed to the young leaders, consisted of a list of thirty items, some suggested by the young leaders themselves, which could influence the formation of ethnic commitment. Each item was evaluated on a scale of four to one, ranging from the very important to no importance. To eliminate possible bias caused by a successive placement of items, for instance, "friends" next to "family," the items in the following Table were ordered according to the cumulative

percentage of very important and important scores.¹

TABLE 16
SOURCES OF INFLUENCE ON ETHNIC COMMITMENT

Source	Absolute Freq.	Adjusted ^a Cum. Pct.
1. Family	221	96.4
2. Youth organizations	205	86.9
3. Friends	218	85.6
4. Desire to have children who are also ethnically conscious and participating members of the community	210	83.3
5. The fact that ethnic participation enriches personal life	217	82.9
6. Knowledge of the Ukrainian language	219	81.3
7. Self-identity	219	81.3
8. Upbringing which was directed towards community participation	218	81.2
9. Consciousness of being Ukrainian, which would be impossible to get rid of	218	79.8
10. Conscious choice, without any compulsion, to remain within the group	217	78.3
11. Genuine liking of Ukrainian people	218	72.9
12. Political situation in the Ukraine, i.e., Russian domination	219	72.1
13. Ability to contribute to the welfare of Ukrainians in the United States	219	68.9
14. Attendance at Ukrainian Saturday Language Schools	162	67.3
15. A way to express one's individuality and freedom	217	64.5
16. Important and relevant issues in the Ukrainian community	218	64.2
17. Psychological satisfaction from the needs of belonging, recognition, love, and identity through participation in Ukrainian community life	215	62.3

¹The order was checked against the scores of "not important at all." Some minor differences in decimal scoring emerged, e.g., self-identity scored 6.0% and upbringing 6.4%. This was not considered important enough to introduce a different basis for ranking than the scores of very important and important answers.

TABLE 16--Continued

Source	Absolute Freq.	Adjusted ^a Cum. Pct.
18. Attendance at Ukrainian parochial schools . .	121	59.4
19. Parish membership	209	54.1
20. Psychological need to belong	218	49.1
21. Belief that American society should be pluralistic	217	46.5
22. Possibility of easier social recognition in the Ukrainian community	215	38.1
23. Wanting to be a part of the Ukrainian commu- nity, even though it may have an adverse effect on career development	216	37.0
24. The fact that nonparticipation in Ukrainian life would have upset parents very much . . .	216	28.7
25. The fact that in America everyone belongs to some ethnic group	215	19.5
26. The fact, that belonging to an ethnic group does not interfere with career or job	214	18.2
27. Discrimination in American society	218	17.9
28. Personal feeling of isolation in American society	217	17.1
29. Failure in an attempt to join non-Ukrainian groups	219	10.5
30. Feeling of duty to remain a Ukrainian	214	7.0

^aThe figures represent adjusted added percentages of very important and important values. N = 223.

The items in Table 16 can be categorized under four different headings pertaining to (1) ethnic community organizations and institutions [items 2, 14, 18, 19], (2) informal influences related to the ethnic community [1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 12, 13, 16, 22], (3) attitudes and issues in the larger American society [21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29],² and

²Items 23 and 26, considerations for career, were put under American issues on the assumption that they reflect attitudes of the larger American society.

(4) subjective personal considerations [5, 7, 9, 11, 15, 17, 20, 24, 30]. If the top ten items in Table 16 were rated as very important, the next ten as moderately important, and the last ten as slightly or not at all, the first noticeable result of the tabulation is that all items relating to the larger American society fall under the least important rating. Among these, the feeling of isolation in America, the "lonely in a crowd" syndrome, may be a product of a technological society unrelated to ethnicity, but the feeling of discrimination in the context of the questionnaire, relates to ethnic prejudices.

Even though the percentage of subjects who reported discrimination as important to their ethnic commitment was small, it merits further investigation. In this study only one possible source for the feeling of discrimination, the American schools, was examined. To the question how ethnicity was presented in American schools, the following responses were given:

TABLE 17
ATTITUDES TOWARDS ETHNICITY IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Attitudes	Abs. Freq.	Rel. Freq. (Pct.)	Adj. Freq. (Pct.)
1. Ethnicity contributes to American life	82	36.8	45.0
2. Ignored completely	48	21.5	26.4
3. Ethnic groups should "melt," disappear	36	16.1	19.8
4. Ethnic groups should be tolerated	14	6.3	7.7
5. Ethnicity should be preserved	2	0.9	1.1
No answer	<u>41</u>	<u>18.4</u>	<u> </u>
TOTAL	223	100.0	100.0

When the attitudes towards ethnicity were correlated with the feeling of discrimination, it was found that the subjects, who reported "melting" or tolerating attitudes, felt more often that discrimination was an important factor in their ethnic commitment (27.8% of those who reported "melting" attitudes and 23.1% of those who reported tolerating attitudes), than those who reported the school's attitude as ignoring the issues of ethnicity (14.6%), an attitude that ethnic groups contributed to American life (16.1%) or that ethnic groups should be preserved (0.0%). In other words, to combat the feeling of discrimination generated by attitudes promoted in American schools regarding ethnicity, next to expressing an emphatically positive attitude (i.e., ethnic groups should be preserved), the best policy would be to ignore the question of ethnicity altogether. Still, discrimination, as well as other factors relating to the larger American society, both in its positive or negative aspects, was far from a major cause contributing to ethnic activism.

Another somewhat surprising result was that of the three basic educational institutions in the ethnic community: church, schools, and youth organizations. Only the youth organizations were rated among the very important factors. In fact, if we discount from the list the influence of the family, which stands in a category of its own, for it provides the basis for ethnic identification, then youth organizations emerge as the most important influence on the formation of ethnic commitment.

Also noteworthy is the fact that, more than concerns for the

political situation in the Ukraine or relevant issues in the community, it was friends, the desire to pass the ethnic heritage to their children, and knowledge of the Ukrainian language that had a determining influence on ethnic commitment. Even though general upbringing, directed towards involvement in an ethnic community scored high, obviously this upbringing did not generate a feeling of obligation towards parents or that of the duty to be active in the community. Rather, the subjects viewed their commitment as a conscious choice in which self-identity and enrichment of their personal lives play important roles.

Among the thirty items listed in Table 16, the influence of visits to the Ukraine upon ethnic commitment was not included. Only a small percentage (15.2%) of the sample had visited the Ukraine. Of these, a little over one-third found conditions in the Ukraine as expected, one-third found them worse, and one-quarter found them better. The rest made no comment. But regardless of their impressions of the conditions, most of the subjects (87.9% of those who visited the Ukraine) stated that the visit had a positive influence on their commitment to ethnicity. In the future, 61% said they plan to visit the Ukraine.

Influence of the Church on Ethnic Commitment. Out of the three ethnic educational institutions, it was the church which scored the lowest. Parish membership ranked nineteenth, thus approaching a borderline between important and slightly important influences on ethnic commitment. Historically, the church, especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church to which a majority of Ukrainian Americans belong, has

persevered in the Ukrainian community longer than any other institution. Identification with a Ukrainian church, be it Catholic or Orthodox, became synonymous with ethnic identification. For the third and fourth American-born generations of Ukrainians, who no longer speak the Ukrainian language nor have an interest in the Ukrainian culture or the political situation, the church alone supports their ethnic identity. Historically, the role of the church in ethnic identification was preeminent. And yet the young leadership has not perceived or evaluated its role as an important influence. Why?

First of all, it should be remembered that the questionnaire was administered at the time of a considerable controversy and criticism in the Ukrainian community regarding the church's role in retaining ethnic identity. This could have influenced the subjects' judgment, dimming the historical role of the church. Of course, controversies regarding the ethnic character of the church were nothing new. In fact, the one which began in the late 1960's in the Ukrainian Catholic Church very strongly resembled that of the late 1920's, when the clerical hierarchy was accused of siding with the Roman Pontiff more than with the lay people and ethnic causes.³ It is only when one appraises the role of the church in the total configuration of the Ukrainian community in America that its role becomes evident.

The young leaders followed in parental footsteps in church membership. Not only did 92.3% belong to the same church as their parents,

³Myron B. Kuropas, "The Making of the Ukrainian American, 1884-1939. A Study in Ethno-National Education," p. 403.

but 68.2% were also in the same parish. A relatively small percent (7.7%) differed from their parents' religious affiliations. As far as religious commitment was concerned, 40.2% stated that they were deeply committed, 23% went to church regularly out of habit, and 36.8% attended only occasionally.

Concerning the role of the church in retaining ethnicity, a majority of subjects saw it either as important (41%) or very important (27.9%). But the number of those who stated that it was not important at all (31.1%), was far greater than expected. Only slightly more than half of the subjects (53.3%) thought that the church was trying actively to preserve ethnicity, the rest saw the church as taking only a marginal interest in the preservation of ethnicity.

In the church service, a mixture of Ukrainian and English was used, and Ukrainian and/or Old Church Slavonic was no longer the dominant language in the church. The exclusive use of the English language has not made any notable inroads. However, when these statistics on the language used and the language favored in the church by the young leaders are compared, measurable discrepancies arise which help to explain certain attitudes of the sample group towards the role of the church in retaining ethnicity.

It was found in the cross tabulations of data that the Ukrainian language was more often preferred by the younger than by the older members of the leadership group. Of all those aged twenty-one to twenty-nine years, 63.9% preferred the Ukrainian language in the church exclusively as compared to 50.8% of those aged thirty or more years. More-

over, of those in the younger category who preferred the Ukrainian language only, 11.9% spoke the language only sufficiently, while all of the older persons spoke it fluently. This age and language preference correlation can probably be explained in terms of the changing attitudes in the larger American society. The younger group has grown up in an atmosphere of greater ethnic awareness in the middle or late 1960's, while the older group is a product of the persisting dominant attitudes of the "melting pot" in the 1950's.

TABLE 18

LANGUAGE USED IN CHURCH AND LANGUAGE FAVORED

Language	Used	Favored
Ukrainian	47.7%	61.2%
Ukrainian and English	51.4	38.4
English	0.9	0.5

The tendency to preserve ethnicity in the church, in addition to language preference, was reflected also in the young leaders' desire to see the church change, become more ethnic (40.8%) rather than to see it become more universal, and more uniform with other churches (19.9%). Others wanted it to remain as it is.

Attitudes towards the church in regard to ethnicity had no relation to the fact that the subjects did or did not attend parochial schools. Instead it related to other factors. One of these was the use of language in the church. Of those who stated that the role of

the church in retaining ethnicity was important, 68.3% said that the Ukrainian language was used exclusively in their church. Among those who saw the role of the church as marginal, a somewhat lower percent (50%) stated the same.

Another pattern that emerged from a statistical analysis of cross tabulations between desired changes in the church and religious commitment of the subjects was that those who regard themselves as religiously deeply committed more often regard the church as actively trying to retain ethnicity and wanted to see the church remain as it is, than those who attended the church occasionally. The latter saw the role of the church in retaining ethnicity only as marginal and wanted the church to become more ethnic.

Table 19 indicates that the double knot of loyalty to the church, namely that of religion and ethnicity, is no longer as powerful as it used to be, since almost half of the sample population did not see a strong link between church and ethnicity.

The traditional linkage of ethnicity to religious affairs was reflected in the issue of establishing the Ukrainian Patriarchate. While twice as many subjects regarded the Patriarchate as important among the vital issues for the Ukrainian community as those who did not, the issue did not correlate with religious commitment. But cross tabulating this issue with the desired changes in the church, 50% of those who regarded the Patriarchate as an important issue also wanted the church to become more ethnic, while of those who regarded this issue as unimportant, 26.4% wanted such changes.

TABLE 19

RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT, CHANGES FAVORED AND ROLE OF
THE CHURCH IN PRESERVING ETHNICITY

Count Row Pct. Col. Pct. Tot. Pct.	Religious Commitment of the Subjects			
	Deeply Committed	Attends Church Out of Habit	Attends Church Occasionally	Row Count
A. CHURCH ACTIVELY PRESERVES ETHNICITY				
Changes Favored:				
1. To become more modern and uni- versal in char- acter	4 22.2 8.5 4.0	5 27.7 20.0 5.0	9 50.0 32.1 9.0	18 18.0
2. To remain as it is	31 60.8 66.0 31.0	8 15.7 32.0 8.0	12 23.5 42.6 12.0	51 51.0
3. To become more ethnic	12 38.7 25.5 12.0	12 38.7 48.0 12.0	7 22.6 25.0 7.0	31 31.0
TOTAL	47 47.0	25 25.0	28 28.0	100 100.0

B. CHURCH'S ROLE IN PRESERVING ETHNICITY IS MARGINAL

Changes Favored:				
1. To become more modern and uni- versal in char- acter	9 42.6 32.1 9.9	1 4.8 4.8 1.1	11 52.3 26.2 12.1	21 23.1

TABLE 19--Continued

Count Row Pct. Col. Pct. Tot. Pct.	Religious Commitment of the Subjects			
	Deeply Committed	Attends Church Out of Habit	Attends Church Occasionally	Row Count
2. To remain as it is	7	11	7	25
	28.0	44.0	28.0	
	25.0	52.4	16.7	
	7.7	12.1	7.7	27.5
3. To become more ethnic	12	9	24	45
	26.7	20.0	53.3	
	42.6	42.8	57.1	
	13.2	9.9	26.4	49.5
TOTAL	28	21	42	91
	30.8	23.1	46.2	100.0

The above statistics relate primarily to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, since 70.9% of the sample were Catholics. It should be noted, however, that in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian language was used exclusively more often (77.8% of the Orthodox subjects reported so) than in the Catholic Church (40.7%). Not surprisingly, when 48.3% of the Catholics wanted a change which would make their church more ethnic, only 17.3% of the Orthodox voiced such a desire. Largely, the Orthodox subjects wanted their church to remain as it is (53.8% vs. 34.9% for Catholics).

In summary, the church, which almost single-handedly had raised the national consciousness among the early Ukrainian immigrants in America at the end of the last century, had considerably disassociated

itself from the role of the custodian of ethnicity, at least in its more militant form, by the 1970's. That is, the church no longer tries to preserve the ethnic identity of its members with great zeal and its influence on the formation of new cadres of ethnic community leadership is no longer recognized as crucial. However, from the point of view of its staying-power and from a historical perspective, the role of the church is much more extensive and influential than the young leaders evaluate it to be.

The Influence of Ukrainian Schools on Ethnic Commitment. By the subjects' own admission, attendance at Ukrainian schools was usually worthwhile (82.5%), even though it often made no difference as far as ethnic commitment was concerned (51.5%), and in a few cases it was even viewed as detrimental (2.3%). Seldom did attendance at Ukrainian schools interfere with the progress in American schools (7.1%); sometimes it was helpful (29.6%), but mostly it made no difference (63.3%). Neither did the fact of being an American make any difference in a majority of cases (68.5%). Some subjects felt that they were better Americans because of attendance at Ukrainian schools (26.8%), but in a few cases the feeling was that they were less of an American because of it (4.7%).

It was very rarely that the teachers in the Saturday Language Schools conveyed an impression to the students that their loyalty should be first of all, to America (1.3%). But then, neither did they propagate much loyalty exclusively to the Ukraine (3.6%). Rather, it was both countries, giving the Ukraine a precedence (37.2% indicated first loyalty to the Ukraine and then to the United States, and 30.5% equally

to both).

In the classroom, America was largely ignored. When it was dealt with, the students mostly felt that it was presented objectively. However, few felt that the Ukraine was given an objective treatment. Overwhelmingly they described the attitudes of teachers towards the Ukraine as sentimental, projecting superiority feelings, and unrealistic.

There are several ways in which a school can influence ethnic commitment, such as (1) promoting knowledge of the Ukrainian language, (2) providing a general knowledge of Ukrainian subjects, (3) serving as a place for social life and making of friendships, and (4) offering special extracurricular activities.

TABLE 20
WAYS IN WHICH UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS CONTRIBUTED
TO ETHNIC COMMITMENT

Ways	Evaluation				Respon- dents
	Very Important	Important	Slightly	None	
1. Language	41.8%	24.1%	23.0%	11.1%	170
2. General knowledge	40.0	31.0	17.5	11.7	171
3. Social life and friends	22.2	17.5	37.4	22.8	171
4. Extracurricular activities	6.5	11.1	23.5	58.8	170

The first two, language and general knowledge about the Ukraine, were evaluated by the young leaders as the ways in which the schools

contributed most to their ethnic commitment, even though in school it was language that they liked least as a subject (history ranked first as the subject most liked, followed by literature, the Ukrainian art and culture course, and geography).

As far as the types of schools were concerned, no notable differences in the knowledge of the Ukrainian language were found between those who attended parochial schools, those who were in the Saturday schools, or the small number of cases who did not indicate that they had attended Ukrainian schools at all. However, it cannot be interpreted that schools are immaterial to language learning. Rather, it means that persons with a good command of the Ukrainian language are the ones who are likely to participate in community organizations.⁴

In order to identify the weak aspects of the Ukrainian schools, which might explain a rather low rating of their influence upon ethnic commitment, the young leaders were given a number of choices for possible changes in the school. With a high degree of consensus they indicated that they would want to change the following: (1) teaching personnel, (2) content of the courses, and (3) methods of teaching. Methods of disciplining students, the dress code, the subject matter, or putting less emphasis on the Ukrainian language have not been denoted as important areas for change. Also, it was in the areas targeted for change that the Ukrainian Saturday School teachers were rated by a majority as worse in comparison to American school teachers.

⁴Bociurkiw, *op. cit.*, p. 37. The same conclusions were reached in the case of the Alberta students.

TABLE 21

UKRAINIAN SCHOOL TEACHERS COMPARED
TO AMERICAN SCHOOL TEACHERS

Ukrainian School Teachers in Comparison to American School Teachers are:	Methods of Teaching	Knowledge of Subject Matter	Communication with Students
Same	28.2%	51.2%	25.4%
Better	5.2	29.7	8.3
Worse	66.6	19.1	66.3

To summarize the young leaders' critical appraisal of the Ukrainian school experience, one can say that it is not what is being taught in these schools, but how it is taught which distresses young activists. They were consistent in pointing to the inefficient methods of teaching and the poor communication with students on the part of Ukrainian teachers when they compared Ukrainian teachers to the American ones and when they identified teaching personnel and methods of teaching as areas in need of change. But they did not criticize the things (subject matter) which were being taught in school. In fact, Ukrainian teachers were given a high ranking as far as their knowledge of the subjects was concerned. However, the teachers did not know how to transmit this knowledge effectively.

To estimate the extent and nature of the Ukrainian schools' influence on ethnic commitment, the young leaders' evaluation should be considered in relation to other factors. In the hierarchy of influences, schools rated far below family, youth organizations, friends,

and a desire to have one's own children belong to the ethnic group. The schools scored low in exerting an influence on ethnic commitment through social activities and friends (Table 20). Yet friends rated high on an overall scale in Table 16. Also, there is an association between parents and Ukrainian school attendance, since 50.3% reported that parental pressure to attend Ukrainian school was hard (26% said the pressure was lenient and 23.7% that there was none). This probably reinforced the importance of the family instead of the school.

Considering that 82.5% have estimated attendance at Ukrainian schools as worthwhile and 84.4% would want their children to attend, only 46.2% felt that attendance had strengthened their ethnic commitment, one can conclude that other factors besides a knowledge about the Ukraine, which the schools had generally provided adequately, influence ethnic commitment. These were indicated in Table 16--family, friends, children, all tied to close personal relationships and emotional involvement.

Among these factors, youth organizations, next to the family, stand out as the most important influence on ethnic commitment. Not surprisingly, these organizations represent a blend of formal institutions (church, school) and the informal social forces (family, friends). Therein seems to lie their strength.

The Importance of Youth Organizations to the Formation of Ethnic Commitment. The majority of those who belonged to youth organizations were members for more than ten years and had close friends there. In fact, the longer they belonged, the more they reported having close

friends in the organization: 38% of those who belonged four years or less, 69% of those who belonged five to nine years, and 82% of those who belonged ten or more years. Similarly, the longer they belonged to an organization, the more inclined they were to perceive its goals as relevant.

TABLE 22

THE LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP IN YOUTH ORGANIZATION
AND RELEVANCE OF ORGANIZATION'S GOALS

Length of Membership	Youth Organization's Goals			
	Relevant	Unimportant	Alien	Respondents
1 to 4 years	77.8%	11.1%	11.1%	18
5 to 9 years	64.5	22.6	12.9	31
over 10 years	82.1	5.7	12.2	106

It was rarely that they joined the organization under the influence of friends (6.7%). But when 45.3% of the subjects claimed that they joined on their own initiative, they were probably translating the fact that they voluntarily remained in the organization as their own initiative to join. Observing certain patterns of behavior in the Ukrainian community, one easily notices that it is the parents who enroll their children in the youth organizations almost simultaneously with school enrollment. Still, there certainly is less pressure exerted by parents to join and to remain in youth organizations than there is in the case of school attendance.

In evaluating the activities which produce group adherence, the young leaders identified two, which are also closely associated with Ukrainian schools, as least effective: lectures and formal observances ("akademia") of special occasions such as the Ukrainian Day of Independence. From amongst nine choices, summer camps were almost unanimously acclaimed as the most effective means in generating group loyalty. Regular meetings and social events were rated as important, followed by performing group activities, sports events, hikes, and rallies.

The educational methods employed in youth organizations were not targeted for criticism as they were in the case of Ukrainian schools. The majority (68.5%) stated rather mildly that methods could be improved, while others found them satisfactory (16.8%). Relatively few thought of the methods as obsolete (9.6%) or undemocratic (5.1%).

In regards to the Ukrainian language, there are several significant observations. Only in the organizations with members of old immigrant stock such as the Catholic Youth League and the Orthodox Youth League, were there individuals who did not speak Ukrainian. None of them were members for ten or more years.

Table 23 can be interpreted not only in terms that individuals who spoke Ukrainian well were the ones who remained the longest, but it is also possible that those who stayed longer retained or learned the language because of it, since in most instances the official language of the organizations was exclusively Ukrainian (86.2%). This is almost twice as often as in the church, where only 47.7% reported the use of the Ukrainian language exclusively.

TABLE 23

DURATION OF MEMBERSHIP IN YOUTH ORGANIZATION
AND KNOWLEDGE OF UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

Duration	Knowledge of Ukrainian Language		
	Speak Fluently	Sufficiently	None
1 to 4 years	13.1%	16.7%	0.0%
5 to 9 years	16.1	33.3	100.0
10 or more years	<u>70.8</u>	<u>50.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Despite the observable fact that facility in language diminishes with each successive American-born generation, despite the fact that some of the most prominent leaders in the Ukrainian community such as Lev Dobriansky, President of the UCCA, do not speak Ukrainian, and despite the sporadic discussions at conferences and meetings of various Ukrainian organizations challenging the assumption that language is indispensable to ethnic identity, which presumably reflects the majority view of the younger generation, 75.3% of the young leaders believe that it is necessary for the Ukrainian leaders to know the Ukrainian language. The issue of language relates significantly to the young leaders' perception that youth organizations play a more important role in ethnic commitment than does the church.

In assessing the three community avenues of ethnic education-- church, school, and youth organization--the ranking of their importance

by young leaders has to be appraised critically. With some justification, the church was seen as least important of the three considering the controversies regarding the trends in the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America at the time the questionnaire was filled out. The historical role of the church in the preservation of ethnicity was not taken under consideration by the young leaders. Not only because the current events tend to bias evaluation, but also because the historical experience of Ukrainians in America is largely ignored in the community as the dearth of materials on the history of Ukrainians in America bears testimony.

The church, in propagating universal values, can potentially serve as a strong assimilating agent, depending on the actual mode of expression of these values. A tendency in Ukrainian churches to gradually introduce more and more the English language and, especially in the case of the Catholic Church, to manifest loyalty to the universal church by abandoning certain characteristics associated with the ethnic identity of the church (e.g., changing church calendar) provided the basis for the young leaders' personal and subjective evaluation of the church's role. However, a deep attachment to the church on the part of the young leaders is shown through their attitudes that if they lived outside the Ukrainian community, 69.1% would still privately celebrate Ukrainian holidays, 23.8% would try to visit with other Ukrainians on such occasions, 6.2% either did not know what they would do or did not answer, and only 0.9% said they would give up celebrating.

One of the ways in which the church historically has served as an

agent of preserving ethnicity was to provide an opportunity for people of the same ethnic background to congregate, to form associations, to exist as a social unit to which identity could be referred.

The trends and tendencies in the church are not irreversible and a conclusion that the church's influence is on the wane is premature. The staying-power of the church as an institution is so strong, that this very fact bespeaks itself of its influence. And, if the church may not be the place where the community lay leadership elite is wrought, one still can conclude that without the church there most probably would not have been a Ukrainian community in America. In this sense the church historically had a strong influence on the retention of ethnicity and, indirectly, on ethnic commitment.

The influence of family and school is intricately interwoven. Ethnic identity, though being biologically predetermined in the sense that "my parents were of this ethnic origin and, therefore, so am I" actually depends on the person's awareness of this fact and its implications.⁵ Awareness in its very broad sense can be equated to knowledge and in the case of ethnicity this knowledge refers to language, customs, history, rites, rituals, religion, and other cultural manifestations. Much of this knowledge is formally acquired through schooling and it is doubtful if there would be many parents who could provide it

⁵Desire to perpetuate ethnic identity through family was also shown in the following statistics: 81.2% said they want to marry a Ukrainian, 13.9% said it does not matter, and 1.2% answered no. The percentage not responding was 3.5%. In regards to children 74.0% said they would want their children to marry Ukrainians, but here those to whom this does not matter rose to 20.2%.

on their own. In this sense the role of the schools in promoting ethnic identity is very important. Yet the schools were not rated by the young leaders among the ten most influential factors in regards to ethnic commitment. There are several explanations for this. One is the feeling among young leaders that the schools do not perform to the level of their potential, as indicated by their criticism of teaching personnel and teaching methods. Another reason is that knowledge about an ethnic group is not synonymous with ethnic identity. To be Hellenophile, Anglophile, or Francophile does not mean to be a Greek, an Englishman, or a Frenchman. No matter how expert in knowledge a person is about certain people, one still is regarded as a spectator and not as a participant. Only through marriage can an outsider approach the status of a member of an ethnic community.

When such institutions as church and schools were ranked among those of moderate and minor influences on ethnic commitment, why did youth organizations obtain such a high rank, next to the family, the very source of ethnicity? Obviously, they must closely correspond to the nature of ethnic identity as perceived by the young leaders and reflected in the top ten items in Table 16. This nature is essentially that of close human relationships, as the young leaders' indications of family, friends, and children show. In this respect youth organizations in their structure and activities come closer to resembling a family than the other two institutions. This "family" feeling is especially promoted during summer camps when, for a period of two or three weeks, a total immersion takes place in the communal life with

other organization members. Not even remotely do the school or the church provide similar experiences.

The activities in youth organizations are more varied and more closely tailored to the psychological needs of adolescence than those of the other two institutions. Youth organizations cater to the "age of exploration," as Erickson characterizes adolescence, by providing young people with a variety of choices for activities (e.g., specialized camps, self-activity groups, etc.), encourages individual decision-making, and puts a peer group, not adults as the immediate body to which an individual is responsible. Only indirectly, through a set of rules and regulations which are often referred to as the rules of the game, is the adult control exercised. By providing a defined program of learning through methods which permit relative freedom of choice and in a peer group setting, youth organizations contribute to the feeling that ethnic participation enriches personal life (No. 5 in Table 16).

As was already noted, knowledge of the Ukrainian language (No. 6 in Table 16), was far more emphasized in youth organizations than in the church. This enhanced the rating of youth organizations as an important source of influence on ethnic commitment. Though the Ukrainian language is the primary objective of the Ukrainian schools, it is more "taught" than "used" there. The language in schools can easily become a source of annoyance since an individual's worth, from the point of view of the school, is predicated on its knowledge. In youth organizations it is simply used without the threat of penalty or humiliation if

a grammatical error is committed.

Self-identity (No. 7 in Table 16) is again more strongly promoted on a personal basis in youth organizations than in church or schools. One belongs to a small peer group, much smaller than a classroom, and certainly more concretely identifiable than a congregation in terms of other individuals. This fosters bonds of friendships. Yet, at the same time, there is an awareness that the small peer unit is but one of many similar units in the organization, all of them having the same goals and similar activities. Thus, by identifying oneself with the small peer group to which one belongs, one can extend this identification to the whole organization, which in turn, is a part of the Ukrainian community.

Again, of the three institutions--church, school, and youth organizations--it is the last one that is most explicitly oriented towards socialization, that is, preparing young people for responsible community participation (No. 8 in Table 16). The church and the schools have more narrow goals, e.g., moral education and imparting of knowledge. Youth organizations synthesize these two aspects of education through development and application of social skills. More than church or school, youth organizations are miniature communities which provide a setting for the practice of these social skills.

The next two items among the top ten in Table 16, consciousness of being Ukrainian and a free choice to remain within a group, are also easily associated with youth organizations. When all schools are basically schools, regardless if they are Ukrainian or American, youth

organizations can be very distinctly ethnic and unique. But it is in regard to the free choice that these organizations are important.⁶

While education can incline an individual towards ethnic activism, there is actually nothing either in the ethnic community or in the larger American society, which can compel an individual to do so. Ethnic participation is basically a voluntary act and, in this respect, it is the youth organization which approaches the voluntary status more closely than does the school or the church.

The method of self-education practiced in youth organizations has proven to be a successful formula in fostering ethnic commitment. This is true for all youth organizations in the Ukrainian community, from the nineteenth century immigrant youthful theater groups to the present-day massive youth organizations, the Plast, SUMA, and ODUM. All of them have attracted and inspired youth to activism.

Nevertheless, youth organizations cannot be looked upon by the ethnic community as a panacea to the problems of ethnic retention, that is, retention in the sense of effective transmission of cultural values

⁶Free choice, in an existential sense, was given as a reason for the Ukrainian youth to remain Ukrainian in America by a young Ukrainian writer and intellectual, Danylo Struk. His speech at the World Congress of Free Ukrainians in Toronto, Canada, November 3, 1973, produced some consternation among the older generation, which is forever seeking valid reasons to convince young people that they should be and speak Ukrainian. Struk's outright statement that there is no rational reason for it, except for the simple fact that one is conscious that he is Ukrainian, philosophically was unacceptable to the majority of participants. Another speech, listing all the "whys" was generally applauded. Danylo Struk, "Problema Zberezhennya Ukrain's'koi Movy v Molodoho Pokolinnya," (mimeograph) and Petro Sawaryn, "Metody Zberezhennya Ukrain's'koi Natsionalnoi Substantsii i Rozvytok Kulturno-suspilnoho Zhyttya Ukraintsiv u Kraiinakh Ikhnyoho Posellennya," (mimeograph).

to successive younger generations. Historically, youth organizations have lacked the necessary continuity for such a process. Their weakness was twofold: (1) a youth organization can become a goal in itself and not prepare members sufficiently to enter other adult organizations, and (2) not to develop efficient procedures in passing the organization to younger generations. The Ukrainian Youth League of North America, the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League, and to a great extent also the Ukrainian Orthodox Youth League, MUN, and many minor organizations have faded from the Ukrainian-American scene not only because of the dynamism of new immigrant organizations, but also because they were vulnerable to the above weaknesses.

Among the present-day Ukrainian youth organizations, both Plast and SUMA, and to some degree also ODUM, are channeling their members into other organizations. For instance, in the sample, 52.2% belonged to Plast, 18.2% to SUMA, and 18.7% to ODUM, but only 19.2%, 7.6%, and 11.2% respectively were included in the leadership group because of their positions in those organizations.

One also notices that Plast has among its members grandchildren of former plastuny, and the ranks of SUMA are filled with children of former SUMA members. Does this guarantee the future of these organizations? To a certain degree, yes. But in view of the fact that it is often the parents who enroll the children, the youth organizations, to assure their continued significance in ethnic education, would have to provide flexible and updated programs, corresponding to the needs of youth in such a way, that young people will voluntarily remain members.

Otherwise, the present-day youth organizations may follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, and dissipate.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study of the education of ethnic leadership is basically a study of the process of ethnization in the context of American society. Historical evidence and an analysis of the present situation show that ethnicity is more than a transitional phase in the process of Americanization. There is a conscious effort at self-perpetuation on the part of ethnic communities through community organized education aimed at the transmission of cultural values and ethnic commitment to the younger generation.

In the case of the Ukrainian community the conclusion is that the young leadership is a product of such efforts. If we consider that 25 percent of the population in American society is in the six to eighteen years school-age bracket and if we apply these statistics to the Ukrainian community of some 500,000 members, this would mean that there should be about 125,000 children in Ukrainian and/or youth organizations. A rather generous actual estimate will reach about 15,000, that is, about 12 percent. Yet in the young leadership sample it was 100 percent; all subjects had either one or both educational experiences. Theoretically it is possible that the influence of the family or some other factors could produce community leaders. However, the empirical data show that there is no young ethnic community leadership without community educational efforts.

Other insights regarding the nature of the ethnic community and the ethnic commitment on the part of young leaders emerged from this study. First of all, activism in the ethnic community is regarded as a voluntary act. Neither feelings of duty nor prejudicial attitudes in the larger American society were decisive in their ethnic involvement. Thus, the nature of an ethnic community in America is, to a great extent, that of a voluntary association. The geographic base for the community, that is, the neighborhood, is no longer as important as it was in the past. In the age of the automobile and the telephone, it has become a commuting community. Neither does the ethnic community serve as an Ersatz homeland for its members, as was the case with the immigrant ghettos. Young leaders, who educationally and occupationally are well integrated into American society, look at it as an alternate community within the larger society. The traditional concern of the Ukrainian community for the freedom of the homeland was displaced by the concern for the preservation of the ethnic community in the United States. While the political goals and issues are an extremely important orientation in ethnic activism, nevertheless the preoccupations of the young leaders in regards to the ethnic community are primarily of a social, cultural, and educational nature.

As to the young leaders themselves, their educational attainment in both American and ethnic schools, correlated positively with efforts at ethnic preservation. Moreover, there is a tendency among those on the younger side of the age scale to be more inclined to preserve ethnic heritage, than among those on the older side. This may

reflect the changing attitudes of the larger society towards the question of cultural diversity of which the younger segment benefited more. It may also mean a human reaction to the uniformity which is being imposed on modern society by technology and a search for diversity which will offer alternative modes for personal self-expression.

This case study identifies other areas in ethnic education which require further research, both in American ethnic studies in general and Ukrainian studies in particular. For instance, the relationship between attitudes towards ethnicity as promoted in public education and personal ethnic commitment is largely unexplored. The ways and the extent to which ethnic studies should be promoted by public institutions are other subjects for research and problems in educational policy. The whole field of comparative studies of ethnic education in America, as it is conducted and with what results by various ethnic communities, is almost totally ignored. ,

In regards to Ukrainian ethnic studies, there is, first of all, a need for an extensive, updated historical survey of the Ukrainian community in the United States, and then in particular of Ukrainian schools. An interesting result might evolve from an investigation of the whole field of Ukrainian parochial schools and their commitment to ethnic education. But the most revealing result of this study concerns the role of youth organizations as the important influential factor on the formation of ethnic commitment. Youth organizations have been a subject of sociological studies, but they have been largely ignored in the field of education. But their educational function

is worthy of extensive research.

Finally, a comparative study of several ethnic groups dealing with the process of the formation of ethnic commitment, that is, the process of ethnization, could shed new insights on the configuration of factors leading to the involvement in ethnic activism. It could also identify common trends in various ethnic groups, as well as common problems. On the basis of such comparative study there could emerge a better understanding of the American society and the American democracy.

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Most Reverend Wasyl Losten, Auxilliary Bishop in the Philadelphia Ukrainian Catholic Diocese. Philadelphia, December 13, 1973.

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Olexij Poshywanyk, President of the O.D.U.M. in the U.S.A. February 2, 1974.

Stefania Pushkar, President of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (1962-68); supervisor of the exhibits in the Ukrainian Pavilion at the World's Fair in Chicago, 1933; prominent Ukrainian activist. Rome, May 25, 1972.

Anizia Sawytska, member of the SUSTA Executive Board; student activist. Rome, July 12, 1972.

Jurij Starosolsky, Chief of Ukrainian Plast World Organization. Rome, June 6, 1972.

Petro Stasiw, Principal of the Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic High School in Hamtramck, Mich. Minneapolis, Minn., November 24, 1973.

Roman Smook, attorney, chief representative of the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Europe, 1945-49; member of the national executive board of the UNA, UCCA. Chicago, April 2, 1974.

Edward Zarsky, President of the Educational Council of the UCCA. New York, December 10, 1973.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

NOTES ON PRIMARY SOURCES

For the historical background the most extensive source was the Svoboda newspaper started in 1893 in Jersey City, New Jersey. Also, memoirs by Andrukhovych, Prystay, Yasinchuk, Stasiuk, as well as articles by Volyansky, Simenovych and others, relating their personal experiences and observations about Ukrainians in the United States, served as primary sources. A number of memoiristic essays in various almanacs, notably in the Propamyatna Knyha Ukrains'koho Narodnoho Soyuzu (1936), vividly portrayed the struggles and hardships of the early Ukrainian immigrants. Interviews with Professor A. Granovsky and Dr. R. Smook, both of whom came to this country before World War I, and who were actively involved in the community's activities in the leadership capacity throughout their lives, provided both insights and firsthand accounts regarding crucial events in the twentieth century history of Ukrainians in the United States.

For an examination, assessment and analysis of the three main institutions providing ethnic education in the community, that is, the church, the schools, and youth organizations, various types of sources were consulted. In regards to the Language Schools, archives of the Educational Council of the UCCA and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Council, containing reports, minutes of the meetings, minutes of the conventions, programs, correspondence, were consulted. Extensive interviews with Dr. E. Zharsky, President of the Educational Council of the UCCA and with Professor J. Bobrovsky, Chief Supervisor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church School Council provided information and yielded insights into the Language School problems, past and present. A questionnaire dispatched to the Ukrainian Language School teachers was another source of information.

Materials regarding ethnic programs in the parochial schools were essentially obtained through questionnaires sent to the school principals. More general views on parochial education were expressed during the interviews with Bishop W. Losten, Reverend W. Bilynsky, and Mr. Petro Stasiw, principal of the Ukrainian High School in Hamtramck, Michigan.

By-laws, handbooks, and manuals of youth organizations constituted an extensive source for consultation. Youth activities are widely reported in the Ukrainian press, especially youth periodicals. However, it was the interviews with the youth organization leaders that provided the most valuable information and analytical views on the subject of youth education. The interviews were conducted with Jurij Starosolsky (Plast), Bohdan Futala (SUMA), Olexij Poshywanyk

(ODUM), Bishop Konstantyn Buggen and Reverend Orest Kulick (Ukrainian Orthodox Youth League), Bishop W. Losten and Reverend W. Bilynsky (Ukrainian Catholic Youth League), J. Lysawyer, S. Pushkar, and A. Dragan, editor of Svoboda (Ukrainian Youth League of North America), S. Hawrysh (local youth groups in small Pennsylvania towns with old Ukrainian immigrant settlements), Myron Kuropas, Presidential Advisor on Ethnic Affairs in Washington, D.C. (MUN), and Anizia Sawytska (SUSTA).

The principal source of information on young leadership in the community was an extensive questionnaire, which contained 1,045 variables. Computerized results were cross-referenced for analytical purposes. A questionnaire to the members of Junior and English-speaking chapters of the UNWLA, which served as a control group, provided data on persons active in the community, but not in the leadership ranks. Also, interviews with young community leaders of diverse backgrounds and interests were enlightening as to the attitudes and goals of the young generation of activists.

In general, the Immigrant Archives at the University of Minnesota and the Ukrainian National Museum in Chicago contained, besides published materials, also the personal papers of a number of former Ukrainian community leaders which, though they had no direct bearing on the topic, were nevertheless useful and interesting as documents relating to the Ukrainian community in general.

Finally, personal participation in a number of Ukrainian conferences, meetings, conventions, and other activities, provided a firsthand experience in ethnic activism.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to provide basic information for a study of Ukrainian ethnic education and its influence on ethnic commitment. You are asked to answer it as completely and as honestly as possible. All information will remain strictly confidential, and your name will never be used in connection with the data contained in the questionnaire. Please fill out the questionnaire immediately after receiving it and return it in the enclosed envelope to Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Daria Markus.

There are relatively few questions which would require a written answer. Most of the questions should be answered only with a check mark (✓) indicating the appropriate answer. Do not write yes or no.

Age _____ Place of residence (town & state) _____

Sex: F _____ M _____ Occupation _____

Organization(s) in which you presently hold or held in the past three years an elective office:

Country of birth: Ukraine _____
U.S. _____
Other (specify) _____

If born outside the U.S., at what age did you arrive here? _____

Marital status: Single _____ Divorced _____ Widowed _____ Religious _____
Married _____

Nationality of spouse: Ukrainian _____
Other (specify) _____

Number of children _____ Ages _____

Do you speak Ukrainian fluently _____ sufficiently _____ little or none _____

Do you read Ukrainian fluently _____ sufficiently _____ little or none _____

Do you write Ukrainian fluently _____ sufficiently _____ little or none _____

Do your children: attend Ukrainian school or nursery
 belong to Ukrainian youth organization
 have insurance with an Ukrainian agency
 none of the above

Your church affiliation: Catholic of Ukrainian rite
 Orthodox
 Other (specify) _____
 None

List Ukrainian organizations in which you are or were a member, and what leadership positions (elective offices) you held, if any:

Name of Organization	Years of Membership	Leadership position held: specify office, e.g., president, secretary, treasurer and level, e.g., local, regional, national.		
		Local	Regional	National
Church:				
Women's:				
Professional:				
Youth:				
Student:				
Fraternal:				
Scientific:				
Political:				
Sports:				
Other:				

What UKRAINIAN PRESS do you read?

	Regularly	Seldom or Rarely	Never
Svoboda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Amerika	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lys Mykyta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Homin Ukrainy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nova Zorya	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nashe Zhyttya	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suchasnist'	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Youth Publications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Do you own a private library consisting of Ukrainian books numbering:

- 20 or less _____
- 21-50 _____
- 51-100 _____
- over 100 _____

Does your library contain, and/or do you use any of the following:

	Own		Use	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
History of Ukraine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ukr. Encyclopedia (Ukr. version)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ukr. Encyclopedia (Eng. version)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ukr. Soviet Encyclopedia . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ukr.-Eng./Eng.-Ukr. Dictionary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
History of Ukrainian Art . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Works of Shevchenko	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Works of Franko	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Works of L. Ukrainka	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A map of Ukraine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Have you at any time participated in Ukrainian:

- _____ choir
- _____ musical ensembles
- _____ dancing ensembles
- _____ theater groups
- _____ sports events
- _____ writing or reporting to Ukrainian press
- _____ writing or reporting to American press about Ukrainians
- _____ summer camps

Have you been active in American high school or college

- _____ drama clubs
- _____ student paper
- _____ debating clubs
- _____ demonstrations

In what American Organizations have you been active in the past or are active now:

Name of Organization	Years	Office held, if any
Students' clubs:		
Youth organizations:		
Women's clubs:		
PTA:		
Political parties:		
Neighborhood or community organizations:		
Sport clubs:		
Professional:		
Other:		

Family Background

Are both your parents Ukrainian? Yes No (specify) _____

Were your parents born in: Ukraine U.S.

Other (specify) _____

	Yes	No
Are (were) your parents actively engaged in community life		
parish members		
belong to one or more Ukr. organizations		
belong to American organizations		
hold elective offices in Ukr. organizations		
hold elective offices in Am. organizations		

What best describes your parents relation to Ukrainian community:

- Leaders of the community or leaders in the community organizations
- Active members in organizations
- Simply belong to Ukrainian community
- Indifferent to Ukrainian community

Are there other members in your family (wife, children, uncles, etc.) active in Ukrainian community? Yes No

Do you speak with your parents in:

- Ukrainian only
- English only
- Ukrainian and occasionally English
- English and occasionally Ukrainian

Parents' Education

	Yrs. of Attendance	
	Father	Mother
Elementary . . .		
Secondary . . .		
College level .		

Father's occupation _____ Mother's occupation _____

	fluently	sufficiently	little or none
Do your parents speak English			
Do your parents speak Ukrainian			

Would you say that your parents feel alienated from American life?
 Yes No

Do you in general agree with your parents' attitudes towards:

- America Yes No
- Ukraine Yes No

Educational Background

Indicate what schools and for how long you have attended, the year in which you graduated, and what your academic standing was in these schools as indicated by your final grades (A/superior, B/average, C/below average).

American Schools (do not include all-day regular Ukrainian parochial schools)

School	Years Attended	Year Completed	Degree/Diploma	Subject of Concentration	Academic Standing
Elementary. . .					
High School . .					
Technical . . .					
Jr. College . .					
College					
Graduate School					
Other					

Ukrainian Day School (parochial) _____ No such school where I lived

School	Years Attended	Year Completed	Degree/Diploma	Subject of Concentration	Academic Standing
Elementary. . .					
High School . .					
Jr. College . .					
Other					

Ukrainian Lang. Schools-Ukrainoznavstvo _____ No such school where I lived

School	Years Attended	Year Completed	Academic Standing
Elementary. . .			
High School . .			
"Matura"			

Other Ukrainian Courses:

Soyuzivka Summer Sessions _____ When
 Harvard Summer Sessions _____
 UVU Courses in Munich _____
 Other (specify) _____

Do you or did you take any courses in college which you thought might contribute to your knowledge of Ukraine? _____ Yes _____ No

Were such courses offered in your school? _____ Yes _____ No

Have you ever helped to organize _____ or participated _____ in a demonstration? Specify the nature or issues of that demonstration (political, religious, etc.). _____

Evaluate the following list assigning points to each item ranging from 3 for the items you think were decisively important to your ethnic commitment, through 2, 1, and 0 in order of their diminishing influence.

- ___ 1. Family
- ___ 2. Friends
- ___ 3. Attendance at Ukrainian parochial school (put x if not attended)
- ___ 4. Attendance at Ukrainian Language Schools-Ukrainoznavstvo (x if you did not attend such a school)
- ___ 5. Membership in Ukrainian youth organizations (x if you did not belong)
- ___ 6. Parish membership (x if not a member)
- ___ 7. Political situation in Ukraine, e.g., Russian domination
- ___ 8. Possibility of easier social recognition in Ukrainian community
- ___ 9. Ability to contribute to the welfare of the Ukrainians in the U.S.
- ___ 10. Psychological need of belonging
- ___ 11. Personal feeling of isolation in American society
- ___ 12. Belief that the American society should be pluralistic
- ___ 13. A way to express one's individuality and freedom
- ___ 14. Upbringing which was directed to Ukrainian community participation
- ___ 15. Self-identity
- ___ 16. Ukrainian community life offers psychological satisfaction of the needs of belonging, recognition, love, identity
- ___ 17. Knowledge of Ukrainian language
- ___ 18. Consciousness of being Ukrainian, which would be impossible to get rid of
- ___ 19. Important and relevant issues of Ukrainian community
- ___ 20. Failure in the attempt to join non-Ukrainian groups
- ___ 21. Feeling of duty to remain a Ukrainian if I do not want to jeopardize my personal integrity, even though I do not particularly like to be one
- ___ 22. The fact that in America everyone belongs to one ethnic group or another, and this is the one I belong to
- ___ 23. Nonparticipation in Ukrainian life would have upset my parents very much
- ___ 24. A genuine liking of the Ukrainian people and not wanting to be outside the group
- ___ 25. Conscious choice, without any compulsion, to remain within the group
- ___ 26. Discrimination in the American society.
- ___ 27. Wanting to remain a part of the Ukrainian community, even though it would have been easier and better for my career to get away from it
- ___ 28. Ethnic participation enriches my personal life
- ___ 29. The fact that ethnic community participation has no adverse effect on my career or job, but if it did, I would not participate
- ___ 30. Desire to have my children also ethnically conscious and participating members of the community.

Ukrainian Schools - Ukrainoznavstvo

Which subjects did you like in Ukrainian school: best least

literature	_____	_____
language	_____	_____
history	_____	_____
geography	_____	_____
"kultura"	_____	_____

How did the teachers compare to American teachers in:

	<u>same</u>	<u>better</u>	<u>worse</u>
methods of teaching	_____	_____	_____
knowledge of the subject	_____	_____	_____
communication with students	_____	_____	_____

Do you consider your attendance at Ukrainian school worthwhile?

_____ Yes _____ No

Through which of the following, would you say, did Ukrainian school contribute most to your ethnic commitment (evaluate 4 to 1 in order of their diminishing importance)?

_____ knowledge of the language
 _____ general knowledge about Ukraine and Ukrainians
 _____ social life, friends that you met there
 _____ participation in extracurricular activities such as drama circle, choir, sports events

Do you think your commitment to the Ukrainian group, had you NOT attended the Ukrainian school, would have been: _____ the same _____ more

_____ less

Which three on the following list would you change in regards to the Ukrainian school:

_____ teacher personnel
 _____ subjects
 _____ content of courses
 _____ methods of teaching
 _____ emphasis on Ukrainian language (less)
 _____ method of disciplining the students
 _____ dress code

Do you think that attending Ukrainian school made you:

_____ less of an American
 _____ a better American
 _____ had no influence on your Americanism

Check out applicable descriptions on how Ukraine and America were presented in your courses:

	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>America</u>
Objectively	_____	_____
Sentimentally	_____	_____
Derogatively	_____	_____
Depressingly	_____	_____
Optimistically	_____	_____
As inferior to others	_____	_____
As superior to others	_____	_____
Unrealistically	_____	_____

How was the question of your national loyalties treated in Ukrainian school?

- you should be loyal to Ukraine only
 your first loyalty should be to Ukraine
 your first loyalty should be to America
 you should be loyal to both, since one loyalty does not preclude the other

How was the question of ethnicity treated in American school? (Choose one.)

- ignored completely
 ethnic groups should "melt," disappear from American scene
 ethnic groups did and will have something to contribute to America
 ethnic groups should be tolerated
 ethnic groups should be preserved

Parental pressure on you to attend Ukrainian school was:

- hard
 lenient
 no pressure at all

Did attendance at Ukrainian school interfere with your studies in the American school?

- negatively
 was indirectly helpful
 made no difference

Would you want your children to attend a Ukrainian school? Yes No

Church

Are you a member of the same church that your parents are? Yes No
 Are you a member of the same parish that your parents are? Yes No

Do you consider your church affiliation in retaining your ethnicity as:

- most important
 important
 not very

Do you consider your church as:

- actively trying to preserve ethnicity
 primarily interested in the religious life of her members
 and ethnicity is a marginal question

What language is used in the church you attend for liturgy and/or preaching?

- Ukrainian and/or Church Slavonic only
 Ukrainian and English
 English only

Would you say that you are:

- deeply committed to your religion
 attending church regularly out of habit
 an occasional practitioner

In the church, do you favor the use of:

- Ukrainian language only
 both Ukrainian and English
 English only

In your church, would you favor:

- modernization with a view to universal church conformity
 and uniformity
 preserving it as it is
 making it more distinctly ethnic

Youth Organizations

Name of youth organization you belong(ed) to: _____

How long have you been a member of your organization?

- 1-4 years
 5-9 years
 10 or more years

Are most of your close friends also members of the same youth organization? Yes No

Do you consider the goals of your organization:

- relevant
 unimportant
 alien to contemporary individual

Do you consider educational methods in your organization working:

- satisfactorily
 in need of some improvements
 undemocratic
 obsolete

Was Ukrainian an exclusive language for conducting official meetings and activities in your organization? Yes No

Which activities, in your own experience, would you consider as successful in producing group adherence (assign 3 for most successful through 2, 1, and 0 in order of their diminishing influence):

- regular meetings
 summer camps
 theater, choir, folk dancing
 social events, parties
 rallies
 sports events
 lectures
 hikes
 commemoration events, e.g., "akademia"

Would you say that if an individual wanted to obtain a leadership position in your organization:

- it would be difficult to achieve it
 there would be little competition
 it would be hard to find anybody willing to accept it

Did you join a youth organization:

- on your own initiative
 parents' wish
 drafted by the organization or its members

General

Which do you regard as of primary importance to the Ukrainian ethnic community (assign 3 for the most important through 2, 1, and 0 in order of their diminishing importance):

- cause of Ukrainian liberation
 preservation of the ethnic group in the U.S.
 assimilation into the mainstream of American society
 helping individuals to find self-identity

Would you:

- consciously try to settle where there was a Ukrainian community
 it would make no difference to you if there was or was not such a community where you reside or nearby

Which of the following issues do you regard as presently vital to Ukrainian community preservation (assign 3 to 0 value):

- reorganization of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA)
- greater cooperation among various political and religious factions
- action for Ukrainian Patriarchate
- improvement of Ukrainian educational system
- preservation of Ukrainian neighborhoods
- electing Ukrainian to American government offices
- greater contacts with the Soviet Ukraine

Which do you regard as the greatest threat to Ukrainian ethnic continuation (choose one):

- mixed marriages
- not knowing Ukrainian language
- successful individual career outside Ukrainian community

In comparison with other groups, Ukrainians are:

- just as good better lagging behind

In marriage would you make a conscious effort to marry:

- a Ukrainian non-Ukrainian it does not matter

Would you want your children to marry:

- a Ukrainian it does not matter

If you did not live near a Ukrainian community, would you:

- still privately celebrate traditional Ukrainian feasts
- give up practicing them in such situations
- try to visit with other Ukrainians at such occasions
- I do not know what I would do

Do you think it essential for a person in a leadership position to have a fluent knowledge of the Ukrainian language? Yes No

Do you think that preservation of Ukrainian ethnic community in the U.S. would be equally important if Ukraine was independent? Yes No

If there was a demonstration for the following causes, in which would you participate, if any (check as many as you think are applicable):

- for Soviet oppressed nations
- Black Civil Rights
- against pollution
- against the war in Viet Nam
- for Ukrainian Patriarchate
- for liberation of Ukrainian artists and writers in Soviet prisons
- against visiting Soviet Ukrainian artists

In regards to financial contributions, which causes have you:

	Actually Contributed To	Would Likely Contribute To
Ukrainian studies at Harvard.		
Ukrainian University in Rome		
UCCA.		
Political Parties/Ukrainian		
Ukrainian artists and writers		
Ukr. Free University in Munich/UVU/		
Schools of Ukrainoznavstvo.		
Building of new churches.		
Building of recreational clubs.		
Helping Ukrainians in other countries		
Building old age homes.		
Building orphanages		
Building Ukrainian schools.		

Estimate approximately how many hours per week you spend on your ethnic activities connected with your position (meetings, correspondence, paperwork, and such):

less than 2 hours
 2-5 hours
 6-10 hours
 over 10 hours

Are there any financial benefits (such as salary or increase in clientele) connected with your ethnic activities?

Yes Negligible Absolutely none at all

Which designation do you feel best suits your identity?

Ukrainian
 American
 Ukrainian-American
 American of Ukrainian descent

Do you think that your concept of being an Ukrainian and what it entails differs from that of your parents or elders?

totally in a significant way slightly or not at all

Would you say that among the people you know of approximately your age, those who remain active in the Ukrainian community are:

those of superior abilities mediocre
 those unable to succeed in American Society
 all of the above categories

If you had to live in an ethnic neighborhood other than Ukrainian, which would you prefer (choose three, assigning numbers 3 to 1, 3 standing for the most preferred):

<u> </u> English	<u> </u> German	<u> </u> Spanish
<u> </u> Irish	<u> </u> Jewish	<u> </u> Black
<u> </u> Polish	<u> </u> Italian	<u> </u> makes no difference

Have you visited Ukraine in the past ten years? Yes No

If yes, did you find Ukraine largely:
 as you expected it better worse

Did the visit have an influence on your ethnic commitment:
 positive negative

Do you plan to visit Ukraine in the near future? Yes No

Would you want to live in Ukraine permanently if the political and economic conditions were favorable? Yes No Undecided

Do you think you would continue your active participation in Ukrainian community in the future:

 Yes
 It will depend if my friends continue to participate
 It will depend on the importance of the issues in the community
 No, I will have to devote my time to my family and my career
 No

Write any comments you might want to make on the back of this page.

12. What do you think is the greatest need of the Saturday Schools (evaluate each item, assigning 4 to the one you regard as most important, through 3, 2, and 1, the last as relatively least significant):
- better teacher preparation
 - better cooperation with parents
 - better textbooks
 - better finances

13. Check applicable descriptions on how you present Ukraine and America in your course:

	<u>Ukraine</u>	<u>America</u>
objectively	_____	_____
sentimentally	_____	_____
derogatively	_____	_____
depressingly	_____	_____
optimistically	_____	_____
as inferior to others	_____	_____
as superior to others	_____	_____
unrealistically	_____	_____

14. How did you treat the question of national loyalty in the classroom:
- you should be loyal to Ukraine only
 - your first loyalty should be to Ukraine
 - your first loyalty should be to America
 - you should be loyal to both, since one loyalty does not preclude the other

COMMENTS:

Academic year 1973/74

Name of school _____ Place _____ Grade _____

Church and rite affiliation _____

Ethnic mother tongue _____

Number of students _____

Number of religious teachers _____ lay teachers _____

Ethnic mother tongue instruction offered: hrs/week grades

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Is the teacher of mother tongue American-born _____ or foreign-born _____

Ethnic subjects (such as history and literature) offered:

<u>Name of Subject</u>	<u>Hrs/Week</u>	<u>Grade(s)</u>	<u>Language of Instruction</u>	
			<u>English</u>	<u>Mother Tongue</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Religious instruction is conducted:

<u>In English</u>	<u>In Mother Tongue</u>	<u>Hrs/Week</u>	<u>Grades</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Name ethnic feasts usually celebrated at school (e.g., traditional Christmas, Day of National Independence, commemorative events, etc.):

Religious feasts - _____

Civic feasts - _____

Is the language used at such occasions English____, mother tongue____, or both____?

Does the school program include teaching of ethnic songs____ and/or ethnic folk dances____?

Is there a drama class or drama club in your school? _____ Does it put plays on in mother tongue____, or in English but with ethnic subject____?

Would you say that any of the above ethnic programs have increased____, or diminished____ in the years since 1966?

If yes, would you give a brief explanation why you think a particular change occurred, e.g., lack of interest on the part of the pupils, increased interest in ethnic heritage, lack of adequately prepared teachers to teach these subjects, etc.

How many of the teachers speak mother tongue only____, both mother tongue and English____, English only____?

How many of the teachers belong
to the same Church that the school is affiliated with____
have different Church affiliation____
the same Church but different rite____

How many of the teachers are of ethnically different origin than that which your school is related to____?

How many of the teachers attended ethnic parochial school of your affiliation____?

What is the percentage (if any) of non-ethnic or other-ethnic students in your school____?

What is the percentage (if any) of the children of the post-World War II immigrants____?

Is the school building and/or classrooms in any way distinguishable as ethnic, e.g., wall decorations, maps and pictures of the mother country, portraits of national heroes, flags, etc.:

Write any comments you may want to make on the back of this page.

Kindly, please, return the questionnaire in the enclosed envelope by February 26, 1974. Thank you.

D. Markus

QUESTIONNAIRE

To the members of the Ukrainian Women's League of America.
You can fill out the questionnaire either in English or Ukrainian,
whichever text you prefer. Check with a mark the most appropriate
answer.

1. Your age
 - a) 20-29 years
 - b) 30-39
 - c) over 40
2. Religion
 - a) Ukrainian Catholic
 - b) Orthodox
 - c) Protestant
 - d) other
 - e) none
3. You were born
 - a) in Ukraine
 - b) in U.S.A.
 - c) other country
4. Your father is
 - a) Ukrainian
 - b) American, not of Ukr. descent
 - c) other nationality
5. Your mother is
 - a) Ukrainian
 - b) American
 - c) other nationality
6. Your parents were born (put T for father and M for mother)
 - a) in Ukraine
 - b) in U.S.A.
 - c) other country
7. You are
 - a) single
 - b) married
 - c) widowed
 - d) divorced
8. You have children
 - a) no children
 - b) specify number of pre-school age
 - c) specify number of school age
9. Your children attend/belong
 - a) Ukrainian nursery/kindergarten
 - b) Ukrainian parochial day school
 - c) Ukr. Lang. School/
Ukrainoznavstvo
 - d) Ukr. youth organization, e.g.,
Plast, SUMA, ODUM, MUN, etc.
Specify _____
10. Are you presently holding an office in the UWLA or have you held one in the past three years
 - a) in your chapter
 - b) in regional council/okruzhna rada
 - c) national executive/holovna uprava
 - d) none
11. Your profession or occupation is
 - a) housewife
 - b) teacher
 - c) professor
 - d) doctor
 - e) lawyer
 - f) engineer
 - g) secretary
 - h) artist
 - i) other
12. Do you speak read write Ukr.

fluently	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sufficiently	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
little or none	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. In your formal education you have attained the level of
 - a) elementary education
 - b) high school
 - c) college

14. At home you speak with your husband

- a) in Ukrainian only
- b) in Ukrainian and English
- c) in English only
- d) other

15. To what other Ukrainian organizations (such as Plast, SUMA, professional, students, church sodalities, etc.) besides UWLA, you

<u>Belonged</u>	<u>NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>Belong</u>	<u>Hold Office (Specify)</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

16. At home do you speak with your children in

- a) Ukrainian only
- b) both English and Ukrainian
- c) English only
- d) other

17. Your husband is

- a) Ukrainian
- b) American (but not Am.-Ukr.)
- c) other

18. Your husband was born

- a) in Ukraine
- b) in America
- c) in other country

19. Your husband's profession or occupation is

- a) blue collar worker
- b) white collar worker
- c) professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher, etc.)
- d) artist, writer, actor
- e) has his own business
- f) other

20. Your husband's education

- a) elementary
- b) secondary
- c) college

21. Your husband speaks Ukrainian

- a) fluently
- b) sufficiently
- c) little or not at all

22. In what Ukrainian organizations was/is your husband a member:

<u>Was a Member</u>	<u>NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>Is a Member</u>	<u>Holds an Office</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

23. Does your husband belong to American organizations? If yes, specify: _____

24. Briefly state what kind of your chapter's activity is, in your opinion, most important, e.g., nursery school, helps its members to preserve their ethnic identity, promotes social life among its members, helps other Ukrainians, etc. _____

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Daria Markus has been read and approved by the following Committee:

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Dr. John M. Wozniak,
Professor of Foundations of Education and
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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date January 6, 1977

Gerald L. Gutek
Director's Signature