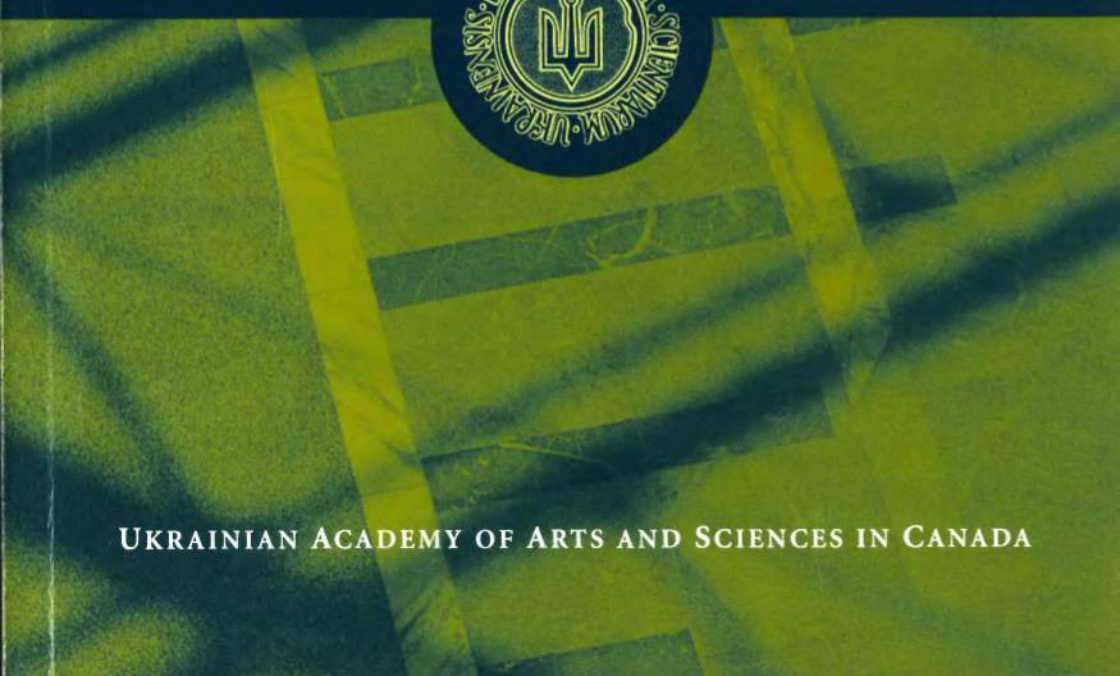
YESTERDAY TODAY TOMORROW

The Ukrainian Community in Canada



UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN CANADA

YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW

The Ukrainian Community in Canada

PROCEEDINGS

Edited by
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Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada

Winnipeg, 2004

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data
Main entry under title:
Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow — The Ukrainian Community in Canada
Incorporates papers delivered at the Conference on the 50th Anniversary of UVAN in Canada held on Saturday, May 13, 2000 at The Lombard Hotel, Winnipeg, Manitoba and a history of UVAN in Canada.

ISBN 0-9732814-0-5

1. Ukrainian Canadians. 2. Ukrainian Canadian History. 3. Ethnicity, Language and Recent Immigrants. 4. Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada. 5. Ukrainian Canadian Community. I. Rozumnyj, J., 1925-. II. Ukrains'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk (UVAN) u Kanadi.

For information and orders write to:
Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN) in Canada
456 Main Street, Winnipeg, MB Canada R3B 1B6

Design: Frank Reimer

Proofreading: Robert B. Klymasz

Printing: Friesens Corp.

Printed in Canada

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A Conference on the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN) in Canada

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Saturday, May 13, 2000

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CONFERENCE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Sophia Kachor

Jaroslav Rozumnyj

Michael Tarnawecky

YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW
The Ukrainian Community in Canada

A Conference on the 50th Anniversary of UVAN in Canada
Saturday, May 13, 2000
The Lombard, Wellington Ballroom
Winnipeg, Manitoba

P R O G R A M M E

1:30 – 1:45 **Opening:**
Conference Chair: Prof. Jaroslav Rozumnyj
Greetings: Prof. Michael Tarnawecky, President of UVAN
Opening Remarks: Prof. Jaroslav Rozumnyj

1:45 – 2:30 **Yesterday:** *Major Achievements of Ukrainians in Canada*
A critical overview of significant events and issues that shaped the Ukrainian Canadian community and had an impact on the social fabric of Canada
Speaker: Dr. Roman Petryshyn, Director, Ukrainian Resource and Development Centre, Grant McEwan College, Edmonton

2:30 – 2:45 Refreshment Break

2:45 – 3:30 **Today:** *Ukrainian Canadians in the Nineties –*
A Window on Our Community
An analysis and evaluation of the community based on the 1991 and 1996 Canada Census
Speaker: Dr. Oleh Wolowyna, President, Informed Decisions, USA

3:30 – 3:45 Refreshment Break

3:45 – 4:45 **Tomorrow:** *Prognosis for the Future*

A round table of scholars and community leaders concerning the development and articulation of a vision for the future of the Ukrainian community in Canada

Moderator: Nadya Kostyshyn-Bailey, Manager, Social/Cultural Initiatives and Government Community Liaison, Manitoba-Ukraine Secretariat, Government of Manitoba, Winnipeg

Discussants: Adrian Boyko, 1st Vice President, Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Saskatoon

Prof. Jurij Darewych, Chair, Commission on Human and Civil Rights, Ukrainian World Congress, Toronto

Andrew Hladyshevsky, President, Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of T. Shevchenko, Edmonton

Andrij Kudla Wynnyckyj, journalist, Toronto

4:45 – 5:00 **Adjournment:**

Closing Remarks: Prof. Jaroslav Rozumnyj

J U B I L E E B A N Q U E T

Saturday, May 13, 2000
The Lombard, Wellington Ballroom

6:15 – 7:00 Cocktails (Cash Bar)

7:00 – 10:00 Dinner

Guest Speaker: Prof. Peter J. Potichnyj, *Canada and Ukraine – Mutual Respect, Cooperation and Benefit*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The publication of this book which commemorates the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN) in Canada and the 110th Anniversary of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada was made possible by the partial support of the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, the Michael Solsun (Sovsun) Ukrainian Fund, St. Andrew's College Foundation, and Anne Smigel. The Academy expresses its appreciation and thanks.

I also wish to thank Sophia Kachor and Oksana Rozumna for their translations from Ukrainian, Robert B. Klymasz for his assistance in text editing, George Hnatiuk for his technical advice and assistance, and the contributors for their cooperation.

Jaroslav Rozumnyj
March 2004

FOREWORD

During 1998-2000, the Ukrainian Canadian community marked the 50th anniversary of several organizations that found themselves on Canadian territory after the Second World War. As a rule, these organizations were established in Ukraine and in post-war Germany, and some originated in Canada during 1948-1950. These institutions were transplanted and not born of the needs of the land to which they were brought. Formed by the post WWII immigration they served the needs of that immigration. These needs (as in the case of most political immigrations) were tied to the mother country – to the political and cultural situation in the homeland. From this came the motivating forces of activity for the "third wave" of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Such organizational direction, however, foreshadowed a temporary existence for these institutions. Today, under the weight of time, they are either slowing down their activity or ceasing it altogether. One of the institutions that fall into the above definition is the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN) in Canada whose 50th jubilee was observed in Winnipeg by a special conference on May 13, 2000.

This conference, the proceedings of which are presented here, had a two-fold purpose: to review a half century's presence and activity of UVAN in Canada, and to analyze the state of the present Ukrainian Canadian community from three time perspectives – yesterday, today and projections for tomorrow. The organizers of the conference, the UVAN executive (Michael Tarnawecky – president, Jaroslav Rozumnyj – 1st vice-president, and Sophia Kachor – treasurer), decided on a combined theoretical and empirical approach to these questions. Their aim was to examine the problems without group, confessional or other "correctness". Taking part in this conference were specialists in their fields and community activists representing both western and eastern Canada.

The "yesterday" of Ukrainians in Canada was addressed by Roman Petryshyn, director of the Ukrainian Resource and Development Centre at Grant MacEwan Community College in Edmonton. The "today" aspect was based on an analysis of statistical data from the 1991 and 1996 Canadian census presented by Oleh Wolowyna, president of Informed Decisions, his consulting firm in the United States. This publication also includes an overview of Ukrainian Canadians

in the latest (2001) census by Andrij Makuch, research coordinator with the Ukrainian Canadian Program at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (University of Alberta in Edmonton). Propositions for "tomorrow" were presented by round-table participants: Jurij Darewych, chair of the Commission on Human and Civil Rights, World Congress of Ukrainians in Toronto; Adrian Boyko, 1st vice-president, Ukrainian Canadian Congress, from Saskatoon; Andrew Hladyshevsky, president of the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, from Edmonton; and Andrij Kudla Wynnyckyj, journalist from Toronto.

At the conference banquet, Peter J. Potichnyj from Hamilton, highlighted the present state of relations of Canada and Canadian Ukrainians with the independent Ukraine. Also during the conference banquet, honourary diplomas were awarded to senior UVAN members: Michael Marunchak, "for significant contribution to the work of UVAN in the field of research and publication"; Michael Ewanchuk, "for accomplishments in the research of Ukrainian settlements in Canada"; Valerian Revutsky, "for research and publications in Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian theatrical arts"; Leo Mol, "for international artistic achievements and contribution to the cultural life of Winnipeg"; and Anatol Kurdydyk, "for long-time dedicated service to Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian journalism".

The concluding article by Jaroslav Rozumnyj, the conference chair, is an expanded summary and commentary dealing with the problems discussed at the conference. This publication also includes his overview of UVAN's 50 years of endeavour in Canada.

We hope that the material in this collection, appearing on UVAN's 50th jubilee and the 110th anniversary of the Ukrainian settlement in Canada, will serve to stimulate further deliberations and new initiatives.

J. Rozumnyj

PART ONE

Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow

W. ROMAN PETRYSHYN

Toward a Framework of Voluntary Pluralism: Five Contemporary Lessons on Community Development Taken from Ukrainian Canadian History

INTRODUCTION

The general story of social change among Ukrainian Canadians is familiar. It is a population mostly made up of three principal waves of immigrants who arrived in the periods 1891-1914, 1920-29, and 1947-54. Whereas the first wave of 170,000 and the second of about 68,000 were rural agriculturalists settling mainly in Western Canada, the latter wave of 34,000 settled mostly in cities of Central Canada. The general pattern has been one of urbanization and Anglo-Canadianization, as the third to fifth generations ceased living in concentrated populations, and stopped using Ukrainian as a working language, while increasingly intermarrying and identifying with Canadian Christian churches rather than the two Byzantine rite churches that were traditional for Ukrainians. Despite these processes, an organized Ukrainian Canadian Community continues to function and pursue its values and interests in Canada and Ukraine.

By 1991 the absolute number of single origin Ukrainian Canadians had diminished (from 529,615 in 1981 to 406,645), while multiple origin Ukrainian Canadians grew to 647,650. This self-identification indicates also the continued salience of symbolic (non-instrumental) Ukrainian ethnicity. Bolstered by fourth and fifth waves of smaller emigration from Poland and Yugoslavia in the 1980-90s, and from Ukraine since the mid-1990s, the story of assimilation – with European values being increasingly replaced by North American values – remains the primary phenomenon of Ukrainian Canadian social history.

What strategy can the organized Ukrainian Canadian community follow in

this environment? The following analysis examines how the Ukrainian Canadian community can learn from its history to counteract the assimilation trends described in historical and sociological literature on Ukrainian Canadians.

METHODOLOGY

This analysis takes Max Weber's view that ethnic identity can be based on five factors: people's race (heredity and endogamy), culture, tribe and nationality, and religion. Differences are socially constructed boundaries unimportant in themselves, but important when used by leaders to mould identities (e.g., visible physical differences) for specific ends.[1]

Ethnic groups, such as Ukrainian Canadians, have a subjective belief in their common descent arising out of similarities of physical type, of custom and/or of memories of migration. Ethnicity is a presumed identity, with characteristic social interaction that uses cultural symbols to differentiate in-group and out-group categories.[2]

The concept of nationality involves a consciousness of similar kind and a cohesion of people on a larger scale that emerged in an industrial and urban society. Weber sees a shared, priorized, common language and culture as the usual basis of nationality.

Shared religious beliefs are important because they deal with the question of origin, explaining where and why a people began. Religion demonstrates that a category of believers is a "unique people" and that religion sustains the peoples' cohesion as a nation. Religious ideas are a social foundation of human conduct that includes personal responsibility and spiritual and moral values. For Weber religion was not simply the product of economic interests, but a part of a larger social system.[3]

In the upcoming analysis, the history of Ukrainian Canadians will be examined in this sociological manner. Having defined ethnicity in Max Weber's terms, we situate Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity in a sociological context of voluntary pluralism, and place Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity concretely in the historical, political and regional structures of Canada.

We will use the ethno-cultural community's own history to strategize a plan for its future growth. This achieves two purposes simultaneously. First, since the ethnic history is true for the ethno-cultural community, lessons drawn from it are perceived and understood as valid and meaningful for the actors who operate in

that framework. Second by "reading the historical footprint" as an analytical tool we acknowledge that every ethno-cultural community has its own unique experience; yet, this method can be used by every community as a standard approach to draw lessons for community development that are applicable generally. Both these consequences heighten the reliability of our conclusions.

WHAT UKRAINIAN CANADIANS ARE NOT

To better understand what Ukrainian Canadians are, it is important to describe what, at this time, they are not. We take this view in the context of the history of Canada which has established a legal, political, and economic framework within which Ukrainian Canadians find themselves.[4]

First, Ukrainian Canadians are not recognized as a charter group of Canadian society in a way that the British, French and Aboriginal descent groups are recognized, nor do they benefit from the Canadian state as do the charter groups. For example, Ukrainian Canadians have no constitutional, language or other group rights. The collective symbols of Ukrainians are not recognized as symbols of the federal, provincial or municipal government institutions, as are the symbols of the charter groups.

Second, unlike the Anglo-Canadians in Atlantic Canada (where the British descent population is a majority in four provinces), or the French in Eastern Quebec, or the Aboriginals in the North, – Ukrainian Canadians: (1) are not a demographic majority in any province; (2) do not politically control a territory; or (3) the economy of a territory, nor (5) is Ukrainian the sole working language in any jurisdiction.

Third, Ukrainian Canadians today are not an involuntary ethnic group. Involuntary groups form, when they are discriminated against, and compelled to form because they find themselves excluded from society's dominant or mainstream structures.

Instead Canadians of Ukrainian descent – along with Polish, Dutch, German, Mennonites and Jews – are ethnic groups existing in a societal framework of voluntary pluralism, as is every other ethnic group that has not yet assimilated to the charter categories of French, Anglo, or Aboriginal Canadian. Ukrainian Canadians, therefore, are a minority, voluntary ethnicity, existing as a self-mobilized community, largely without government recognition for their differentiated identity (i.e., as a founding pioneer settler people in Canada).

To better define how Ukrainian Canadians exist, we will examine several categories of significance that shaped the structuring of the ethnic Ukrainian Canadian community in the past. These categories are discussed in this paper because it is thought that they are salient for a contemporary community development strategy for Ukrainian Canadians today. The five questions we will discuss are: *immigration* – (i) economic forces leading to immigration, (ii) regional situations favoring immigration); *community organization* – (iii) self-sustaining intergenerational organizations as foundations for community development); and *religious and political ideology as forces of mobilization* – (iv) religions as foundations for community development, and (v) political ideologies as foundations for community development.

The purpose of this paper is to answer the question: what can we learn from the significant achievements of Ukrainian Canadians in the past to guide the development of the Ukrainian Canadian community in the future?

As an outcome, this paper will draw out five lessons from Ukrainian Canadian history that can be used for community development today, in the first decades of the twenty-first century. Historical lessons will demonstrate the continuing importance to Ukrainian Canadians, of: immigration; settlement in more favorable regions of Canada; priorization support to community organizations which have a capacity for historical sustainability; and, using the mobilizing effect of religion and the leading political ideologies of the epoch as sources of leadership for community development.

IMMIGRATION

(i) Economic Forces Leading to Immigration

By examining the results of Canada's immigration strategy over the past 100 years, we see that about 1.5 million immigrants arrived in each decade. There were two peak periods, in 1901-10 and 1951-61,[5] countered by a dip during the depression of 1931-41.

During the 1891-1914 period approximately 170,000 Ukrainians (Bukovynians, Galicians) emigrated to Canada. This represented about 10% of the total immigration flow to Canada.[6]

The second wave of 68,000 immigrants in 1920-29 represented about 6% of the 1.2 immigrants who came during this period. Ukrainian refugee emigration

of 35,000 in 1947-54 represented about 2% of the 1.5 million who settled in Canada during the second peak period of 1951-61.

From these figures it is evident that, during the 20th century, each of the subsequent waves of immigrants to Canada from Ukraine has decreased in each period, both in absolute numbers, and as a percentage of Canada's immigration. This can be explained by examining the history of criteria used in Canada's immigration process. It was predicated on a laissez-faire ideology with free land and group settlement prior to World War I. Immigration between 1920-29 required having blood relatives in Canada, or sufficient money to farm, as well as basic literacy. Immigration after World War II was based on refugee policies and family sponsorship. Today a much tighter system of selection is based on a point system geared to Canada's yearly economic and political needs.

It is instructive for the Ukrainian Canadian community to understand that immigration "pull" policy is driven by economic considerations. The historical change of Canada's economic and political needs at various periods explain its immigration pattern. At the same time this event must be matched by an economical and political "push" factor that causes people to want to leave Ukraine.

Overpopulation of western Ukrainian territories which were part of the Austro- Hungarian and inter-war Poland set the "push" stage for emigration. Push factors were also at play when several hundred thousand Ukrainians found themselves in Displaced Persons camps in Allied occupied zones of Germany at the end of World War II. This match of "push" factors with Canadian "pull" factors made it possible for sizable Ukrainian immigrations to Canada to take place.

The match of these two factors of "pull and push" was not there in 1929-45. This diminished Canada's receptivity for immigrants during the Depression and World War II, and led to a 15-year interruption of immigration from Ukraine. The two factors also did not align for 40 years, from 1955 to 1995, when there was virtually no immigration allowed from Soviet Ukraine because of the closed borders of the USSR. These two periods, of 15 and 40 years, together prevented Ukrainian immigration to Canada for 55 years, that is, for over one-half of the 20th Century.

Based on both the successful and negative immigration experiences that Ukrainian Canadians have had, let us examine today's relationship between Canada and Ukraine within the same framework. Canada's "pull" factors in emigration currently focus on economic needs in several areas, notably in high technology and business. The "push" factor in Ukraine is the economic crisis and the impoverishment of the general population. The first to respond has been the

well-educated population in Ukraine that has begun emigrating to Europe and North America.

The "push" and "pull" factors now again coincide between Canada and Ukraine. We see that the lessons learned from Ukrainian Canadian history are repeating themselves, and we can understand why over the past five years (1995-2000), Canada has received about 10,000 immigrants from Ukraine. For example in 1998, 2,648 immigrants came from Ukraine of which 72% (1,713) said they were going to Toronto. 1,771 (over 70%) were independent; 28% (509) Family Class, often Russian-speaking engineers and computer professionals from the cities of central and eastern Ukraine. They are serviced by mainstream Canadian social agencies and only a portion is expected to organize and join into the Ukrainian Canadian community.[7]

In the year 2000 Canada accepted 3,306 new immigrants from Ukraine of which 70% (2295) settled in Toronto and/or Ontario, 9% (294) in British Columbia, 8.7% (288) in Alberta, 5.8% (193) in Quebec, 5.4% (178) in Manitoba, and 1% (34) in Saskatchewan. Of this population, 36% (1190) were under 25 years of age and 37% (1230) were single. With respect to immigration category, 23% (776) were Family Class, 68% (2259) were skilled workers, 1% (46) were Provincial Nominees and 1.6% (55) were entrepreneurs or self-employed.[8]

Immigration to Canada normally has caused the Ukrainian Canadian community to help incoming newcomers. The need of the new Canadian railway for traffic before WWI, and the need of Canada to populate the west, led to farm immigration at that time. Thus we see the 1904 creation of the Ukrainian Emigrant's Protection Society in Galicia. In Canada the St. Raphael Ukrainian Immigrants Welfare Society lobbied for sponsorship and provided assistance.

So too in 1947, Canada's need for manpower for postwar reconstruction came at a time that matched the needs of the refugee population to find a new home in their flight from Soviet communism. UCC's lobbying with the government of Canada and creation of the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund was the community response. These historical experiences have become today's lessons that now guide us in understanding what will likely be happening regarding new waves of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada.

Once the "push and pull" immigration conditions are in place in Canada and Ukraine, people emigrate. In response Ukrainian Canadian aid organizations priorize this event in their community work. This is the pattern we see today, and not unexpectedly, the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society and Ukrainian Canadian Social Services are already actively engaged in facilitating this immi-

gration process, particularly in Toronto.

In summary, Ukrainian emigration waves to Canada have decreased over the century and have only occurred on brief and rare occasions when both "push" factors in Ukraine and "pull" conditions in Canada coincided. This is the situation today and explains why a new wave of immigration from Ukraine to Canada began in the mid-1990s. It is important for the survival of the Ukrainian Canadian community that it makes the most of the opportunity to attract new immigrants to Canada and continue to provide them with settlement services.

(ii) Regionalism, Cultural Diversity and Immigration

If the Ukrainian community wants to influence the settlement of new immigration to Canada, consideration needs to be given to the character of the historically developed regions of Canada already in place. Driedger[9] writes of six such regions in Canada – Atlantic Canada and eastern Quebec are unilingual and unicultural, English and French, and remain so due to under-development and lack of immigration. The north remains multilingual and multicultural, with a majority aboriginal population, – due largely to the economic underdevelopment and geographically inhospitable conditions. The English-French bilingual belt from Moncton, Montreal through to Sault St. Marie in northern Ontario is truly the heart of the officially bilingual region, now growing more multicultural. That leaves Anglophone and multicultural Ontario, and, the multilingual, multicultural western provinces.

The majority of new immigration from Ukraine, like today's general Canadian pattern, is settling in Toronto. The form of settlement is in the historical tradition of Ukrainian immigration and urban settlement in Winnipeg's North End and on Edmonton's 97th Street. There the urban model for Ukrainian Canadian ethnic identity had already been set. It involved maintenance of religious identity, geographical housing clusters, language maintenance, endogamy, community education and the formation of voluntary associations. In the past this pattern has worked for up to three generations, after which it seems to become largely symbolic, rather than instrumental. This pattern is also observable for smaller numbers of new immigrants who are settling in the other major cities of Ukrainian Canadian settlement (i.e., Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, Montreal and Ottawa) where job opportunities are available.

It is important to remember that another immigration model exists for Ukrainian Canadians. The first Ukrainians came as farmers to rural Canada, have

claimed a "founding settler people" status in western Canada, and have positive relations with their neighbors who populate the west. Despite Canada's continued urbanization and de-ruralization, western provincial governments continue to attend to rural priorities, where Ukrainian Canadians have influence. Given also that multiculturalism is strong in western Canada, it is possible to imagine the Ukrainian Canadian community advocating regional immigration, such as attracting farmers and business men from the steppes of Ukraine to prairie Canada, or attracting Ukrainian nurses to settle in western Canada where there is a nursing shortage, particularly in rural areas.

In the past, several criteria dictated the choice of where immigrants would settle. Key was the need to acquire capital, which is why Ukrainian immigrants originally settled near Mennonite colonists who could employ homesteaders. Also, newer immigrants preferred settling near Ukrainian neighbors, preferably from their native region. Settlers' children educated in Canada later took advantage of railways, automobiles and highways in pursuit of economic mobility.

Ukrainian Canadian rural communities today have specific labor shortages and a capacity to employ immigrants, provide neighborly support, and often open the channels of communication for certain immigrants pursuing new career opportunities. The footprint of Ukrainian Canadian history offers an analogy to recruit certain categories of targeted immigrants. However, rather than imagining them as immigrant farmers, we should understand that Canada today needs agro-business investors who can learn to participate in what is family, and increasingly corporate, farming. Rather than the uneducated and under-financed immigrants of the past, Canada seeks highly skilled computer specialists, medical personnel, and entrepreneurs for the rural areas.

Since Canada's population is very diverse among regions, and since the rural environment favours cultural maintenance, attracting rural immigration from Ukraine (particularly western Ukraine) to western Canada, may still be viable to the extent that contemporary regional "push-pull" factors allow.

In summary, the Ukrainian Canadian community's historical "footprint" suggests that newcomers to Canada will have more success if a portion of the new immigration from Ukraine comes to various locations in Canada, such as western Canada, where the Ukrainian Canadian community is already established and has some influence in the economic and political realms. Recent immigration figures, however, show that this not occurring. Previous settlement patterns can be duplicated to some extent. It is in the interests both of new immigrants and of the established community that the leadership of the Ukrainian Canadian com-

munity find ways to stream a part of the new immigration from Ukraine to western Canada. Immigrants will benefit from enhanced career opportunities there, and the community will benefit from the greater number of Ukrainians settling in the western region. Having defined this possibility, however, it should be said that entirely new settlement patterns may also emerge separately or in addition to the above pattern.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

(iii) Intergenerational Organizations as Foundations for Community Development

A distinction may be made between "intergenerational" and "temporary" ethnic organizations. The former are organizational systems that address fundamental human needs (e.g., physical, symbolic, economic, educational); demonstrate an ability to regenerate their leadership over several generations; preserve their core values; have dependable financing; and participate in French or Anglo-Canadian society without assimilating (i.e., by maintaining their ethnic boundaries).

In contrast, at the other end of the continuum, "temporary" organizations address specific situational issues of their time, usually have no more than one generation of leaders, service small interests and small populations, alter their core values according to changing events, and cease functioning or assimilate their ethnic boundaries when participating in French or Anglo Canadian society. Intergenerational organizations are long lasting, whereas temporary organizations exist for a relatively short period.

We will categorize and examine the variety of intergenerational organizations that have emerged among Ukrainian Canadians over the past century. When listed chronologically, we can see that an understandable pattern of community development emerged, evidenced by the establishment of enduring core organizations. These continue to form the backbone of the organized Ukrainian community in Canada.

Two observations can be made about the list below. First, modern Canadian society has government-funded, public systems responding to its citizens' fundamental human needs (e.g., healthcare, education, political representation). In contrast, religious activity and voluntary community work are relegated to Canada's non-government sector. When examining the current structure of

Ukrainian Canadian organizations, we see that most intergenerational organizations created to-date exist in the non-government, rather than the public sector. It is only in the most recent times that Ukrainian Canadian organizations appeared in the public arena, funded by government sources (e.g., Ukrainian centers at Canadian universities; seniors public housing administered by Ukrainian organizations; health care institutions).

Second, the development of intergenerational organizations in the non-government sector reflects the age and period of the settled community. Typically, it is first and second generation immigrants who build churches and religious communities as their first priority. Only after this phase of development has been completed does attention focus on establishing permanent educational, artistic and ideological institutions. This is followed by a reflective phase of community development, when attention is given to building seniors homes, museums, and academic centers dedicated to preserving the memory and history of the ethnic community.

This idealized model is complicated in reality by the presence of staggered and different immigrant waves. Later waves of immigration benefit from the experiences and structures provided by earlier generations. For example, the post World War II and later waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada did not need to build churches, since they were already in place, and so could focus on their ideological, cultural and other priorities.

Applying this "intergenerational" vs. "temporary" distinction to a list of Ukrainian Canadian organizations, formed from 1900 to the present, results in the following list of ten inter-generational types of institutions as being the longest standing among Ukrainian Canadians. These intergenerational organizations continue to provide shape to the structure of the organized Ukrainian Canadian community today. (Examples of temporary organizations follow later in this paper).

Categories of Intergenerational Ukrainian Organizations founded in Canada, presented chronologically

1. ***Churches***, which serve to define sacred religion, ethnic space and serve human life cycle needs (e.g., Ukrainian Catholic Church – 1912; Ukrainian Orthodox Church – 1918).

2. ***Orders of religious monks and sisters*** associated with the churches (e.g.,

Basilian Order – 1902, Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate).

3. ***Ukrainian insurance companies*** provided needed private services started prior to the existence of government health and security legislation (e.g., 1905 – St. Nicholas Society; 1921-Ukrainian Fraternal Society; 1922-Workers' Benevolent Association).

4. ***Human services and social assistance organizations*** emerged to respond to situational and general human needs (e.g., St. Raphael Ukrainian Immigrant Welfare Association (1925-35), Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund (1945-61), Ukrainian Canadian Social Services (1961 to present, and the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society).

5. ***Ukrainian theological training institutions,*** which at first were independent, later became autonomous academic institutions integrated in Canadian universities (e.g., 1919 Orthodox classes became a seminary in 1932 and part of the University of Manitoba as St. Andrew's College in 1946; Basilian seminary in Ottawa; and chairs of Ukrainian theology and liturgy at the University of Ottawa.

6. ***Organizations that provide Ukrainian language and cultural education services to youth.*** This was done initially by laymen, then by professional organizations (e.g., *Chytalni Prosvity* – while rural crossroad communities existed; *Ridni shkoly* – in rural areas after the Manitoba Schools Question to the present day; Ukrainian language high school courses in the 1960s; Slavic studies at universities – after 1945; and English/Ukrainian Bilingual Schools – 1971/Alberta, 1974/Saskatchewan/ and 1978/Manitoba).

7. ***Ukrainian-owned student residences*** initially served Ukrainian rural youth coming to the city for education, but later became residences meeting the housing needs of university students of all backgrounds (e.g., Hrushevsky Institute - 1918, became St. John's Institute; Mohyla Institute-1916 to present; St.Vladimir's Institute in Toronto, and the Sheptycky Institute in Saskatoon).

8. ***Ideological community organizations*** that provide social and cultural services, led by a leadership motivated by religious and/or other philosophies, such as Christianity, communism or nationalism (e.g., Ukrainian Labour and Farmer

Temple Association of 1922 survives today as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, with its associated women's and men's groups; as do the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League [1927], the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood [1932], the Ukrainian National Federation [1932], and the League of Ukrainian Canadians [formerly the League for the Liberation of Ukraine], founded in 1949).

Ideological organizations include youth and gender social organizations that exist within their framework (e.g., Ukrainian Catholic Youth Organizations; Ukrainian Orthodox Youth [*CYMK*, 1931]; Ukrainian Women's Organization [1934]; Association of Ukrainian Women [1926].

9. ***Libraries, museums and archives*** serve as repositories of the collective memory of the ethnic community history, such as libraries, museums and archives (e.g., Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre [*Oseredok*, 1944]; Basilian Archive in Mundare [1957]; Redemptorist Mission in Yorkton; Ivan Franko Museum in Winnipeg; Ukrainian Museum of Canada [1941]; Ukrainian Canadian Archive and Museum of Alberta [1972]; Public Archives of Canada).

10. ***Professional educational organizations in Ukrainian studies that are publicly and/or privately funded as part of the state system*** (e.g., St. Andrew's College, University of Manitoba [1946]; Slavic studies [Ukrainian language and literature] at the Universities of: Saskatchewan [1945], Manitoba [1949], Ottawa [1950], Toronto [1954], and Alberta [1960]; Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta (1976), Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Government of Alberta (1975), Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto (1979), Ukrainian Resource and Development Centre at Grant MacEwan College (1987), Chair of Folklore and Cultural Studies, University of Alberta (1989), Canada Ukraine Centre [2000] located in Saskatoon; Prairie Centre for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage, St. Thomas Moore College – University of Saskatchewan [2001].

The emergence and persistence of the foregoing ten categories of Ukrainian Canadian organizations was a response to peoples' fundamental needs for group identity and the ability to locate in a structured niche of Canadian society while meeting the criteria of intergenerational organizations. They survive to the present day in part because they meet ongoing, basic human needs, and do so practically by solving the problems of changing and replacing leaders, having sufficient financing, re-creating themselves while preserving their core Ukrainian val-

ues and participating in mainstream society without assimilating.

One can contrast these intergenerational organizations with temporary organizations that experienced a short-term existence because they were situation-based, and were unable to solve the challenges of survival. In Ukrainian Canadian organizational history these include:

1. Ukrainian political parties in Canada, and/or émigré political parties (e.g., Ukrainian sections of the Socialist Party of Canada [1907], and the Ukrainian section of the Workers Party of Canada [1922], later renamed the Communist Party of Canada [1924]. (The United Hetman Organization, a political party of the 1930s, is an example of such an émigré formation.) Political parties such as these did not survive in Canada. Today, political party participation of Ukrainian Canadians reflects their economic class or region rather than their ethnicity or homeland political issues.

2. Ukrainian minority sections of churches or other organizations that are French or Anglo-Canadian in character. Typically, such hybrid structures do not protect their ethnic boundaries and have difficulty in becoming intergenerational organizations (e.g., Ruthenian Independent Greek Church, or the Ukrainian branches of the Royal Canadian Legion).

3. Independent newspapers, without a Ukrainian church or organizational system to support them. Only a few, of more than 500 publications that were founded in Canada, have survived and met the criteria of being an intergenerational publishing organization. Those that do, have sponsorship of a religious or lay organization in addition to private subscribers.

4. Non-intergenerational performing, visual and communication arts groups, that do not produce a tangible product of high quality, leave little impact. On the other hand, authors, composers, and especially visual artists (e.g., Kurelek, Dobrolige, etc.) and architects (e.g., Ruh, Zuk, etc.) have created lasting works of merit that have an ongoing impact and contribute to the self-identity of new generations of Ukrainian Canadians.

Ukrainian Canadian intergenerational organizations emerge and survive best when they exist to serve primary human needs (i.e., defined by Maslow's hierarchy of needs) thereby attracting large numbers, service these needs with profes-

sional staff, are sufficiently funded either by private community or government sources, and participate in Anglo- or French Canadian society without assimilating their identity. Such intergenerational organizations deal with real material interests and provide personal meaning, a sense of community and lasting ethnic consciousness.

Intergenerational organizations stand in contrast to those organizations that serve a smaller number of people, pursue secondary desires (rather than needs) and are administered by volunteers, often without sufficient funding. Such are characteristics of temporary organizations that exist for a short duration and often are replaced by Anglo- or French Canadian service-providing organizations.

It is in the interests of Ukrainian Canadians to focus their efforts on intergenerational rather than temporary organizations for community development. Priorizing, the former has longer and more impactful results for the community than do the latter.

RELIGION AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AS FORCES OF MOBILIZATION

Among the central European immigrants that came to Canada before and after World War I were Germans, Ukrainians, and Jews. It is instructive to see that in Toronto in 1972, on measures of endogamy, in-group language, in-group newspapers and use of ethnic food, the ranking of the three groups is high for Jews, and less for Germans, with Ukrainians in the middle.[11] In the rural areas scores of identity show that religio-ethnic Germans, (i.e., Hutterites and Mennonites), ranked higher when compared to Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Orthodox and German Catholics. Thus we see that some ethnic groups are more successful in specific situations in maintaining distinct community boundaries than others in specific situations.

Ethno-national identity has dominated the political agenda of Ukrainian Canadians. For example, in Anderson's study[12], two of the Catholic groups (Ukrainian and Polish) scored very high and two, being more secular (French and German), scored the lowest on ethno-national self-identification. This seems to indicate that ethnic nationality, in Saskatchewan at that time, was more important to Ukrainian and Polish Canadians than religion. Will this continue to be the case for Ukrainian Canadians in the future?

Key among the dominant characteristics of the organized Ukrainian

Canadian community in the past has been the mobilized leadership of religious and political formations. The leaders of at least three belief systems have competed for hegemony of Ukrainian Canadians, (i.e., hegemony over the small percentage of Ukrainian Canadians who took part in Ukrainian Canadian organizations). In Gramsci's terms, hegemony is the process of creating identities. The process of leaders mobilizing for hegemony over Ukrainian Canadians has resulted in the establishment of differing core values and several core community organizations. It is in this light that we see Ukrainian Canadian Christianity, communism, and nationalism having emerged as competing indigenous identities created by Ukrainians in Canada over the past 100 years.

Ukrainian Canadian Christianity is represented by Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox faiths and church structures in Canada. Their Christian faith, along with a synthesis of Ukrainian and Canadian content, is a primary core of their identity.

Second is the Ukrainian Canadian labor-farmer movement. It is mainly non-religious and pro-socialist/communist in political outlook and activity. Its core belief is to create an alternative to international capitalism, drawing on both Canadian and Ukrainian situations to develop its political actions.

Third, is the Ukrainian nationalist movement, as expressed in Canada. From the late 19th Century until 1991, it was an anti-colonialist movement focused on Ukraine becoming an independent country. Many Ukrainian nationalists in Canada emphasized political independence for Ukraine, along with upward mobility and ethno-cultural pluralism in Canada. They argued that political subjugation and cultural-linguistic persecution in Ukraine imposed an obligation on them in Canada to assist Ukraine's cause of sovereignty and independence.

Leaders of all three belief-systems utilized the interconnection between Ukraine and Canada to win adherence of their followers. The interplay between social conditions in Canada and socio-political processes in interwar Poland (1920-39) and the Soviet Ukraine/USSR (1917-91), at various periods of Ukrainian Canadian history, allowed for the dominance in Canada of one or the other leadership group. Events affecting the life of political movement and churches in Ukraine resonated with the needs of political movements and churches in Canada.

We can see this process, for example, both in the period of church establishment and later, when the churches became the most stable of Ukrainian Canadian organizations. Today, following independence and re-legalization of these churches in Ukraine, Ukrainian churches are experiencing new develop-

ment and growth in Canada. In contrast, with the disappearance of the USSR, the Canadian communist movement has lost its members and the nationalist movement in Canada has seen its mission fulfilled with the emergence of an independent Ukraine (albeit without the features of democracy and Ukrainianization that Ukrainian Canadian nationalists expected to see).

(iv) Religions as Foundations for Community Development

(a) The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada

Metropolitan A. Sheptycky was the most ardent builder of the Eastern Rite Catholic church, which is in communion with the Roman Catholic church and recognizes the spiritual and administrative authority of the Pope. Ukrainian Catholics, however, are hierarchically, canonically, liturgically and culturally autonomous.[13] Sheptycky's leadership gave a powerful development to the education of the clergy, establishment of monastic orders, dialogue on church union and development of the church in the Ukrainian diaspora. His visit to Canada and the USA in 1910 led to his persuading Rome to appoint Bishop Budka (1912-28). This established a continuous process of Rome's appointing bishops and put in place a Ukrainian Catholic structure in Canada which functions to this day.

In 1943, the jurisdiction in Canada was made an exarchate, with two more added in 1948 and 1951, due to the influx of clergy and immigrants from the displaced persons camps. In 1956 the Ukrainian Catholic church was reorganized into a metropolitanate with an archeparchy in Winnipeg and eparchies in four provinces.

The growth and mobilization of the church in Canada was aided by the spiritual and community needs of its parishioners and by its struggle for survival, since the Ukrainian Catholic church was officially liquidated and banned by the Soviet regime in 1946.

The release of Metropolitan J. Slipy from Soviet prison in 1963 and his subsequent work in Rome and the diaspora significantly strengthened the Ukrainian Catholic church (e.g., its synodal structure), centralizing it under his authority throughout the international Ukrainian diaspora, thereby symbolically unifying the church world-wide.

Despite persecution in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Catholic Church (i.e., clergy, monasteries, seminaries) remained active underground in Ukraine through four decades. With the liberalization of the USSR in the late 1980s, the church re-

emerged, asked for legalization in 1989, and was supported by a strong Ukrainian Catholic movement which quickly gained great popularity in western Ukraine. After Ukraine declared independence in 1991, a synod of bishops drawn both from Ukraine and the West took place in St. George's Cathedral in Lviv in May 1992 where it condemned its 1946 liquidation as uncanonical.[14]

The Ukrainian Canadian Metropolitan and his bishops participated in this process. This reaffirmed their being part of a disciplined international Ukrainian Catholic Church structure. In January 2001, an emigrant to the United States (L. Huzar), who returned as bishop to Lviv, was enthroned as major archbishop, Cardinal and head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church for Ukraine and the diaspora.[15] The organizational unity and cultural distinctiveness of the church has helped to establish and reinforce the ethnic and religious boundaries of Catholic Ukrainian Canadians and, consequently, of Ukrainians as an ethnic minority in Canada.

(b) The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada

The process of interaction with Ukraine also provided an orientation to Ukrainian Canadian Orthodox religious leaders as they mobilized locally in Canada. This was evident in the emergence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada as an alternative to the Ukrainian Catholic church. Utilizing the growth of Ukrainian national, anti-clerical populism in Austrian Galicia as a model, Ukrainian Canadian leaders confronted Bishop Budka and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church by creating an alternative – a democratic Canadian Ukrainian Orthodox church. It reflected and served the needs of immigrants who were accepting Canada as their country, adapting to Canadian ways, while maintaining a pride in their heritage, culture and language.

Ukrainian Orthodox churches in Ukraine and abroad have common historical, liturgical and theological traditions. However, they are organized in separate jurisdictions, though some are joined in spiritual union. The annexation of the Ukrainian church by the Russian Orthodox church under the patriarch of Moscow in 1685 colonized the Ukrainian church, eliminating its autonomy and Russifying its culture. It was only after the fall of tsarism in 1917 that the brief renaissance of Ukrainian statehood permitted the revival of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox church, marked by its national orientation and participation of the laity. Ukrainian Orthodox traditions also survived in the interwar Polish state (Volhynia, Polissia and Kholm) and in Bukovyna.[16]

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (UOCC) was formed in 1918 in

the midst of these events as a result of conflict of Ukrainian Catholics with Bishop Budka. The UOCC was first created under the spiritual authority of the Syrian Orthodox church in the USA until 1924, after which Bishop Teodorovych from Ukraine assumed leadership. Administratively the UOCC remained independent and attracted many former nationally-minded Ukrainian Catholics, who opposed Latinization and rejected the Roman Catholic authority over the Ukrainian clergy. Parishioners also rejected joining the other non-Ukrainian Orthodox jurisdictions, such as that of the Moscow Patriarchate or, more recently, the English speaking, pan-ethnic Orthodox Church of America.

The new UOCC, unlike its Catholic counterpart, was a distinct Canadian institution, formally unconnected with any Ukraine-based church. The church has grown to a metropoly with four eparchies and is a self-contained and independent church able to perpetuate its own hierarchy. However, in 1947 Archbishop Skrypnyk, newly arrived from Volhynia, where the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) had been revived, succeeded Teodorovych, and was followed in 1951 by Metropolitan Ohienko of the UAOC, from Ukraine. Ohienko was succeeded by Khorosky (1972-75), Metiuk (1975-85), and Fedak (1985 -). All were nationally conscious Ukrainians; all but the last (Fedak) were educated in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada has remained in the hands of nationally minded, European educated metropolitans selected from candidates that reflected the core values of their community. Linkage of Orthodox Ukrainian Canadians as a group, with Orthodox Ukrainians in the diaspora and Ukraine, asserts Ukrainian identity boundaries in Canada. It also affirms that Orthodox Ukrainian Canadians are part of the national Ukrainian ethnos, and not simply an isolated religious minority existing only in Canada. Thus UOCC renewal from within inevitably interacts with Orthodox church processes in Ukraine.

The above discussion of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches demonstrates how Christian faith provided the basis for mobilization, creation and continuity of Ukrainian religious organizations in Canada. So too the secular ideologies of communism and nationalism have provided a basis for mobilizing adherents and creating organizational systems that contributed to the structuring of core organizations in the Ukrainian Canadian community.

(v) Political Ideologies as Foundations for Community Development

Pioneer reading halls and socialist clubs emerged at farm crossroads and among

railway and mine laborers beginning in 1903. Key in leading such activity were political personalities who had their formative experiences in Ukraine and provided leadership to Ukrainians in Canada. As was the cases in the organization of churches, leaders with both communist and nationalist world views from Ukraine, having emigrated to Canada, built political movements that identified with and interacted with similar ideological movements in Ukraine. This was part of the process of articulating their own Ukrainian Canadian identity.

The most dynamic period for the creation of such movements came with events prior to World War I and the appearance of an independent Ukraine and Soviet Ukraine after the fall of Austro-Hungary and Tsarist Russia. The nationalist movement was strengthened again with refugees coming to Canada after World War II who supported an independent Ukraine and refused to return because of the Soviet Union's occupation of their homeland.

Political leaders and parties of both communist and nationalist camps realized the necessity of creating mass organizations that offered social, cultural and educational programming for their adherents. The public responded to the provision of these needed services, while the ideological leaders recruited a much larger following than could their political parties alone. Mass front organizations also gave the political parties mechanisms for continuity when they were declared illegal (e.g., Communist Party of Canada) by the Government of Canada or needed to operate covertly (e.g., as did the branches of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). As well, the link between political parties and the cultural/educational organizations provided leaders with a base for obtaining financial and personnel resources they needed for their party and political objectives.

The linkage between Ukrainian political leaders and popular cultural and educational activists proved to be a successful formula. It created intergenerational community organizations, whereas Ukrainian political parties or arts organizations existing alone were less successful and proved more temporary.

Throughout the first century of Ukrainian Canadian history, the political divisions of the organized Ukrainian community were deeply divided into two rival, mutually exclusive, political camps espousing either communist or national liberation ideologies. The larger camp during the first half of the century was made up of labour-farmer, non-religious and pro-socialist/communist supporters. In the second half of the century, dominance over the Ukrainian Canadian community was an alliance of Ukrainian patriots, nationalists and church adherents whose economic and political views reflected the democratic system already existing in Canada.

LABOUR-FARMER COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The first wave of immigration was from Eastern Galicia, Bukovyna and Trans-Carpathia in the Austro-Hungarian empire. Peasants suffered there from a land shortage, poverty, impeded industrial development, and being governed by Polish and Austrian gentry. Prompted by Ukrainian clergy to emigrate to Canada (rather than to Brazil or Argentina), the first settlers homesteaded in very difficult conditions. Social gatherings led to the formation of organizations led by socialists (e.g., Genyk, Bodrug, Negrych, Tomashevsky) with Ukrainian Radical Party experiences.

This was the base for the Federation or Ukrainian Social Democrats established in 1909. By 1917 it had become pro-Bolshevik with 2000 members, and was banned in 1918. The ULFTA registered in 1924, allied with the communist party of Canada and supported in their convictions the emergence of Soviet Ukraine. During the Canadian Depression the ULFTA's political, economic and cultural program won wide support among the unemployed and impoverished farmers. In 1939 it had 201 branches and 10,000 direct members. Heated debate, demonstration and conflict were fueled as much by old country as by Canadian ways. Banned in Canada during Soviet-Nazi friendship period of 1939-41, the movement renamed the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians regained prominence during the time that the Soviet Union cooperated with the Allied war effort.

The leadership position of the labour-farmer movement among Ukrainian Canadians declined with the emergence of the Cold War, the emigration of the anti-Soviet third immigration to Canada (1948-54) and internal conflict in the Communist party over Stalinism, the Soviet invasions of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the repression of Ukrainian dissident intellectuals in the 1970s.[17] The decline in viability of political leadership and its renewal was mirrored by a decline in the number and quality of its arts, education and volunteer participation.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

The decline of Ukrainian Canadian socialism and communism coincided with the rise of influence of Ukrainian nationalist, anti-colonialist ideology. This ideology was first established in Canada by emigrant veterans of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) armies. They formed the Ukrainian War Veterans

Association in 1928, which, together with women and youth organizations, by 1932, formed the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada (UNF).[18] The veterans identified themselves with the ideology of the underground Ukrainian Army Organization (UVO), later renamed the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), headed by Colonel E. Konovalets. The UNF placed support to Ukraine and to OUN as their priority, and continued to support this ideology, led internationally by A. Melnyk, O. Shtul and M. Plawiuk. Since OUN had split in Ukraine between A. Melnyk and S. Bandera,[19] the third wave of immigrants to Canada after 1947, also split in Canada. A portion joined the UNF and continued promoting national liberation aims while followers of Bandera in Canada created their own nationalist organization.

When the League for the Liberation of Ukraine was formed in Canada in 1949, it became evident that nationalist supporters of the Bandera-led OUN (later led by J. Stetsko) would stay separate from the UNF and other Canadian organizations in their social, cultural, and educational work.[20] Common political experiences during World War II, and living together for years in refugee camps, led to the emergence of a disciplined political cadre that provided strong leadership in forming a new organization in Canada (and in other countries), as well as supporting organizations sympathetic to OUN still based in Europe and actively engaged in the Cold War.

Leaders who founded the League for the Liberation of Ukraine felt that their experiences could not be well understood by other Ukrainian Canadians and that they themselves needed to make Ukraine's independence a subject of attention for the governments of the world.[21] Political leaders formed these new organizations to mobilize immigrants and created youth, women, arts and other organizations as a basis for mass recruitment, as did earlier Ukrainian Canadian ideological movements.

From the foregoing discussion of communist and nationalist movements we see that despite their ideological differences, the political leadership of both acted similarly. Political activity was tied to community organizations. In this way the cultural attributes of people were mobilized by political leaders into an organized community structure.

CONCLUSIONS

Ukrainian Canadians are not a chartered group recognized by and benefiting

from the collective rights defined by the Canadian constitution and laws of Canada. Ukrainian Canadians exist as individual citizens of Canada who are free to organize themselves on a voluntary basis to protect and enhance their language and culture. Unlike French, Aboriginal and Anglo-Canadians, Ukrainian Canadians are not a demographic majority in any province or city/town (excluding a few exceptions). They do not encapsulate a regional political economy and so do not have Ukrainian as a working language in any jurisdictions in Canada. The Canadian state makes few allowances to Ukrainian Canadian (e.g., bilingual schools being an exception) and most of what is available (i.e., tax exemptions for churches) is done for all groups in Canada. Ukrainian Canadians exist as a voluntary ethnic group and must mobilize themselves largely with their own resources in order to be able to prevent assimilation and survive as a vibrant ethno-cultural community able to make their own unique contribution to Canada.

The purpose of this paper was to answer the question of how Ukrainian Canadians can help themselves to survive as a collectivity in Canada. Five topics have been drawn from the past experiences of Ukrainian Canadians themselves. This is not because Ukrainian Canadians do not wish to learn from the experiences of others (quitė the contrary). It is because reading the historical footprint of Ukrainian Canadians back to the contemporary community, heightens the validity of the observations for Ukrainian Canadians.

Max Weber identifies five factors on which ethnic identity can be created. In Canada today Ukrainian Canadians emphasize religion, nationality, and culture as the basis for continuing their identity.

In the preceding discussion of Ukrainian Canadians we have focused on how the number of people with this identity can be increased in Canada through immigration, how they can be more effectively organized by priorizing intergenerational over temporary organizations, and how an organized community can be mobilized by religious and/or political leadership.

By studying the past we get some insight into what likely may be the future of this ethnic group, given the structure of voluntary pluralism in Canada in which Ukrainian Canadians are situated. From the foregoing analysis of Ukrainian Canadian history we note the following five lessons:

1) Over 90% of Ukrainian Canadians are Canadian born. The Ukrainian Canadian identity needs to be nurtured by immigration from Ukraine, since Canadian society and governments provide almost no public resources and

opportunities for the development of Ukrainian identity in Canada. This process is controlled largely by government immigration strategies in response to Canada's economic needs.

Immigration waves from Ukraine to Canada have been brief and rare in the past century and have only occurred when there has been a coincidence of emigration "push" factors from Ukraine and immigration "pull" conditions in Canada.

This pattern has reappeared in the mid 1990s. It is important for Ukrainian Canadians to benefit from this immigration process to increase the numbers of Ukrainians in Canada while the opportunity is available. To some degree, Ukrainian Canadian organizations can foster immigration of those who best meet the community's values and purposes with respect to national, religious and cultural identity.

2) When scanning Canada's demographic pattern it is evident that Ukrainian Canadians have their greatest regional impact on the prairies. Recent immigration from Ukraine to Canada, however, has settled disproportionately in a limited number of cities of central Canada (e.g., Toronto). This has limited the career options of newcomers and stymied the growth of the Ukrainian Canadian churches and organizations in western Canada. It would serve both some immigrants and the established community well to encourage a portion of this immigration to settle in prairie Canada, including smaller rural locations.

3) A review of the vast array of Ukrainian organizations created in Canada during the past century allows for a distinction between relatively temporary organizations and those that have survived over several generations. The latter category in Canada began in the non-government sector with religious institutions, was followed by social services, educational and ideological institutions, and, in turn, is being followed by the creation of Ukrainian professional, government funded organizations located in public institutions.

Recognizing this pattern leads to the suggestion that organizers of new Ukrainian Canadian organizations should priorize intergenerational organizations over temporary organizations, and priorize support to those located in the public (rather than private) arena. This will maximize impact and advance the historical status of Ukrainians in Canada.

4) Belief systems, such as Christianity, communism and nationalism, have provided large frameworks for political mobilization that leaders have used to create specific Ukrainian Canadian organizations and programs. The pursuit of hegemonic identities by religious and ideological leaders has led to the mobilization of certain Ukrainian Canadian organizations and the establishment of their current, particular structure. As a rule these have focused and drawn direction simultaneously from both Canada and Ukraine. It is the interaction on common issues, of people and events from both sides of the Canada-Ukraine relationship, which has created specific Ukrainian Canadian movements and their corresponding identities.

   Utilizing the leading beliefs and ideologies of the epoch has proven fruitful for uniting Ukrainian Canadians in the past and is likely to do so again in the future. Among these three traditional movements, Ukrainian religious movements, as opposed to political movements, currently are most vibrant. It is possible that this pattern will repeat itself in the future with new belief systems. This can be expected to further enhance the diversity within the Ukrainian "community of communities" in Canada in the future.

5) Ukrainian Canadians have created their own unique identity based on heredity/endogamy, culture, tribe/nationality and religion. Ukrainian Canadian identity is dynamic and various elements surface as priorities when a particular mission has been evoked by situational and contextual events (e.g., historical circumstances of different periods in Ukraine and Canada). One such key issue has been the issue to create an independent and sovereign country of Ukraine. The questions of state and nation building have been central to Ukrainians in the past century. However, while continuing, it is likely to be different in kind in the future now that Ukraine is an independent country and the communist movement has lost much of its appeal (to different degrees) both in Canada and Ukraine.

These lessons indicate that new forms of Ukrainian identity and expression likely can and will emerge in Canada in the future, and that the Ukrainian Canadian community should expect and foster change in this regard. In particular Ukrainian Canadian institutions should be attentive to and supportive of emerging leaders articulating new ways of being Ukrainian Canadian. Yet, at the same time, the "footprint" of Ukrainian Canadian history may predispose future community development strategy to repeat successful models of earlier patterns

in certain ways, along with entirely new forms of community development.

Over the past century there have been multiple ways of being Ukrainian Canadian and this will continue to be the case in the future as Ukrainian Canadians regenerate their ethnic identity and sense of people-hood in the Canadian context.

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OLEH WOLOWYNA

Ukrainian Canadians in the Nineties: Ethnicity, Language and Recent Immigrants

INTRODUCTION

The current status and future prospects of Ukrainians in Canada and the United States have received a fair amount of attention in the last two years. A range of issues and problems has been discussed at numerous conferences and in many articles, and a variety of solutions have been suggested. However, most of these analyses and solutions are based on impressions, anecdotes and sometimes wishful thinking; systematic analyses based on reliable data are sorely lacking. Here we present some basic characteristics of Ukrainian Canadians using data from Canada's 1991 and 1996 (and to some extent 1971 and 1981) population and housing censuses which will hopefully provide a more objective view of Ukrainians in Canada.

Although census data, compared to survey data, are fairly basic and do not provide a lot of detail, they have the advantage of encompassing the total population of the country and thus capture persons of Ukrainian ethnicity who are not part of the organized community and do not belong to any organization or church. These persons constitute the majority of persons of Ukrainian ancestry (ethnicity and ancestry will be used interchangeably here), and any analysis that does not include them will provide biased results.

For many years the standard census questions on ethnicity were ethnic origin, mother tongue and language spoken at home. Also, until the census of 1981, only one possible answer to the questions on ethnicity and language spoken at home was allowed. Starting in 1981, multiple answers for ethnicity were allowed,

and in 1991 and 1996 multiple answers for language spoken at home were also reported. This introduces significant changes to the measurement of the concept of ethnicity and opens up new possibilities for analyzing ethnicity and language assimilation.

The dynamics of ethnic groups in Canada has undergone significant changes in the last 25 years with important implications for Ukrainian Canadians. As shown in Table 1, the traditional ethnic groups have undergone significant attrition, while other ethnic groups have experienced very large increases.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF PERSONS OF SELECTED ETHNIC ORIGIN (SINGLE): CANADA: 1971 and 1996 (in thousands)

Ethnic Group	1971	1996	% loss/increase
German	1,317	726	- 44.9%
Italian	731	729	- 0.3%
Ukrainian	581	332	- 42.9%
Dutch	426	314	- 26.3%
Chinese	119	800	+ 572.3%

The focus of this article will be on the concept of ethnicity and the process of language assimilation. First, definitions of basic concepts are presented, and the data used is described. The evolution of the concept of ethnicity in the Canadian census is presented for the period 1971-1996, and its implications for estimating the number of Ukrainian Canadians are discussed. The process of language assimilation is analyzed using different measures of language use and knowledge presented in different censuses. All of the analysis is at the national level, with the exception of language spoken at home which is also analyzed by Province.

The data reveal the existence of two special groups which merit attention: a) persons who claim to know Ukrainian but did not report Ukrainian ancestry; b) person who claim to know Ukrainian but did not report Ukrainian as their mother tongue. We try to assess who these persons are and describe some of their characteristics. Finally, a brief analysis is presented of persons of Ukrainian ancestry who migrated from Ukraine or neighboring countries to Canada between 1991 and 1996.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS AND DATA

In this section we describe the nature and limitations of the data, and describe the variables used in the analysis.

Census Data

Census data are available basically in two forms: a) published tabulations (hard copy or electronic format); b) sample microdata. Census tabulations for Ukrainians, as well as for most other ethnic groups, are fairly limited, which precludes detailed analyses of these groups. Our analysis will be based almost exclusively on the 1991 and 1996 Public Use Microdata Individual Files (PUMs). These files contain a representative sample of 3% of the full individual census records of the Canadian population; that is, the files contain the complete census information for each person selected in the sample. This allows us to extract from the microdata file the Ukrainian subpopulation and generate practically any kind of table using any of the variables in the census. PUM individual data provide the researcher with great analytical flexibility, and one is not constrained by the limited tables produced by Statistics Canada with data for different ethnic groups.

The sample nature of the PUMs imposes some limitations on what can be done with these data. First, because this is a sample, the results have sample errors and may differ from published data; however, in general the differences are relatively small. Second, one has to be careful when producing very detailed tabulations (for small geographical areas and/or for specific subgroups), as the number of real cases may be small in some cells and the results become unreliable. Third, due to confidentiality issues, some information was suppressed in the PUMs: a) there is no data on Ukrainians for the Atlantic Provinces and the Territories; b) Ukrainian is not listed as a separate category for the Home Language variable (see definitions below). With the exception of the last restriction, all these limitation do not pose serious problems. We used data on home language for Ukrainians from published tabulations.

It is important to note the all the census data is based on self-reporting. Thus the validity of an answer to a question on ethnic origin or language spoken at home, for example, is entirely up to the respondent. The basic assumption is that the great majority of respondents answered all census questions truthfully to the best of their ability.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Ethnicity:

The concept of ethnicity is measured in the 1991 and 1996 censuses by the following question: "to which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?", and similar wordings were used in previous censuses. (It is important to note that prior to 19981 the question referred to the respondent's paternal ancestry only; since 1981 this restriction has been lifted, and a respondent can refer to his paternal and/or maternal ancestries.) As mentioned previously, the concept of ethnicity, as measured by the census, is one of self-reporting. The respondent decides which is her ancestry; that is, according to the census a person of Ukrainian ancestry is anybody who declares that his ancestry is Ukrainian. This notion of ethnicity is very different from the concept of biological descendancy, i. e., all persons who migrated from Ukraine to Canada or who are descendants of persons who migrated from Ukraine to Canada, and this distinction should be kept in mind when interpreting census data.

Prior to 1981, only one answer to the question on ethnicity was allowed. Starting in 1981 multiple answers were allowed, and single and multiple ethnicity present data on ethnicity. (This modification recognizes the fact that many Canadians are of mixed ancestry due to intermarriage, and a single answer does not capture adequately the ethnic composition of Canadian society.) Single Ukrainian ancestry means that the person reported Ukrainian as her only ancestry, while multiple ancestry means that the person reported Ukrainian and another ancestry.

This change in how the concept of ethnicity is measured is a very positive development, but it does present some problems. The main problem is that this change makes it difficult to compare 1991 and 1996 data with data from previous years. It is likely that some persons who declared Ukrainian ancestry in previous censuses reported multiple ancestry in 1981 or later, but the extent of this shift is difficult to measure. Also suddenly there is a new group, Ukrainians with multiple ancestry, for which there was no information prior to 1981. On the positive side this change allows us to make a more realistic estimate of Ukrainian Canadians and their characteristics, and we are able to estimate more precisely the level and nature of the assimilation process as defined by ethnic origin.

Mother Tongue: It is defined as "the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the census". This ques-

tion has been one of the most stable questions in the different censuses, i.e., has had very minor changes in wording.

Home Language: This is "the language most often spoken at home by the individual at the time of the census". Starting in 1991 home language is reported in two categories: single (Ukrainian), and multiple (Ukrainian and English or Ukrainian and French).

Knowledge of Language: This is a new question introduced in the 1991 census. It is defined as "what language, other than French or English, can this person speak well to conduct a conversation".

TRENDS IN ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE ASSIMILATION

Ethnicity:

We start by analyzing historical trends of the number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry in Canada. Table 2 shows that in 1971 there were 581 thousand persons of Ukrainian (single) ancestry in Canada. The introduction of multiple ancestry

TABLE 2. PERSONS OF UKRAINIAN ETHNICITY IN CANADA: 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996

	1971*	1981	1986	1991	1996
Ethnicity: Single	580,660	529,615	420,210	410,410	331,680
Multiple		225,360	541,100	643,890	694,790
Total		754,975	961,310	1,054,300	1,026,470
(single/total)		0.70	0.44	0.39	0.32

		1981/71*	1986/81	1991/81	1996/91
Ethnicity: Single		0.91	0.79	0.98	0.81
Multiple			2.40	1.19	1.08
Total			1.27	1.10	0.97

*Ethnicity (1971): only paternal.

Source: Canadian Censuses of Housing and Population, 1971, 1981, 1986,1991 and 1996

in 1981 introduces a profound change in the dynamics in the self-reporting of their ethnicity among Ukrainians in Canada. (There are some problems with the 1981 and we will ignore them in the analysis.) The first consequence is that the number of Ukrainians with single ancestry diminishes significantly. The number of Ukrainians with multiple ancestry, on the other hand, increases with every census, from 541 thousands in 1986 to 695 thousands in 1996. The second effect is that, if we count as Ukrainians those with single and multiple ancestry, their number jumps to 961 thousands in 1986 and surpasses one million in 1991. It is clear that part of the loss in the numbers with single ancestry is due to the fact that many of them switched to the multiple ancestry category. The ratio of single/total, shown in the last line of the first panel of Table 2 summarizes the nature of these two trends. In 1986 persons with single ancestry represented 44% of the total; this ratio declines to 39% in 1991 and to 32% in 1996. Even in 1986 the number of Ukrainians with single ancestry is smaller than the number of Ukrainians with multiple ancestry, and by 1996 the single ancestry group is less than half the size of the multiple ancestry group.

The second panel in Table 2 provides another view of the time trends of Ukrainians in Canada by looking at ratios of the number of Ukrainians for two contiguous censuses. If we disregard the figures for 1986/81, we see that between 1971 and 1981 the reduction in the number of Ukrainians of single ancestry was about 10% (100 - 91), while between 1991 and 1996 the reduction was close to 20% (100 - 81). The number of Ukrainians of multiple ancestry, on the other hand, has been increasing by 19% between 1981 and 1991, and by 8% between 1991 and 1996. It seems that the impact of the introduction of the multiple ancestry category has run its course. It is likely that from now on the number of Ukrainians with multiple ancestry will also start to decline, although at a slower pace than the number of Ukrainians with single ancestry.

These figures suggest some important strategic issues that need to be addressed by the organized community of Ukrainians in Canada. First, the fact that there are one million Ukrainians in Canada, instead only about half a million about 15 years ago, can be transformed into a powerful political argument, if handled properly. Internally, they illustrate dramatically the effect of the assimilation process. The pool of "pure" Ukrainians (single ancestry) is rapidly diminishing, while the large number of Ukrainians with multiple ancestry poses interesting challenges for developing strategies on how to attract at last part of this subpopulation and make use of their potential for strengthening the influence of the Ukrainian community in Canada. (As a side comment, it is interesting to note

that with the introduction of the multiple ancestry category, one can make valid comparisons between Canada and the United States. According to preliminary estimates the total number of Ukrainians in the United States in 2000 was 862 thousands, compared to one million 26 thousands in Canada in 1996.)

Language Assimilation:

Table 3 presents data from the different language questions asked in the census: *mother tongue, language spoken at home* (home language) and *knowledge of the language.* About 310 thousand persons declared Ukrainian as their mother tongue in 1971. This number has been decreasing steadily to 159,000 in 1996. If we compare this number with the total number of persons with single Ukrainian ethnicity, this ratio has changed little during this period, with a value of around 50%. That is, about half of persons with single Ukrainian ethnicity said that Ukrainian was their "first language learned at home and still understood".

The number of persons who speak Ukrainian at home is much smaller than the number with Ukrainian mother tongue, and has been declining at an even

TABLE 3.- PERSONS WITH UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS: CANADA, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996

	1971	1981	1991	1996
MOTHER TONGUE:	309,860	289,350	202,833	159,084
(motongue/eth_sing)	0.53	0.56	0.50	0.48
HOME LANGUAGE*:				
Single			39,530	32,015
Multiple			10,470	8,440
Total	144,755	93,450	50,000	40,455
(homtot/eth_sing)	0.25	0.18	0.12	0.12
(homtot/motong)		0.32	0.25	0.25
KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGE:			251,133	213,732
(know/eth_sing)			0.62	0.65
(know/motong)			1.24	1.34

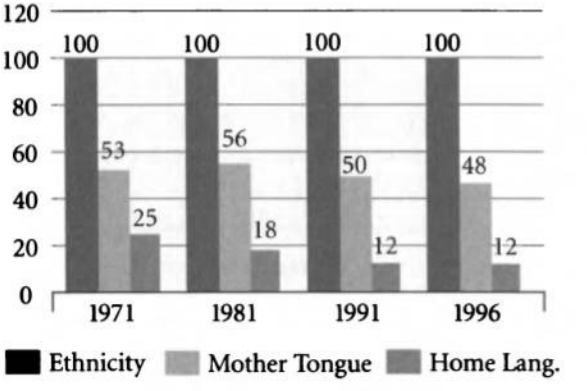
* Published tables; multiple home language: Ukrainian and English or French

faster rate that the number of persons with Ukrainian mother tongue. In 1971, 144 thousand said that they spoke mainly Ukrainian at home, but by 1996 this number was reduced to only 40 thousand. In relative terms, 25% of all single ethnic Ukrainians spoke the language at home in 1971, and by 1996 this percentage dropped to 12%. This reduction in the proportion of persons speaking Ukrainian at home can be decomposed into two parts. Compared to persons with single Ukrainian ancestry, the proportion of persons with Ukrainian mother tongue has hovered around 50% between 1971 and 1996. If we compare persons with Ukrainian mother tongue with persons speaking Ukrainian at home, on the other hand, this ratio has experienced a significant decline during this period, from 32% in 1971 to 25% in 1996. This indicates that language assimilation at the parent's home was fairly constant during the last 25 years, while among their children language assimilation is progressing at an accelerating pace.

The process of language assimilation among Ukrainian Canadians in the last 25 years is summarized in Graph 1. Taking the respective numbers of persons of Ukrainian single ancestry as 100%, we see that the mother tongue group has stayed fairly stable at around 50%. Trends of persons speaking Ukrainian at home, on the other hand, are quite alarming. If these trends continue, the number of persons who have retained the language will continue to erode at a fast pace. Also in quite a few cases Ukrainian competes at home with Canada's two official languages. Data from 1991 and 1996 indicate that about 20% of persons who speak Ukrainian at home also speak English or French at home.

The new question on knowledge of a language introduced in the 1991 and

GRAPH 1: RATIOS OF UKR. MOTHER TONGUE AND HOME LANGUAGE/UKR. ETHNICITY: 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996



1996 censuses shows that in 1991 about a quarter million persons said that they are able to carry a conversation in Ukrainian, and this number declined to 213 thousands in 1996. It is interesting to observe that these numbers are larger than the respective numbers of persons with Ukrainian mother tongue. This and related issues will be discussed in the next section.

Factors in Ethnic and Language Assimilation:

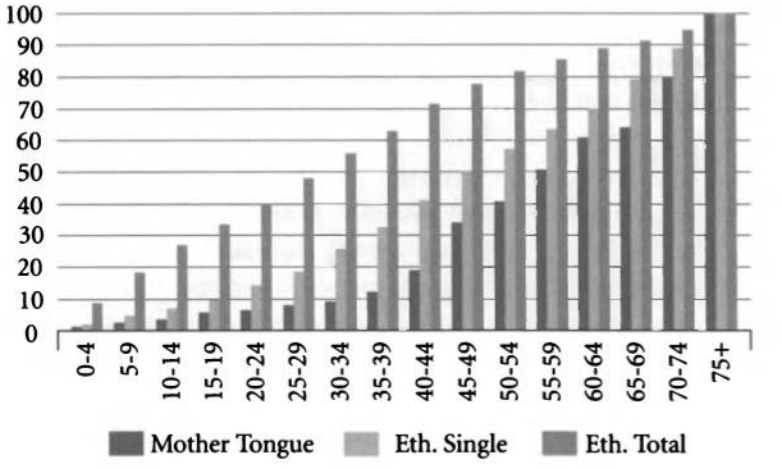
As shown in Table 4, two factors strongly related to language assimilation are age and nativity. The median age of all persons of Ukrainian origin (single and multiple) was 29 years in 1991 and 31 years in 1996. This means that in 1996, for example, half of persons of Ukrainian ancestry were 31 years or older. For persons of single the median age increases to 46 years in 1991 and 50 years in 1996. The median age is even higher for persons with Ukrainian mother tongue. In 1991 half of them were 61 years or older and in 1996 the median age increased to 64 years. In general, as expected, the less assimilated the subpopulation, the older it is.

Ethnic and language assimilation are also strongly related to nativity, i.e., if a persons is Canadian or foreign born. About 75% of persons with Ukrainian mother tongue were Canadian born. This percentage increases to 87% for persons with single Ukrainian ancestry and to 93% if we include persons of multiple Ukrainian ancestry. Thus, the higher the proportion of Canadian born, the higher the assimilation levels.

TABLE 4: MEDIAN AGE AND PERCENT CANADIAN BORN FOR UKRAINIAN ETHNICITY AND MOTHER TONGUE:

	1991	1996
Median Age (years):		
Ethnicity: single and multiple	29.0	31.0
Ethnicity: single	46.0	50.0
Mother Tongue	61.0	64.0
Percent Canadian Born:		
Ethnicity: single and multiple	93.1	93.4
Ethnicity: single	86.8	86.8
Mother Tongue	75.9	75.4

GRAPH 2: CUMULATIVE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS WITH UKR. MOTHER TONGUE AND SINGLE AND TOTAL ETHNIC: Canada 1996



The effect of age on language assimilation is illustrated in Graph 2, which shows the cumulative age distribution of three subpopulations in 1996: Ukrainian Mother Tongue, Single Ancestry and Total Ancestry. We see that the age distribution of the Total Ethnic group is fairly evenly distributed, although somewhat skewed towards older ages: about 30% were under 15 years of age, while about 20% were 50 years or older.

The age distribution of the Mother Tongue subpopulation, on the other hand and, is strongly skewed towards older ages. Persons under 20 years of age made up 4% of the Total Ancestry population, while 35% were 70 years or older. Within about 10 years a large proportion of the 70 years and older subpopulation is likely to die, and thus reduce the size of the mother tongue subpopulation by at least 25%. The effect of age on the subpopulation that speaks Ukrainian at home is even stronger, as the median age of this group is higher than that of the Ukrainian mother tongue subpopulation.

Language Spoken at Home:

If one takes the position that language is an essential component of ethnic identity, the size and age structure of this group (persons who speak Ukrainian most

often at home) is key for the community. Its members constitute the core of potential community leaders and members of selected organizations. Thus it is very important to have a good idea about its current and future size, not only at the national level, but also at the provincial level. Table 5 presents the distribution of persons who speak Ukrainian at home by Province, for 1991 and 1996 (this information was not available for the Atlantic Provinces and the Territories, but these numbers are small and do not affect the analysis).

TABLE 5.- PERSONS SPEAKING UKRAINIAN AT HOME BY MAJOR PROVINCES: CANADA, 1991 and 1996

	Both sexes				1996/1991		
Province	Single	Multiple	Total	% Single	Single	Multiple	Total
CANADA-1991	39,530	10,470	50,000	79.06			
CANADA-1996	32,010	8,440	40,450	79.13	0.81	0.81	0.81
Quebec:91	2,700	475	3,175	85.04			
Quebec:96	2,385	475	2,860	83.39	0.88	1.00	0.90
Ontario:91	19,185	2,990	22,175	86.52			
Ontario:96	17,405	2,635	20,040	86.85	0.91	0.88	0.90
Manitoba:91	6,890	2,220	9,110	75.63			
Manitoba:96	4,470	1,795	6,265	71.35	0.65	0.81	0.69
Saskatchewan:91	4,010	2,060	6,070	66.06			
Saskatchewan:96	2,880	1,480	4,360	66.06	0.72	0.72	0.72
Alberta:91	5,500	2,100	7,600	72.37			
Alberta:96	3,755	1,675	5,430	69.15	0.68	0.80	0.71
B. Columbia:91	1,230	590	1,820	67.58			
B. Columbia:96	1,065	345	1,410	75.53	0.87	0.58	0.77

Source: Canadian Censuses of Housing and Population, 1991 and 1996

In 1991 Ontario had the largest total number (single and multiple) of persons speaking Ukrainian at home, 22 thousand, followed by 9 thousand in Manitoba, 7.6 thousand in Alberta and 6 thousand in Saskatchewan. The numbers in Quebec and British Columbia were much smaller, 3 and 1.8 thousand, respectively.

These numbers can be decomposed into *single* (persons who speak only Ukrainian at home) and *multiple* (persons who speak Ukrainian and also English or French at home) groups. For the whole country, in 1991 79% spoke only Ukrainian, and this did not change for 1996. Ontario and Quebec had the highest percentage of only Ukrainian speakers, with percentages in the mid-80s. Among the three Prairie Provinces, Manitoba had 76%, Alberta 72% and Saskatchewan only 66%.

The attrition among Ukrainian speakers between 1991 and 1996 for all of Canada was about 20%, both for single and multiple speakers. Quebec and Ontario had a 10% loss in the number of persons speaking Ukrainian at home, and British Columbia 23%; the three Prairie Provinces lost about 30% of Ukrainian speakers between 1991 and 1996. If we compare the 1991-96 loss for the single and multiple groups, the Provinces can be classified in two categories: similar losses for both groups, and higher losses for the single group than for the multiple ancestry group. Quebec, Ontario and Saskatchewan were in the first group, while British Columbia, Manitoba and Alberta were in the second group. The high losses among the single group in British Columbia, Manitoba and Alberta is intriguing, and merits a more detailed analysis which is outside the scope of this paper.

These numbers provide a reality check in terms of the extent of language assimilation in Canada and the different provinces. They show that, once one gets down to the province level, the numbers become quite small. Also we see a significant variation in the rate of language assimilation among the different provinces, and the causes of these differences merit investigation. The attrition of about 30% during a five-year period in the Prairie provinces is troublesome. Is it due to mortality, outmigration or a higher rate of language assimilation compared to other provinces? It would be important for community leaders in these provinces to find out.

One practical implication is that these numbers document the harsh reality facing publishers of Ukrainian newspapers, magazines and books, as well as leaders of youth organizations that strive to preserve the Ukrainian language. Just as an example, if the 1991-96 trend in Saskatchewan continues, a drop from 6 to 4.4

thousands Ukrainian speakers in five years, what is the prognosis for the number of Ukrainian speakers in Saskatchewan in, say, 20 years? Given the age structure of the subgroup of Ukrainian speakers, only a small fraction of the 4.4 thousand in 1996 was under 15 years of age. Thus the number of potential members for youth organizations that use knowledge of the Ukrainian language as one of the criteria of membership is quite small. Also given the high proportion of older persons in this subgroup, the future number of potential readers of Ukrainian language publications is rapidly diminishing.

SPECIAL LINGUISTIC GROUPS

The new question on knowledge of language, coupled with the flexibility provided by the Public Use Microdata, allowed us to detect the existence of two special groups: a) persons who claim to be able to speak Ukrainian but did not declare Ukrainian as their ancestry; b) persons who claim to be able to speak Ukrainian but did not declare Ukrainian as their mother tongue. According to the 1996 census there were about 23 thousand persons in the first group and 70 thousand in the second group.

The first group was quite old, as its median age was 65 years; that is, half of them were 65 years of age or older. About 42% of them declared Polish as their ethnic origin, and 16% claimed Canadian as their ethnicity. In terms of mother tongue, 22% claimed Ukrainian, 23% Polish and 19% only English. Two thirds spoke only English at home, Polish was spoken by only 9% and German by 2%. Half of them were born in Canada, 22% in Poland and 23% in the former Soviet Union.

At first sight, it seems that part of this group is composed of non-Ukrainian partners of mixed marriages (Ukrainian and a related ethnic group like Polish, for example), who learned Ukrainian and are able to speak it. Probably another part is composed of persons who are of Ukrainian ancestry but they (or their parents) came to Canada at a time when the concept of Ukrainian identity was still evolving, and they do not feel that Ukrainian is their ancestry.

The group of persons who claim to be able to speak Ukrainian but did not declare Ukrainian as their mother tongue is relatively younger than the previous group, with a median age of 55 years. Almost 3/4 of them claimed Ukrainian ancestry (single or multiple). More than half claimed English as their mother tongue and 13% Polish as their mother tongue. Most of them (70%) were born

in Canada, 11% were born in Poland and 13% in the former Soviet Union.

These seem to be for the most part persons of Ukrainian origin whose parents and themselves decided to assimilate linguistically, at least in terms of language spoken at home. However, they apparently have learned the language and retained enough of it to be able to carry a conversation in Ukrainian. Also some of them seem to be children of mixed marriages, mostly Ukrainian-Polish marriages.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RECENT MIGRANTS FROM UKRAINE

We also did a preliminary analysis of persons who arrived to Canada from the former Soviet Union, Poland and Yugoslavia between 1991 and 1996, and who satisfy the following criteria: Ukrainian origin, or Ukrainian mother tongue or understand Ukrainian. There were about 9,100 persons who met these criteria, which translates to an average of 1,820 immigrants/year. It is important to note that these are persons who decided on their own to fill out the census form, and who have permanent immigrant status. It is obvious that this is a gross underestimate of all the Ukrainian immigrants to Canada during this period, as most of the illegal immigrants were afraid to fill out the census form.

More than 60% of these immigrants lived in Ontario, 11% in Quebec, and 27% in B. Columbia and the Prairie Provinces. Half of them lived in Toronto, and about 10% in Montreal; the cities of Vancouver, Winnipeg and Edmonton had each a share of 7% of these immigrants. The great majority was born in the former Soviet Union (78%), 13% in Poland and 9% in Yugoslavia. Slightly more than half of them were males, and their median age was 31 years. More than half of them were married, and there seem to be quite a few young families with children.

More than half (57%) claimed Ukrainian ancestry, while 5.5% declared Jewish ancestry and 4% Polish ancestry. Only 37% claimed Ukrainian as their mother tongue; 8% claimed Polish and 48% claimed other (probably mostly Russian). The majority seems to use Russian as their home language, 10% use English and 7.5% use Polish, but 83% claim to be able to speak Ukrainian.

The immigrants have a relatively high levels of education. For persons 15 years of age or older, more than half (56%) had a university diploma, and 17% had a non-university diploma. Their major fields of study were engineering, health, mathematics and physics. As expected, few of them seem to work in occupations consistent with their level of education; only 12% worked as profession-

als. Most of them worked in sales, service, skilled and technical occupations. Manufacture was the industry with the highest percentage of workers, followed by health and social services, hotel and food industries, and business services.

It will be interesting to see the results of the 2001 year census, as this will give us a 10-year perspective of immigration since the independence of Ukraine, and we will be able to measure the socioeconomic progress of the 1991-96 immigrants five years later.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Canadian census provides a long time series of data rich in detail about ethnicity, language and religion. *The Statistical Compendium on Ukrainians in Canada*, prepared by a group of Canadian scholars of Ukrainian origin under the leadership of Manoly Lupul, provides extensive census tabulations on Ukrainians for the period 1901-1971. Beginning in 1981, Statistics Canada has released for each census Public Use Microdata Files, which allow one to do in-depth analysis without the restrictions of published tabulations. The availability of these data provides a unique opportunity to study in great detail the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada. For reasons difficult to understand, both researchers and community leaders have made very little use of this resource.

We have documented that the assimilation process of Ukrainians in Canada, both in terms of intermarriage and linguistic assimilation, has been accelerating in the last 25 years, resulting in a significant reduction of the number of Ukrainians, as defined by different criteria. The number of single ancestry Ukrainians in Canada reached its maximum of 580 thousands in 1971. Since then it has been declining steadily; the 1996 census counted 332 thousand. Until 1981, only one ethnic origin was registered by the census. Starting in 1991, the census provides the opportunity of reporting more than one ancestry, and for 1991 and 1996 data on ethnicity is presented in two categories: single (declared only one ancestry) and multiple (declared more than one ancestry).

This change in the definition of ancestry introduces a significant change to the concept of ethnicity as it has been understood for many years in Canada. It has had a significant effect on the estimation of the number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry, and provides the opportunity for a better understanding of the dynamics of ethnic assimilation. In 332 thousand reported single Ukrainian ancestry, while more than twice as many reported multiple ancestry (Ukrainian

and another ancestry). Thus all of a sudden there seems to be more than one million Ukrainians in Canada. It is an empirical question what proportion of these "multiple ethnic" Ukrainians consider themselves Ukrainians, but the fact is that previous estimates of the number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry in Canada need to be revised.

The implications of this statistical fact for Ukrainians in Canada are profound. To cite a few examples, the possibilities of exploiting the potential of a one million strong group for political purposes are challenging, to say the least. It would be very useful to analyze in detail the geographical distribution and characteristics of this "multiple ethnicity" subgroup, and to infer what they could contribute to the organized community. A detailed analysis of couples of mixed ancestry, linked with information provided by the different language questions, can provide new insights on the dynamics of ethnic and language assimilation. Thus these new data provide many opportunities and challenges for a better understanding of the Ukrainians in Canada.

The situation with language assimilation, on the other hand, is quite alarming. Taking "single ethnic" as a basis, the proportion of persons who speak Ukrainian at home dropped from 25% in 1971 to 12% in 1996. This means that in 1996 there were only 40 thousand persons in the whole country who spoke Ukrainian at home, and out of those 8 thousands also spoke English or French at home. If we look at the distribution of these 40 thousand by Province, the implications for local community life are grim. For example, there were only 5.4 thousand Ukrainian speakers in Alberta in 1996, down from 7.6 thousand in 1991. Considering that the average age of this subgroup is quite high, two demographic implications of this situation are: a) the number of children and adolescents who speak Ukrainian at home is quite low, both at the national and the regional levels; b) as a high percentage of this group will die in the next 2-3 decades, the size of this group is likely to decline at a very rapid pace. It is easy to see what these trends will mean for community organizations that require fluency in Ukrainian, or for readers of Ukrainian publications, to cite just a couple of examples.

The 1991 census also introduced a new language question: besides English or French, are you able to carry on a conversation in another language? Surprisingly almost 214 thousands (65% of the "single ethnicity" subgroup) said in 1996 that they have a working knowledge of Ukrainian, and this number is much larger than the number of persons with Ukrainian mother tongue - 159,000. This group merits detailed investigation, in order to determine to what extent this information is valid. The fact that the number of persons in this group did not change

much from 1991 to 1996 indicates that the answers to this question seem to have a fair amount of consistency.

Preliminary research indicates that out of the 214 thousand persons who claim to be able to converse in Ukrainian about 11% did not declare Ukrainian as their ancestry, and 70 thousand (about 33%) did not declare Ukrainian as their mother tongue. As both groups are quite old, with median ages of 65 and 55 years, respectively, we hypothesize that a large proportion of the first group were immigrants (or descendants of immigrants) who came to Canada around the turn of the century, when the idea of Ukraine as a nation and of Ukrainian identity were alien concepts to most of these immigrants. The second group seems to have an important component of children of mixed marriages. These are only preliminary hypotheses, and further research on these groups is needed.

We also looked briefly at the so-called "fourth wave" immigrants to Canada. We selected persons who had at least one of the following characteristics: Ukrainian ancestry, or Ukrainian mother tongue, or who spoke Ukrainian at home or who claim to know Ukrainian, and who migrated to Canada during 1991-96 from the former Soviet Union, Poland or Yugoslavia. All of these persons have permanent immigrant status. For obvious reasons most, if not all, illegal immigrants were not captured by the census, and these data do not reflect the size and characteristics of all the recent Ukrainian immigrants in Canada.

According to the 1996 census there were about 9,100 persons who met these criteria, which translates to an average of about 1,800 immigrants/year. More than half of them resided in Ontario, mostly in Toronto, and only a quarter resided in British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces. Close to 80% came from the former Soviet Union, and the other 20% came from Poland and Yugoslavia. They are on the average fairly young, and many of them have families with children.

Less than 60% declared Ukrainian as their ancestry, and close to 40% claimed Ukrainian as their mother tongue. The majority seems to speak Russian at home, but more than 80% claim to be able to speak Ukrainian. This group is highly educated, with more than half with a university diploma, but few found occupations consistent with their education.

Based on these figures, it would be highly optimistic to expect that this "fourth wave" of immigrants will stem the accelerating process of language assimilation in Canada. Their numbers are relatively small compared to the size of the whole Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada, and their language assimilation status seems to be as advanced, if not worse, than that of all Ukrainians in Canada. Once it becomes available, it will be important to examine this group

with the 2001-year census data, which will give us a perspective of 10 years of immigration. Also we will be able to measure changes in ethnicity, language use, geographical distribution and socioeconomic status of the 1991-96 immigrants.

We have made a very first and modest attempt at using recent census data to study some aspects of Ukrainians in Canada. Some of the results are consistent with expectations, but others proved to be unexpected. It is important to take full advantage of this important data source and develop policy guidelines based on solid statistical grounds.

ANDRIJ MAKUCH

Ukrainian Canadians in the 2001 Census: an overview

INTRODUCTION

Canadian census figures released recently show that Ukrainians remain a major ethnic group in this country, although native language knowledge continues to drop. The total Ukrainian numbers are up slightly from the 1991 and 1996 censuses, albeit with fewer respondents claiming single origin (i.e., an exclusively Ukrainian background). Renewed immigration from Ukraine, which developed over the course of the 1990s, had only a slight impact on Ukrainian-Canadian demographic trends, as the numbers involved were relatively small.

The 2001 figures presented here are taken from the Statistics Canada Web site (<www.statcan.ca>) and the Stat Can information line (the home language usage figures were obtained by specific request). Earlier statistics come from either Bohdan Kordan's *Ukrainian Canadians and the Canada Census, 1981-1996* (2000) or William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk's *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (1980). The figures focus on ethnic origin, language use, and immigration. Data regarding religion has yet to be released.

The census figures should be approached with some caution. Changes over the last 20 years in how information regarding ethnicity has been posed in the census questionnaire and the establishment of "Canadian" as an origin category have made direct comparisons with earlier statistics no longer possible: the data base is not consistent. As a result, the origin statistics provide a general indication of trends, but not a solid base for precise analysis. An introductory essay in the Kordan handbook on the Canadian census notes some of these changes.

ETHNIC ORIGINS

In 2001, there were 1,071,060 Ukrainians in Canada out of a total population of 29,639,035 (see Table 1 for a listing for Canada and the provinces in 2001 and 1991). Of this number 326,200 were single origin, while 744,860 were multiple origin (i.e., individuals claiming more than one ethnic background). The origin category "Canadian" obtained the greatest number of responses on the census (a total of 11,682,680). Nationally, Ukrainians were the 9th most populous group in Canada, (now) slightly behind the Chinese. They ranked quite highly in western Canada – British Columbia (10th place), Alberta (7th), Saskatchewan (6th), and Manitoba (5th) – but less so in central Canada (12th in Ontario and 22nd in Quebec). They did not figure significantly in Atlantic Canada or the territories.

TABLE 1: POPULATION BY UKRAINIAN ETHNIC ORIGIN, SINGLE AND MULTIPLE ORIGINS, CANADA AND THE PROVINCES, 2001 and 1991 (based on 20% sample data)

	2001			1991		
	Total	Single	Multiple	Total	Single	Multiple
CANADA	1,071,060	326,200	744,860	1,054,300	410,410	643,890
B. Columbia	178,885	40,785	138,095	177,920	53,015	124,905
Alberta	285,725	88,355	197,370	266,225	105,260	160,965
Sask.	121,740	40,710	81,025	131,105	56,305	74,800
Manitoba	157,660	54,925	102,730	165,950	74,625	91,325
Ontario	290,925	90,065	200,860	275,441	106,856	168,585
Quebec	24,030	9,165	14,860	23,830	11,475	12,355
Atlantic	9,175	1,650	7,515	10,640	2,525	8,115

In absolute terms the national figure represents an increase of 1.6 per cent in the total Ukrainian-Canadian population since 1991 (when it stood at 1,054,300). It is a well below the 9.8 per cent increase in Canada's population overall during the decade, but something of a 'recovery' from the 1996 census results which saw the Ukrainian-Canadian population fall to 1,026,470. In proportional terms, this means that the percentage of Ukrainians in the Canadian population overall fell from 3.91 in 1991 to 3.61 in 2001. There was a substantial

decrease in the number of single-origin Ukrainian Canadians – from 410,410 (406,645 using another method of calculation) in 1991 to 326,200 in 2001. The majority of this drop occurred between 1991 and 1996, when the single-response figure stood at 331,680. This can partially be understood as one aspect of an inevitable demographic trend with the passing away of individuals from older (interwar and post-WWII) generations in which single origin was commonplace. The addition of "Canadian" as a suggested origin category since the 1996 census most likely influenced the figures as well.

The proportion of the Ukrainian-Canadian population found in specific provinces or regions remained much the same as it was in 1991. This provides at least a pause to certain historic trends in the internal migration of Ukrainians in Canada. In the first instance, the proportion of Ukrainian Canadians in British Columbia did not rise. The province accounted for 16.7 per cent of the Ukrainian-Canadian population in 2001, just slightly down from 16.9 per cent a decade ago. This represents the first break in its steady increase for more than a half-century (starting with a figure of 1.1 per cent in 1931). Secondly, the Prairie Provinces did not experience a significant drop in their proportion of the Ukrainian-Canadian population. They claimed a combined total of 52.8 per cent of Canada's Ukrainians, down just slightly from the 1991 tally of 53.4 per cent. This is the smallest proportional drop for the Prairies provinces since 1961, when 61.3 per cent of Ukrainians in Canada lived there. The largest losses occurred between 1931 and 1951 (dropping in this period from 85.7 per cent to 66.8 per cent), largely as a result of out-migration and the preference of new Ukrainian immigrants to settle in central Canada. Significantly, both Manitoba and Saskatchewan's Ukrainian population declined, while that of Alberta grew. Whether this represents an end to the two historical trends is debatable. The lack-luster performance of the B.C. economy over the past decade may partially account for the lack of its proportional growth in Ukrainian population. Moreover, on-going immigration from Ukraine – much of which ends up in Ontario – may in the future spur a demographic change that could decrease the Prairie's share of the Ukrainian-Canadian population.

Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Toronto – each with a population of over 100,000 Ukrainian Canadians – remained the major urban centres for Ukrainians in Canada. A listing of the number of Ukrainians in selected Census Metropolitan Areas is found in Table 2.

TABLE 2: POPULATION BY UKRAINIAN ETHNIC ORIGIN, SINGLE AND MULTIPLE ORIGINS FOR SELECTED CMAS, 2001
(based on 20% sample data)

	CMA Total	Ukr. Total	Single	Multiple
Vancouver	1,967,480	76,525	18,150	58,375
Victoria	306,970	12,770	2,555	10,210
Kelowna	145,950	11,235	2,955	8,280
Edmonton	927,020	125,720	44,680	81,045
Calgary	943,310	65,040	15,060	49,985
Saskatoon	222,635	34,385	11,230	23,155
Regina	190,015	23,220	6,040	17,175
Winnipeg	661,730	102,635	34,325	68,315
Toronto	4,647,960	104,490	40,705	63,785
Ottawa-Hull	1,050,755	17,235	3,985	13,250
Hamilton	665,060	24,070	7,390	16,685
London	427,215	9,745	2,400	7,345
Kitchener	409,765	8,650	1,925	6,720
St Cath-Niagara	371,405	16,735	5,330	11,405
Windsor	304,960	9,195	2,800	6,390
Oshawa	293,545	11,035	3,275	7,755
Sudbury	153,890	7,140	2,095	5,040
Thunder Bay	120,370	16,250	4,415	11,840
Montreal	3,380,645	20,050	8,035	12,010
Halifax	355,940	3,580	675	2,905

LANGUAGE

A total of 148,090 Canadians claimed Ukrainian as their mother tongue in 2001, down from the 187,015 in 1991 (and much reduced from the 285,115 in 1981). The drop is much in keeping with a national trend which saw a decline in the numbers of individuals from 'established' ethnic groups – Italians, Germans, Poles, and Dutch – claiming native language knowledge. This reflects increasing death rates related to the aging of individuals from these groups with native language fluency and a decline in the number of immigrants from European countries. A much greater proportion of Canada's allophone population (i.e., those

with a mother tongue other than one of Canada's official languages) now consists of recent immigrants from non-traditional source regions (e.g., east and Southeast Asia, the sub-continent, and so forth). In fact, Tagälog (a.k.a. Pilipino) has superseded Ukrainian as the second leading non-official mother tongue in Winnipeg (German remains in first place).

A breakdown of Ukrainian language knowledge in Canada by age groups indicates that just less than half of those individuals claiming a Ukrainian mother tongue (73,930) are 65 years of age or older (Table 3 lists the number of Canadians claiming a Ukrainian mother tongue by age categories). This suggests that the loss in linguistic fluency is almost certain to continue. There seems to have been a minor increase in language skills in the lower-age cohorts, presumably as a result of the renewed immigration from Ukraine. This, however, is not readily evident from the figures presented here.

TABLE 3: POPULATION WITH UKRAINIAN MOTHER TONGUE, ALL ORIGINS, CANADA, 1981 TO 2001
(based on 20% sample data)

Age Group	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
All Ages	285,115	208,185	187,015	162,695	148,090
0–4	2,130	1,680	1,395	1,315	1,230
5–9	2,775	1,565	1,470	1,690	1,660
10–14	4,640	2,135	1,445	1,745	2,135
15–19	7,720	3,485	1,765	1,440	2,175
20–24	9,620	4,895	2,425	1,625	1,930
25–29	12,060	6,805	4,405	2,715	2,290
30–34	15,485	10,020	6,350	4,555	3,245
35–39	16,550	12,370	9,320	6,470	4,945
40–44	18,720	13,395	12,100	9,720	7,530
45–49	25,460	15,670	13,420	11,655	9,640
50–54	29,760	19,215	15,080	12,205	11,590
55-59	37,670	21,585	19,195	14,250	11,715
60-64	29,830	27,585	21,730	17,470	14,090
65+	72,705	67,995	76,905	75,845	73,930

The use of Ukrainian as a home language increased nation-wide from 31,990 in 1991 to 49,985 in 1996, and finally to 67,665 in 2001. To a degree this is due to renewed immigration from Ukraine. The more pertinent factor, however, is likely to be a looser interpretation of what constitutes 'home language'. For the 1996 census the definition read "the language spoken most often at home by the individual at the time of the census". In 2001, it became "the language spoken most often or on a regular basis at home by the individual at the time of the census". Ontario had the greatest number (29,300) of individuals with a Ukrainian home language; of these, 19,855 lived in Toronto. In relative terms, Ontario and Quebec were the only provinces in which the number of people claiming Ukrainian home language use was greater than 10 per cent of the Ukrainian-Canadian population. Among those claiming Ukrainian home language use across the country, 14,325 used Ukrainian exclusively, 14,515 mostly, 5,385 in equal measure, and 33,440 regularly (see Table 4).

TABLE 4: FREQUENCY OF UKRAINIAN HOME LANGUAGE USE, CANADA AND THE PROVINCES, 2001
(based on 20% sample data)

	Total	Only	Mostly	Equally	Regularly
CANADA	67,665	14,325	14,515	5,385	33,440
British Columbia	3,165	530	700	265	1,670
Alberta	11,845	1,495	1,655	1,090	7,605
Saskatchewan	8,255	690	930	810	5,825
Manitoba	11,625	1,515	1,865	1,100	7,145
Ontario	29,300	9,045	8,435	1,865	9,955
Quebec	3,345	1,005	915	260	1,165
Atlantic Provs	120	40	10	5	65

IMMIGRATION

A total of 23,435 individuals emigrated from Ukraine to Canada in 1991-2001. The majority of these (15,875) settled in Ontario, particularly in Toronto (13,835). This represents a significant increase in the number of immigrants from Ukraine over the decade, although their numbers remain relatively modest (see

Table 5, based on figures tracked by the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society). The numbers cited do not take into account the ethnic origin of the Ukrainian immigrants; nor do they factor in possible ethnic Ukrainian immigration from a third country.

TABLE 5: NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS
FROM UKRAINE TO CANADA, 1993-2001

	Canada	Ontario	Other Provs
1993	722	500	222
1994	1,358	922	436
1995	1,756	1,239	526
1996	2,626	1,710	916
1997	2,465	1,752	713
1998	2,648	1,713	935
1999	2,156	1,501	655
2000	3,321	2,300	1,021
2001	3,574	2,538	1,036
Total	**20,635**	**14,175**	**6,460**

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, compiled by the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society

An additional 1,380 individuals from Ukraine were registered in the census as non-permanent residents of Canada.

The significance of the recent arrivals is underscored by comparing their numbers against those of earlier immigrants born in Ukraine (see Table 6). Those who came here in 1991-2001 constitute 45.4 per cent of the total immigrant population (51,610) from Ukraine. Those who arrived before 1961 represent a further 41.1 per cent, while the remaining 13.5 per cent came in the intervening period of restricted emigration from Ukraine.

TABLE 6: IMMIGRANT POPULATION FROM UKRAINE, SHOWING PERIOD OF ARRIVAL, CANADA, 2001 (based on 20% sample data)

Total	Pre-1960	1961-70	1971-80	1981-90	1991-2001
51,610	21,235	1,360	3,060	2,575	23,435

The impact of recent immigration from Ukraine is not readily obvious. In overall demographic terms the new arrivals do not seem to make a major difference. However, in respect to Ukrainian language use they seem to have increased numbers in lower- to middle-aged groups.

ADRIAN BOYKO

Prognosis for the Future

It is truly an honour to be standing in front of you and talking about a topic I have a passion for – our community.

When I was asked to speak at this conference I was a little intimidated by the task, even though I have been involved in the affairs of the community for the past 18 years: firstly, here in Manitoba as a member of MPUE, then, in Saskatoon, where I have been involved in the organized community as president of the UCC – Saskatchewan Provincial Council.

I am an active member of the Professional and Business Club of Saskatoon, which my good friend Dave Mysak and I revived some two years ago. I am proud to say that under Dave's leadership we now have some 80 paid up members. I also do have a tie to academia in that I am on the board of the Prairie Center for Ukrainian Heritage at St. Thomas Moore College in Saskatoon.

- How many of you believe that the Ukrainian Canadian Community is relevant to our daily lives?
- How many of you believe that by 2020 our community will become fully assimilated?
- How many of you believe nothing can be done to revitalize the community? or
- How many of you know people that believe these things?

By the show of hands I can tell that most of us know someone who believes that we as a community are not or will not be relevant within the next 20 years.

Thus the reason for my trepidation in making a presentation to academics –

who am I to be raising these issues? I have always looked upon the academic community as the center of intellectual capital in a community, province, and nation.

It is your research, your writing and your critical thinking that I as a community activist need to be listening to. You have the answers, or at least the methodology by which to elicit the answers to the right question. It is your insight that needs to be advanced. It is your intellectual capital which will set the foundation for the Ukrainian Canadian community of the future. It is your efforts in working with the committees of UCC and other community organizations today which will be a bridge to our collective future.

It is from this perspective that I view your responsibility and mine at this critical juncture of our community's life, and this responsibility can not be overstated. I make this statement because:

- I see our organizations aging;
- I see the institutions that our forefathers built straining to survive;
- We have massive amounts of hard assets in buildings, churches, and museums, and all of these assets are depreciating;
- In Winnipeg you have *Oseredok* [Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre] – a great community treasure struggling;
- In Saskatoon we have the Ukrainian Museum of Canada and the *Muzey Ukraïna* – again national treasures that could be so much more;
- We could once proudly point to strong Slavic Studies departments in all three prairie provinces – today each one is under threat of disappearing;
- We require our community and church leaders to make decisions on how to best preserve and enhance the legacies of our forefathers.

However, we need new paradigms, new thinking, but these community leaders cannot make these decisions unless they are presented with facts and options upon which to make rational decisions that will stand the test of time as our forefathers' legacy stood the test of time.

- Conferences and symposia must be held to build consensus on the challenges our community faces, and the solutions must be formulated;
- Research papers must be written, firstly to articulate the present and future state of the community based upon a different course of action;
- We must be realistic, energetic, and bold as we begin our journey in the 21st century.

I have articulated some of my observations and concerns, now let me share with you some of my solutions. I would also like to tell you why I believe that they must be examined more closely.

Firstly, I would suggest to you that the root cause of the communities' struggle is in the fact that we have never come to grips with the reality that we are an assimilated or rapidly assimilating culture. Based on the fact that the use of Ukrainian in the home is on a steep decline, which can be corroborated by examination of Statistics Canada data – we must change the way we do business. Do we speak for the ever decreasing number of Ukrainian Canadians that speak Ukrainian at home, or do we speak for the million plus Canadians of Ukrainian heritage that do not speak Ukrainian at home or send their children to Ukrainian Bilingual [English-Ukrainian] programs. Are they part of our community or not? This is a serious and difficult question. I, as a community activist firmly believe that:

- The million are part of our community and it is therefore our responsibility to speak on their behalf. We must direct our actions in such a way that should any one of them want to get involved in the community they will be welcomed and encouraged to do so not just because we have said they are welcome, but because we have established the mechanisms for them to feel welcomed and get involved.

To get to that ideal world, however, we have to do some major reshaping of our institutions and organizations. Let me propose some possibilities. When I started my presentation, I talked about the treasures we have been left with that are Ukrainian Canadian-made *Oseredok*, Ukrainian Museum of Canada, and *Muzey Ukraïna*. Did you know that the largest collection of artifacts in the world, outside of Ukraine, resides in the two Saskatoon museums, and just imagine if those museums and Winnipeg's *Oseredok* were joined in a corporate structure for the benefit of the community. Think about it in terms of then having that "new collective" now becoming part of the Federal Government's national museums system. This, by the way, is a very possible, credible, and doable institution from the Federal Governments perspective. The financial underpinning would be there to preserve the current artifacts and works. Now, turn your attention to the capability of mounting traveling exhibitions with this type of a collection. All of this is only available to us at this time because of the legacy left to us by our forefathers: they accumulated the artifacts. The research would continue and programs

could be expanded. This, however, is based upon the community coalescing around such an idea. Do we have the data, the hard facts, the emotional arguments to lay in front of the community for them to buy in? We need your help to postulate such a proposal.

Let me turn my attention to Ukrainian studies in Slavic Departments and post secondary education institutions in Canada. Enrolments are down at the programs that are being offered. Whose fault is it? Is it the community's fault? Is it the universities' fault? Or is it only the fault of demographics? I would suggest that if we are looking to lay blame at anyone's feet we are probably asking the wrong question. Let us accept as fact that enrolments are down and yes, there are things that we could do to modify programs, and I am not against such actions. As a matter of fact I am very involved in the battle to preserve Ukrainian studies at the University of Saskatchewan. I can tell you that the program will require reshaping, and I am confident that it will take on a new life in a better form than it currently is. I would suggest that the community at large requires the intellectual capital of our academics doing what they do best as I have previously stated. We need our Ukrainian Canadian institutions of higher learning not so much focused on 17th century Cossack history, on contemporary Ukraine etc. We need them focused on Ukrainian Canadian issues:

- the Ukrainian settlements in Canada;
- a sociological study of Ukrainian Canadians;
- the impact that the internment [during the W.W.I] had on our community.
- The aboriginal community has invested in legal research on rights issues – potentially so should we.

I believe, that if this approach were taken you would see students of Ukrainian Canadian lineage lined up to take courses because it leads somewhere.

I am not trying to diminish the value of the significant work of our institutions at all. That is the last thing in my mind. When the institutions were formed and mandates developed, they were based upon the perceived need of informing the world about Ukraine and Ukrainians in general, and therefore that was the top priority of the community. I would suggest that today Ukraine can pick up the mantle and do these tasks at a fraction of the cost that we can. We need to use Ukrainian Canadian resources to focus on our community in Canada. Our academics need time and money to do work focused on these, yet to be defined, Canadian issues. The Federal Government of Canada will and has helped us. In

the past, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) paid for research, travel, preparation time, and publications for academics. Today they do not pay for the preparation time which would relieve professors from their teaching. Perhaps, it is time for the community to use some of our institutions and foundations to pay for that release time. I personally believe it would be money well spent.

There are many more areas that I could delve into and give you my thoughts and observations on such topics as politics and political parties within the community. Let me leave you by thanking you for the invitation to participate in this forum. I ask you to take up the mantle of our forefathers and build new national treasures or renovate the existing assets that we have inherited. If it is to be, it is the academic community that will give us the underpinning to start the debate to leave a legacy as grand as the one we currently enjoy. Should we shirk our responsibility my grandchildren and your grandchildren will be the losers. Please help pass on a legacy greater than what it is that we have inherited.

JURIJ DAREWYCH

Prognosis for the Future

As panel members, we were asked to address very specific issues related to the future of Ukrainian Canada. Yogi Berra once said, "It is difficult to make predictions. Especially about the future". Indeed that is the case, but one can always try.

Firstly, "Why is there a need for a viable Ukrainian Canadian community?" In actuality, there is no need per se. It is not a question of need. Rather, so long as there is a segment of Canada which identifies with a Ukrainian or Ukrainian Canadian community, culture and life-style, then the "need" is merely a fact of Canadian reality. Human society is invariably structured in organized units. Such units are invariably led by what I shall term an "elite", that is, by a subsegment of society which has the interest, ability and drive to do the leading. Thus, there is a consequent "need for a vision". In democracies, the elites that lead societies usually cannot lead, and generally dislike to lead, in the absence of a vision. Indeed the quality of the leadership is strongly influenced by the clarity of the vision and the sense of the purpose.

Permit me an aside on what is "Ukrainian Canada", or rather, who is "a Ukrainian Canadian". There are many answers and definitions, indeed many variants to the label "Ukrainian Canadian", no less so than to the question of "who is a Canadian". The definition that I will use is that a Ukrainian Canadian is anyone who consciously identifies himself or herself as such, in whatever degree or measure, and irrespective of how anyone else, or the government, identifies or labels him or her. Ukrainian Canada is, by extension, the community made up of such people, as well as its common attributes, including its culture, life-style, institutions, history, language, traditions and heritage.

But let me get back to the questions posed: "Who should be formulating and articulating a vision for the Ukrainian Canadian community?" Evidently, members of "the elite", if there are those among them who have the interest and talent to do so. Oh, yes, one should be very democratic and say that anyone in society (that is the "people") should be formulating and articulating a vision for our society. But that is a red herring, since anyone from among the people who takes part in such activities becomes, by definition, a member of "the elite".

"What is my personal prognosis or vision for the future of the Ukrainian Canadian community?" First the prognosis. To sum it up in one sentence, I would say that the prognosis is for a *continuing struggle in difficult circumstances.* Let me hasten to say that I regard this struggle as both challenging and stimulating. It may even be enjoyable. As to the "vision", I would sum it up in one sentence as follows: I look to a dynamic, creative, distinct, interesting and appealing society; appealing first and foremost to its members and its young people. I am less concerned about how interesting and appealing we are to other Canadian societies, particularly the dominant ones, that is the Anglo-Canadian and French-Canadian societies.

The ten minutes allotted to me do not permit me to expand in detail on why my prognosis is for "a continuing struggle" and why "in difficult circumstances". Let me list some one-liners:

- Assimilation, and consequent loss of numbers.

- Lack of geographical concentration (there is not one electoral district in Canada where Ukrainian Canadians constitute a majority).

- Second-class status (we are labeled an "ethnic group" or an "ethnocultural group", not a "founding nation", as the dominant groups are referred-to, or a "first nation"; indeed, the term "nation" with whatever adjective is off limits to us.)

- Loss of language and the consequent loss of societal cohesion (40 years ago over 3/4 of Ukrainian Canadians had a working knowledge of Ukrainian, and now over 3/4 of them do not).

- The diminishing need for a Ukrainian Canadian society on the part of our young people. (Personally, I would have been most unhappy to live without a Ukrainian Canadian society and I suspect that many of our young people do

not feel this to be an overriding need.)

- A relative lack of philanthropic multi-millionaires to help fund our institutions. Anyone who has worked in Ukrainian Canadian organizations knows that they survive on the financial support of low and low-middle income donors which is fine and good, but some sugar daddies would sure be helpful.

- Indifference to the fate of our community on the part of the federal and provincial governments, and benign neglect by the federal and provincial agencies that distribute our taxes in support of culture and language.

I could go on with this list. The challenges are many and varied. But let me turn to the one-liners for the "vision": I look for a Ukrainian Canadian society that is:

- "creative" in the sense of being culturally productive, inventive and competitive, not a society of cultural copycats;

- "distinct" in the sense of being unique, and measuring things by our own standards: a society that is confident in the value of its heritage, culture and achievements;

- "interesting" in the sense of varied, lively and well-done;

- "appealing" in the sense of being attractive to the younger generation of our society;

- "dynamic" in the sense of adding to, not just preserving past achievements (at this point I cannot resist quoting a student slogan from the sixties: "When I think of preservation I think of pickles");

I will end with a few suggestions that may be useful in achieving this vision:

- We must strengthen our key institutions to give them permanence and the ability to make a difference. (If every one of our organizations had consistently set aside 5 % of its income into an endowment fund 40 years ago, then by today a good portion of its operating expense income would be assured; and

this would have been achieved without particular pain; it is never too late to start.)

- We must be pro-active, rather than passively reactive, in the nurturing of our culture, language and the youthful segment of our society. (Our central cultural funding institution, the Shevchenko Foundation, should, as permanent policy, spend half of its income in support of major, nationally significant projects in art, theater, music, literature, film etc.; for example, a roving "Ukrainian Canadian high culture" Dauphin festival, a permanent traveling theater company, a Harbourfront-type literary festival, exhibitions of Ukrainian Canadian and Ukrainian art in various Canadian publicly-funded galleries; etc.)

- We must recruit new members for our organizations aggressively, particularly from among the younger generation. (How many of you or your children have ever been approached to join a Ukrainian Canadian organization with a well thought out and attractive recruitment campaign?)

- We must consolidate our efforts. (There are many Ukrainian Canadian organizations that are attempting to "deliver the same goods to the same people"; there are historic reasons for such duplication which may have lost their validity; while variety and choice is good and important, it can become an ill-affordable luxury if the result is ineffectiveness due to a lack of numbers and resources. For example, do we really need two, and more (depending on how one counts) Ukrainian Canadian learned societies? Would it not be possible for our youth to have a joint, modern youth centre in place of a number of inadequate ones?)

- We must develop and implement an internal and external immigration policy, to concentrate our numbers, particularly in Western Canada, in order to sustain a critical mass. (Our organizations, working jointly through the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and its provincial councils, should put in place policies to attract Ukrainian Canadians and new Ukrainian immigrants to the prairie provinces of Canada, where there is a realistic chance of having a numerical strength that is politically significant in the provincial and federal context.)

- We should redouble our efforts to have a fair share of our tax dollars go to the support of Ukrainian Canada. (If I am not mistaken, Ukrainian Canadians constitute 2 to 3 % of the Canadian population. Yet the fraction of the Canadian tax dollar, provincially and federally, that is directed to the needs of Ukrainian Canada is nowhere near 2 to 3 % of the money that the governments spend in support of culture and language. We are certainly not one of the squeakier wheels of the Canadian wagon. In this we should take lessons from our aboriginal fellow citizens.)

- We must push our way in among the ranks of "founding nations" of Canada. With respect to prairie Canada, in particular, this is a legitimate and achievable goal. (Some thirty years ago the then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau proclaimed the policy of multiculturalism for Canada. He did this at a session of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress right here in Winnipeg. It was a congress, which I attended, and at which I gave a speech – in Ukrainian in those days. I remember him proclaiming that "although there are two officials languages, there are no official cultures", and that all cultures are deemed equal and worthy of government support. This, supposedly, is still the policy for our "multicultural Canada" of today. However, so long as labels such as "founding nations", "first nations" and whatever are used by governments and various segments of Canadian society as pretexts for privileged treatment of some Canadian societies in relation to others, we have no choice but to push our way onto this band wagon, to demand our place in the sun and our fair share of the pie. We do not put our hand into the federal and provincial cookie-jar often enough or aggressively enough. The UCC should establish a permanent and professional agency that will pro-actively assist our institutions and organizations in accessing federal and provincial funds and programmes.)

- We must institute a more effective taxation system. That is, we must improve our fund-raising efforts to make them more effective, particularly to give them continuity and follow-up capacity. We should hire people, particularly young people in the summers, to run phone and mail campaigns. It is especially important to reach beyond the traditional voluntary givers from among the older generation.

- We should make better use of the internet to get our message across to a wide audience, particularly the web-literate younger generation. This is a relatively

inexpensive and increasingly effective means of providing information, education, services and even entertainment, which can be particularly useful for our geographically dispersed community. The Ukrainian Canadian Congress should be responsible for providing, or at least coordinating, such a high-quality service to our community.

- We must cooperate more closely with our churches. Over the course of past generations, the fate of our Ukrainian community has been closely intertwined with the fate of our churches, and I believe that this will continue in the foreseeable future. This cooperation must be manifest at all levels, nationally, provincially and locally. The necessity for such cooperation must be appreciated on both sides, the civic and the ecclesiastic.

- We should mimic the practice of the aboriginal Canadian societies and develop and propagate the idea of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress as a quasi-government for Ukrainian Canada. We must restructure and strengthen this institution to enable it to function as a de-facto fourth level of government for our community. I believe that this is one of the key elements in assuring a vital Ukrainian Canada for future generations.

ANDREW J. HLADYSHEVSKY

Prognosis for the Future

In my role as the President of the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, I'm often questioned about the need for a viable Ukrainian Canadian community and the need for a vision for that community. Like so many other participants I think the dichotomy between pre-1990 and post-1990 is an important factor.

The viability of the Ukrainian Canadian community was severely put to the test following the independence and establishment of the Ukrainian Republic. The "raison d'être" of many organizations in our community was premised on the need to establish independence. Once formation of a nation was established, the focus of the Ukrainian Canadian community was outward to Ukraine to provide healthcare, education, business contacts. This novel opportunity serviced our curiosity. Ultimately, the net effect totally dissipated human and financial resources within the Ukrainian Canadian community. This shift of focus in the community has had a major detrimental effect on the continuity of the Ukrainian community.

Perhaps there are two levels that should be addressed. First is the macro level where it is important for a strong Ukrainian Canadian community to provide advice both to our Canadian government and that of the Ukrainian Republic and at times provide constructive criticism and act as go-between both countries. Most industrial countries have long taken advantage of their internal populations' ability to network with people of similar backgrounds. Canada should be no exception and should consider the Ukrainian Canadian community a valuable resource to tap into to maximize its contacts in networking with Ukraine.

Similarly the Republic of Ukraine needs assistance in presenting its position elsewhere in the world. By having a strong diaspora the message of reform in Ukraine will find better placement and influence. Such influence may also be turned inward to provide some sense of mentorship to a new government trying to establish itself in a different world of ethics, business practice and social standing.

In addition, our ancestors played a significant role in the formation of present day Canada. It is imperative that this historical influence continues and be memorialized in the continuation of the community. We owe it to these ancestors to maintain this influence.

Perhaps a better reason exists on a micro or personal level. Notwithstanding the relationship of Canada to Ukraine, my own personal connection with my ancestors is to the music, ideas, literature and rituals of my culture. Regardless of my Canadian identity, it is important for me to develop spiritual awareness and ultimate fulfillment by expressing my Ukrainian essence. This is best done through a strong and vibrant community. In short, my path to God through my Christian/Ukrainian faith is also a product of Ukrainian culture and my fulfillment finds its destiny there. A strong community allows this to be enhanced and maximized and will ensure that long after I am gone the same nurturing effect will remain with my children.

Having said that, the question of vision becomes important to maximize everything that I have mentioned and it requires a clearly articulated plan of action. To put it in a different context, one can ask – does one need churches to be spiritual? The answer is no. Does the presence of an organized form of religion allow people to potentiate their spirituality? This isn't a simple answer, as for some people it is the only way that they will achieve spiritual awareness, and for others it is a means to an end. Still others would criticize man-made structures that would attempt to take the place of spirituality. Nevertheless, vision and organization do enhance maximum effectiveness and allow for a greater part of the community to participate when that vision is well articulated and implemented.

The short answer to the question who should be formulating and articulating the vision for the community is that the community must formulate and articulate a vision for itself. For a community to accomplish this is the daunting task I will discuss later, but clearly leaving this to a group of academics, community leaders or some form of elitist fringe that intends on setting the ground rules for the community will not be successful. The concept of "community" is a fluid one. The Ukrainian Canadian community is not the same community as it was ten, twenty or thirty years ago. The needs of the community change; therefore, a

broad assessment of community needs and aspirations is imperative and must be performed on a periodic basis for this to succeed. Quite likely the only true reliable "collector" of vision is the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.

I am an eternal optimist. In my role as President of the Shevchenko Foundation, I can tell you that the Ukrainian Canadian community is viable and vibrant. From the several thousand applications that the Foundation has received over the past ten years, clearly the Ukrainian Canadian community has cultural leaders and individuals and organizations that intend on putting forth an agenda to maximize their goals and objectives. Unlike many people in the room, I have the privilege of being able to sift through hundreds of applications from the Ukrainian Canadian community on an annual basis. These applications are for grants for creative projects that promote the development of Ukrainian language, literature, education and the arts. It is truly breathtaking to see the broad spectrum of projects and cultural activities which come to the Foundation from across Canada whether it is a request to fund the production of educational and visual materials to promote the Ukrainian language or education; to support historical literary research and publications; to assist Ukrainian newspapers, periodicals and scholarly journals; to help sponsor musical and theatrical productions as well as all other forms of artistic activity; to help support new and established academics, artists and facilitate the production of recordings of classical Ukrainian works or the sharing of information and education about Ukrainian history and culture.

Whether or not the people recognize it, there is a Ukrainian Canadian community that is actively percolating and passionately approaching Ukrainian culture from every avenue. These cultural activists span a broad spectrum of ages and religious backgrounds. The future of Canadians with a Ukrainian ancestry in Canada is bright; however, the future of the Ukrainian Canadian community as an organized and mobilized force requires some work. I am optimistic that with the right tools the plans could be in place for such an activated community.

The question of developing a plan for the community and how this will be implemented is not as difficult as it is sometimes made to appear. In order to address the issue of the viability of the Ukrainian community, we need to harness our human capital, our present monetary resources and begin to expand the overall width and breadth of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

For a vision to be clearly established, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress must articulate its strategic planning to a higher level. A plan must be put in place to properly obtain input at various levels in the communities. The Ukrainian

Canadian Congress has the capacity to do this and should undertake as its fundamental tenet to canvass stockholders in the Ukrainian Canadian community and to assess their vision for the community.

- *We need to marshal our economic resources.* In the Ukrainian Canadian community there is a pool of capital which some people have estimated to be as large as $100 M CND which is currently operating and whose endowment interest is providing funding for a variety of activities. Clearly the use of funds must be made in a more efficient manner, and both the Ukrainian Canadian Congress and the Shevchenko Foundation should identify these pools of capital, determine where they can be best employed in the community and see a successful implementation of these pooled resources. In addition, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, the Shevchenko Foundation and other foundations should strategically assess the funds that will be required to properly fund the implementation of the vision for the Ukrainian Canadian community.

- *Strengthening the Ukrainian Canadian Congress.* Consideration should be given to establishing an endowment making the President of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress a paid position with executive assistants both for Eastern and Western Canada who are hired on a full-time basis to address and move forward the vision of the Ukrainian Canadian community. A budget for networking the community must be sufficient to allow the central organization to network properly with the individual provincial branches and strengthen weak links as the need arises.

- *Strengthening the Shevchenko Foundation.* The Shevchenko Foundation should continue to accumulate funds to address the underfunded aspirations of the Ukrainian Canadian community as it currently exists. The funding shortfall is presently assessed to be some $60 M CND based upon current applications and growth projections. We need to develop a feasible plan to achieve this goal.

- *Strengthening our role with Government.* What have we learned from the Mulroney years? We learned that an adequately informed government that is actively persuaded by a community shall take steps to stay in concert with that community when the need arises. Canada was the first country to recognize Ukraine as an independent nation, and this occurred, in no small part, because of the active lobbying of our community with the federal government.

Following independence, we relaxed our efforts, which has resulted in the considerable distance in vision and unpopular actions taken by our federal government that affect our community. Lately, we have tried to change this but there is a long way to go. There needs to be a comprehensive undertaking by the community to ensure that its profile with government is maintained through active communication on a nationwide basis. Again, the U.C.C. is an important coordinator of the various provincial councils where the maximum impact can be achieved. There are also other organizations that can be networked in the community to achieve this result.

- *Networking organizations.* To some extent many of our academic organizations do not play a fully networked role in the Ukrainian Canadian community, and this must be further developed and implemented. Some of our major capital pools are with academic based institutions, and yet some of these institutions are not as networked to the local population, and this should be optimized. Similarly, there has been little or no attempt to ensure that the vast networking that currently exists through our religious organizations be addressed by making them part of the vision process. At one time, both the clergy and laity were actively involved in the promotion of Ukrainian Canadian culture and providing networks to individuals to maintain their heritage. Many of these religious organizations still have non-religious functioning groups such as the Knights of Columbus, choral music societies, kindergartens, Ukrainian language instruction, and yet at times these are not particularly well integrated into community. Similarly, there has been little or no attempt over the last thirty years to integrate Ukrainian bishops and priests into the visioning process in the community. Quite often they are considered to be an afterthought. If it is considered too uncomfortable to include them in the cultural visioning process, then clearly once the vision is articulated some attempt must be made to articulate this vision to them so that it would also be passed on to their constituent community. A community where major leaders are unaware of vision is a leaderless and visionless community. This needs to be rectified.

- *Create networking events.* The community needs to establish something beyond the single three-year event that currently the community uses to touch base with its various representatives. The writer would encourage the establishment of several high profile events on a regional basis, which will be

used both to promote arts/culture and serve as a secondary gathering or collection point for the networking of the community itself. The media needs a story. Commemorative events and major community happenings are covered by the media extensively. High profile networking allows us also to bring in members outside the Ukrainian Canadian community to participate and celebrate or commemorate these important events.

- *Network education resources.* There are educational resources at all levels of the educational system from kindergarten well into post secondary institutions. Notwithstanding that there are a few hundred people who are involved in creating educational opportunities for Ukrainian Canadians, it has only been a recent phenomenon that we have started to talk to each other about our relative strengths and weaknesses. A collective audit of our resources will help obtain the most efficient and best use of our resources to educate our public. As the recent Census Canada results have shown, assimilation of a community is accelerated when a community begins to lose its language. While we have no shortage of expertise in the community to harness this resource, the question is will the community as a whole treat this as a national priority? The challenge remains with us to do so.

ANDRIJ KUDLA WYNNYCKYJ

Prognosis for the Future

Lord Byron captures the famous and brilliant aspect of the Ukrainian character in his poem *Mazeppa*:

> But still we love even in our rage,
> And haunted to our very age
> With the vain shadow of the past...

Now that Ukraine has independence, now that Ukrainians helped build a multicultural Canada, it seems that we are exhausted and our rage is spent. But this, of course, is not all bad, because something akin to Shevchenko's "Bless your freedom with the blood of foemen's evil veins!" (*Testament*) lead the Croats and the Serbians of Bosnia and then the Albanians of Kosovo into a pointless bloodbath. All Ukraine needed miraculously was a vote. This doesn't mean that we should forget that in some sense we're dithering at the edge of a precipice.

At the conclusion about the "Cross-stitching Cultural Borders Conference" which took place in October of 1998 at the University of Toronto, Dr. Frank Sysyn was asked to provide a prognosis for the Ukrainian community in Canada. He replied that the community finds itself sliding into a condition of powerlessness relative to the condition it had previously and that it should prepare itself for the psychological impact of this diminishing role. He remarked that this powerlessness has come quickly and swiftly after the Ukrainians have achieved the maximum point of influence since the pioneers first arrived here one hundred years ago. As recently as the 1980s the community's representatives occupied high

political offices, and multiculturalism, a social and political attitude drafted in part by a group of its intellectuals, had been enshrined in the constitution. Today there are fewer such public figures, and a backlash against multiculturalism is in full swing. Dr. Sysyn stated that because of this dramatic and disoriented shift this powerlessness is likely to increase unless there is a radical reorganization of the community around some heretofore unarticulated mandate that is not ephemeral, such as the marking of anniversaries and reaction to specific injustice. The possible savior, the historian noted, almost literally our *deus ex machina*, would be yet another influx of a large and dynamic group of Ukrainian immigrants from, say, Poland or Ukraine.

What issues do we focus on? On most days we cleave to the habits of the ephemeral and attempt to turn these into instruments of demand for change and social policy. We should have the discipline to balance our attraction to the ephemeral and focus on issues of social concern, such as the question of integration and the question of our aging population. Former Ukrainian Canadian Congress Alberta president and representative, Dmytro Jacuta, forecast back in 1995 that we faced an institutional holocaust because statistics of 1991 and 1996 indicated that the median age of Ukrainian speakers and by extension activists in Ukrainian organizations was 68. And obviously, there is no time to wait until the community at large feels the sense of urgency on this score. Our media, community organizations and scholarly institutions must take a leading role. They must contact representatives of the country's mainstream institutions and ask pointed questions about matters of general interest, being dealt with by this or that government ministry, private enterprise, civic institution, broadcaster, what have you, without waiting for the community behind it to follow.

And yet, to my mind, it is increasingly apparent that the ongoing existence of not only the Ukrainian community in Canada, but perhaps even of a Ukrainian identity in the world, can only be secured through the functioning of a kind of Ukrainian circulatory system – a free flow of people and contacts between the diaspora and Ukraine. Ever since the second wave of Ukrainians arrived here in the 1920s, questions have been posed in much the same fashion, that is, the generalities have been the same, but specifics are somewhat different. Generally speaking, we've grappled with questions such as: why is it that the new immigrants and/or people who got here first don't talk to us; why are they so damnably different if they are Ukrainian; and, how can we get the Canadian government to allow more of us in.

Specifically, the current situation has not been faced by Ukrainians in mod-

ern history. And while there is no desirable wide open space left on the planet to fill up, there are Ukrainians in position in this desirable place called Canada who could make help relatively painless both within the structure of the immigration ministries and within our organizations. To boot, the current geopolitical situation makes the choice to come here and even to go back not so irrevocable and, thus, also less traumatic that it was before. Migrants and immigrants are already playing a crucial role in revitalizing our schools, providing day care for children and care for the elderly, as well as creating media outlets and establishing commercial enterprises for Canada-Ukraine contact.

Ukrainian Canadians should ensure that Canada's immigration does not hinder influx of Ukrainians, as it has, and even mobilize resources to assist such influx and develop a strategy to broaden contacts with the new arrivals. In order to overcome problems of contact shock that historically have been associated with all waves, successful programs that came to the "*Stezhkamy bat'kiv*" that before skirted the borders of Ukraine and now can end up in Ukraine could be revitalized to establish a middle ground for contacting her. This would serve to foster a sense that Ukrainians are part of a larger identity and a cultural field, and free people from "you're in my territory now".

It is distressful, in essence, that this discussion here today doesn't include some representatives of the newly arrived because only then truly can we act on some of the suggestions that have been made already. The community does face the very real possibility of being divided further into untidy and apathetic compartments that have little to do with one another and thus have no capacity to affect any change in Canadian society. And we mustn't forget that Prof. Manoly Lupul and Senator Paul Yuzyk were some of those stellar examples of leaders of our elite who influenced policy and, in fact, impacted on the creation of the constitution.

The crisis faced by Ukrainians in Canada is not merely ours alone. As I mentioned earlier, Ukrainian identity as such is under siege and, perversely, more so than at any point of the various periods of subjugation in Ukraine's history. The writer, Yuri Andrukhovych, recently wrote in a column entitled "*Zamist' bilingvizmu*" (Instead of Bilingualism), that in fact during the last eight years of independence Ukrainian [language] has lost greater ground than in any other period. He noted even that for the first time as a writer who had attracted the attention of Russian speakers to the Ukrainian language in order to write his works, he was worried that in Western Ukraine there might be a decrease of people who could understand his writings. In the same article he alluded to the fact

that contact with the West and the diaspora prompted many Ukrainians to use Ukrainian. A member of the Slavic Department, Prof. Davidov, mentioned haranguing the *Verkhovna Rada* saying "Your children will begin speaking Ukrainian as soon as you leave Ukraine."

And to my mind, the solution lies in a functioning circulatory system whereby Ukrainians in the diaspora have contact with Ukraine and Ukrainians from Ukraine who come here.

PETER J. POTICHNYJ

Canada and Ukraine: Mutual Respect, Co-operation, Benefit (BANQUET ADDRESS)

When Professor Tarnawecky invited me to speak, with clear instructions to be brief, and Ms. Sophia Kachor wrote me "you better", after some thought I came to the conclusion, to my great delight, that I would not have to talk about the negative side of the relations between Canada and Ukraine. This does not mean that certain shortcomings do not exist on one side or the other in these relations about which we have heard and will continue to hear in our conversations and discussions, but these shortcomings are not fundamental, and they do not define the main political direction.

For the topic of my address I chose "Canada and Ukraine: Mutual Respect, Co-operation and Benefit". True, the topic is rather broad, one that cannot be exhausted within the framework of only the past and the present; it also has certain implications for future relations. The subject cannot be narrowed down to only international relations either, as these relations touch upon all aspects of the life of our diaspora in this country, often in a very drastic way.

At the outset, however, allow me, on behalf of all present, to thank the UVAN executive for organizing this very necessary and most timely conference in the furthering of the development of our community not only in Canada, but, I hope, to some extent, in other countries of our settlement as well. One might even risk stating that this conference is a ground-breaking event in that it indicates that we are slowly becoming accustomed to the fact that an independent Ukraine exists.

I will begin with relations between Canada and Ukraine on the international level. We all know that Canada was one of the first countries to recognize

Ukraine as an independent nation and also one of the first to establish diplomatic relations. Canada's attitude toward Ukraine from the very beginning to the present has been positive – at least from my perspective – and akin to this anecdote:

> A very cautious candidate to the Ukrainian parliament arrived in a village and met a farmer whose vote he wanted to obtain. During their conversation, a flock of sheep was walking along the opposite side of the road. Upon noticing the flock, the farmer remarked, "There are some sheep over there, and all of them are sheared". The candidate, not wanting to contradict the farmer, but desiring to leave himself a way out if needed, replied "Yes, yes, at least from this side".

And so, at least from my perspective, relations between Canada and Ukraine look good. It was helpful that our community was interested in these relations from the very beginning, and that the Canadians of Ukrainian origin who work in the diplomatic services generally have a good understanding of the issues, which on the whole, is conducive to a positive development of relations. I say "on the whole" because these people are foremost representatives of Canada who not only should, but are obliged to uphold Canadian interests first.

Canada was also the first Western country to turn its attention to the need of educating new government cadres and establishing accepted democratic norms in elections to the *Verkhovna Rada.* A very important role in these beginnings was played by academics of Ukrainian origin such as Prof. Bohdan Krawchenko and others from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, including Dmytro Jacuta and Dr. Roman Petryshyn of Grant MacEwan College in Edmonton. Under the aegis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (then External Affairs), it fell upon myself to be a co-organizer of two large seminars titled "Pragmatics of a Democratic Society", as well as other initiatives. (In fact, I also had some dealings with establishing normal relations between Ukraine and China, but the emphasis here was somewhat different.)

I would also like to underline that presently here in Winnipeg a very important program for the training of personnel to serve those without social security protection in Ukraine has been launched with the participation of the University of Manitoba and the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services together with the Lviv Polytechnical State University – a program that should fill a void existing in Ukraine till now. We also cannot overlook the significant contribution of Professor Jaroslav Rozumnyj to the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

which has become the forge for new cadres in Ukraine. It is here that Professor Ostap Hawaleshka also resides, works, and most importantly, sings commendably about "two colours" – something I discovered while in Odessa. I don't know for certain, but I suspect his captivation with red and black colours has no overt ideological basis, though I may be mistaken. This is not the issue, however: I just wanted to underscore the very important assistive and educational role he played as director of the Ukrainian Science and Technology Centre in Kyiv. As you have undoubtedly noticed that among these figures – and there are more – I also mentioned my humble person; but just to make it perfectly clear to everyone, in doing so, I had absolutely no intention of slighting anyone. I also wish to assure you that others weren't mentioned (and there are quite a number) solely out of time constraints.

From the very beginning, the aim of Canadian politics regarding Ukraine was to strengthen existing political and economic ties by supporting democratic development and transition to a market economy. To this end, experts of Ukrainian origin living in Canada were also utilized. Engaging an impressive number of these specialists, but not being restricted only to them, many projects were set in motion including various academic, economic and socio-political aspects of the so-called bilateral technical co-operation which to a large extent is financed through CIDA. The main components of this co-operation can be summarized as: private sector development, development of democracy and good governance, and trade and investment development. In addition, Canada funded humanitarian aid for the purchase and transportation of medicine, immunization efforts, aid to orphans, child victims of Chornobyl, and the like. Canada was the first country to grant Ukraine credits through the Export Development Corporation; it also participates in multi-lateral aid to Ukraine and in the Regional Initiatives programme. Even the Canadian Ministry of Defense has a training programme for officers of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. Canada is endeavouring to assist Ukraine in joining the World Trade Organization as well.

There also exist other, short-term programmes which are dependent on individual and organizational initiative but function by means of financial assistance from various government agencies and institutions. For example, the Canadian-Ukrainian Parliamentary Programme was a very interesting and useful project, but now little is heard about it and other undertakings for some reason. As an aside, I would like to add that regular information concerning such activities would be very desirable as this would encourage others to follow these fine initiatives. Perhaps the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, which already plays a co-

ordinating role in matters of this kind, could persue this more closely and include such information on its web page. Or this could very well be done by the Canada Ukraine Foundation.

However, this does not mean that we should be satisfied with what has already been accomplished, or even, as in some instances, with the means used in the realization of past projects. For example, in some programmes, a large portion of the funds went to paying experts on the Canadian side, while only a small amount went toward the aid, itself. It seems to me that with a greater participation of interested individuals, the number of projects could be increased and be made even more visible and beneficial to both sides.

I will also not be saying anything new by criticizing the tempo of reform in Ukraine. It is slow and very closely tied to the interests and old practices of the ruling elite on all levels and in all ranks. Even though I have no doubts that the notion of nationhood and sovereignty has increasingly fewer internal enemies, social and national reforms are being restrained by the corporate elite of the nation which even now continues to regard these reforms as threats to themselves. This in turn has a negative effect on economic relations but perhaps a less negative effect on political relations with the Western world.

These kind of reforms require a long period of time, perhaps even two generations, because the old elite must find a suitable way of turning over power to their successors in an evolutionary, but to a certain degree, controlling manner. Encouraging is the fact that Europe and the Western world are increasingly acting as a magnet not only for the old, but more so for the new elite. This guarantees, that with time, our democratic traditions strengthened by cultural, political and economic contacts with the West, will become the solid foundation for the Ukrainian state. The role of Canada in these reforms and changes is very important; we should remember this and continually remind others of it.

However, this is only one side of the coin. The Ukrainian community's direct ties and multi-faceted aid to Ukraine is the other side, which is of no less importance to Ukraine than it is to the Ukrainian diaspora. Regarding the new problems and opportunities which arise for the Ukrainian diaspora in the context of newly-obtained statehood for Ukraine, I had the opportunity to address this subject somewhat at a different forum. I am referring to the conference on Mennonites, Jews and Ukrainians which took place in Winnipeg. Here I will only say, that taking into account the development of modern communication, culture, politics and economics, the role of the Ukrainian diaspora continues to be important. However, diaspora Ukrainians as such, must also adjust to these new

conditions.

In the area of assistance to Ukraine, almost all Ukrainian diaspora organizations are involved including those in Canada. They embrace a whole range of organizations from academic institutions to sport and religious groups. In the forefront, as always, are the women's associations, which, despite their fragmentation, are more united in the field of humanitarian aid than everyone else. Of all the Ukrainian diaspora organizations, only the women were capable of finding a way to represent our interests at the United Nations.

With regard to humanitarian aid, one notices the absence of our traditional churches, which, in my personal opinion, should be providing not only spiritual guardianship, but should also become an organized force in providing charitable assistance to the needy in Ukraine. This would also serve as a good example for our churches in Ukraine whose hierarchy pays little attention to this matter to everyone's detriment. Furthermore, the resources of the various churches and organizations which exist in Canada, the USA or Western Europe could be availed upon for this purpose.

However, this absolute attention to the problems of present-day Ukraine also has a negative side. In the long term, it creates a threat to a full-fledged existence of the organized Ukrainian community in our diaspora and it may weaken the effectiveness of our engagement in Ukrainian matters even in the near future. If we want to influence Ukraine's development, we have to completely re-organize ourselves by preserving, building and reinforcing our organizations here. Special attention should be given to the process of strengthening our organizations with individuals who were born in Canada and who consider Canada, and not Ukraine, their homeland. These people feel a certain need to join the Ukrainian community, but the problems of Ukraine affect them only indirectly.

Another problem is how to involve recent immigrants from Ukraine in our community. This is a matter of not only strengthening our organizations with human potential, but also insuring more effective relations with Ukraine. Like it or not, our views on Ukraine and her problems are, to a great extent, the same as those of over sixty years ago. We speak to each other in more or less the same language, but our understanding of the new immigrants' problems and their understanding of our problems differ on fundamental issues. Nonetheless, let us be frank. Did we really do everything possible to facilitate the influx of the newest immigrants from Ukraine? If we take into account that 95% of those who wish to emigrate to Canada are turned down by our diplomatic and immigration representations, then it seems logical that it would be worthwhile to deliberate about

this and take certain steps to change or at least limit these, in my opinion, discriminatory actions of our Canadian governing bodies. And has everything been done to integrate the newcomers into our midst?

We should also not close our eyes to yet another unenviable fact, that the academic study of Ukraine is rapidly shrinking precisely when not only the opportunities but also the need for comprehensive knowledge of Ukrainian issues is constantly growing. This fact was especially stressed by conferences in Ottawa and in Toronto. Perhaps it would be useful to prepare an English language booklet outlining the importance of studying Ukraine and distributing it to the Ukrainian and general Canadian community.

Much has been done, but not everything; similarly for the development of the study of the Ukrainian community here in Canada. In the end, we should strive that the study of not only the Ukrainian diaspora but also of the countries of our settlement be put on a proper level in Ukraine. We have good examples of academic centres that study Canada in a systematic way in countries such as the United States, Israel, England and others. All of them receive financial support, at least at the outset, from the Canadian government. In my opinion, a centre for Canadian studies in Ukraine is not only an assurance for a better understanding of one of our countries of settlement and with it, its Ukrainian community in Canada, but it would also establish a solid basis for future relations between our countries. A good example of this is the creation of a Ukrainian-Polish university in Lublin. With our limited resources, it is not realistic to think in these terms, but many Canadian universities are now considering how to "internationalize" their role in times of globalization. We should join in this process and utilize it for the good of both countries.

In conclusion, I wish to express my hope that, with the arrival of the new representative of Ukraine in Ottawa, Dr. Yuri Shcherbak – an individual who has contributed significantly to the strengthening of good relations between Ukraine and both the United States and Israel, relations between Canada and Ukraine will become even better, and mutual respect and co-operation even more beneficial for both our homelands.

Translation from Ukrainian by Oksana Rozumna

JAROSLAV ROZUMNYJ

The Ukrainian Community in Canada: A Summary and Commentary

THE AWARENESS

During the course of the last five years several conferences were held in America and Canada dedicated to the current state of and prognosis for Ukrainian communities in these countries. The first such conference was the Seventeenth Conference on Ukrainian Topics at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign in June 1998,[1] where a number of issues from various fields of community, cultural and academic life of North American Ukrainians were raised. Subsequently, the Research Institute of Ukrainian Diaspora was founded at the Ukrainian Research Program, University of Illinois.[2]

October 10-11, 1998 a conference initiated by the Professional and Business Association of New York and New Jersey was held in New York titled "Will a North American Ukrainian diaspora exist in 2020 and is this important?"[3]

October 29-31, 1998 a conference entitled "Cross-Stitching Cultural Borders: Comparing Ukrainian Experience in Canada and the United States" and organized by the Ukrainian-Canadian Program, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta and the Robert F. Harney Professorship and Program in Ethnic, Immigration, and Pluralism Studies, University of Toronto, was held in Toronto.

May 13, 2000 a conference, "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow – The Ukrainian Community in Canada", organized by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada (on the occasion of its 50th Anniversary), was held in Winnipeg.

A year later (16-18 February 2001) the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Winnipeg sponsored a national conference at which the Canadian policy of multiculturalism and its future in the next millennium was discussed.[4]

The same year (5-7 October 2001) a conference – "Vision Quest: A Community in Dialogue" – was held in Winnipeg in conjunction with the 20th Triennial Congress of Ukrainian Canadians.

THE ISSUES

I have expressed my views about the current realities of Canadian Ukrainians at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign conference (1998),[5] concentrating on the organized Ukrainian community in Winnipeg (an important centre of that community in the past) and on the role of the recent immigration to Canada from Ukraine. What was said evoked various reactions at the conference, and later in the Canadian and American Ukrainian media.[6] Viewing the present decline of organizational structures through the eyes of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the picture indeed appeared to be gloomy.[7]

Ukrainian language aspect of the situation was presented by Oleh Wolowyna, who with the assistance and at the invitation of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN) in Canada,[8] conducted an analysis of two Canadian censuses (1991 and 1996) for the UVAN conference in 2000.[9] He also did a similar study of the linguistic assimilation of Ukrainians in United States, which was published in the almanac of *The Ukrainian Weekly*.[10]

And in 2001 Wsevolod Isajiw from the University of Toronto conducted a research on the "fourth wave" immigrants from Ukraine to Canada and the USA between 1991 and 2001. The study was based on 304 interviews conducted in the Toronto area between November 2000 and January 2001. The study includes information about the attitudes of the new immigrants towards the organized Ukrainian community in diaspora, their disposition towards their own identity and the need to organize themselves. This material also sheds much light on the reasons for the current exodus from Ukraine.

To date all conferences, research and publications on the current situation touched upon the following issues:

- The role of Ukraine in the life of the Ukrainian diaspora – does it revitalize and enrich or does it weaken its dynamic?

- The infrastructure needed to maintain the organizational integrity and capacity of the Ukrainian community.

- The conditions, means and resources necessary to raise the visibility and former strength of the Ukrainian community.

- The role of the recent immigration from Ukraine to Canada – does it strengthen the Ukrainian community in diaspora?

THE ROLE OF UKRAINE

Does Ukraine influence the life of Ukrainian society beyond the homeland? Evidently, it does. The image of the homeland influences an emigrant's self-perception. Often, even those who rationally or emotionally distance themselves from the homeland and from the community of their ancestors, need some kind of a "home", some point of departure and of return, or some sense of belonging.

The homeland can evoke feelings of pride or may be the source of alienation and can contribute to the acceleration of assimilation. As an example, one might cite today's German emigrant over whose head constantly hang black deeds perpetrated by his country during WWII and who is constantly reminded about this. The Germans, as well as the Ukrainians in Canada, according to Wolowyna's analysis, have the highest percentage for abandoning their language and roots.

Ukrainians were alienated not only by the colonial status of their country, but also by Soviet policy, which through various means conducted a hidden and open warfare designed to tarnish Ukrainian image abroad, thus creating a psychological alienation between the emigrants and the homeland.

For the Ukrainian born or raised abroad this emotional barrier between his particular perception of an independent Ukraine and the real Ukraine, continues to some extent even today. He is troubled by what is occuring at many levels of politcal and social life in Ukraine; the persistance, as during Soviet times, of insolent scorn for the Ukrainian language and culture and the impudence of open Ukrainophobia. All this revealed to the diaspora a completely unexpected reality about the homeland.

The homeland does have an effect on an emigrant, but it does not decide his tomorrow. His future is shaped and determined by the daily realities of the world in which he finds himself; it is determined by the emigrant's sense of displace-

ment, because he has been (willingly or unwillingly) uprooted.[12]

THE ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE

Until the 1981 census the question about ethnicity in Canada referred only to the paternal side of the respondent's family, and after 1981 it was broadened to include the ancestors on the maternal side. Before 1986 only one answer (concerning ethnicity) was allowed, but from 1986 multiple answers are permitted. In the 1991 and 1996 censuses ethnicity in Canada is determined by the question: "To which ethic or cultural group or groups belonged the ancestors of the respondent?"

The change in the census questionnaire came as a result of new realities in Canada, and in the 1991 census *multiple ancestry* was introduced in addition to the category of *single ancestry*. In the 2001 census *Canadian* as an origin category was established and, according to A. Makuch's 2001 census analysis, this category obtained "the greatest number of responses" – 11,682,680. And when one compares the statistical data of censuses between 1971 and 1991, an accelerated linguistic assimilation process becomes quite evident.[13]

According to the calculations of O. Wolowyna, in 1971 there were 580,660 persons of single Ukrainian ancestry. Ten years later (1981) – this figure dropped to 517,450 (-11%), in 1991 – to 404,700 (-21%), and in 1996 – to 328,500 persons.

This means that in the span of 25 years Ukrainians of *single ancestry* declined by 43%.[14] Moreover, in 1991 there were 640,433 Ukrainians of *multiple ancestry*, and five years later (1996) this figure increased by 47,563 (+7%). Therefore, the number of Canadian Ukrainians doubled – from 517,450 persons in 1981 to 1,045,000 in 1991. In the same period of time (1991-1996) the number of *single ancestry* Ukrainians fell by 19%. The overall number of Ukrainians of *single* and *multiple ancestry* in Canada in 1996 was 1,016,000. And in 2001 census, according to A. Makuch's calculations, there were 1, 071,060 Ukrainians in Canada – 326,200 were of *single ancestry* and 744,860 of *multiple ancestry*.[15]

The censuses differentiate three levels (categories) of knowledge and usage of the language:

- mother tongue (the language that this person first learned at home in childhood and still understands),

- language spoken at home, and

- *Knowledge* of a language (languages other than English and French in which this person can speak well enough to conduct a conversation).

a) Ukrainian as mother tongue

In 1971 approximately 309,860 persons declared Ukrainian as their *mother tongue*; in 1996 (25 years later) this figure decreased by 49% (159,084 persons); and in 2001 a total of 148,090 persons claimed Ukrainian as their *mother tongue* – 10,994 less in five years.

b) Ukrainian spoken at home

O. Wolowyna divides this category into those who use only Ukrainian at home and those who also speak English or French at home in addition to Ukrainian. He estimates that about 20% are bilingual.

In 1971 – 144,755 persons spoke *Ukrainian at home*; in 1981 – 93,450 (-36%); in 1991 – 50,000 (-46%), in 1996 – 45,000 (-20%). Therefore, between 1971 and 1996 the number of individuals speaking Ukrainian at home fell by 72%. Of these, approximately 22,000 live in Ontario, 9,000 in Manitoba, 7,600 in Alberta, 6,000 in Saskatchewan, 3,000 in Quebec, and 1,800 in British Columbia.

Between 1991 and 1996 the number of those who spoke Ukrainian *at home* decreased by 20% (primarily due to the mortality rate). In Ontario and Quebec it decreased by 10%; in British Columbia by 23%; and in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba – by 38%.

According to Makuch's calculations, in the 2001 census the use of *Ukrainian at home* increased to 67,665: 14,325 used Ukrainian exclusively, 14,515 mostly, 5,385 in equal measure, and 33,440 use the language regularly.

c) Knowledge of Ukrainian

The answers to the question on *knowledge of Ukrainian* indicate that in 1991 approximately 251,133 persons declared that they could speak Ukrainian, but in 1996 this figure dropped to 213,723, indicating that within five years there was a 15% decline. There is also a group of those who: (a) know Ukrainian, but are not of Ukrainian origin (23,000) and (b) those who know Ukrainian, but it is not

their mother tongue (70,000).

The first category is made up of older people whose average age is 60. Approximately 42% of them declared their Polish origin; 16% – Canadian; 22% declared Ukrainian as their mother tongue; 23% – Polish; and 19% – English. Two thirds spoke only English at home, 9% spoke Polish, and 2% German. One half of them were born in Canada, 23% in the Soviet Union and 22% in Poland.

The second category is relatively younger than the first group. Their average age is 55. 75% of them declared their Ukrainian origin (single and multiple ancestry); more than half indicated that English was their mother tongue and 13% Polish. Of these 70% were born in Canada, 13% in Soviet Union and 11% in Poland.

RECENT IMMIGRANTS

According to the 1996 census data the immigrants who came to Canada from the former Soviet Union, Poland and Yugoslavia (between 1991 and 1996) number approximately 9,100 persons; however, according to O. Wolowyna, this figure is far from accurate because it does not include illegal immigrants.[16] More than half of them (57%) declared their Ukrainian origin, 5.5% – Jewish and 4% Polish. 37% indicated Ukrainian as their mother tongue, 8% – Polish, and 48% – "other". It seems that for the majority the language spoken at home is Russian, for 10% of them it is English, and for 7.5% – Polish. However, 83% declared that they can speak Ukrainian.

Over 60% of this immigration resides in Ontario, 11% in Quebec and 27% in the western provinces of Canada. Half of those residing in Ontario live in Toronto, nearly 10% – in Montreal and 7% each in Vancouver, Edmonton and Winnipeg. Of these, 78% were born in Soviet Union, 13% in Poland and 9% in Yugoslavia.

The 2001 census, according to A. Makuch's analysis, indicates that between 1991-2001 a total of 23,435 persons emigrated from Ukraine to Canada. The majority of these (15,875) settled in Ontario (13,835 in Toronto).

One might add that in Montreal alone (according to the 1996 census) 8,285 individuals declared that Russian was their mother tongue, and of these, 7,280 indicated that they spoke Russian at home. However, unofficially the number of Russian speaking new immigrants in Montreal is approximately 50,000. A certain percentage of them are ethnic Russians, but a majority is Russian Jews,

Belorusians, Ukrainians and others for whom Russian is either the mother tongue or the language spoken at home.[17] Quite often the element that brings these new immigrants together in various centres is not so much national or ethnic affiliation but the Russian language. On a practical level, these are people of Russian culture and a Soviet life style.

CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY LIFE

The members of "the fourth wave", in essence, work in paid positions – in credit unions, stores, as teachers in Saturday Ukrainian schools, directors of choirs, instructors of amateur dance groups, editors of Ukrainian language newspapers etc. But volunteer community work they view as "political" by definition.

"The impact of recent immigration from Ukraine, – Makuch concludes in his analysis, – is not readily obvious. In overall demographic terms the new arrivals do not seem to make a major difference".

And in his recent study of "the fourth wave" Isajiw concluded that the new arrivals "have not linked up with the *hromada* [community] in any significant way ... Even informally the new immigrants have maintained a certain social distance from local [Torontonian] Ukrainian Canadians".[18]

The contribution of "the fourth wave" to the existing organized community is minimal, and, in some cases, completely invisible in spite of the fact that in the near future there will be as many or more of them in Canada than there were refugees after WWII.[19] They already surpassed the number in the USA.[20]

There are many reasons for the attitude of "the fourth wave" towards local community life. The most important among them are:

- the current state of once dynamic organizations is in decline; and

- there are psychological, ideological and social differences between the old and the newest immigrants.

Not long ago, when asked by his interviewer, M. Zhulynsky, why to this day Ukraine's official *literati* and *academia* do not notice him, G. Shevelov replied: "We existed in various environments; we were and remain different [even] in our orthography, the level of our emotions, our world view positions, our system of association, and even in the way we refer to primary sources. In these circum-

stances is it possible to build bridges and mutual trust with ease?"[21]

In addition, the concept of voluntary social and community organization was not permitted in the Soviet reality. Mutual relationships were not fostered, nor collective thinking. Instead, the system nurtured an intense egoism, fear, distrust and denunciation. This fear fostered an instinct for self-preservation.

Isajiw also noted that Russian-Ukrainian language mix is still very common among the new arrivals and "unlikely to change in the foreseeable future".

Thus, "the fourth wave" of immigrants from Ukraine or the former Soviet Union will not halt linguistic assimilation, nor will it strengthen organized Ukrainian community life in Canada. On the contrary, most of these immigrants lack motivation for such an endeavour, while their children quickly and gladly switch into English and become assimilated much sooner than children of the previous waves of immigrants.

Nevertheless, one wants to believe that this phase of their emigrant experience will be temporary and they will begin to organize themselves around their social and other needs. This will define the future because Canada is becoming more and more a country of many ethnic and racial groups in competition for their place on the various levels of the social and political life of this country. And every group will want to be a producer, as well as a consumer. It will not pay to lag behind in these processes. Racism, discrimination, honest and dishonest competition and the influence of those better organized will always play a role in the human relations of this country, and one has to be prepared for this, especially in a state where 98% of the population is immigrants. Herein lies the uniqueness of this country and herein also lies its complexity.

COMPARISON TO OTHERS

As the data from the 1991 and 1996 censuses demonstrates, according to O. Wolowyna, the dynamics of ethnic groups in Canada underwent great changes and decline after 1971– more so in some and less in others. For example, in 1971 there were 1,317,000 Germans of *single ancestry*, and in 1996 this figure fell to 726,000 (-45%); the number of Ukrainians decreased from 581,000 in 1971 to 332,000 (-43%); the number of Dutch fell from 426,000 to 314,000 (-26%); Italians decreased from 731,000 to 729,000 (-0.3%). The only and significant increase occurred with the Chinese, who grew from 119,000 in 1971 to 800,000 in 1996 (+572%).

One can read a number of reasons into the numeric increase of the Chinese group and other east and Southeast Asian groups. Among them, are the massive arrival of immigrants in recent years and the tendency of the Chinese group to settle in exclusive and sometimes not very tolerant colonies.

In Vancouver, for example, where recently the number of Chinese almost doubled, their exclusivity is forcing the city government to intervene in the blatant abuses of others by this group.

The lowest decline in language, according to Wolowyna, is noted among the Poles who now number 775,000 in Canada and the highest among the Jews who number 352,000. The latter intentionally compensate for this linguistic deficit with Jewish inflection and the modulation of English (American), even with a Yiddish jargon.

Wolowyna attributes the high level of language preservation among the Poles to the arrival of a Polish immigration, which between 1991 and 1996 stood at 5%, while Ukrainian immigration was merely 1% (although, as we have seen, the Ukrainian immigration does not significantly change the Ukrainian language situation in Canada). In addition, the number of Poles born in Canada is 75% and Ukrainians – 94%.

Another ethnic group to whom we have become accustomed to compare and reproach ourselves is the Jewish group. Numerically it is not large, and it has assimilated linguistically. However, its preservation is motivated around several ideas that are interconnected – a common ancestry, the myth about God's invocation to convert the world to Judaic "monotheism", a search for "the promised land", and the concept of diaspora with a unifying spiritual centre.

At first this spiritual centre was Palestine, but after the fall of this state the centre moved to Babylon and Persia, subsequently to Christian Spain, France, Germany, Poland, Russia, or more accurately Ukraine. Today, according to contemporary Jewish intellectuals, "the promised land" of the Jewish people and the heart of the mission of the Jewish "diaspora" is the United States of America.[23]

On the basis of recently published estimates there are currently 5 million 600 thousand Jews in North America. Of these 2 million do not consider themselves Jewish, while 1 million 200 thousand rarely attend synagogue.[24] However, the Jewish group in this territory, as Wolowyna states, has been able to be politically and economically very active and its influence on legislation in America and in Canada is very evident.

The preservation of the Jewish diaspora is motivated not so much by myths of religious mission,[25] as by myths derived from the past and recent Jewish histo-

ry. Other means of their self-preservation are: fostering from childhood a sense of being different, sense of superiority, mutual support and a philosophy that "the world is created for me" – a phrase that each Jew must repeat every New Year.[26]

The term "Diaspora" is related to the Jewish messianic dispersion and it has its own deep religious and eschatological meaning rooted in Judaism. Thus, in my view, the Ukrainian use of this term in relation to Ukrainian emigration is an artificial calque.[27]

COMMUNITY: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summing up, I want to place the issues raised above in the context of this conference in order to better understand the sources of the Ukrainian Canadian community's success in the past, the reasons for its present decline, and to project its prospects for tomorrow.

1) Yesterday

- The pre-WWII Ukrainian Canadian community was strengthened in the 1950s by the arrival in Canada of about 34,000 Ukrainian political refugees.

- The former infrastructure was replaced with a new and quite sophisticated organizational system.

- The dynamics of the "third wave" of immigration derived mainly from the political situation in Soviet Ukraine and a sense of duty to introduce this into the Western political consciousness and agenda.

- Despite the fact that this immigration was ideologically and confessionally segregated, in critical political situations, it always spoke with one voice.

- In the 1950s and 1960s Ukrainians were the third and in the Prairie Provinces second most numerous group in Canada, and their electoral power was felt provincially and federally.

- During the Cold War between the Western allies and the Soviet Union Canadian Ukrainians became an important force for creating awareness about

the Soviet Union among the Canadian population and became unofficial "partners" in Canadian foreign policy.

- In view of this the Prime Minister of Canada, John Diefenbaker, made a speech at the United Nations in defense of the political rights and independence of the Ukrainian state.

- In the 1960s University of Manitoba professor, J.B. Rudnyckyj, is appointed to a Royal Commission to study the issues of a Canadian policy on "bilingualism and biculturalism".

- In the 1970s Ukrainians are the driving force and leaders of the "third force" in Canada, a force standing side by side the Anglo-Saxon and French majorities.

- Under pressure from Ukrainian public opinion the Canadian government of Pierre Elliot Trudeau changes the status of Canada from a "bicultural" to a "multicultural" country.

- Seven Canadians of Ukrainian descent – William Wall (L), John Hnatyshyn (PC), Paul Yuzyk (PC), John Ewasew (L), Martha Bielish Palamarek (PC), Raynall Andreychuk (PC), and David Tkachuk (PC) are appointed senators.

- A Canadian of Ukrainian descent, Ramon Hnatyshyn (PC) is appointed Governor General of Canada.

- Ukrainians are appointed lieutenant governors of provinces: Stephen Worobetz (PC) – in Saskatchewan, Sylvia Fedoruk (PC) – in Saskatchewan, Peter Liba (L) – in Manitoba.

- John Sopinka (PC) is appointed to the Federal Supreme Court of Canada.

- Roy Romanow (NDP), Gary Filmon (PC), Laurence Decore (L), and Jim Melenchuk (L) are provincial party leaders, and R. Romanow and G. Filmon are premiers of Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

- Canadians of Ukrainian descent (M. Starr, N. Cafik, R. Hnatyshyn, S.

Paproski) are named ministers in the federal government.

- Between 1926 and 1975 – 62 Ukrainian Canadians are elected to the federal parliament.

- Ukrainians assume leading positions in other Canadian community, political and municipal offices.

- Ukrainians make a significant contribution to the academic, cultural and professional life of Canada.

- In 1979 there are 275 professors of Ukrainian origin in Canadian universities – 30% of them in humanities.

- A six volume English language Encyclopedia of Ukraine is published in Canada with partial financial assistance from the governments of three Canadian Prairie Provinces.

- Institutions, such as the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko, Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, Chairs of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto and the University of Ottawa, the Institute of Andrei Sheptycky at St. Paul University in Ottawa, the Canadian Centre of Ukrainian Culture and Ethnography at the University of Alberta, and others, are established.

- Departments of Ukrainian Studies with masters and doctoral programs at the Universities of Ottawa, Toronto, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and at other Canadian universities are established.

- As a result of organized efforts of the Ukrainian community bilingual (Anglo-Ukrainian) programs in public schools of Western Canada are created and Ukrainian language is recognized as a university entrance subject (Manitoba 1967).

Therefore, Ukrainian successes in Canada, both internally and externally, were primarily due to the community's organizational ability and visibility, its social dynamism and the capacity to take advantage of political circumstance.

2) Today

Beginning more or less in the early 1980s, Ukrainian position in Canadian life began to weaken. Several reasons account for this:

- The Soviet Union, which stimulated the political thinking and action of many, collapsed, and Ukraine became an independent country.

- A brief period of euphoria is followed; some continue to work for the independent homeland, others become disillusioned.

- Our organizations are aging and straining to survive.

- The generations that created an organized and influential Ukrainian Canadian community in 1950s began to retire from active work.

- Canada changes demographically, and Ukrainians move from third to ninth position in numerical strength.

- The Ukrainian community (94% born in Canada and of multiple ancestry) loses its vision, drive and the desire to be visible and is indifferent to the needs of the community.

- Loss of language creates loss of community cohesion. As a result, only an insignificant number of the young and the middle-aged have engaged in community activities.

- Ukrainian presence moved from the federal to the provincial level, and is limited to Western Canada; in most cases these are children of multiple parentage.

- The attitude of the federal government to "weaker" or less visible ethnic groups, among them Ukrainians, became very superior and neglectful.

- There are no signs of revitalization of community organizations from the newest "fourth wave" of immigration from Ukraine. Instead, it is assimilating at a faster pace than previous waves.

- The Ukrainian community (young and old) continues to think in denominational instead of secular and civic terms.

- Above all, the Ukrainian community is presently in a grave shortage of leaders and basic leadership.

- Today Ukrainian youth organizations Plast and SUM in Canada have approximately 1,200 members each.

- The League of Ukrainian Canadians (formerly the League for the Liberation of Ukraine), once a large organization, has about 1,100 members.

- The Ukrainian National Federation, also once a large organization, has approximately 1,000 members.

- The Ukrainian Professional and Business Federation numbers some 800 members.

- The Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada (BUKK) and the Ukrainian Canadian Self-Reliance League (SUS) and other smaller organizations are much smaller.

- And the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC) represents Ukrainian organizations whose total membership is approximately 10,000.

The diminishing usage of the Ukrainian language in Canada and gradual assimilation reflect a parallel process in Ukrainian Canadian organizational life. Provinces and communities with the highest rate of linguistic assimilation experience the greatest decline in organizational and cultural life.

In many cases, the cultural self-expression reaches the level of parody. In Alberta, Vegreville has constructed the world's largest *pysanka*; Glendon – the world's largest *varenyk*; Vilna – the world's largest mushroom. In Manitoba, Komarno erected a monument to a mosquito; Mundare (Alberta), where the mayor is the owner of a meat store, built the world's largest (42 feet) ring of *kovbasa*.

The Ukrainian community in Canada is dormant, intellectually exhausted, disillusioned, visionless, organizationally disinterested and dysfunctional.

3) Tomorrow

Speaking about the prospects for the Ukrainian community in Canada, the situation, referred to by some as a "crisis", is not unique and does not represent something particularly "Ukrainian". It is reflective of gradual integration and assimilation – an essential immigrant phenomenon.

Assimilation least affects communities that have a sustainable cultural base, can articulate a goal for their existence, demonstrate perseverance to be visible or to exercise influence and enjoy cultural support from their homeland.

The organizational form offering the best possibility for long-term community survival is, in my opinion, the professional and business association. The common denominator for such groups would be social and cultural activities, an interest in Ukrainian traditions as well as wider community issues, including political ones. These associations would be open to anyone who has any connection to or interest in Ukrainian issues.

In the near future the Ukrainian Canadian community will cease to be a community of organizations of mass membership, as was the case in the past. It will be a society of small communities.

In light of this, the national leadership of the UCC, its provincial councils and branches need to modernize their approach, become more dynamic and communicative in informing the UCC membership about its existence and its goals.

- There is a need to organize and strengthen our economic resources.

- It is absolutely necessary to create foundations or funds (within the Taras Shevchenko Foundation) for the purpose of adapting to the way in which modern communities work, for organizational development in the community and for the external activity of the Congress.

- Such funds can be raised from the sale of assets of those organizations who are winding up their activities, as well as from individual and corporate donations.

- There is much evidence that a strong financial base rather than appeals to the moral values and conscience of the government can strengthen the influence of the group.

- President of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress should be a paid position with executive assistants both for Eastern and Western Canada.

- The Ukrainian community's role with Government should be strengthened, and more interest in federal politics should be demonstrated.

- The Ukrainian community needs to develop its cultural sector because culture is the strongest element shaping any community.

- Networking events should be created. There is a need of high profile events on a regional basis to promote and display Ukrainian cultural presence.

- More and more Canada is becoming demographically a multi-ethnic country in which each ethnic group will compete for visibility and influence, and the wealthiest and best organized groups will prevail.

The Ukrainian community in Canada must not wait for "salvation" or "assistance" from the new waves of Ukrainian immigration to this country but must find its own means and resources to strengthen itself and become a factor in Canadian life. Above all, the Ukrainian community in Canada needs commitment, vision and leadership.

Translation from Ukrainian by Sophia Kachor

Notes:

1. "Ukrainian Western Diaspora: Achievements and Problems", Seventeenth Annual Conference on Ukrainian Topics, Ukrainian Research Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, June 24-27, 1998.
2. The Organizing Committee of the Institute included: Dmytro Shtohryn, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, director of Ukrainian Research Program (ex officio), Jaroslav Rozumnyj, University of Manitoba (coordinator), Wsevolod Isajiw, University of Toronto (director of research), Julian Kulas (director of finance) and members – Oleh Wolowyna, Myron Kuropas, Alexander Lushnycky, Vasyl Markus, and Martha B. Trofimenko.
3. "Ps & Bs conference to discuss future of Ukrainian diaspora", *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Sunday, August 9, 1998.
4. "Multiculturalism in the New Millennium", Organized by Ukrainian Professional and Business Club of Winnipeg, Inc., Manitoba Legislative Building, February 16-18, 2001.

5. Jaroslav Rozumnyj, "Do dzherel problem ukraïns'koï diaspory v Kanadi", in *Publitsyst mysli i sertsia. Zbirnyk prats' na poshanu 80-richchia Romana Oliynyka-Rakhmannoho*, Foreword by Ivan Dziuba, Fedir Pohrebennyk, editor, Kyïv, "*Chetverta khvylia*", 2000, p. 62-76; and also in the journal *Ukraïns'ki problemy*, No. 2, 1998 (Kyïv), p. 110-116.
6. Myron B. Kuropas, "Diaspora: disconsolate desperation?" *Ukrainian Weekly*, Sunday, July 26, 1998.
7. (Urbana-Champaign) "Problemy zakhidnoï ukraïns'koï diiaspory", *Ukraïns'kyi Holos* (Vinnipeg), 10 serpnia 1998.
8. Oleh Wolowyna, "Ukrainian Canadians in the Nineties: Ethnicity, Language and Recent Immigrants", paper presented at a Conference on the 50th Anniversary of UVAN in Canada – "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow – The Ukrainian Community in Canada", The Lombard Hotel, Winnipeg, May 13, 2000.
9. Jaroslav Rozumnyj, "Ukrains'ka prysutnist' u Kanadi – vchora, s'ohodni ï zavtra" [Ukrainian presence in Canada: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow], *Ukrainian News* (Edmonton), June 28 – July 25, 2000.
10. Oleh Wolowyna, "Ukrainians in the United States: An analysis of language assimilation by states from 1980 to 1990", *The Ukrainian Weekly* 2000. The most significant news stories and commentaries published in the *Ukrainian Weekly*, Volume II, 1970-1999, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, Parsippany, N.J., p. 218-227.
11. Andrij Makuch, "Prominent sociologist examines most recent wave of immigration", *Ukrainian News*, Edmonton, February 20 – March 5, 2002.
12. Yurii Sherekh, "Pro nezminne ï dochasne", *Ukraïns'ka Literaturna Hazeta* (München), ch. 4, 1955.
13. The last Canada Census took place on May 13, 2001.
14. O. Wolowyna ascribes this decline between 1981 and 1991 to the introduction in 1991 of the multiple ancestry category and some shifting from the single ancestry of 1971 to the multiple ancestry of 1991.
15. Cf. Andrij Makuch's "Ukrainian Canadians in the 2001 Census: An Overview".
16. 2,156 arrived in Canada in 1999, 3,306 in 2000. Cf. *Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society Newsletter*, Summer 2001. Today the number of new immigrants from Ukraine in the USA surpasses the number who arrived after World War II.
17. "Ethnic Russians only one part of community", *The Gazette*, Montreal, Saturday, May 26, 2001.
18. Cf. Andrij Makuch's "Prominent sociologist examines most recent wave of immigration", *Ukrainian News*, Edmonton, February 20 – March 5, 2002.
19. According to W. Isajiw's estimate (2000-2001) their number was approximately 18-20,000 in Canada and at least 100,000 in the United States. Cf. Andrij Makuch's "Prominent sociologist examines most recent wave of immigration", *Ukrainian News*, Edmonton, February 20 – March 5, 2002.
20. This information was provided by the co-editor of the American volume of the *Encyclopedia of the Ukrainian Diaspora*, Daria Markus, at the 20th Conference on Ukrainian Topics at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, June 18-24, 2001. There is an assumption that after independence approximately 2 million young people left Ukraine. Even in Portugal today there is a Ukrainian emigrant community of about 20,000. After World War Two the total number of refugees who did not return to Ukraine was approximately 200,000. Today, in 2003, the numbers are much higher.

21. Mykola Zhulynsky, "Iurii Shevel'ov-Sherekh, abo 'Poza mezhi mozhlyvoho'", *Literaturna Ukraina*, Kyiv, 1 kvitnia 1999, p. 10.
22. Andrij Makuch, *ibidem.*
23. K.S. P., "Diaspora", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, p. 320.
24. Neil Seeman, "The exodus tradition in action", *National Post*, Wednesday, April 19, 2000.
25. The Jewish community in Winnipeg intentionally did not include any synagogue in their newly built centre so as not to create religious conflict among its members.
26. "For as we approach the New Year (...), we are reminded that each person is obligated to say: "The world was created for me" [...] May we all be blessed materially and spiritually, and may we usher in the ultimate Redemption, NOW!" ("Two Heads are Better Than One", *L'Chaim.* The Weekly Publication For Every Jewish Person, Winnipeg, September 22, 2000).
27. The use of the term "holocaust" to denote Ukrainian victims of German Nazism in WWII is an unsuccessful calque.

PART TWO

UVAN in Canada

JAROSLAV ROZUMNYJ

UVAN in Canada: Fifty Years of Service

ORIGINS

The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada (in Ukrainian, Ukraïns'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk u Kanadi – UVAN) is a continuation of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences established in Germany in November 1945. The latter, in turn, is the heir of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Ukraïns'ka Akademiia Nauk – UAN), founded in Kyiv in April 1917. Legislation regarding UAN was enacted November 14, 1918 by the head of the Ukrainian government, Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky.[1]

UAN also carried on its work in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR), after the Communists captured Kyiv on February 11, 1919. Its scope of activity was expanded by government decree June 14, 1921 to include Ukrainians beyond the borders of the UkrSSR (in Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia) and its name was changed to the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Vseukraïns'ka Akademiia Nauk – VUAN). In 1922 the printing facilities of the Kyivan Cave Monastery were donated to the Academy.

During the period of Ukrainization, and especially after the return of Mykhailo Hrushevsky from abroad in 1924, membership in VUAN grew and its publishing activity increased. Between 1923 and 1931 one hundred and eleven collections of papers and a series of monographs in the field of history, literature, culture, economics and exact sciences were published.

This renaissance, however, did not last long. In 1929[2] a new repression of Ukrainian intellectuals began which lasted until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

After the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukraïny – SVU) trials in 1929 many members and several dozen of research associates were imprisoned or exiled without trial. The vice-president of VUAN, S. Yefremov, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. With him were sentenced: Y. Hermaize, A. Nikovsky, V. Hantsov, H. Holoskevych and M. Slabchenko. In 1930-31 the Academy was purged of many more of its associates, Hrushevsky was deported to Moscow and the leading scholars of the Academy were forced to attend meetings of "criticism and self-criticism". And in 1934 "the four members from Western Ukraine (which was part of Poland at that time) who had been elected full members [of VUAN] in 1929 – M. Vozniak, F. Kolessa, K. Studynsky, and V. Shchurat – were deprived of the title of academician".[3]

The structure of the Academy was changed: the historical-philological division was abolished; a large number of works published earlier by the Academy were banned for alleged "nationalist deviations"; VUAN serial publications in humanities were curtailed; the Rada (Council) replaced the Plenum as the governing body of the Academy and representatives of the Peoples Commissariat of Education were introduced into the Rada. Executive power was transferred to the Presidium which consisted of the president, two vice-presidents, a secretary and five academicians. Marxist-Leninist ideology was imposed and Communist Party control over the activity of the Academy was enhanced. The president of the Academy was not elected by academicians, as was previouly the case, but was appointed by the government.

Finally, in 1936 VUAN was renamed the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (AN URSR) [now the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (ANU)], which meant the total isolation of Ukrainian scholarship, the narrowing of its scope of activity to the territory of the UkrSSR and the Soviet Union and the repositioning of its activity from the humanities to mathematics, technical and natural sciences.

FOUNDING OF UVAN

The idea for the creation of an academic institution outside the borders of UkrSSR was put forward in Germany immediately after World War II (1945) in response to the situation in Soviet Ukraine and as an expression of the need for intellectual self-realization. This institution would continue the traditions of UAN-VUAN, react to the cultural and political situation in the UkrSSR and

would be the source of cultural self-expression for émigré Ukrainians.

Two proposals were put forward. The author of the first was Volodymyr Kubijovyč, who presented a general plan for the creation of a federation of scholars living abroad in his paper "Current Problems in Ukrainian Scholarship". Ukrainian scholars, in his opinion, ought "to present a series of problems before the people's consciousness, assist in solving them, tell the world about Ukraine and Ukrainians and gain friends for our cause".[4] In order to implement this program he proposed to create a "Mazepa-Mohyla Academy" as a "world centre for Ukrainian scholarship" based in Canada.

Another proposal, prepared by several scholars – Volodymyr Miiakovsky, Dmytro Doroshenko, Petro Kurinny, Pavlo Zajcev, Leonid Bilecky, Yurii Sherekh and Viktor Petrov – and set forth in "The Temporary Position of UVAN" was more amenable. At its core it placed the principle of a free association of scholars from all émigré research and scholarship centres into a "Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences". This plan addressed two concerns – to continue the work of scholarly institutions existing outside Ukraine and to link their work to the traditions of VUAN. The concept "free" denoted both the free and open dialogue of scholars and the independence of Ukrainian scholarship from any outside ideological influence.

"The Temporary Position of UVAN" was adopted November 15, 1945 and on December 5 of the same year the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences was established at a founding meeting in Augsburg, in the American Occupied Zone in Germany. A three member executive was elected: Dmytro Doroshenko – president, Leonid Bilecky – vice-president, and Volodymyr Miiakovsky – secretary, and after the departure of Miiakovsky from Europe Jaroslav Rudnyckyj became secretary.

The first section of UVAN was formed at that time – early history and prehistory from which eventually grew three groups: history, art history, and ethnography. At the same time, the following sections were also founded: literature, linguistics, Oriental studies, bibliography, pedagogy, psychology and economics.[5] In April 1946 the natural sciences group was formed, followed by biology, physics and mathematics. Hence, 13 scholarly groups were functioning by the end of 1946.

The executive members of the groups were: V. Shcherbakivsky, L. Chykalenko, M. Antonovych for pre-history; B. Krupnytsky, V. Matsiak for history; L. Bilecky, V. Doroshenko, V. Miiakovsky for the history and the theory of literature; J.B. Rudnyckyj, P. Kovaliv, V. Chalpenko for linguistics; V. Sichynsky, V.

Blavatsky, D. Horniatkevych for history of art; V. Shaian and V. Derzhavyn for Oriental studies; V. Petrov for ethnography; H. Vashchenko, Yu. Bobrovsky, N. Ishchuk for pedagogy and psychology; M. Barvinsky and D. Kvitkovsky for economics and sociology; S. Krashennykiv, M. Ovchynnyk and D. Zaitsiv for zoology; M. Vietukhiv and I. Rozhin for biology; B. Bohun-Chudyniv for mathematics and physics; and L. Bykovsky for bibliography.[6]

New sections were organized in 1947. Among them – a philosophy section chaired by D. Chyzhevsky, geography chaired by V. Kubijovyč and medicine chaired by M. Mishchenko.

The founders of the European UVAN were 12 scholars – fellows or associate members from former scholarly institutions in Ukraine (UAN, VUAN, NTSh and VUAK – the All-Ukrainian Archeological Committee). UVAN also brought together scholars who, during the inter-war period, worked in émigré institutions such as: the Ukrainian Free University (Prague, Munich), the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy (Poděbrady), the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute (Poděbrady), the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (Berlin), the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (Warsaw), the Ukrainian Sociological Institute (Prague), the Ukrainian Academic Committee in Europe, the Museum of Ukraine's Struggle for Independence (Prague), the Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library (Paris), and WWII refugees from all regions of Ukraine.

Almost all administration and publishing activity of UVAN in Western Europe was concentrated in the refugee camp in Augsburg and partly in Ulm, Germany. UVAN received financial aid from the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany (TsPUEN), initially in the sum of 1,000 marks per month and then 1,500 marks from February 1947.

Conditions in the refugee camps were not particularly conducive to scholarly endeavour. Elderly scholars had to queue for camp food,[7] work in quarters occupied by several people and undertake research without adequate personal or professional libraries, which were lacking not only in the refugee camps but also in post-war Germany in general. As of December 31, 1947 UVAN had 1,048 books, 115 volumes of periodicals, 99 English, 1,020 German and 49 French publications for a total of 2,325 books. Concurrently, work was under way to prepare a union catalogue of books in Ukrainian libraries in Germany and in libraries in departments of Slavic studies in German universities.

Between 1945 and 1948, UVAN continued to expand its activities in spite of the post-war conditions and the lack of financial resources. In 1946 it had 92 members on its roster, in 1947 – 149,[8] and in 1948 – 224 members. There were 14

active sections, which conducted over 400 sessions and conferences, published more than 60 research papers, and nine issues of *Litopys UVAN* (*UVAN Chronicles*) that provided an accurate overview of the work of scholarly institutions in existence in Western Europe.

The secretariat of UVAN worked successfully under the leadership of V. Miiakovsky, who collected and cared for camp archival material, which is stored in the American UVAN in New York. He also established the UVAN museum and initiated the founding of the Society for the Preservation of Graves.

As of January 1, 1948 the UVAN museum and archives had collected and registered 29,620 units of printed documents, publications and artifacts. Of these, 2,505 publications and mementos were distributed to other institutions. The Vatican Library received 629 rare documents and museum artifacts for protection from possible "repatriation" to the USSR;[9] 701 items were donated to the library of the Ukrainian Free University; 203 were sent to the museum branch in Berchtesgaden; and 972 to the museum branch in Aschaffenburg.[10]

The three-year European period of UVAN was a time of inspired creativity, professional determination and a sense of responsibility for the promotion of Ukrainian culture. Ukrainian scholars were motivated by the political dilemma of Ukraine, unresolved by the Second World War, by the hope for an early conflict between the West and the Soviet Union and a return to a freed homeland. This hope, however, was only the romantic illusion of refugees torn out of their native environment. Beginning in 1947-48 they were forced to emigrate from Germany and Austria and to settle in different parts of the globe. Augsburg lost its importance, and the UVAN centre was transferred to Winnipeg, Canada.

UVAN IN CANADA

UVAN-C began its activity in Winnipeg with the arrival of all three members of the European Presidium – the President D. Doroshenko, who came to assume a position at St. Andrew's College in 1947; the General Secretary J. Rudnyckyj and the Vice-President L. Bilecky. The latter two arrived in January 1949. Charged with organizing UVAN on the American continent, "all three members of the Presidium of UVAN undertook the task in early 1949".[11] Several meetings were held either at the residence of the General Secretary on Charles Street in Winnipeg or at the home of the President on College Avenue.

The first meeting, in which Doroshenko and Rudnyckyj participated, took

place on January 25, 1949. The following meetings, at which L. Bilecky was also present, occurred on February 4, 11 and 13, 1949. A number of decisions were made during the course of the first meetings: (a) to inaugurate the work of UVAN officially by registering with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee; (b) to undertake collaboration with Canadian scholars; (c) to develop a publishing program; (d) to acquire funds for the operational needs of UVAN; (e) to sponsor scholarly conferences and public lectures; (f) to establish an office facility, and (g) to develop contacts with non-Ukrainian scholars.[12]

In early February 1949 Bilecky and Rudnyckyj met officially with the President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (now Ukrainian Canadian Congress – UCC), Rev. V. Kushnir, in his parish office at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of Sts. Vladimir and Olga in Winnipeg. D. Doroshenko was not a participant of this delegation.[13] At this meeting the President of UCC was informed about "the founding of UVAN in Canada, about its plans, its possible official "registration" with UCC, its finances (non-existent at that time) and about its intent to encourage collaboration with Canadian scholars".[14]

The President of UCC and members of the Presidium (W. Kochan, Executive Director, J. Arsenych, T. Datskiv, V. Kossar and others) responded favourably to the founding of UVAN in Canada, but other than moral support and the cultivation of a positive community response could not offer material assistance to UVAN.

In the same year (1949) the Presidium decided to develop the UVAN membership roster and elected as Fellows such Canadian scholars as T. Pavlychenko, W. Kirkconnell, G. B. Simpson, Ivan Teslia; as Corresponding Members V. Kysilewsky, D. Kyslytsia, I. Hlynka, P. Yuzyk, I. Ivanys; as Associate Members Constantine Bida, George Luckyj, Yuri Mulyk-Lutzyk, Mykhailo Borowsky, Marko Antonovych, Stefan Rosocha and others.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Up to the middle of 1953 the various branches of UVAN functioned under a "federative" constitution approved in Germany in 1948. On the basis of this constitution each branch was registered in the country where it was located, functioned on the basis of its own by-laws and reported to the Presidium of UVAN in Canada.

In 1953 governance was transferred (for a three year term) from the

Canadian to the American UVAN (founded April 15, 1950), which was headed by Mykhailo Vietukhiv. In his report for 1953, the Acting President of the Canadian UVAN, L. Bilecky, notified UVAN members that the coordinating role of the Canadian UVAN had come to an end and appealed to members to continue the work of UVAN in the future in the spirit of unity and cooperation.[15] However, the new reality dictated something quite different. Individual branches complied with the legislation requirements and social structures of the country in which they were located and became more and more independent.

Nevertheless, competition for the leading role between the Canadian UVAN headed by J.B. Rudnyckyj and the American UVAN headed by M. Vietukhiv continued and was resolved amicably in 1955. A notice appeared in Winnipeg's *Ukrainian Voice* (March 30, 1955) indicating that "After the death of Prof. L. Bilecky, President of UVAN in Canada, Prof. J. Rudnyckyj will be the Acting Vice-President of the Canadian Branch of UVAN until the end of the three-year term 1954-56. During this time Prof. M. Vietukhiv, President of the American branch of UVAN, would serve as President of UVAN in the world and Prof. L. Chykalenko of New York would serve as Secretary General."[16] UVAN in Canada ceded its function as the "central" presidium to UVAN in the USA. This was, however, only a simple courtesy, which did not impose any obligation either on Winnipeg or on New York. Both centres of UVAN began to function independently while at the same time not abandoning the "Augsburg" agreements of 1948.[17] UVAN in Canada was incorporated federally as an independent organization June 2, 1958.

In order to preserve a certain form of "unity", in September 1959, after the Congress of Ukrainian Canadians, a Council of Ukrainian Scholars of Canada was created, and it included UVAN (Winnipeg), the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh, Toronto), the Research Institute of Volyn, the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Winnipeg) and the Ukrainian Military History Institute (Toronto). This "federation" was short-lived and its objectives were never translated into action. Each institution was governed by its own constitution, raised funds for its activities independently of each other, and had its own general or regional areas of interest. And this was the principle reason for their propensity to act autonomously.

Later, the World Council of Learned Societies, created by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (SKVU), would likewise not reach its objective. On a practical level, it has remained a paper body to this day, and, in a best case scenario, achieved a sense of having discharged a moral obligation. Today it focuses its

attention on Ukraine.

The history of UVAN in Canada, its infrastructure and publishing activities, can be divided into two periods – the period leading up to 1970, namely, the period of the presidency of J.B. Rudnyckyj, and the period after 1970. The critical milestone year was 1972.

At a Special Meeting on March 10, 1972 during the presidential tenure of M. Mandryka (1970-1973) a series of necessary changes and amendments to the constitution and by-laws of UVAN were approved. Up to the time of this meeting, according to the constitution of June 2, 1958, the number of fellows could not exceed 12. The president was elected by a college of fellows and executive governance rested in the hands of three individuals – the president, the vice-president and the secretary general. The work of the Academy was conducted in institutes and commissions of a nominal rather than practical nature.

Subsequent to the "presidential crisis", which lasted from February 4, 1973 to the Special General Meeting on December 9, 1973, a decision was made to reform this structure and to undertake an amendment of the academy's constitution in accordance with motions made in 1972 and at the December 9, 1973 meeting.[18] It was decided to increase the number of fellows, recruit younger members, expand the composition of the Presidium, and, if necessary, to co-opt members to the Presidium. The Academy's work was divided among three departments – the humanities, social sciences and mathematical and natural sciences.[19] It was agreed that the president would be elected for a three-year term on a rotational basis (among the departments). The position of Curator of the Academy was introduced, and Senator Paul Yuzyk was elected to it. With the adoption of the new constitution, which came into force October 24, 1976, and with the departure from UVAN of J. Rudnyckyj the crisis in the Academy's Presidium was resolved.[20]

Later, the number of sections increased in order to accommodate a wider range of activity, but they did not exhibit any independent initiative. Such initiative always had to come from the executive of the Presidium and focused on Ukrainian studies or Ukrainian Canadiana. Also, due to the dispersal of UVAN's membership across Canada and other reasons, neither the inter-departmental rotational electoral system nor the position of Curator, which during the time of the "crisis" was perhaps viewed as the guardian of internal order and governance, took hold.

As a result of these internal reforms in 1974 the number of fellows grew to 32. Of these, 14 were active university professors and three were retired profes-

sors. In 2003, UVAN has 56 fellows, 16 associate members, 2 corresponding members and two honourary members for a total of 76 members. Of these 34 are from Winnipeg, 42 from other Canadian cities.

Several attempts were made to create branches of UVAN, especially where there were no branches of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh). However, these plans never came to fruition.

At the Annual General Meeting of March 6, 1977, a decision was made to modify the English language name of UVAN by eliminating the word "Free" to Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada Inc. This name change was ratified by the Annual General Meeting of March 16, 1980.

THE OBJECTIVES

During the course of its 50-year history, the aims of UVAN derived from a variety of cultural and scholarly needs. They were defined at the first meeting of the Presidium of UVAN in January 1949 and in the review of UVAN activities for the period 1949-1962 they were described as follows:

- Scholarly research with an emphasis on humanities that were neglected, excluded or distorted in Soviet (and Western) scholarship;

- The importance of representation of Ukrainian scholars and their participation in international congresses of scholars and exchange of publications was underlined; and

- Creating cultural awareness within the community through public lectures.[21]

The focus of UVAN-C up to 1970 was basically a reflection of the interests of the current President J.B. Rudnyckyj who, through a variety of ways, such as participation in international congresses, publications and UVAN lectures, tried to bring attention to this institution. The new constitution revised and codified according to the resolution of the Special Meeting of the Academy, December 9, 1973, emphasized other priorities for the Academy:

- The creation of conditions conducive to the organized work of scholars and generally persons interested in the study of the cultural heritage of Ukrainians

in Canada and the culture of Canada;

- The attention and support for those interested in Ukrainian culture and issues relevant to a wider circle of Canadians;

- The establishment and maintenance of institutes, seminars, courses, museums, archives, libraries etc. that relate to the Ukrainian presence in Canada;

- The publication of works related to Ukrainian culture and culture in general.[22]

These aims were expanded upon in the address on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of UVAN in Canada. It was suggested that the burden which Ukrainian scholars in diaspora carried in the past – filling in the gaps and correcting that which was created by Soviet scholarship with respect to Ukraine – should now be assumed by Ukrainian scholars in an independent Ukraine. Institutions in the diaspora with their limited human resources and finances would concentrate on burning issues, which developed in all areas of life of the Ukrainian diaspora.

THE PRESIDENTS OF UVAN IN CANADA

The first President of UVAN in Canada was Dmytro Doroshenko who, due to complex issues that arose between him and his employers, returned to Paris[23] in 1950 and eventually to Munich where he died March 19, 1951.

Leonid Bilecky performed the function of President from the departure of D. Doroshenko to 1954. In 1954 a system of three-year terms in office was introduced for the president and presidium, elected by a college of fellows.[24] L. Bilecky was elected President for a three-year term (1954-57), but due to his state of health up to the time of his death (February 5, 1955) and after – until the end of his term (1957) – the responsibilities of President were assumed by Jaroslav Rudnyckyj.

In 1957 J. Rudnyckyj was elected President and was re-elected to the position until 1970. The Presidium continued to function as a college of three individuals – the president, the vice-president and the secretary general.

In 1970 Mykyta Mandryka was elected President for a three-year term (1970-1973), and he undertook a discussion on reforming the constitution of UVAN.

He was followed by Michael Tarnawecky elected February 4, 1973 for a three-year term. His First Vice-President was Ostap Hawaleshka, Second Vice-Presidents were M. Marunchak, who was at the same time chair of the history section, and J. Rudnyckyj, who chaired the humanities section. Olga Woycenko, who was a long standing member of the Presidium during Rudnyckyj's term in office was not elected to the new Presidium. The Presidium also did not support Rudnyckyj's recommendation to appoint O. Woycenko administrator of the UVAN Historical Museum and Archives in Canada nor his demand that costs associated with cataloguing material related to his work in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Ottawa be covered from the government grant designated for cataloguing the UVAN Historical Museum and Archives in Canada. Around these and other demands of J. Rudnyckyj a so-called UVAN "presidential crisis" developed.

After four months as President, M. Tarnawecky resigned June 14, 1973 citing "unhealthy" and "extremely difficult" circumstances that developed in the Presidium of UVAN.[25]

Borislaw Bilash was elected "Acting President" replacing M. Tarnawecky. However, having encountered the same demands and interference from Rudnyckyj as the previous President had, he also submitted his resignation on September 6, 1973.

M. Mandryka was elected the new "Acting President" and remained in this position until a Special General Meeting (December 9, 1973) was convened at which Alexander Baran was elected President to complete M. Tarnawecky's term of office.

J. Rudnyckyj opposed all "Acting Presidents" – B. Bilash and M. Mandryka, as well as the election of the new President A. Baran, stating that according to the constitution the "senior vice-president of UVAN" should become president, an interpretation that would make him the president. The *Bulletin*, No. 16/20/1, 1973 that appeared under the auspices of the humanities section chaired by J. Rudnyckyj, contained the following statement: "And once again according to the constitution the senior vice-president of UVAN should be elected "acting president", and in the event he declines to be elected, then the person to whom he would be inclined to delegate the leadership of the institution should be elected".[26] "Given the above-mentioned facts", Rudnyckyj continues, "the executive of the humanities section decided at its meeting of 29.9.1973 not to recognize the Presidium of 6.9.1973 as constituted generally and according to the constitution and to withdraw its members from it until such time as members of the

Presidium elected 4.2.1973 for the 1973-1975 term return to the solution of the current crisis in UVAN as foreseen by the constitution (articles 18 and 20)".[27]

After this statement, on February 2, 1975 Jaroslav Rudnyckyj was declared no longer to be a member of the Canadian UVAN. Thus, the "presidential crisis" in UVAN, which in fact was neither "presidential", nor "constitutional", came to an end.

The Presidium co-opted Jaroslav Rozumnyj[28] to chair the humanities section, and in 1977 he was elected President for a three-year term (1977-80). Subsequently, Alexander Baran was President up to 1983.

M. Marunchak headed the institution during the next two terms (1983-86 and 1986-89), followed once again by A. Baran (1989-1992), while M. Tarnawecky served as President from 1992 to 2000. In May 2000 Tarnawecky left the position of President and his term (to 2001) was completed by A. Baran.

Oleh Krawchenko became UVAN's President for the following three years (2001-2004). The present UVAV executive consists of: A. Baran – Past President, J. Rozumnyj – First Vice-President, Victor Deneka – Second Vice-President, Roman Yereniuk – Secretary, and Sophia Kachor – Treasurer.

PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES

The publishing activities of UVAN-C developed in several directions. They encompassed serial and non-serial publications. The serial publications included: *Slavistica, Onomastica, Literatura (Literature), Ukraïns'ki vcheni (Ukrainian Scholars), Zakhodoznavstvo (Ucrainica Occidentalia), Shevchenkoznavstvo (Shevchenko Studies), Ucrainica Canadiana (Ukrainian Canadian Bibliography), Litopys UVAN (UVAN Chronicle),* and *Biuleten' UVAN (UVAN Bulletin).*

Until 1970 emphasis was placed on serial publications which appeared regularly in a small format. Having no clear thematic definition, they often overlapped each other. On the one hand, small format issues could be published on a modest budget and create the impression of an extensive publishing program. On the other hand, these publications could be viewed as "brochures".

Therefore, a new publishing policy was introduced – larger monographs and collections of papers instead of small serial publications. This reorientation was first implemented with the publication of an English-Ukrainian jubilee collection of essays on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of UVAN. The collection was edited by Oleh Gerus, who was responsible for English language material, Jaroslav

Rozumnyj, who edited essays in Ukrainian, and Alexander Baran, the presiding President, who held overall editorial responsibility.

a) Serial Publications

J. Rudnyckyj was the editor of the *Slavistica, Onomastica, Ucrainica Occidentalia, Shevchenko Studies* and *UVAN Chronicle* series; D. Sokulsky and J. Rudnyckyj were editors of the bibliographic series Ucrainica Canadiana; M. Mandryka edited the series *Literature* and *Ukrainian Scholars*; M. Borowsky edited *UVAN Bulletin* and after 1973 each serving president acted as editor. From 2001 the editor is Sophia Kachor.

The ***Slavistica*** series (1948-1986), which appeared in Ukrainian, English and German, contained 87 issues. This series included works that related to Slavic languages, literatures, cultures, ethnography, archeology and other topics with a particular emphasis on Eastern Europe.

The first three issues appeared in Augsburg, Germany; subsequent issues, beginning in 1949, came out in Winnipeg. This series included authors such as J.M. Foster, P. Fylypovych, S. Hordynsky, W. Jaszczun, W. Kirkconnell, J. M. Kirschbaum, V. Kaye-Kysilewsky, C. A. Manning, W. K. Matthews, I. Mirtchuk, W. J. Rose, J. Rudnyckyj, Y. Sherekh, G. W. Simpson, R. Smal-Stocky, V. Svoboda, and others.

Among the more notable English and German language publications in this series are the following: *The Origin of the Word Rus'* (R. Smal-Stocky, 1949), *Das Daemonische bei den Russen und die Ukrainer* (I. Mirtchuk, 1950), *The Name Rus', Russia and Ukraine and Their Historical Background* (G. W. Simpson, 1951), *Slavic Groups in Canada* (V. J. Kaye, 1951), *Common English Loanwords in East European Languages* (W. Kirkconnell, 1952), *Taras Shevchenko the Man, the Symbol* (W. K. Matthews, 1961), *The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign and Ukrainian Folk Poetry* (S. Hordynsky, 1962).

Noteworthy among the Ukrainian language publications in the Slavistica series were: *The Language of "Slovo o polku Ihorevim" A Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign* (V. Chaplenko, 1950), *The Period of Bulgarian-Ukrainian Literary Relations. The Influence of Shevchenko on Bulgarian Poetry* (M. Mandryka, 1956), and *Burns and Shevchenko* (J. Rudnyckyj, 1959).

The ***Onomastica*** series (1951-1976) was inaugurated in Winnipeg and encompasses 50 issues. It contains works in Ukrainian, English and French by, among others, E. Borschak, R. Dawson, S. Hordynsky, W. Jaszczun, R. Klymasz, O.

Kupranec, G. Mulyk-Lutzyk, J. Nemeth, E. von Richthofen, J. Rudnyckyj, E. R. Seary, P. Skok, G. Tibon, and B.O. Unbegaun. They relate to the study of the origin and formation of proper names in Canada and Ukraine.

Some titles (in English and French) in this series are: J.B. Rudnyckyj's *The Term and Name "Ukraine"* (1951), his *The Names "Galicia" and "Volynia"* (1952) and *Canadian Place Names of Ukrainian Origin* (1952), *L'origine du nom des Ruthènes* (B. O. Unbegaun, 1953), *Canadian Toponymy and the Cultural Stratification of Canada* (W. Kirkconnell, 1954), *The Term and Name "Canada"* (I. Velyhorsky, 1955), *Indian, Pseudo-Indian Place Names in the Canadian West* (C. M. Jones, 1956), *A Classified Dictionary of Slavic Surname Changes in Canada* (R. B. Klymasz, 1961), *The Names "Rusychi"and "Rusovychi"* (S. Hordynsky, 1963).

There were 49 issues (up to 1983) in the ***UVAN Chronicle*** series. The first nine were published in Germany and subsequently in Canada beginning with No. 10. Among the more noteworthy titles in the series published in Canada are: *The Development of Ukrainian Scholarship in the Name of Shevchenko* (1949), a lecture by D. Doroshenko at the first Shevchenko session of UVAN (1949) in Canada, and *The Impending Tasks of Shevchenko Studies* (1958) by J. Rudnyckyj.

Ucrainica Canadiana (1954-1972), which released 20 issues, encompasses bibliographic information on Ukrainian publications in Canada.

The ***Literature*** series (1949-1970) included 11 issues. The first, published in Augsburg, was D. Chyzhevsky's study about *Cultural and Historical Epochs.* Subsequent issues were published in Winnipeg (in Ukrainian): *Shevchenko the Believer* (L. Bilecky, 1949), *Shevchenko and Franko* (M. I. Mandryka, 1957), *The Ideological Underpinnings for Shevchenko's "Hamaliia"* (W. Zyla, 1958), *Ivan Franko and Russia* (Yar Slavutych, 1959), *Lost Resources* (V. Chaplenko, 1960), *The Greatness of Shevchenko* (Yar Slavutych, 1960), *Natalena Koroleva* (O. Kopach, 1962), *Taras Shevchenko. His Message to Humanity* (in English, W. J. Lindal, 1964), and others.

The ***Ukrainian Scholars*** series produced 19 issues. Among them were *Dmytro Doroshenko* (1949) and *Omelian Ohonovsky* (L. Bilecky, 1950), *Kost' Mykhalchuk* (Y. Sherekh, 1952), *Vasyl Simovych* (P. Kovaliv, 1953), *Vsevolod Hantsov. Olena Kurylo* (Y. Sherekh, 1954), *Leonid Bilecky* (M. I. Mandryka, 1957), *Ivan Pankevych* (K. Kysilewsky, 1958), *Volodymyr L. Symyrenko* (I. Rozhin, 1960), *The Bio-bibliography of J. Rudnyckyj* (M. Mandryka, 1961), *Ivan Zilynsky* (K. Kysilewsky, 1962) , and others.

Between 1956 and 1963, 9 issues of the ***Ucrainica Occidentalia*** anthologies were published. Included in this series were four volumes of *Ukrainian-Canadian*

Folklore and Dialectological Texts, vol. I, 1956, vol. II, 1958, vol. III, 1960, vol. IV, 1962-63, edited by J. Rudnyckyj.

Thirty-six issues of ***UVAN Bulletin*** appeared prior to December 2002. This publication is similar to the UVAN Chronicle published in Germany. From 1955 the *UVAN Bulletin* began to restrict itself only to overviews of the activities of UVAN in Canada.

The ***Shevchenko Studies*** series included: the four volume *Kobzar* by T. Shevchenko (1952-54) edited by L. Bilecky; *Kobzar* (1860) edited by J. Rudnyckyj; *Kobzar* edited by V. Simovych and re-edited by J. Rudnyckyj; *Kobzar* (second edition) translated into English by A. Hunter, and the "Osnova" Kobzar of 1861 also edited by J. Rudnyckyj.

b) Non-Serial Publications

The following works were published (in Ukrainian and English) outside the UVAN series: the textbook *A Modern Ukrainian Grammar* by George Luckyj, University of Toronto and Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj, University of Manitoba (in English, 1949); a bibliographic compilation *Ukrainian Books for Public Libraries* (J. Rudnyckyj, 1956); *Frankiiana in American and Canadian Libraries* (Maryna Antonovych-Rudnycka, 1957); *Frankiiana in Canada* (Olga Woycenko, 1957); *History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada* (Mykyta Mandryka, 1968, in English); *A Short History of the Cossacks*, 4th edition (Volodymyr Antonovych, 1972); *Canadian Rus'* (Nestor Dmytriv, 1973, a republication from 1899); *Ukrainians in [the] USSR Beyond the Borders of Ukrainian SSR* (Mykhailo Marunchak, 1974); *Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, vol. II, by M. Marunchak (1974); an essay *Agricultural Education in the Lands of Western Ukraine: 1799-1944* (1974) and *Plants from Ukraine in Canada* (Mykhailo Borowsky, 1975, in English); *Free Lands* (O. Oleskiw, 1975), a reprint from 1896; a biographical sketch about *Vasylenko Polonska* (Iraida Tarnawecka, 1975); *Homiletic "Talks" of Mykhailo Luchkai* (Alexander Baran, 1977); *Borys Martos* (Andrij Kachor, 1977); *Towards a Synthesis of 'Kliarnetyzm' (Clarinetism)* (Yurii Lavrinenko, 1977); *M. Mandryka's Canada. A Poem*, foreward and translation by W. Kirkconnell (1977, in English); *Ewhen Chraplyvy* (A. Kachor, 1980); *Biographical Dictionary to the History of Ukrainian Canadians* (M. Marunchak, 1981); *"Chervona Kalyna"*, on the 60th anniversary of its publishing activity (A. Kachor, 1983); *Roman Rakhmanny: A Bibliographic Guide to Selected Works* (Nadia M. Olynyk, 1984, in English); *A Bibliography of Michael H. Marunchak* (edited by W. Zyla, 1991); *Cossack and*

Persian Relations in the Works of Pietra della Valle (A. Baran, 1985); *A Nation's Struggle for Existence. Ukraine and Its Diaspora 1932-33* (M. Marunchak, 1985); *Studies About the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Germany* (P. Romanyshyn, 1988); *The Methodian Roots of Medieval Ukrainian Christianity* (G. Knysh, 1989, in English); *An Outline of the History of Priashiv Region* (A. Baran, 1990); *The Secret of Early Rus' in Kyiv* (G. Knysh, 1991); *Rus' and Ukraine in Medieval Times* (G. Knysh, 1991, in English); *The Role of Clergy in the Economic Renaissance of Western Ukraine* (A. Kachor, 1992); *Chuchka* (A. Baran, 1993); *Rus'ka Pravda and Its Textual History* (by Leonid Bilecky, edited by G. Knysh, 1993); *Michael Sherbinin in Winnipeg: A Preliminary Study* (G. Knysh 1994, in English); and his *Ockham Perspectives* (1994); *M. Hrushevsky's Concept and Our Current Textbooks of the History of Ukraine* (B. F. Korchmaryk, 1994); *J.V. Stalin, Exercises in Critical and Moral Reasoning* (P. Thomas, 1997, in English).

c) Monographs and Anthologies

The larger monographs (in Ukrainian and English) published by UVAN include: *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* in two volumes by Jaroslav Rudnyckyj, which came out in separate issues between 1962 and 1975; *Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (M. Marunchak, 1970, 1982, in English); five volumes of his *Studies in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (1964-1980); two volumes of *The Ukrainian Canadians. A History* (1968, 1982) and *Biographical Dictionary to a History of Ukrainian Canadians* (1986).

In addition to these publications, several collections of scholarly papers were published by UVAN: the previously mentioned *The Jubilee Collection of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science in Canada* (in Ukrainian and English) edited by A. Baran, O. Gerus and J. Rozumnyj (1976); *New Soil – Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (1983) edited by J. Rozumnyj; *Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine 988-1988* (1989, in English) edited by O. Gerus and A. Baran; *The Millennium Collection – Christianity in Ukraine 988-1988* (1991, in Ukrainian) edited by A. Baran and O. Gerus, and *Life Experience of Ukrainians in Canada: Reflections* (1994, in Ukrainian) edited by O. Gerus, I. Tarnawecka and S. Jarmus.

SCHOLARLY AND PUBLIC LECTURES

Important components of UVAN's activities, in addition to publishing, are the scholarly sessions, conferences and public lectures. The presenters are local members of UVAN – professors and lecturers at the Universities of Manitoba and Winnipeg, invited out-of-town university professors, researchers and writers, cultural and community activists. Often these lectures were co-sponsored with the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba or in cooperation with other cultural and educational institutions in Winnipeg. The following are some of the papers and lectures presented at UVAN.

The first academic event of UVAN in Canada was the Shevchenko session of March 13, 1949[30] at which presentations were made by the members of the UVAN Presidium: D. Doroshenko, L. Bilecky and J. Rudnyckyj. D. Doroshenko spoke about "The Development of Ukrainian Scholarship Under the Shevchenko Banner". Other presentations and events during the first year of UVAN's activities in Canada were: "V. Samiilenko and His Works" (L. Bilecky); an academic session dedicated to Ivan Franko (G.W. Simpson); "International Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Paris" (R. Shulhyn, France); "Scholarship and Scholars in Europe and the American Continent" (I. Yarema); "Ukrainian Scholarship Under the Soviets" (M. Vietukhiv, USA); and a lecture on the 55th anniversary of the death of Omelian Ohonovsky (L. Bilecky, December 18).

During the following years UVAN-C sponsored lectures: "Ukrainian Antique Manuscripts" (Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohienko), 1951); "Twentieth Anniversary of the Ukrainian Free University" (Bilecky, Rudnyckyj and K. Antonovych, 1951); "The Centenary of the Death of Mykola Hohol" (1952); "The Crime and Punishment of Taras Shevchenko" (L. Bilecky, 1953); "Ukrainian Literature and Its Role in the Rebirth of the Ukrainian Nation" (U. Samchuk, 1953); "Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the Ukrainian Academy of Science (UAN) in Kyiv and the Fifth Anniversary of UVAN in Canada" (Bilecky, Rudnyckyj, Yuzyk and Mulyk-Lutzyk , 1953); "Leonid Mosendz: the Fifth Anniversary of His Death" (Yevhen Stakhiv, USA, 1953); "Shevchenko and the Treaty of Pereiaslav" (P. Yuzyk, 1954); "The Problems of Being Ukrainian in Canada" (M. Bachynsky, 1954); "Ukrainian-English Lexicography" (J. N. Krett, 1955); "Changes in Ukrainian Surnames in Canada" (J. Rudnyckyj, 1957); "Scholarship and the Independence Issue" (L. Holejko, 1958); "The Relationship Between Politics and Scholarship in the Diaspora" (M. Livytsky, Germany, 1958); "The Evolution of the Language of Poetry and English Translations of Shevchenko" (Maara Lazechko-Haas, 1958);

"The Tasks Before Shevchenko Studies Today" (J. Rudnyckyj, 1958); "Pavlo Fylypovych" (O. Fylypovych, 1958); "Ukrainian Topics in the New Canadian Encyclopedia" (J. Rudnyckyj and P. Yuzyk, 1959);[31] "M. Vietukhiv: His Life and Work" (J. Rudnyckyj and M. Borowsky, 1959); "Culture Under the Soviets" (I. Avakumovych, 1959); "The Meaning of Tradition" and "Asian Aspects to the History of Russia" (Ivan Mirtchuk, 1960); "Ukrainian-Canadian Literature and the Problem of Integration" (M. Luchkiv, Toronto, 1960) marked the 15th anniversary of the founding of UVAN and its 11 years of activity in Canada; "Taras Shevchenko and Lesia Ukrainka" (J. Rudnyckyj, 1961) on the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lesia Ukrainka and the centenary of the death of Taras Shevchenko; "The Nation Building Role of Shevchenko" (Viktor Domanytsky, USA, 1961); "Shevchenko and Marko Vovchok" (J. Rudnyckyj, 1961); "The Development and Current State of Writing Ukrainian Dictionaries" (J. Rudnyckyj 1962); "The Problem of Art and Artists in the Life and Works of Lesia Ukrainka" (M. Antonovych-Rudnycka, 1963); "The Nation Building Significance of Shevchenko" (A. Neprytsky-Granovsky, USA, 1963).

Through the efforts of UVAN a meeting of Ukrainian librarians took place June 29, 1963, at which the need for compiling a retrospective Ukrainian bibliography in Canada (1904-1953), as well as the feasibility of creating a Ukrainian group within the Canadian Association of Librarians in Ottawa were discussed. A symposium on bilingualism in Canada was held November 24, 1963 with the participation of Judge J. Lindal and Rev. I. Reckem, Isydor Hlynka and B. Bilash.

Rudnyckyj delivered a lecture on "Shevchenko and the Problem of Two Cultures" at the Shevchenko session and Slavutych on "T. Shevchenko's Poetic Devices" (1964).

The following lectures were delivered between 1965 and the early 1970s: "Studies in the Language of Lesia Ukraïnka" (J. Rudnyckyj, 1965); "The Universal in the Works of T. Shevchenko" (W.J. Lindal, 1965); "Ahapii Honcharenko in America" (M. Marunchak, 1965) on the 100th anniversary of his arrival; "The Artistic Legacy of Taras Shevchenko" (D. Horniatkevych, USA, 1966) at the joint Shevchenko session with the American UVAN; "Frankiiana in UVAN (Canada)" (J. Rudnyckyj, 1966); "The Art Treasures of Florence" (L. Kachor-Hawryluk, Montreal, 1966); "The Life of Scholars in Contemporary Ukraine" (Peter Kondra, 1966); "Franko and Byron – Towards the Evolution of One Theme" (J. Muchin, 1966); "Ukrainian Presence in Canada Prior to 1891" (Oleksander Roick, 1966); "The Constitutional Guarantee of the Languages and Cultures of Minorities in Ukraine in the Years 1918-19" (J. Rudnyckyj, 1969); "Cyrillic Manuscripts and

Antique Books in Canada" (I. Tarnawecka, 1969); "Metropolitan A. Sheptycky's Vision for a Ukrainian State in 1914" (T. Mykhailivsky, 1969); "Shevchenko's Translations of Slovo o polku Ihorevim" (J. Rudnyckyj, 1970); "The Ukrainian Settlers in the Agricultural Mosaic of Manitoba" (S. Prystupa, 1970); "The History of Monuments to Shevchenko" (Leo Mol, 1971); "Ukrainian Scholarship in the Diaspora" (J. Rudnyckyj, 1971); "Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris" (Petro Plevako, Paris, 1971); "The Distribution of Canadian Arctic Mollusks in Conditions of Glacial and Current Environments" (Irene Lubinsky, 1972); "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and Ukrainian Cossack Statehood" (A. Baran, 1972); "Symbols in the Philosophy of Hryhorii Skovoroda" (S. Pohorilyj, 1972); "Fragments from the History of Ukrainian Church Music" (P. Macenko, 1974), "Seventy Three Years of Ukrainian Poetry in Canada" (Yar Slavutych, Edmonton, 1974), "The Participation of Ukrainians in the Discovery of the Northwestern Shores of America" (M. Huculak, Vancouver, 1974); "The Impact of Ukrainian Statehood on the Life of Ukrainians in Canada" (M. Zalozetsky,1976), "The Image of *perebendia* (the merry idler) in Shevchenko's Poem of the Same Name" (Y. Mulyk-Lutzyk, 1976).

The term of J. Rozumnyj (1977-1980) coincided with his headship of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba and for this reason many speakers, invited to the University, also made appearances at UVAN.

Among the out-of-town speakers in 1977 were: Peter J. Potichnyj (McMaster University) presenting a lecture on "Dissidence in the Ukrainian SSR"; Evhen Roslycky (University of Western Ontario) speaking on "Shevchenko in *Ukrainian Nights* by Jerzy Jïdrzejewicz"; and Bohdan Rubchak (University of Illinois at Chicago) speaking on "The 'Emigrating Nature'of Ukrainian Émigré Poetry".

In 1978 Andrij Hornjatkevyč (University of Alberta) delivered a paper on "The Music of Ukrainian Cossack Dumas"; Edward Kasinec (Harvard University Library) read a lecture on "Ukrainization and Ukrainian Bibliography: the Sad Career of Yurii Mezhenko".

In 1979 Oleh Ilnytzkyj, a doctoral candidate from Harvard University, spoke about "Psychologism in the Prose of Les' Martovych"; George Grabowicz (Harvard University) presented a paper entitled "Rethinking Shevchenko"; and Natalia Pylypiuk, a doctoral candidate from Harvard University, spoke on the theme of "Polish-Ukrainian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Some Issues in the Theory of Literature"; Mykola Buduliak-Sharehyn (England) spoke about "My Memories of Soviet Prisons and Exile"; and in 1980 John Fizer (Rutgers University) delivered a lecture on "The Coded Presence of General Aesthetic

Categories in the Works of Shevchenko".

Topics presented by the local speakers were: "Byzantine Art and Its Influence on Kyivan Rus'" (A. Baran, 1978); "Shevchenko's First Kobzar and Russian Criticism" (N. Aponiuk, 1978); "Ukrainian Language Trends in Canada" (I. Tarnawecka, 1979); "The Art of Kyivan Rus'" (A. Baran, 1979); "Some Thoughts on the Life of M. Mandryka (Irene Lubinsky, 1979); "The Political Activity of Mykyta Mandryka" (M. Marunchak, 1979); and the "75th Anniversary of Ukrainian Books in Canada" (M. Marunchak, 1980).

The collaboration of the Department of Slavic Studies with UVAN continued in ensuing years and included the following three public lectures between 1980-1983: "Materials for the Study of Famine in Ukraine" (Marco Carynnyk, USA, 1981); "The Current Resistance Movement in Ukraine and Shevchenko" (V. Markus, USA, 1981); and "Three Perspectives on the Cossack Past – Hohol, Shevchenko, Kulish" (G. Grabowicz, USA, 1981).

A session was held marking the 90th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada with a lecture by Michael Ewanchuk ("The First Colonies in Manitoba: Stuartburn, Terebowlia and Pleasant Home"), while on the same occasion Michael Marunchak presented an exhibition of documents related to 90 years of Ukrainian settlement (October 25, 1981).

The 60th anniversary of the Ukrainian Free University was celebrated in the fall on 1981 with a presentation of four papers: "Byzantine Intellectual Art" (A. Baran); "The Depiction of Ukrainians in Canadian Literature" (N. Aponiuk); "Ukrainian Education in the Public Schools of Canada" (B. Bilash); and "On the Beginnings of the Ukrainian Free University: Vienna – Prague" (M. Marunchak).

In 1982 the following papers were delivered: "New Interpretations of *Povist vremennykh lit*" (G. Knysh); "Feminism in Ukrainian History" (Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, USA); "The Age of Khmelnytsky in the Context of the Revolutions of the Seventeenth Century" (Frank Sysyn, USA); "Petro Andrusiw" (A. Kurdydyk). The latter also delivered an address at a session marking the 60th anniversary of "*Chervona kalyna*" on the topic of "The Ukrainian Press in Western Ukraine", while A. Kachor spoke about the activities and publications of "*Chervona kalyna*". In 1982 A. Baran presented a paper on "Persian and Cossack Relations in the 17th Century", N. Pylypiuk presented an overview of literary sources and the significance of the first panegyric of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy *Evkharisterion abo vdiachnost' (The Eucharist or Gratitude).*

These are some of the papers presented during M. Marunchak's presidency (1983-89): "Romantic Irony in the Works of Taras Shevchenko" (H. Muchin,

1983); "The Poetic Activity of Ukrainians in the USA and the Most Current Poem by Yar Slavutych" (W. Zyla, USA, 1983); "The 65th Anniversary of UAN and Mykola Vasylenko" (M. Marunchak, 1983); "Prehistoric Sculpture As a Source of Understanding the Anthropological Makeup of Ukraine" (B. Stebelsky, Toronto, 1983); "A Sociological and Critical Analysis of the Ukrainian Community in Canada" (Wsevolod Isajiw, Toronto, 1983); "Background to the Appearance of Markian Shashkevych" (M. Marunchak, 1983); "Cultural Relations Between Zakarpattia and Halychyna During the Time of Markian Shashkevych" (A. Baran, 1983); "Shashkevych and the *Shestydesiatnyky* (The Sixtiers)" (J. Rozumnyj, 1983); "The Famine Siege of Ukraine and Ukrainian Protest Action in 1933" (M. Marunchak, 1983); "Shevchenko's *Kateryna* in Contemporary Ukrainian Poetry" (J. Rozumnyj, 1984); "Russian Nationalism in the USSR" (P. Potichnyj, Hamilton, 1984); "Religious Motifs in the Poetry of Ukrainian Dissidents" (A. Chernenko-Rudnytsky, Edmonton, 1984); "The Issue of Trust in Ukrainian Scholarship – The Harvard Project" (R. Procyk, USA, 1984); "The Artistic Movements of the Twenties in Ukraine" (M. Shkandrij, 1984); "Promethean Motifs and Imagery in the Works of Lesia Ukrainka" (W. Zyla, USA, 1985); "On the Occasion of the 800th Anniversary of *Slovo o polku Ihorevim*" (S. Hordynsky, 1985); an evening with the author Vira Vovk-Selianska (Brazil, 1985); "The Literary Work of Mykola Kostomarov" (H. Muchin, 1985); "The Image of Sahaidachny in the Poems of Sakovych" (Yar Slavutych, Edmonton, 1985); "On the 40th Day After the Passing of Dr. V. Kubijovyï" (A. Kachor, 1985); "Medical Social Services in Canada and in Other Countries of the World" (J. Barwinsky, 1985); "The Extension of Age" (S. Hrushovetz,1986); "WWII in the Poetry of the *Shestydesiatnyky* (The Sixtiers) and the New York Group" (J. Rozumnyj, 1986); "Ukrainian Icons and Church Polychromy" (O. Pawliw, 1986); "Franko and Ovid" (W. Zyla, 1986); "Reference Books in the Life of Scholars and the Community", on the occasion of the presentation of M. Marunchak's *Biographical Dictionary to the History of Ukrainian Canadians* (A. Kurdydyk, 1986); "Professional Training – the Core of the Economic Renaissance of Western Ukraine" (A. Kachor, 1986); "Shevchenko and Ukrainian Poetry in the Diaspora" (B. Rubchak, 1987); "Ukrainian Church Architecture" (V. Deneka, 1987); "Ukrainian Church Art in Canada" (R. Kowal, 1987); "The Influence of Religion on the Formation of Modern National Thinking" (V. Markus, USA, 1988); "About the Secret of Early Rus' in Our Lands" (G. Knysh, 1988).

A joint session of UVAN and the Ukrainian Historical Society (UIT) at the beginning of 1989 marked the 25th anniversary of the founding and work of UIT.

The following individuals presented papers: L. Wynar (USA) on the theme of "The 25th Anniversary of "The Ukrainian Historian" [*Ukrains'kyi Istoryk*] and the State of Ukrainian Historical Scholarship in the Diaspora" (A. Baran read the paper in the absence of the speaker) and Orest Subtelny from York University (Toronto) on the methodology of his work *Ukraine: A History*, which appeared in 1988 (in English). Papers by M. Gava (Toronto) on "Ira Aldridge and [His] Friendship with Shevchenko" and "Zaporizhzhia and the Cossack Isle of Khortytsia" were read April 23, 1989.

On October 23, 1989 UVAN and the Department of Slavic Studies sponsored an appearance by Ivan Drach from Kyiv, co-founder and head of the National *Rukh* Movement of Ukraine (Narodnyi Rukh Ukraïny – NRU) at the Planetarium of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. After this community meeting, members of UVAN – J. Barwinsky, J. Rozumnyj and M. Tarnawecky – formed a steering committee (in November) for the founding of a Winnipeg branch of Friends of NRU.

In 1990 there were three guest speakers from Ukraine: Yaroslav Isaievych (March 4), Solomiya Pavlychko (April 22) and Larysa Brioukhovetska, editor of the journal *Kino-Teatr*, appeared November 11 speaking about new developments in Ukrainian cinematography.

And finally, here are some papers and lectures presented at UVAN-C between 1991 and 2003: "Irony in Shevchenko's Poem *Moskaleva krynytsia*" (J. Rozumnyj, 1991); "Neo-Ruthenianism in Trans-Carpathia" (A. Baran, 1991); "The Polish Reaction to the Declaration of Sovereignty and Independence by Ukraine" (V. Mokry, Poland, 1992); "Catholic-Orthodox Dialogue" (O. Krawchenko, 1992); "The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and Ukraine Today" (V. Brioukhovetsky, Kyiv, 1993), co-sponsored with the Canadian Support Committee for the National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" – CSC NaUKMA (January 31, 1993); "Ivan Ohiienko in the Context of a Ukrainian National Renaissance" (O. Gerus, 1993); "Skovoroda and the Bible" (O. Krawchenko, 1993), co-sponsored with St. Andrew's College; "Polish-Ukrainian Relations During the Inter War Years" (A. Chojnowski, Poland, 1993), held jointly with the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba; as well as a lecture on "Ukraine Before Elections" (M. Riabchuk, Kyiv, 1993); "The Creative Development of Mykhailo Boichuk" (M. Shkandrij, 1994); the Shevchenko session was held jointly with the Department of Slavic Studies with Marko Pavlyshyn from the Monash University, Australia (1994); "The First Multi-partisan Elections in Ukraine – An Important Step on the Road to Transition to a Democratic Society" (V. Vasylashko, Ukraine, 1994);

"Conditions in Ukraine after Inconclusive Elections to the Verkhovna Rada" (O. Serhiienko, Ukraine, 1994); "The Current Situation in Ukraine" (S. Holovaty, Ukraine, 1994); "Three-year Experience of the National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" (V. Brioukhovetsky, Ukraine, 1994), sponsored by the Canadian Support Committee for NaUKMA; "European Dreams and Eurasian Reality" (M. Riabchuk, Ukraine, 1995), a joint session with the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba and with the support of the Ukrainian Reading Association "Prosvita"; poetry readings by N. Bilotserkivets (Ukraine, 1995); "Fiftieth Anniversary of UVAN in the Ukrainian Diaspora (M. Marunchak, 1995); "The Most Current Events in Ukraine and Eastern and Central Europe" (V. Markus, Chicago, 1995); "Ecological Disasters in Ukraine" (Oleksander Cherkas, Ukraine, a longtime member of the Ministry for the Protection of the Environment, 1995); "The Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood From the Perspective of Its Contemporaries and 150 Years Later" (J. Rozumnyj, 1998); "Demilitarization of Scholarship in Ukraine" (O. Hawaleshka, 1998); "The Golgotha of Ivan Ohiienko (Metropolitan Ilarion)" (M. Tymoshyk, Ukraine, 1998); "The Current State of Theatre in Lviv" (S. Maksymchuk, Ukraine, 1998), co-sponsored by the Provincial Council of the UCC; "The Most Current Events in Ukraine and NaUKMA" (V. Brioukhovetsky, 1998), co-sponsored with the Canadian Support Committee for NaUKMA; in 1999 UVAN sponsored an English language lecture series jointly with the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba and the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok) in Winnipeg; "*Moskal' and moskal'stvo* in the Poetry of Shevchenko" (J. Rozumnyj, 2001); "Shevchenko in International Music" (Denis Hlynka, 2002); and "The Making of the Shevchenko "Concordance" and Its Repercussions for Scholarship" (O. Ilnytzkyj, Edmonton, 2003).

CONFERENCES

UVAN-C conferences can be placed into three categories: local, national, and international. Local conferences took place in Winnipeg, national conferences occurred within the context of conferences of Canadian associations of scholars, and international conferences were those taking place beyond the borders of Canada.

a) Local Conferences

The first local UVAN conference marking the centenary of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1873-1974) was held February 8, 1974[32] at the Ukrainian Canadian Congress facility. This jubilee event was organized jointly by UVAN-C and NTSh-C with the participation of representatives from NTSh (Sarcelles, France) – V. Kubijovyč and A. Figol. Kubijovyč, L. Vertyporokh (Toronto) and A. Baran presented papers.

The 25th anniversary of UVAN in Canada was celebrated in 1975 (October 25-26) in the auditorium of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. The conference program included George Shevelov (Columbia University, New York) who spoke on "Language and the State", Jaroslaw Pelensky (University of Iowa, USA) who spoke on "Arguments for the Inclusion of Ukrainian Lands within the Boundaries of the [Polish] Commonwealth on the Basis of the Union of Lublin in 1569" and Bohdan Bociurkiw (Carlton University, Canada) who spoke on "Religious Politics of the Soviet Union in Ukraine". Bohdan Wynar (Libraries Unlimited, USA) was the speaker at the jubilee banquet at the Holiday Inn Hotel in Winnipeg.

A conference to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of Mykhailo Hrushevsky was held in Winnipeg November 25, 1984. The following papers were presented at the conference: "The Constitutional Project of M. Hrushevsky from 1905" (Thomas Prymak, Saskatoon); "Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Ukrainian Representation in the Russian *Duma*" (O. Gerus); "The Views of Mykhailo Hrushevsky on the Cossack Era" (A. Baran) and "Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Ukrainians in Canada" (M. Marunchak). The conference was held under the patronage of the Council of Ukrainian Scholars of Canada.

UVAN and the Markian Shashkevych Centre held a joint jubilee conference (February 22, 1987) on Markian Shashkevych. The conference programme included three papers: "The 150th Anniversary of 'Rusalka Dnistrova' and the 175th Anniversary of the Birth of Its Inspirational Creator" by M. Marunchak; "Shashkevych's '*Azbuka i abecadlo*' and the Development of Ukrainian Orthography and Literature" by I. Tarnawecka; and "Secrets and the Relevance of the Cult of Shashkevych" by J. Rozumnyj.

The 175th anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko was honoured by a scholarly conference April 16, 1989. The speakers were Bohdan Rubchak (University of Illinois) on "Taras Shevchenko's *Diary*", Oleh Zujewskyj (University of Alberta) on "Taras Shevchenko – a Great Ukrainian Romantic" and Petro Odarchenko

(Washington), whose paper, "The Works of Taras Shevchenko in the Estimation of World Critics", was read by J. Muchin.

Honourary UVAN Certificates were awarded at this conference to Sviatoslav Novytsky for his film "Harvest of Despair", Yurij Luhovy for his film "Ukrainians in Quebec" as well as for his contribution to the film "Harvest of Despair", and to Halya Kuchmij for her documentary films "A Streetcar", "The Strongest Man in the World", "Laughter in the Soul", and especially for the film "Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine".

The jubilee conference marking the 50th anniversary of UVAN in Canada (1949-1999) was held at the Lombard Hotel in Winnipeg May 13, 2000. Its theme was "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow – the Ukrainian Community in Canada". The conference program consisted of two papers, a round table discussion and a banquet address.

The paper of Roman Petryshyn from Grant MacEwan Community College (Edmonton), "Major Achievements of Ukrainians in Canada", touched upon the past of the Ukrainian community in Canada, and Oleh Wolowyna (USA), in his paper "Ukrainian Canadians in the Nineties – A Window on Our Community", dealt with the present. A round table entitled "Prognosis for the Future" addressed future perspectives. The round table participants were Adrian Boyko (Saskatoon), Andrew Hladyshevsky (Edmonton), Jurij Darewych (Toronto) and Andrij Kudla-Wynnyckyj (Toronto). The banquet address "Canada and Ukraine – Mutual Respect, Cooperation and Benefit" by Peter J. Potichnyj (Hamilton) touched upon the relations of Canada and Canadian Ukrainians with Ukraine.

Honourary UVAN Certificates were awarded at the banquet to Anatol Kurdydyk (Winnipeg) for his contribution to Ukrainian journalism, Valerian Revutsky (Vancouver) for his role in Ukrainian theatre studies, the artist Leo Mol (Winnipeg) for his international contribution to art, Michael Marunchak (Winnipeg) for his publishing activities, and Michael Ewanchuk (Winnipeg) for his contribution to Ukrainian Canadian studies.

b) National Conferences

The first conference held in conjunction with the Canadian Learned Societies took place at the University of Manitoba June 7, 1986 and marked the millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine (988-1988). The program consisted of three sessions – two in English and one in Ukrainian. The following papers were presented: "Scythian Monks and the Christian West" (B. T. Bilaniuk, University of

Toronto); "St. Gorazd in Ukraine – A New Hypothesis Concerning the Missionary Activity of St. Methodius' Designated Successor" (G. Knysh, University of Manitoba); "The Ideology of *Slovo o zakoni i blahodati* (*A Word on Law and Benevolence*)" (A. Baran, University of Manitoba); "Comparison of Motifs in the Life of Eastern and Western Saints" (L. Reznowski, University of Manitoba); "The Stauropegion Brotherhood in Lviv" (G. Gajecky, Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University); "The Influence of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy on the Development of Ukrainian Culture" (I. Stus, Winnipeg); "Ancient Christian Themes in the Works of Lesia Ukrainka" (W. Zyla, University of Texas); "From Paganism to Christianity – The Poetry of B. I. Antonych" (Yar Slavutych, University of Alberta); "Stained Glass Windows in Ukrainian Religious Art" (Leo Mol, Winnipeg); and "Historical and Sociological Processes in the Formation of the Ukrainian Nation" (S. Zabrowarny, Warsaw, Poland).

The next conference, also dedicated to the millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, took place at McMaster University in Hamilton May 30, 1987. It included two sessions – in Ukrainian and in English. Papers were presented by: A. Baran – "The Ukrainian Catholic Church After the Resignation of Bishop Nykyta Budka"; O. Gerus – "Metrolopitan Ilarion Ohienko and His Influence on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada"; Victor Deneka – "Ukrainian Church Architecture in Canada"; W. Zyla – "Religious Motifs in Ukrainian Canadian Poetry"; Yar Slavutych – "Christian Motifs in Early Ukrainian Canadian Prose"; Roman Kowal – "Ukrainian Church Art in Canada".

The conference marking the 70th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Ukrainian National Republic (1918-1988) was held June 11, 1988 at the University of Windsor. It consisted of three sessions with presentations of the following papers: "1918 in Ukraine, a National Awakening for Ukrainians in the Diaspora and in the Russian Empire" (M. Marunchak); "Ivan Ohienko and the Founding of a Ukrainian National University in Kamianets'-Podils'kyi" (O. Gerus); "National Minorities in the Ukrainian National Republic" (Taras Hunchak, Rutgers University); "Historiosophy in Ukrainian Literature 1918-1933" (Yar Slavutych); "The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in the First Stage of Its Development" (I. Tarnawecka); "Ahatanhel Krymsky – the First Secretary of UAN and His Work on the Unity of the Ukrainian Language" (B. Chopyk, University of Utah); "The Year 1918 Through the Eyes of the French Journalist Jean Pelletier" (V. Markus, Loyola University); "The Fourth Universal and the Constitution of the UNR as Milestones" (W. Zyla); "Stepan Rudnytsky: Founder of Ukrainian Political Geography at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv"

(H. Kolody, the paper was read by O. List).

After the conference a community meeting and symposium was held at which the speakers were: M. Marunchak – "The Legacy of Volodymyr the Great"; A. Baran – "The Reasons Behind Volodymyr's Acceptance of Christianity"; and B. Chopyk – "Ethics and Aesthetics in Early Christianity in Ukraine".

The conference held at the University of Victoria (B.C.) on June 1, 1990 focused on the centennial of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. The participants were: N. Aponiuk – "Women in Ukrainian Canadian Literature"; B. Bilash – "The Teaching of Ukrainian in Manitoba Public Schools"; A. Baran – "Religious Problems of Ukrainians in Canada"; I. Tarnawecka – "The Image of a Woman in Ukrainian Canadian Folklore"; V. Revutsky – "Ted Galay in Contemporary Ukrainian Canadian Drama"; and J. Rozumnyj – "Historicity in the Dramatic Poems of Lina Kostenko".

The 1993 conference at Carlton University (Ottawa) included the following topics: "The Romanian Question in *Povist' vremennykh lit'*" (G. Knysh); "The M. Hrushevsky Concept and Our Current Textbooks for Teaching the History of Ukraine" (B. Korchmaryk, Montreal); "The Famine of 1921-1923 and the Reaction of the Ukrainian Canadian Community" (R. Serbyn, Montreal); "The Growth of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada in the 1930s and 1940s" (A. Baran); "The Role of Libraries in the Exchange of Research Information: The Case of the Slavic Collection at the University of Manitoba" (Nevenka West, Winnipeg); "The Crisis in Ukrainian Canadian Studies" (R. Klymasz, Ottawa); and "Towards a Curriculum for Teaching the Geography of Ukraine" (P. Thomas, Victoria).

The conference at the University of Calgary on June 9, 1994 was dedicated to Hryhorii Skovoroda on the 200th anniversary of his death and to Ukrainian Canadian issues. O. Krawchenko spoke about "The Spiritual Image of Skovoroda"; S. Jarmus about "*Srodnost' (Harmony With Oneself)* of Hryhorii Skovoroda and the Sacrament of Christian Vocations"; and J. Rozumnyj on the theme of "Skovoroda in Ukrainian Literature Two Hundred Years Later". I. Tarnawecka read a paper on "Ukrainian Orthography in Canada During the Course of the Century: Observations"; Alexander Malecky (University of Calgary) spoke about "The Ukrainian Press in Alberta"; N. Aponiuk on "The Depiction of Ukrainians in Recent English-Canadian Fiction"; P. Thomas – "The Trial of J. V. Stalin and the Quest of Historical Truth – Critical Thinking Exercises for the Social Studies Classroom".

The conference at Université du Québec à Montréal on June 5, 1995 covered

the following topics: "Ukrainian Canadian Artists – Mainstream or Sub-culture" (Daria Darewych, York University); "Works for the Piano by Ukrainian Composers in Canada" (Luba Zuk, McGill University); "Leonid Molodoshanin and His Sculpture" (Iraida Tarnawecka); "Recently Discovered Medieval Manuscripts in the Worcester Cathedral: Further Insight into Worcester Activity" (O. E. Malyshko, Queens University); "Periodization of the Early Political History of the Kyivan State" (G. Knysh); "Ukrainian Iconography of the XII Century and Ukrainian Iconography in Canada" (A. Baran); "Ukrainian Elements in Canadian Drama" (N. Aponiuk); "Dr. Joseph Oleskiw – Father of Ukrainian Immigration to Canada" (B. Bilash); "Ukraine's Precarious Autonomy in the Light of Residual Geopolitical Script: A Jungian Commentary" (P. Thomas).

The conference at Brock University (St. Catharines) was held June 2, 1996. Its focus was the 130th anniversary of the birth of M. Hryshevsky, the Union of Brest and the 400th anniversary of the birth of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla. The conference covered the following issues: "The Role of Mykhailo Hrushevsky in the History of Ukraine and Our Responsibilities" (L. Wynar, Kent University); "Fulfillment of Mykhailo Hrushevsky the Historian in Hrushevsky the Politician" (B. Hrabovetsky); "The Populist View of Hrushevsky the Academician on Ukrainian Literature of the XIX century" (B. Chopyk); "Ethnicity in Canadian Literature" (N. Aponiuk); "The Issue of Church Unity and the Kyiv Metropolitan Petro Mohyla" (I. Kutash); "Inter-religious Negotiations in Ukraine in the 1620s and the 1630s" (A. Baran); "The Key Moments in the Development of Divine Services in the Kyiv Metropolitanate in the First Half of the XVII Century" (P. Galadza, St. Paul University, Ottawa).

The 1998 conference at the University of Ottawa took place in the context of a new federation – the Canadian Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities, which replaced the former Learned Societies. The papers covered: "Directions and Styles in Ukrainian Literature in Canada" (Yar Slavutych); "Stereotypes in the Novel *Magichne misto (Magical City)* by Mykhailo Petrivs'kyi" (Alexandra Pawlowsky, University of Manitoba); "The Publication of Ukrainian Music in Canada" (L. Zuk); "Vera Lysenko and the Transformation of Character As A Result of a Name Change" (N. Aponiuk); "The Problems of Theological Education in Ukrainian Churches" (A. Chirovsky, St. Paul University, Ottawa); "The Role of the Faithful in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada" (R. Yereniuk, University of Manitoba); "The Attitude of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the Diaspora to Church Life in Ukraine" (I. Kutash, Montreal); "The State of Affairs in Orthodoxy Today" (P. Boiko, Welland); "Teachers – Purveyors

of Education and Culture among Ukrainian Settlers" (B. Bilash); "Oleskiw Settlers – Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada" (M. Ewanchuk); "The Portrayal of Ukraine in English-language World Geography Textbooks: A Post 1991 Update" (P. Thomas).

Prior to this conference members of UVAN held a meeting with the Ottawa community in the hall of the Ukrainian Catholic church during which J. Rozumnyj, editor of the Canadian volume of the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Diaspora (EUD-2), spoke about work on this project.

The UVAN conference in 2000 at the University of Alberta consisted of three English-language sessions and included the following issues: "Reforming the Ukrainian Economy: Macroeconomic Icons and Microeconomic Realities" (G. Chuchman, University of Manitoba); "Ukrainian Science and Its Conversion in the Post 1991 Period" (O. Hawaleshka, University of Manitoba); "The Realpolitik of the Recent NATO Bombing of Kosovo: Implications for Ukraine" (P. Thomas, University of Victoria); "Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots: A Repository of Ukrainian Folk Customs*" (A. Pawlowsky); "Educating Ukrainian Educators: The Regina Training School for Foreign Speaking Students, 1909-1917" (Uliana Amiot-Holowach, Saskatoon); "From Idea to Concept to Reality: The Planning of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Outside Edmonton" (R. Fodchuk); "The Recorded Heritage of Banduryst Zenovii Shtokalko" (A. Hornjatkevyč, University of Alberta); and "Images of Ukrainian Canadian Material Culture, 1950-1960" (R. Fodchuk).

The 2002 UVAN conference was held May 24-26 at the University of Toronto jointly with the Shevchenko Scientific Society of Canada. The following UVAN members participated, chaired sessions or presented papers at the conference: Yar Slavutych ("The National Ideal in the Creativity of Ukrainian Diaspora Authors"); O. Krawchenko ("Skovoroda – an Admirer of the Bible"); R. Yereniuk ("The Ukrainian Orthodox Church [Kyivan Metropolitanate] in the XVIII century"); and G. Chuchman ("The Evolution of Financial Institutions in Ukraine Before and After the 1998 Devaluation").

c) Participation in International Congresses

During the course of his term as president and as professor at the University of Manitoba, J. Rudnyckyj participated in many international congresses. This participation was important because scholars from the UkrSSR were not permitted to attend international congresses as a result of the discriminatory politics of

the USSR towards the UkrSSR and towards other national republics and due to the neglected state of the humanities as a discipline in the UkrSSR.[33]

Some of the early congresses which Rudnyckyj and some members of the Canadian UVAN attended were: the Onomastics Congress in Uppsala (Sweden, 1952), Salamanca (Spain, 1955), Oslo (Norway, 1957), Munich (Germany, 1958), Florence and Pisa (Italy, 1961). In addition to J. Rudnyckyj, Yar Slavutych attended the latter two congresses and a paper by M. Borowsky of Winnipeg was read there.

Constantine Bida from the University of Ottawa delivered a paper on the place of Shakespeare in Slavic literatures at the Congress of Comparative Literature in Utrecht (The Netherlands) August 21-26, 1961, J. Rudnyckyj spoke there about the national and the universal in the works of Shevchenko and M. I. Mandryka's paper on Ukrainian Canadian literature was also read there.

J. Rudnyckyj spoke at the International Congress on European Culture at Bolzano (Italy) August 29 to September 1, 1961 about the concept of European unity for Ukrainians and Russians, and C. Bida also participated as a guest observer.

In 1964 J. Rudnyckyj presented papers at the International Congress of Linguists and Phoneticians in Münster (Germany, August 16 to 22), the Seventh Congress on European Culture in Bolzano (Italy, August 29 to September 1), and the Fourth International Congress on Comparative Literature in Fribourg (Switzerland, August 31 to September 5). Bida also participated in this Congress.

In May 1988 an international congress of scholars, funded by Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, was held in Munich on the millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine. Speakers included: M. Antonovych ("The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the XVII and XIX Centuries"), A. Baran ("Attempts at Church Unity: Catholic Perspective"), P. Bilaniuk ("The Apostolic Origin of the Ukrainian Church"), A. Hornjatkevyč ("Christian Motifs in *Dumy*"), S. Jarmus ("Cordocentrism as the Basis of Ukrainian Spirituality and Philosophy"), O. Krawchenko ("Religious Polemics of the Pre-Union Period: Events, Issues, Personalities: An Orthodox Perspective"), M. Marunchak ("The Ukrainian Churches in the Developmental Phases of the Ukrainian Diaspora"), J. Rozumnyj ("From Symbolism to Existentialism: Christian Elements in the XX Century Ukrainian Poetry"), J. Rudnyckyj ("The Semantics of *'khrest'* and *'kryshchennia'* "), R. Yereniuk ("The Subjugation of the Kievan Metropolitanate into the Moscow Patriarchate"), and W. Zyla ("National-Religious Characteristics of Catholic Polemic Literature in Ukraine at the End of the XVI and Beginning of the XVII Centuries").

After the 1960s, international congresses of scholars became more frequent events in Western Europe and more and more Ukrainian scholars participated in them. Later such conferences took place in the USSR itself. After the fall of the Soviet Union (1991), international congresses became a normal occurrence on that territory and a great number of Ukrainian scholars (including members of UVAN) began to take an active part in them. Members of the Canadian UVAN have been participating in triennial congresses of the International Association of Ukrainian Studies (MAU) since 1990, the annual conferences (since 1982) on Ukrainian issues at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and in other specialized international congresses and conferences.

MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES

The founder and custodian of the UVAN Historical Museum and Archives (VIMA), which is currently located in UVAN in Winnipeg, was the Ukrainian Military History Society (UVIT), established in Kalisz (Poland) in 1925. The Museum was moved from there to Germany, then from Germany to Toronto (Canada) where it remained under the care of the Ukrainian Military History Institute (UVII) founded in Toronto in 1952. Besides acting as custodian for the Museum and Archives, this Institute continued to publish material relevant to the history of the Ukrainian Armed Forces in the journal *Za derzhavnist'* (*For Statehood*).

Mykhailo Sadovsky was one of the founders of UVIT and the director of its Museum and Archives. After Sadovsky's death in 1967, the surviving founders, headed by col. Mykola Bytynsky, decided to deposit the Museum into "the most authoritative and safe hands for its preservation until the time of its transfer to a sovereign Ukrainian State once Ukraine had been freed from foreign rule".[34] From among the many Ukrainian institutions they chose the Canadian UVAN. A formal agreement was signed October 1, 1969 transferring the Museum to UVAN. In the event of the liquidation of UVAN, the latter would transfer it to "a suitable and authoritative institution".[35]

A committee of UVAN inclusive of representatives of veterans' organizations in Winnipeg was formed to care for and classify the museum and archives. The committee was chaired by Osyp Nawrocky who served in that capacity until his death (August 6, 1972).

The Presidium of UVAN appointed W. Lewyckyj Curator of the Museum and

Archives on April 24, 1973. M. Mandryka and later B. Bilash were members of the committee representing the Presidium. The Museum became known as the UVAN Historical Museum and Archives in Canada (VIMA).

In 1983, during M. Marunchak's term as President, VIMA with the assistance of the Museum Committee was expanded and enhanced, purchasing new display cases and storage units. Active relations with other Manitoba museums were pursued. The Museum Committee included: Oksana Rozumna (chair), Evhenia Obrotza, Marta Lewycka and representatives of veterans' organizations. When M. Marunchak's second term as President expired (1989), the Museum Committee ceased its activities and eventually terminated its existence.

In 1995 Lieutenant General O. Kuzmuk became the Minister of Defense in Ukraine. On July 5, 1996 UVAN received a request from the Director of the Museum of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, Major Viktor Karpov, to transfer the UVAN Historical Museum and Archives in Canada to the Museum of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Correspondence between Kyiv and Winnipeg is under way to this day, as well as discussion within the Presidium of UVAN concerning such a transfer.

There are three main reasons why the transfer of the Museum and Archives to an independent Ukraine has not yet come about. Firstly, neither museum artifacts, nor archival documents have been sufficiently reviewed and brought up to a standard for such a transfer to occur. Secondly, a project for microfilming and copying the archival collection and photographing museum artifacts is being planned in order to leave a lasting legacy for UVAN in Canada. And thirdly, the view within the Presidium is that the political climate in Ukraine and the attitude of the present Ukrainian government towards Ukraine's military and historical past does not merit complete trust. In Ukraine the Red Army is still recognized by the government as a lawful army despite the fact that it protected with arms the interests of the colonial power in Ukraine and not the interests and dignity of the Ukrainian nation. Hence, the transfer of the museum and archives would be premature.

UVAN AND NAUKMA

Relations between UVAN and the National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" (NaUKMA) go back to the very beginnings of the renewal of this university. Initially (from February 1989) they grew out of ties between J. Rozumnyj

and V. Brioukhovetsky – the initiator for the renewal of the activities of the former Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (KMA) founded in 1615.

A more direct interest by UVAN began when V. Brioukhovetsky gave a course on contemporary Ukrainian literature at the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba during the fall term of 1990. At that time he came into contact with UVAN publications and asked that some of these publications be sent to KMA.

V. Brioukhovetsky, now president of NaUKMA, stated in Kyiv on the occasion of the 385th anniversary of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, October 13-15, 2000, that the idea for the renewal of the KMAcademy was born in Winnipeg.[36]

In January 1990 the Canadian Friends of *Rukh* (Manitoba Council) was created. The executive of the Council included active members of UVAN (J. Rozumnyj, M. Tarnawecky, S. Kachor and others) who determined to direct the support of the Manitoba Council of the Canadian Friends of *Rukh* towards the renewed University of "Kyiv Mohyla Academy".

When the Manitoba Council dissolved in 1993, a Canadian Support Committee for the National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy" was created from its membership.

In March 1997 UVAN donated 486 boxes of books (8,460 kg.) at a cost of $13,893.91 CND to the University of "Kyiv Mohyla Academy" in Kyiv.

Today the function of soliciting and transferring funds raised in Canada for NaUKMA has been assumed by the Canada-Ukraine Foundation (CUF) and the role of UVAN with respect to NaUKMA has come to a close. J. Rozumnyj continues to collaborate with NaUKMA as a member of the University's International Advisory Council, its representative in Canada since 1992, and from 1997 as an Honourary Professor of the University. George Chuchman, member of the Presidium of UVAN, also works actively with NaUKMA and Sophia Kachor remains Chair of the Canadian Support Committee for NaUKMA.

UVAN AND EUD

On March 25, 1995 the chief editor of the *Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Diaspora* (EUD), Vasyl Markus, invited Jaroslav Rozumnyj to assume the responsibilities of editor of the Canadian volume of EUD. That same year, on October 9, a "Letter of Intent" was executed between the chief editor of EUD and the Presidium of UVAN in Canada with respect to editing and publishing the Canadian volume. It

was signed by the chief editor of EUD, Vasyl Markus, the editor of the Canadian volume, Jaroslav Rozumnyj, and the President of UVAN, Michael Tarnawecky. And this project was supported by a resolution of the 18th Congress of Ukrainian Canadians in October 1995.

The editor of EUD-C wrote a letter to the President of UVAN, M. Tarnawecky, dated February 9, 2002, in which he pointed out that "UVAN should not consider the Canadian EUD volume as its project, and should not make public declarations to that effect, until the Presidium of UVAN signs an actual commitment with respect to the Canadian EUD project and to the conditions set out in the October 1995 Letter of Intent".

Referring to a lengthy correspondence with the President of UVAN in Canada (Michael Tarnawecky), the President of NTSh in Canada (Volodymyr Mackiw), and the Director of CIUS (Zenon Kohut), the Editor of EUD-C, J. Rozumnyj, reported to the UVAN-C Presidium on May 21, 2000 on the difficulties to date in engaging these institutions in the EUD-C project. The current president of UVAN-C replied that he could not do anything in this matter because there were many [in the Presidium] who considered this project too big and beyond the capabilities of UVAN-C.

The matter of the EUD-C project was raised again during the presidency of O. Krawchenko at a meeting of the UVAN Presidium February 7, 2002. The editor of the Canadian EUD volume gave a general report on work on the volume and recommended that the Presidium: (a) provide a facility for EUD-C, (b) express its opinion concerning the Canadian volume, and (c) strike a planning committee for the EUD-C project.

The Presidium agreed to house an EUD-C office at UVAN. Given that the Canadian volume should be accessible to the widest circle of Canadian readers, the first edition in the view of members of the Presidium should be published in English and the second edition in Ukrainian. A planning committee was struck consisting of the executive of the Presidium and two invited presidium members. These included Rev. O. Krawchenko, president, J. Rozumnyj, first vice-president and editor, V. Deneka, second vice-president, R. Yereniuk, secretary, S. Kachor, treasurer, and two presidium members – O. Hawaleshka and O. Gerus. The above-mentioned recommendations were adopted unanimously.

At a meeting of this committee March 6, 2002 the issues of financing and fund raising for the EUD project were discussed. As a result of this long discussion it appeared that UVAN-C as an organization did not have the resources – human or financial – to undertake the *Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Diaspora* Canadian volume project.

The editor of the Canadian volume of EUD, J. Rozumnyj, continues to work on the project in co-operation with the Chicago EUD Head office.

CONCLUSIONS

In summation I would like to draw attention to four aspects of the fifty-year activity of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada: sociological context of its formation, objectives, achievements, and prognosis for the future of UVAN.

In a sociological sense, Ukrainian WWII refugees formed a microcosm of all strata a modern society – from the intellectual, the artist, the writer, the university and high school student, to the labourer and farmer – a society with its own language, its own cultural image and community infrastructure.

UVAN was created out of cultural necessity and was that society's response to the political situation in Ukraine. It needed to bring together Ukrainian intellectuals in Western Europe into one free academic institution to serve their lost native land and to inform the policy makers and intellectuals of the West about Ukraine's unresolved political status.

Bearing in mind that UVAN was not a self-sufficient, government funded institution, nor an institution with a salaried staff complement, one has to acknowledge that UVAN met its goals. It did so in relation to its homeland, to the world outside the USSR and to its own community in diaspora. These achievements of UVAN were made possible primarily due to the material support of the Ukrainian community.

What is the future of UVAN in Canada? This question relates not only to UVAN, but also to the future of other diaspora institutions, established by the "third wave" immigration to Canada. This institution came into being in order to address the needs and fulfill the "mission" of a particular wave of refugees and that mission was primarily related to the political and cultural issues of their lost homeland.

UVAN was not a "mainstream" institution, but an institution of a "sub-culture" and financially dependent on the community; an organization that "made demands" on its members rather than enhancing "prospects" for a professional career. This fact had a rather negative impact on the recruitment of new younger members to the academy.

Moreover, the younger generation had an increasingly less competent knowledge of the Ukrainian language and less interest in Ukrainian issues.

After fifty years the pulse of this once dynamic academic body began to weaken due to the continuous physical depletion of its membership and of its supporters.

As a result, the last significant UVAN publication is dated 1994; local conferences ceased to take place; participation of the academy in occasional national conferences does not represent a vigorous research activity; and local public lectures have been lately reduced to one event per year – the Shevchenko lecture.

Today UVAN in Canada functions in a culturally rather stagnant Ukrainian community with a hardly visible active intellectual presence and a very modest financial base. Such a community cannot sustain a viable academic institution. The cycle is naturally coming to an end and the continuum of the Ukrainian scholarship in Canada is now the responsibility of Ukrainian foundation-based research and publishing institutes, chairs of Ukrainian studies and centres at Canadian universities.

Translation from Ukrainian by Sophia Kachor

Notes:

1. "Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR", in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Volume 1, A-F, Edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyč, University of Toronto Press, 1985, pp.3-8.
2. Yurii Sherekh, *Ne dlia ditei (Not For Children)*. Articles and essays in literary criticism. Foreward by Yurii Shevelov, "Proloh", New York, 1964, pp. 227-28.
3. *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Volume 1, A-F, op. cit., p.5.
4. Michael Marunchak, "Ukraïns'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk v Evropi ta ïï pochatky v Kanadi" (The Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Europe and Its Beginnings in Canada), author's archives.
5. *Litopys UVAN (UVAN Chronicle)*, No. 3, 1. *Srpavozdannia UVAN za 1946 rik. Spravozdannia za 1947 rik* (UVAN Reports for 1946. UVAN Reports for 1947), Augsburg, 1948, 22 pp.
6. Ibid.
7. Mykhailo Marunchak, "Ukraïns'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk v Evropi ta ïï pochatky v Kanadi" (The Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Europe and Its Origins in Canada), author's archives, Winnipeg.
8. *Litopys UVAN (UVAN Chronicle)*, No. 3, 1. *Spravozdannia UVAN za 1946 rik.* 2. *Spravozdannia UVAN za 1947 rik* (UVAN Reports for 1946. UVAN Reports for 1947), Augsburg, 1948.
9. Mykhailo Marunchak, op. cit.
10. *Litopys UVAN (UVAN Chronicle)*, No. 3, Augsburg, 1948.
11. J. Rudnyckyj, "Ukraïns'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk u Kanadi: pochaktovyi period. Roky 1949-1955" ("The Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada: the Early Period. 1949-1955"), UVAN Archives.

12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. M. Marunchak, op. cit.
16. Olga Woycenko, *Litopys ukraïns'koho zhyttia v Kanadi (Chronicle of Ukrainian Life in Canada)*, vol. VI, CIUS, Edmonton, p. 213.
17. M. Marunchak, op. cit.
18. From the minutes of the Presidium, May 7, 1974.
19. *Obizhnyk Prezydii UVAN* (Newsletter of the Presidium of UVAN), March 27, 1973.
20. For additional material pertaining to this crisis and to the correspondence of presidents see *UVAN Bulletin* No. 17/21, 1983.
21. *Ukraïns'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk (UVAN) u Kanadi (Ohliad diial'nosty za roky 1948-1962)* (Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences [UVAN] in Canada [An Overview of Activities. For 1948-1962]).
22. *Statut Ukraïns'koï Vil'noï Akademiï Nauk* (The Constitution of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences [UVAN] drafted and codified in accordance with the resolution of the Special General Meeting of the Academy December 9, 1973 and adopted by a 2/3 majority of the fellows of the Academy. Effective July 1, 1974.)
23. The author of this overview met an embittered and ill D. Doroshenko in Paris in the summer of 1950.
24. "*Prezydenty UVAN u Kanadi (u khronolohichnomu poriadku)*" ["UVAN Presidents in Canada (in chronological order)], *Bulletin*, No. 35, 1998.
25. Rezygnatsijnyj lyst prezydenta UVAN M. Tarnavets'koho z 14 chervnia 1973 (The Resignation Letter of the President of UVAN M. Tarnawecky dated June 14, 1973), *UVAN Bulletin*, No. 17/21.1983.
26. *Biuleten'* Humanistychnoho Viddilu Ukraïns'koï Vil'noï Akademiï Nauk (Bulletin of the Humanities Section of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN), No. 16/20/1, Winnipeg, 1973, p. 2. [A note states: The Bulletin has been published for the information of members of the Humanities Section of UVAN; because it continues the series of Bulletins from 1949-1969 its first serial number denotes the issue from 1949, the second from 1954 and the third from 1973.]
27. Ibid.
28. Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of UVAN in Canada, March 6, 1977.
29. See *Vydannia UVAN u Kanadi. List of Publications of Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences – UVAN of Canada Inc.*, Winnipeg, UVAN, 1965.
30. Michael Marunchak, "Ukraïns'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk v Evropi ta ïï pochatky v Kanadi" ("The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Europe and Its Origins in Canada"), author's archives.
31. Olga Woycenko, *Litopys ukraïns'koho zhyttia v Kanadi (Chronicle of Ukrainian Life in Canada)*, vol. VI, p. 359.
32. *Bulletin*, No. 17/21, 1983, p. 16 lists the date as March 21, 1974.
33. Jaroslav Rudnyckyj, "Mizhnarodni naukovi kongresy v 1961 r." ("International Scholarly Congresses in 1961"), *Suchasnist'*, No. 9 (September) 1961, Munich, pp. 123-125.
34 "Na uvahu Prezydiï Ukraïns'koï Vil'noï Akademiï Nauk u Kanadi" ("To the Attention of the

Presidium of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada") (no date), an appeal signed by M. Mandryka, president of UVAN (1970-73) when the Museum and Archives were transferred to the Academy.

35. Ibid.

36. *Akademichna panorama (Academic Panorama)*, informational bulletin of the National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

CONTRIBUTORS

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