

Ukrainian Settlement in Australia

Fifth Conference, Melbourne

Edited by Marko Pavlyshyn



UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

**FIFTH CONFERENCE, MELBOURNE
16-18 FEBRUARY 1990**

Edited by Marko Pavlyshyn

**MONASH UNIVERSITY
SLAVIC SECTION
MELBOURNE
1993**

УКРАЇНСЬКЕ ПОСЕЛЕННЯ В АВСТРАЛІЇ

**П'ЯТА КОНФЕРЕНЦІЯ, МЕЛЬБОРН
16—18 ЛЮТОГО 1990**

Під редакцією Марка Павлишина

**УНІВЕРСИТЕТ ІМ. МОНАША
ВІДДІЛ СЛАВІСТИКИ
МЕЛЬБОРН
1993**

**Published by the Slavic Section,
Department of German Studies and Slavic Studies,
Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168, Australia**

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ISBN 0 7326 0471 0

Cover and design by Stuart Wagstaffe

**The cover photo shows a scene from Mykola Arkas' opera
"Kateryna" (1899) as performed in Melbourne
by the Mykola Lysenko Musical Theatre
of the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria in 1962.
Yevhenia Pavlovska is singing the title role.**

**Printed and bound in Australia by
Monash Printing Services, Caulfield**

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PREFACE

This volume contains most of the papers presented at the fifth conference in the series entitled "History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia"—a series initiated and organized, often in co-operation with the teaching staff of the Ukrainian Studies programmes at Monash and Macquarie Universities, by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia.

The first conference was held in Sydney on 1-3 April 1983; the second was jointly organized by the Society and the Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, in Melbourne on 5-7 April 1985; the third took place in Canberra on 4-5 October 1986, and the fourth, designated an official activity within the celebration of the Bicentenary of European settlement in Australia, was mounted by the Ukrainian Studies Foundation and the Shevchenko Scientific Society at Macquarie University in Sydney on 22-24 April 1988. The conference on which the present collection of papers is based took place in Melbourne under the auspices of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and two Centres of Monash University: the Centre for Migrant and Intercultural Studies and the National Centre for Research and Development in Australian Studies.

With the appearance of the present collection, the majority of papers presented in the series will have been published. It is, perhaps, useful here to list the various earlier volumes of proceedings:

Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: Second Conference, Melbourne, 5-7 April 1985. Ed. Marko Pavlyshyn. Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, Library of Ukrainian Studies, No. 54. Melbourne: Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, 1986. Selected papers in English.

Istoriia ukrains'koho poselennia v Avstralii: dopovidi z druhoi konferentsii, Mel'born, 5-7 kvitnia 1985 [History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: Papers from the Second Conference, 5-7 April 1985]. Melbourne: Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, 1986. Papers in Ukrainian and English.

Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: Fourth Conference, Sydney, 22-

24 April 1988. Ed. Ihor Gordijew and Halyna Koscharsky. Sydney: School of Modern Languages, Macquarie University, 1989.

Istoriia ukrains'koho poselennia v Avstralii: dopovidi z pershoi i chetvertoi konferentsii (Sidnei, 1983, 1988) [History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: Papers from the First and Fourth Conferences (Sydney, 1983, 1988)]. Ed. Halyna Koscharsky. Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia and Ukrainian Studies Centre, Macquarie University. Sydney: School of Modern Languages, Macquarie University, 1990.

The fifth conference, coinciding approximately with the fortieth anniversary of the arrival of post-war Ukrainian immigrants in Australia, was dedicated to the commemoration of this event and, in particular, to the fortieth anniversary of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia, on the one hand, and the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, on the other. For this reason, the conference programme was structured so as to bring professional scholars into contact with community activists and government officials, and to create a forum for reflecting on the community's past in the context of discussions concerning its future. The edited text of a round-table discussion, "40 Years of the Ukrainian Community in Victoria: Perspectives on the Past and Future," has been included in these proceedings.

It had been the intention of the organizers, who were aware of the ageing of the pioneer generation of Ukrainian settlers as a threat to the community's collective memory, to encourage intending conference participants to collect oral histories and to use the conference as a venue for the presentation of their findings. To this end, a guide to the methods of oral history research was prepared and distributed with the call for papers. In the event, only one paper reflected empirical research of this kind, though two contributions present personal memoirs. The other papers address issues of multiculturalism as they affect Ukrainians in Australia, reflect on Ukrainian language and culture (literature, theatre and painting) in Australia, or present the biographies of notable Ukrainian immigrants.

* * *

The conference was fortunate in having as its keynote speaker and active participant Professor Wsevolod Isajiw of the University of Toronto, Canada, a leading authority on the sociology of

immigrant groups. The conference was in a position to invite Professor Isajiw to Australia thanks to the generous sponsorship of the "Dnister" Ukrainian Credit Co-operative Society Ltd., the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, and the Foundation of Ukrainian Studies in Australia.

* * *

The permission granted by Allen and Unwin to reprint Kateryna Longley's paper "The Fifth World," first published in *Striking Chords: Multicultural Literary Interpretations*, edited by Sneja Gunew and Kateryna O. Longley (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1992), is gratefully acknowledged.

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On behalf of the contributing authors I wish to thank Ms Sonja Mueller, Ms Olya Pavlyshyn and Ms Natalie Vyshnevyy for preparing the typescript and the camera-ready copy.

Marko Pavlyshyn
20 May 1993

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING CEREMONY

Roman Mykytowycz

It is my privilege, and a pleasure, to welcome you to this conference on behalf of its organizers—particularly the Shevchenko Scientific Society of Australia, of which I am currently president.

This is the fifth conference in a series under a common title: "History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia." The first was held in Sydney 1983. The aim of these conferences is obvious. Those of you who are interested in obtaining more detailed information I refer to the Introduction in the published proceedings, edited by Dr. Marko Pavlyshyn, of the second conference—which, by the way, was held in 1985 on the premises of this University.

The present Conference is of a special significance, since in 1990 Ukrainian communities throughout our country are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Australia. True, a small number of immigrants of Ukrainian descent reached these shores prior to the Second World War, but they were not numerous enough to leave permanent, obvious signs of their presence in Australia. Nor did circumstances encourage them to do so. Substantial organized Ukrainian settlement actually began when DPs—displaced persons—arrived in Australia after the Second World War under a joint scheme arranged by the International Refugee Organization (IRO) and the Australian Government, represented by Arthur Calwell, the first Australian Minister for Immigration. During the years 1947-1954 Australia received almost 180,000 DPs, among them approximately 20,000 Ukrainians. Today in Australia there are approximately 35,000 persons who claim Ukrainian descent.

It is most appropriate that this Conference should take place here in Melbourne, since citizens of this city played a distinguished role in the organized life of the Ukrainian ethnic community. They became leaders in many fields of Ukrainian cultural and social life. Impetus for these positive, constructive activities radiated predominantly from the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria—which, by the way, initiated and maintains the Ukrainian

Lectureship at this University.

This Association was established on 9 September 1949. Its first president was Ivan Hruszecky. By the mid-1950s there were six Associations of Ukrainians in the country. With the appearance of these organizations in various states a necessity arose to coordinate their activities. At the meeting which took place in Melbourne on 9-11 June 1950 the Association of Ukrainians in Australia was formed. The first president of this body was a resident of Melbourne—Vasyl Boluch, a pre-war member of the Polish Parliament.

The first Ukrainian school in Australia commenced functioning in May 1950 when the Reverend Dr. Ivan Prasko—now Bishop of Melbourne for Ukrainian Catholics—initiated the teaching of religion at the church of St. Augustine in North Melbourne. Today we have in Australia nineteen Ukrainian Saturday Schools with approximately one thousand students and 130 teachers. The Community's determination to cultivate Ukrainian culture in Australia came to fruition with the establishment of two University programmes in Ukrainian Studies. The Lectureship at Monash University was opened in 1983 and the Ukrainian Studies Centre at Macquarie University in Sydney in 1984. Both are financed by the Ukrainian community.

This year we also celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia. This organization was established in August 1950 in Sydney on the initiative of the late Dr. E.J. Pelensky. Amongst its founding members was Archbishop Sylvester (Hayevskyj) of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, who resided in Melbourne. Melbourne played the leading role in the life of this organization in the 1970s, when Dr. T. Lachowicz was its president. Lachowicz had been a secondary school teacher in Ukraine, Poland, Germany and also Australia. He gained his Ph.D. from Melbourne University when he was already over 50 years old. His most important contribution was his role in the publication, in Ukrainian, of the volume *Ukrainians in Australia* (1966), which documents the history of the first twenty-five years of our settlement on this continent.

This year is of special significance for the Shevchenko Scientific Society, which was established in 1873 in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine. Dissolved in 1940 by the Soviet government, the Society was reconstituted in 1947 by former full members in the diaspora. As a consequence of current political

developments in the Soviet Union, on the 21 October 1989, the Shevchenko Scientific Society was revived on its home territory, in Lviv. Over 400 leading scholars, many of them enthusiasts of Ukrainian Studies, became affiliated. On the 16-17 March, in exactly one month's time, the first General Meeting of the renewed Society will take place in Lviv. We have received an invitation to send a representative, and Dr. Pavlyshyn, who will be in Ukraine at this time, will be our official delegate. This momentous event could not have been anticipated even as recently as a few months ago.

Naturally, we are very happy that our efforts to maintain outside Ukraine the idea of this, our century-old Society, were not in vain. The revival of the Shevchenko Scientific Society we view as an encouragement to continue to disseminate the truth about Ukraine—a country with a population of over 50 million—not only among Ukrainian people, but among all who are interested in the affairs of Eastern Europe.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN RESEARCH ON UKRAINIANS IN THE DIASPORA

Wsevolod W. Isajiw

This paper considers the following issues: (1) the need to research the history of Ukrainians in all countries of their settlement in the diaspora, (2) the need for sociological research into the communities in the diaspora, (3) the need for a close relationship between these two lines of research, i.e. for systematic social history and systematic historical sociology, surveys and statistical studies continuously to cross-fertilize each other, (4) oral histories as the element which can bring these two lines of research together, and (5) the need to be aware of how research on Ukrainians in the diaspora fits into a broader framework of questions and issues applicable to any ethnic community. Bringing specific pieces of research into a more general framework is the only way in which research can be cumulative, and I think that now it is important to begin to cumulate research on Ukrainians.

General Histories of Ukrainian Settlement

There is a need for new approaches to writing the histories of Ukrainian communities in the various countries of their settlement. For one thing, those general histories that we have approach the subject matter purely from the perspective of the Ukrainian community.¹ The typical approach is to focus on events in the organizational life of the community, enumerate or single out the different types of organizations, highlight various cultural,

¹ Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970). Olha Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, Canada Ethnica IV (Ottawa: Trident Press, 1967). Wasyl Halich, *Ukrainians in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937). "Ukrainians Abroad," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, ed. V. Kubijovyč, Vol. II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 1093-1262. See also Frances Swyrypa, "A Survey of Ukrainian-Canadian Historiography," in *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), pp. 310-26.

religious, educational and other activities and point out some "contributions" that individual members of the community have made to the general, e.g. Canadian or American, society. This last usually means bringing forth the names of outstanding Ukrainian artists, singers, writers, professionals, persons elected to public bodies, etc. All this is important, but it is only the first stage of history writing—the stage of assessing and organizing the basic facts, analogous, as it were, to taxonomy in the biological sciences.

Problems arise from three features which often characterize this history writing. First, the scope of the history covered varies substantially, as does the depth and detail of the coverage. A few books deal with the entire group in a specific country. More often the works deal with specific communities, as, for example, Ukrainians in Philadelphia or Pennsylvania, Minnesota or Winnipeg. The latter tend to be replete with detail, the former general and frequently superficial. Second, there is the problem of objectivity. Many works are filial-pietistic in character and present the bright side of the history but neglect or ignore its darker or less pleasant aspects. There is a definite tendency to write the history as a story of the "successful" growth of a community. This may be understandable, but the result often obscures such details as "false starts," organizations or bodies which have declined or disappeared and the like. Finally, most of these works fall into the category of almanac or anniversary publication.² There arises the question whether this kind of writing is really history or only chronicling. The difference between scholarly history and chronicling lies in the fact that the former contains a systematic analytical scheme as a backbone. Thus, for example, Mykhailo Hrushevsky would see the history of Ukraine as an attempt at self-assertion by a people which, early in pre-history, had already established its own identity as distinct from the identities of neighbouring peoples, the Russians

² See, for example, *Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Association in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary of Its Existence* (in Ukrainian), ed. L. Myshuna (Jersey City, N.J.: Ukrainian National Association, 1936). *Golden Jubilee Almanac of the Ukrainian National Association 1894-1944* (in Ukrainian), ed. L. Myshuna (Jersey City, N.J.: Ukrainian National Association, 1944). *Ukrainians in Pennsylvania: A Contribution to the Growth of the Commonwealth*, ed. A. Lushnycky et al. (Philadelphia: Ukrainian Bicentennial Committee, 1976). Michael Ewanchuk, *A History of the Ukrainian Settlements in the Gimli Area* (in Ukrainian) (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1975). Harry Piniuta, *Land of Pain, Land of Promise* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978).

and the Byelorussians. Lypynsky would approach the history of Ukraine in terms of the distinction between the nobles ("shliakhta") and the peasantry, or of the development of the urban class ("mishchany") against the background of the peasantry.

No similar analytical schemes have been developed for the history of Ukrainians in the diaspora. The most common methodology has been the encyclopaedic institutional approach. That is, the history of Ukrainians in, say, the United States would be divided into that of Ukrainian organizational life, religious life, education, scholarship, the arts, etc. Only in a few cases would the history of economic life be included.³ This approach brings together a diversity of facts, but uses a descriptive, rather than an analytical, scheme.

An exception to this, and a novel approach to the history of Ukrainians in the United States, is a recent work which systematically views the history of the community as the emergence, conflict and resolution of differences within it. Issues which are illuminated by this approach include, for example, the question of how best to help the struggle for independence in Ukraine as debated and pursued by Ukrainian political organizations in the United States between the two World Wars (particularly the "Hetman" and the "nationalist" organizations); or, again, the issue of the Latinization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church before and after the arrival of the post-war wave of immigrants.⁴ This approach has the advantage of making the history of the ethnic community more meaningful. Indeed, this approach is basically that of political history, which is the most common approach in all history writing. Its analytical scheme seems to derive from the assumption that history is a struggle for power between different groups. This approach, however, suffers from a tendency to neglect the objective social history which is essential to our understanding of ethnicity. The social history of ethnic groups does deal with organizational and cultural formations, but it should also take up such questions as the economic adjustment, growth and development of the group, as well as élite

³ Lupul, *A Heritage in Transition*, pp. 59-84.

⁴ Myron Kuropas, *The Ukrainian Americans: Roots and Aspirations, 1884-1954* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). See also Yarema G. Kelebay, "Three Fragments of the Ukrainian Community in Montreal, 1899-1970: A Hartzian Approach," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 12(1980), No. 2, 74-87.

formation, class differentiation and generational conflict. (The latter, in particular, has been neglected in histories of Ukrainian settlement.) These aspects of social history, however, raise several further questions regarding the study of any ethnic group. The first is: whose history is ethnic history, anyhow?

If, in studying "ethnic history" (the history, say, of Ukrainians in the diaspora), we are to study economic adjustment, class, cultural conflict etc., can we study it as something independent of the history of the respective countries of settlement? Is not the influence of the host society on the life of ethnic groups such that their histories cannot be understood without studying the history of the host society? The question, therefore, is: is the history of a minority ethnic group within a larger society part of the history of this larger society; or it is part of the history of the ethnic group's society of origin—an aspect of that society's history of emigration; or is it part of the history of neither of these larger societies, but, rather, a history that belongs only to the group itself? Or, we can further ask, is it all of the above or none of the above? In other words, is the history of Ukrainians in the United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil etc. part of the history of the United States, Canada, Australia or Brazil, or is it part of the history of Ukraine, or simply a history of American, Canadian, Australian or Brazilian Ukrainians? This is not simply a rhetorical question. For long, historians in Canada and the United States have refused to see the histories of specific ethnic groups as an integral part of the history of their society. Some forty years ago, Oscar Handlin tried to establish ethnic history as part of American history with his book *The Uprooted*, yet it appears that this book has been read and quoted more by sociologists than by historians. Similar goals have been pursued by Rudolf Vecoli at his Centre for Immigrant Studies at the University of Minnesota and, in Canada, by the late Robert F. Harney through the Multicultural History Society of Ontario. Both places have established and developed rich archives relevant to ethnic histories, both have sponsored series of lectures and published historical works. Yet, in both countries, their work has remained outside mainstream history. It appears that mainstream historians have for long insisted that history is essentially political history, and that social history refers mainly to the lifestyles of the charter members of society. The other ethnic groups would be mentioned in the general history books, but mainly as a labour force, and without any distinct value of their own.

Should, then, the history of Ukrainians in the diaspora be researched and studied as part of the history of Ukraine? The historian Orest Subtelny in his general history of Ukraine, published in 1989, seems to think so. He includes a section on Ukrainians in several countries of settlement.⁵ Yet this is quite unorthodox. The distinguished historian Omeljan Pritsak has claimed that, from the moment when emigrants leave their home country, what happens to them is outside of that country's sphere of influence, and hence outside of its history.⁶ Indeed, to my knowledge, no other general histories of Ukraine include any systematic discussion of Ukrainian emigrants.

The second major question about ethnic histories, therefore, is this: if, indeed, research on ethnic histories is to study the process of adjustment of immigrants to their new society, should it not do so more appropriately within sociology than within history? Many mainstream historians, including Pritsak, think so. The problem is that, although some ethnic histories have been written by sociologists (see, e.g., such works of historical sociology as Henry Radecki's on the Poles and Baha Abu-Laban's on the Lebanese in Canada), most ethnic histories in Canada and the United States have actually been written by historians, though not mainstream historians.⁷

The problem with ethnic history writing is that most of it lacks imagination; and it lacks analytical schemes. The presentation of organizational or institutional development within an ethnic community is usually not only intellectually unstimulating, but fails to convey the essence of the ethnic experience, offers no insights into it, and is unable to link it to the everyday life or the history of society at large.

I think this problem can be remedied by the collection and intensive study of oral histories. I think immersion into such histories by a scholar of ethnicity can produce insights leading to the invention of fruitful analytical schemes which would give life to the standard stories of organizational and institutional development.

⁵ Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 538-72.

⁶ In conversation with W.W. Isajiw.

⁷ See the histories of ethnic groups in Canada in the series "Generations: A History of Canada's Peoples," ed. J. Burnet and H. Palmer (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart).

A few remarks on oral histories. Oral histories can provide a common ground for both historians and sociologists. For a historian they can (a) produce such detail of material as often cannot be found in the archives and therefore (b) give clues leading to further research which otherwise would not be undertaken at all. (c) They can give an understanding of the real-life underpinnings of the organizational and institutional stories, at the same time linking the life of the immigrants or individual members of an ethnic group to general social processes.

For a sociologist, oral histories can provide the subjective fine points of experience which give an understanding of the ethnic phenomenon that cannot be obtained from statistical averages, trends or correlations.

Oral histories, however, should be conducted systematically and by trained interviewers. There are established, detailed procedures for oral history interviewing. This is why it is important that oral history be done in the context of research centres or institutes which can provide direction and quality control.

Sociological Study of the Diaspora

Sociologically, the question of settlers in a new society has at least these aspects: (1) the question of the settlers' relationship to the country of settlement, (2) the question of their relationship to the communities of origin, that is, to the home country, and (3) the question of the relationship of the communities in the diaspora to each other. All these can be subdivided into further dimensions..

The question of the settlers' relationship to the country of settlement has two dimensions: first, the relationship of the host society to its minority ethnic groups in general and to the specific ethnic group in question, in our case Ukrainians, in particular; and, second, the relationship of the specific ethnic group to the host society. Each dimension of the question raises different issues, none of which, however, has been studied by sociologists completely systematically. Rather, each one of them has been approached in a more or less haphazard manner, depending on the specific researcher's interest or, quite often, upon the availability of grant funds.

Let us briefly consider some of the issues raised by each question. In regard to the host society's attitude toward ethnic groups, particularly Ukrainians, there is the issue of government

policies on immigration and on ethnic group maintenance. Traditionally, the attitude of governments in North America and, I think, also in Australia and Brazil has been to see immigrants as means of developing the labour force or the population. In several periods of history, in Canada and the United States, the role given to Ukrainians was even more specific. At the turn of the century, Ukrainians were admitted to Canada as farmers or agricultural workers, and to the United States mainly as unskilled labourers or as mine workers. Agricultural work was the role initially given to Ukrainian immigrants in Brazil. Traditionally, refugees have also been admitted in the process of labour force recruitment. In other words, until recently, the only obligation that these governments perceived themselves as having towards the immigrant minorities was that of accepting them into the labour force. No political obligations or cultural obligations to the groups as ethnic groups had ever been intended.

It is only recently that governments in Canada and the United States have recognized the claims of some ethnic groups to be compensated for injustices done them, as in the case of the Japanese. Again, only recently, cultural claims have been given some official recognition through the policy of multiculturalism. It should be remembered, however, that governments have extended recognition to immigrant groups, and have acknowledged some obligations towards them, only as a consequence of political pressures exerted by groups such as the French and Native Indians in Canada and the Blacks in the United States in defence of their own human and cultural rights. Also, such policies have been a response to the pressure of large numbers of new immigrants, many of whom in the past twenty years have been arriving with higher levels of education and a higher socio-economic background than ever before. Yet, even in this case, it appears that such policies as multiculturalism have been undertaken more as a means of "integrating" immigrants into the host society, or, more precisely, as a means of their "adjustment" to the host society with the purpose of reducing potential tensions.

The problem is that, in spite of a relatively extensive literature on policies of multiculturalism and a smaller literature on other governmental policies in regard to immigrant and ethnic groups, we have very little research on governmental policies toward ethnic groups. There is little systematic research on the factors motivating the emergence of specific policies or on the behind-the-scenes

politics underlying these policies. In particular, there is almost no scholarly research which would evaluate the effectiveness and the consequences of these policies. It is here, again, that history and sociology overlap in what we can call historical sociology. We actually know next to nothing about the specific considerations that the Canadian, American, Australian or other governments had concerning immigration of Ukrainians or their persistence in the host society. Only recently have there been two studies in Canada of these questions: one by Jaroslav Petryshyn, a study of selected individuals in the government and their motives in bringing the first Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, and a biographical study by N.F. Dreisziger of Tracy Philipps, a British maverick governmental trouble-shooter who was instrumental in organizing the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as an umbrella organization and who was also interested in post-World War II Ukrainian immigrants.⁸ In either case, the results of the research show a picture of the power-holders' considerations in regard to Ukrainians that is different from those given by Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian historians in their congenial works up to now. Dreisziger's work, for example, implies that the British government and some members of the Canadian government were very much interested in Ukrainian Displaced Persons and followed their movements carefully. From additional oral histories we also learn that Tracy Philipps and, apparently, other British officials were very keenly interested in the Ukrainian S.S. Division, and that one of the missions of the Ukrainian Canadian servicemen stationed in London after the war (who undoubtedly were, as L. Luciuk called them, the "heroes of their day" inasmuch as they substantially helped Ukrainian refugees at the time) was to obtain the Division's archives.⁹

⁸ Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1985). Jaroslav Petryshyn, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Ukrainians During the Sifton Years: A Reappraisal," and N.F. Dreisziger, "Canada's Wartime Government, Tracy Philipps and Ukrainian-Canadian Unity (1939-40)." Both papers were presented at the Ukrainian Centennial Lecture Series, University of Toronto, and the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto, Spring 1990.

⁹ Bohdan Panchuk, *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*, ed. L. Luciuk (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983). *Between Two Worlds: the Memoirs of Stanley Frolick*, ed. L. Luciuk and M. Carynyk (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Toronto, 1990). Stanley W. Frolick, reminiscences in *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons After World War Two*, ed. W.W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk and R.

This type of material can be obtained only through careful examination of the archives, particularly those of the institutions of the host society, personal records of individuals acting on its behalf and, of course, oral histories. This is the kind of research that must be done, especially by younger scholars, if we are to understand the role and place of specific ethnic groups in the host society. Indeed, this type of research may not produce a "nice," "proper" or "cleaned up" picture of the history and place of the group in its respective host society, but it will give us a more truly sociological and a more real history of the group. If we are to move beyond platitudes and toward a deeper knowledge of ethnicity and ethnic issues, this type of research is essential.

The sociological question, of course, is how such policies, or rather policies behind policies, affect the development process of the specific ethnic group within the host society, particularly the group's organizational life and its politics. Indeed, the question of how, for example, the policy of multiculturalism has influenced Ukrainian organizational and cultural life in Canada has not been studied as yet at all.

Another sociological issue—the second aspect of the question of the relationship of the host society to the specific ethnic group—is that of the attitudes of the general population toward the group. As is by now generally known, there are often widespread prejudices against some ethnic groups in society, particularly against racial groups. One of the oldest types of research in sociology has been the attempt to measure the prevalence and the degree of ethnic prejudices in society. For this purpose, sociologists have invented and used such instruments as the Bogardus social distance scale and ethnic social standing scale. The value of this research is that it can show the prestige that an ethnic group enjoys within society in relation to other ethnic groups, and by this can be an indicator, though only indirectly, of the degree of discrimination against the group. When measured by these scales, the groups which appear at the top of the scale can be said to enjoy most prestige and are least discriminated against, whereas those groups which appear at the bottom are most discriminated against and enjoy least prestige. In North America

Senkus (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1990). Appendix. Interview with Peter Smylsky, 1990, Archives of the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre, St. Vladimir Institute, Ontario.

the groups most different racially from the dominant Anglo groups usually end up at the bottom of the scale, even if their socio-economic level is high.

The question for us is what place Ukrainians hold on the prestige ladder of our society, and whether this place has been changing in an upward direction in the past, say, 20 years. For Ukrainians, this is an unresearched issue in virtually all countries of their settlement, except Canada. Even in Canada, however, there are only two sociological studies of this question. The most important is that of Peter Pineo, of McMaster University, in which he tried to determine the prestige status of some thirty ethnic groups in Canada, including Ukrainians. His results have divided the prestige continuum roughly into three categories: top, middle, and bottom. Ukrainians were in the middle category, but bottom among the eleven ethnic groups most discriminated against.¹⁰ In other words, the prestige of Ukrainians as a group in Southern Ontario in Canada was relatively low. What exactly are the factors producing this low prestige, and has there been a change in this prestige level since the mid-1970s when the study was done? What of the prestige of Ukrainians in the Prairie provinces? Does this relatively low prestige influence the way in which the government or societal élites relate to Ukrainians? These are unresearched questions. Too often they are answered on the basis of folklore knowledge which claims that Ukrainians in Canada have been given a certain degree of recognition. Empirical research so far may not substantiate this allegation to any great extent, but we will not know with certainty until research is undertaken and systematically carried out.

The second dimension of our first question concerning the relationship between an ethnic group and its country of settlement has to do with the relationship of the group to the larger society (as against the question just discussed, that of the relationship of the larger society to the specific ethnic group).

Two aspects of this question can be considered: (1) that of the intellectual orientation of the ethnic group toward its host society; and (2) that of *de facto* incorporation of the group into the larger society.

The intellectual orientation of the ethnic group refers to the

¹⁰ Peter C. Pineo, "The Social Standing of Ethnic and Racial Groupings," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 14(1977), No. 2, 147-57.

kinds of issues that become the intellectual venue of the group over a longer period of time. The specific issues may vary from one period of time to another, and from one sub-sector of the group to another. We can, however, say that the intellectual issues by which an ethnic group lives have two directions of thrust, an internal direction of community maintenance and self-segregation from the rest of society, and an external direction, aimed at the group's incorporation into society at large.

The social historian Louis Hartz has developed a theory according to which each new wave of immigrants into a society tends to live for a long period of time by the intellectual issues which were predominant in the group's life just before its members left their homeland.¹¹ These issues become the basis for the formation of new organizations and consequent community life. This theory was applied to the study of the Ukrainian community in Canada and, specifically, in Montreal, by Yarema Kelebay.¹²

According to Kelebay, the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada came at the time at which land, or lack of it, was an important issue in Western Ukraine, and hence their orientation in the new society was primarily economic, the leading idea being that of establishing oneself well on the land. Community maintenance was related to the establishment of farming communities, a fact which resulted in the successful transplantation of Ukrainian village culture and community life to Canada. The second wave of immigrants was smaller in number and consisted of persons who had experienced the Ukrainian war for independence in the 1917-1920 period. Many of them were ex-soldiers, and in Canada they formed new organizations. Their community life was to a large extent predicated on the pursuit of the idea of Ukrainian statehood. The third wave differed from both previous waves in that its intellectual issues and its organized community life derived not so much from the idea of Ukrainian statehood as from the ideology of nationalism which had been prevalent before immigration.

This theory, indeed, provides a good approach to understanding the community life of ethnic groups, particularly since it allows for many inferences. Nevertheless, it requires much more research, particularly on how each intellectual issue relates the ethnic group to the society at large and how it contributes either

¹¹ Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies* (New York: Harcourt, 1964).

¹² Kelebay, *op. cit.*

toward its segregation or its incorporation.

The question of the differences in intellectual orientation is also important in regard to the generations. Much sociological research in the United States has been directed at studying the second and, to a lesser extent, the third immigrant generation. There has been some new research on this issue in Canada and Australia.¹³ Good foundations for this type of research in regard to Ukrainians have been laid in North America.¹⁴

The prevalent sociological theory is that the second generation shows a high degree of rebelliousness against its ethnic group, yet is indebted to its group for much of its socialization. Typically, the second generation goes through a process of double socialization, being socialized both within its ethnic community and within the society at large.¹⁵ Its members often feel themselves to be a natural

¹³ Raymond Breton, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Jeffrey G. Reitz and Warren E. Kalbach, *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). Jim McKay, *Phoenician Farewell: Three Generations of Lebanese Christians in Australia* (Melbourne: Ashwood House, 1989).

¹⁴ Alex Simirenko, *Pilgrims, Colonists and Frontiersmen: An Ethnic Community in Transition* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964). Vladimir C. Nahimy and J.A. Fishman, "Ukrainian Language Maintenance Efforts in the United States," in J.A. Fishman *et al.*, eds., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), pp. 318-57. C.W. Hobart, W.E. Kalbach, J.T. Borhek and A.P. Jacoby, *Persistence and Change: A Study of Ukrainians in Alberta* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1966 and 1978). Renata M. Sharan-Olearchyk, *Types of Ethnic Identification and Generational Position: A Study of the Ukrainian Immigrant Group in the U.S.A.* (London: Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, 1968 and 1971). Roma Chumak-Horbatsch, "Language in the Ukrainian Home: Its Use in Ten Toronto Families Attempting to Preserve Their Mother Tongue," Ph.D. thesis, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, 1984. Alexander I. Roman, "Ethnic Identity Among the Ukrainian Canadians: An Assessment of Generational Changes," Ph.D. thesis, York University, North York, 1988. Nadia H. Skop, "Ethnic Singlehood as a Sociological Phenomenon: Ukrainian-Canadians as a Case Study," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto, 1988. Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Ethnic Identity Retention," in R. Breton *et al.*, *Ethnic Identity and Equality*, pp. 34-91.

¹⁵ Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Second Generation Immigrants in American Society" (in Ukrainian), *Suchasnist'*, 4 (1964), No. 9(45), 102-10; "Adjustments of Second Generation Immigrant Youth" (in Ukrainian), *Plastovyi shliakh*, 14 (1967), No. 3, 8-17; "Educational Directions in a Double Social Environment" (in Ukrainian), *Suchasnist'*, 12 (1972), No. 11(143), 111-17.

part of both. This, of course, can, and often does, produce problems of cognitive inconsistency, cognitive dissonance, divided feelings, divided desires and divided loyalties.

As regards Ukrainians, although research on generations has begun, it has not progressed very far in relation to these particular questions. An interesting, and perhaps the most systematic, examination of one of these issues is Nadia Skop's study of a sample of Ukrainian second generation singles in Toronto.¹⁶ Her study strikingly documents a high degree of hostility and reproach between Ukrainian second generation males and females, yet at the same time an expressed desire to marry within the Ukrainian community. The study also points to a tendency of the Ukrainian second generation female to be emancipated from the Ukrainian community much more than the Ukrainian male, yet it also shows the respect that both sexes have for Ukrainian traditions, customs and language. So far, however, this is a unique study even in sociology in general, and there is a need at least to replicate this type of research in other contexts.

Another unique piece of research in Canada is Alexander Roman's study of third generation Ukrainians in Toronto.¹⁷ Roman attempted to apply the theory of third generation rediscovery to the Ukrainian community. Rather than apply an interview method, he has used the participant observation method and the phenomenological approach in order to understand the phenomenon of ethnic rediscovery, as it were, from within. He offers fascinating, novel insights into small groups of young Ukrainian people whose mother tongue is English, not Ukrainian, but who have developed a great interest in their Ukrainian heritage. Again, many more such studies are needed before we can make general conclusions about the third generation's intellectual orientations.

There is a rather important issue which arises when we talk about the ethnic community's double world: ethnic culture. By "ethnic culture" is meant, not a heritage produced "back home" and transmitted and retained over generations, but something new produced by creative persons in the country of settlement, particularly by the younger generations. There is a special need to research this culture. Some of this work has started, particularly in

¹⁶ Skop, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ Roman, *op. cit.*

Australia, as the critical study of Ukrainian immigrant literature.¹⁸

For a sociologist, however, art—literature, the visual arts, music—reflects and interprets social experience. The issue here is, to what extent Ukrainian art in the different countries of settlement reflects and interprets the experience of the doubleness referred to above. Conversely, to what extent does ethnic art, in this case Ukrainian art, reflect and interpret only the experiences of the past, that is, those of the past history of Ukraine? To what extent does or can ethnic art, by means of creativity, bring the two worlds together into a consistent whole? We can point to some artists, for example William Kurelek and Natalka Husar in Canada, who in their art quite strikingly grapple with this doubleness. Does the art of Myron Levytsky, for example, approach this problem? If not, what does it reflect about the ethnic experience? Can one research this issue systematically?

In this context another question arises: to what extent in our analysis of ethnic art and culture can we use exactly the same criteria as we do in the analysis of the art of the dominant ethnic groups? Were we to apply the criteria of the dominant culture, would not ethnic minority art always come out in a bad light, as inferior? The question is, are there really "universal" criteria by means of which all art and culture can be judged, or are the criteria of criticism which we call "universal" only those which derive from the dominant ethnic group cultures? If, however, there are universal criteria, do we perhaps need additional criteria derived from intensive study of minority group cultures in order to be able adequately to understand such phenomena as cultural doubleness?

I will turn now to the issue of the *de facto* integration or incorporation of Ukrainians into their host society and to the related issue of *de facto* retention of Ukrainian identity. The question is, to what extent have Ukrainians in the diaspora become part of the occupational structure of Canada, the United States, Australia,

¹⁸ Marko Pavlyshyn, "Satire and the Comic in Australia's Ukrainian Literature," in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: Second Conference*, ed. M. Pavlyshyn (Melbourne: Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, 1986), pp. 99-113. Bohdan Rubchak, "Homes as Shells: Ukrainian Émigré Poetry," in *New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983), pp. 87-123. George G. Grabowicz, "A Great Literature," in *The Refugee Experience*, ed. W. Isajiw et al., *op. cit.* Jars Balan, ed., *Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982).

Brazil, etc., on the same basis as all other ethnic groups, including the dominant groups? There are only a few studies of this question.¹⁹ Traditionally and predominantly, sociologists have phrased this issue in the following terms: retention of ethnic identity is a drawback for the social mobility of the members of any ethnic group and, conversely, a prerequisite for social mobility in society is assimilation into the cultural identity of the host society.²⁰ It is interesting that many sociologists, as well as non-scholarly commentators, have persisted in this belief in spite of the fact that research has not confirmed it at all. In Canada Gordon Darroch has pooled all studies of his period and has shown that the results do not give much corroboration to this assumption.²¹ Isajiw and Driedger have concluded that ethnic identity is a drawback for social mobility for some ethnic groups but not others. For example, for first-generation Ukrainians it is a drawback, but for the second generation it is not, and for the third it does not matter: by the third generation ethnic identity is not a factor in social mobility any more, persons with high and low identity being equally mobile. For the Jewish group ethnicity is not a drawback in any generation and, in fact, can be seen as a resource, as persons who strongly identify with their group are highly socially mobile. For Germans, ethnic identity is a drawback in the first generation, but not in the second or the third. For the Italians it is a resource, especially for the second generation. For their third generation, as

¹⁹ Hobart *et al.*, *op. cit.* Raymond Breton, W.W. Isajiw, W.E. Kalbach, J.G. Reitz, *Ethnic Identity and Equality*, *op. cit.* Norbert J. Hartmann and W.W. Isajiw, "Ethnicity and Occupation: An Assessment of the Occupational Structure of Ukrainian Canadians in the 1960s," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 12 (1980), No. 2, 55-73. W.W. Isajiw, "Participation of Ukrainians in Business Occupations in Canada," in *Changing Realities: Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians*, W.R. Petryshyn, ed. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980), pp. 97-103. Warren E. Kalbach, *Ethnogenational Factors in Socio-Economic Achievement in Toronto: The Second Generation During the 1970s* (Downsview: Institute for Behavioral Research, York University, 1984).

²⁰ Norbert J. Wiley, "The Ethnic Mobility Trap and Stratification Theory," *Social Problems*, 15 (1967), 147-59. John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 60-103.

²¹ Gordon Darroch, "Another Look at Ethnicity, Stratification, and Social Mobility in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 4 (1979), 1-25.

in case of the Ukrainians, it does not much matter any more.²²

My research has also shown the extent to which Ukrainians and other ethnic groups in urban Canada retain their identity on the individual level. Much more research on this issue is needed, however, and particularly on the complementary questions: to what extent do those of the second or later generations who have been socially mobile—particularly the professionals—actively participate in Ukrainian organizational life, and how does their participation alter the structure of community life, if at all?

Let me, finally, take up the question of the relationship between the ethnic group and its home society. This question is particularly relevant for Ukrainians because of the changes that have been taking place in Ukraine since 1985. The basic question is how the home country's interest in Ukrainians in the West influences processes within these Ukrainian diaspora communities—their organizational life, cultural activities, scholarship, identity (particularly that of the younger generations) and their adaptation to society at large. (The reverse side of this issue—how the diaspora influences the home country—cannot concern us here.)

It should be noted that, in general, in the past ten years there has been an increase in the interest shown in ethnic groups by their home countries. A number of these countries, for example Greece and Italy, have established special agencies to handle relationships with their diasporas. Interest in these diasporas has been, to a large extent, motivated by economic considerations, since these ethnic groups have by now developed a respectable middle-class level of prosperity. It is probably also true that the Ukrainian home country today is interested in the Ukrainians abroad for economic reasons. But these are phenomena closely related to politics.

Changes in Ukraine today have already galvanized much of the Ukrainian community in the diaspora. This, in turn, has brought to the fore a new set of issues and problems that call for investigation. For example, different attitudes toward Ukraine and different modes of relationship with visitors from Ukraine can be observed to exist between the pre-war and the post-war waves of immigration. Differences in this regard can also be observed between the first, second and third generations of the post-war

²² Wsevolod W. Isajiw and Leo Driedger, "Ethnic Identity: Resource or Drawback for Social Mobility?" Paper presented at the 82nd Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 18, 1987.

immigration.

Current changes in Ukraine seem to fulfil the intellectual orientation and the expectations of the post-war immigration. Much of the work of this wave of immigration has consisted of activities which were prohibited in the Soviet Ukraine. Thus, students would study or specialize in subjects such as history of Ukraine, which for long had been excluded from university programs in Ukraine. Many scholarly or research institutions in the diaspora would publish works which could not be published in Ukraine. The rationale for this was, that these books might be needed some day in Ukraine. Indeed, this has proved to be the case. Many institutions in Ukraine today request such materials from the diaspora.

The problem, however, is that post-war immigrants often seem to assume that the intellectual orientation of people in Ukraine toward their own country has today become ideologically the same as theirs. This, in spite of the appearances, may not be so at all. No research on this or similar issues has been undertaken as yet. If the changes in Ukraine in the future proceed in the direction they seem to be taking now, it will be important to study this area in detail.

To sum up, future research on the Ukrainian diaspora should be undertaken in a systematic and cumulative manner. This does not mean that a tight framework should be imposed on researchers. Scholars should study whatever phenomena they may be interested in. They should be encouraged to follow their fancy. But at the same time they should know how their research fits in with, and contributes to, the study of ethnic histories, the sociological analysis of ethnicity, and ethnic studies in general.

HOW CAN SMALL ETHNIC GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA SURVIVE INTO THE FUTURE?

James Jupp

Ukrainian Australians

Ukrainians are a small ethnic minority in Australia. In 1986 there were 10,468 (or 0.06% of the Australian population) who gave their birthplace as Ukraine; there were 15,167 who used the Ukrainian language at home (or almost 0.1% of the population measured), indicating a high level of language retention and transmission. There were 25,258 in the 1986 Census who claimed Ukrainian ancestry either as their "sole" or "first" ancestry.

In comparative terms, the group naming Ukraine as its birthplace was the 45th-largest of the birthplace groups, comparable to the Latvian-born. Ukrainian speakers were 22nd in order of size of language group, comparable to Japanese or Indonesian speakers. Moreover, the Ukrainian population was widely spread, so that language communities of over 1,000 existed only in Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia (in that order), nearly all of them in the four capitals of Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Perth. There is a contrast here with Canada, where the second-largest Ukrainian population in the world is so strongly represented in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario that it constitutes a political force. The Ukrainian language is a major Canadian language, taught in several universities and broadcast on radio and television stations. In Australia, not only is Ukrainian not one of the priority languages for the official National Policy on Languages (which is also true for all other Slav languages), but it is rarely broadcast through the Special Broadcasting Service or community radio stations. The language lacks a critical mass and institutional support from outside its own community. Nevertheless, it is used by those not born in Ukraine and is surviving as a "marker" of distinctive Ukrainian ethnicity. This is almost wholly due to the consciously organized efforts of the Australian Ukrainian community, which, although small, is better organized and more united than most other ethnic communities.

The level of Ukrainian organization can be measured by the number of organizations listed in the Directory of Ethnic Community Organizations in Australia, published by the Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs in 1989. There were 23 Ukrainian organizations listed for New South Wales, or one for every 200 Ukrainian speakers. Figures for other states were: Victoria 17 (1:326), South Australia 9 (1:282), Queensland 9 (1:109), Western Australia 5 (1:204), Australian Capital Territory 5 (1:54) and Tasmania 3 (1:58). These figures exclude part-time community schools. Obviously many Ukrainians belong to several community organizations and churches. Most important, in terms of funding community activities, have been the credit co-operatives. As Ukrainian activities have received little public subsidy, the funds raised within the community have been very important, especially in supporting Ukrainian language teaching at the university level which would not exist without such assistance.

Effective language maintenance and organizational density characterize Australian Ukrainians. This is partly due to the peculiar settlement history of Ukrainians, comparable only to that of Baltic States settlers, who have a similar level of organization. The great majority of Ukrainians arrived in Australia in less than six years at the end of the 1940s and the start of the 1950s, the largest number arriving in 1949 and 1950. Virtually all came as Displaced Persons and thus had a common settlement experience. They were also drawn from a narrow age band. There has only been one "wave" of Ukrainians arriving in Australia, in contrast, for example, to the multiple waves from Poland or Hungary. A majority (50.5%) of Australian Ukrainians are Catholics from Western Ukraine, but religious differences are unimportant when compared with the unifying experience of arriving under similar circumstances.

Ukrainians are bound together by common factors to a greater degree than most other immigrant groups. This helps to explain their success in organising cultural maintenance and sustaining a vibrant community life.

But some problems also arise from this unifying experience. The Ukraine-born population has aged uniformly. By 1986 two-thirds (66.1%) of the Ukraine-born were aged between 60 and 75. Without renewal from the Soviet Ukraine (which is now possible for the first time), the first generation of Australian Ukrainians will

be halved by the end of the century. As the Ukraine-born make up half (49.4%) of those normally speaking Ukrainian, this age structure obviously presents a potential threat to the maintenance of the language in the future.

The Ukrainian community faces two dilemmas. It runs the risk of disappearing altogether early in the next century if it is defined as those people who were born in, and have personal experience of, Ukraine. It also runs the risk of what is often called cultural fossilization. This phenomenon, which is found in all immigrant communities, is a tendency to cling to memories and cultural forms based on a homeland which no longer exists. If no effective links with the homeland are retained, the degree of fossilization is greater. Until recently, very few Ukrainian Australians were able or willing to return to Ukraine and thus to familiarize themselves with the current situation in their homeland in a way open, for example, to Greeks or Italians. Other refugee-based communities have had the same problem. But it has been especially acute for Ukrainians because of the very limited period during which they entered Australia and the repressed character of Soviet Ukrainian political and cultural life. The inspiration for Ukrainians in Australia often comes from Canada rather than the Soviet Union. An ethnic community which is unable to replenish its culture from the homeland runs a serious risk of becoming an anachronism and losing the sympathy and support of its locally-born youth. Governments such as those of Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia recognize this dilemma by supporting study trips and cultural interchange.

In one sense, then, the Ukrainian community is under threat and must recognize this. The threat comes not from Soviet repression or Australian indifference (though both are relevant), but from the withering of the founding generation and the severing of links with the homeland culture.

Yet the figures presented above for language retention and organizational density suggest a community which is highly organized and self-conscious and which is passing its inheritance on to its Australian-born children. All ethnic minorities in Australia (including Aborigines) face pressures to conform and assimilate, despite official support for multiculturalism. Ukrainians, of necessity, must support multiculturalism as it relieves that pressure and gives official blessing to cultural maintenance. But they must also understand the factors which assist or threaten cultural

maintenance and, therefore, the continuation of a distinct Ukrainian presence in Australia. That presence will not have the same form and content as one based on direct immigration from Ukraine, but, like Canadian Ukrainian culture, will have a locally relevant character.

The Persistence of Minority Cultures

Small ethnic minorities have persisted in specific but varied circumstances. They are more likely to retain a distinct character in rural than in urban surroundings. Australian Ukrainians, like many other immigrants, live mainly in large cities. Small ethnic minorities are more likely to persist in illiterate or preliterate conditions where they have not been reached by mass education or the mass media, which are usually conformist and assimilationist. This is not the situation of Australian Ukrainians. Small ethnic minorities may resist official assimilation, and may even be encouraged by pluralist or multicultural official policy, as in Australia, which officially abandoned assimilation by the 1970s. They need well-educated leaders and organizers who can intercede with the majority institutions. In the Australian situation, where all such institutions are conducted in English, these are likely to be found in the locally-born descendants of immigrants.

Some Australian conditions are favourable to cultural retention, but some are not.

Ethnic minorities have survived best in structurally pluralist traditional societies. These are most commonly found in Asia and, in the past, have been characterized by weak governments and low levels of literacy. Relevant to the Ukrainian experience were the Austro-Hungarian and Tsarist Empires. Before their modernization in the nineteenth century these left considerable autonomy to cultural and religious minorities. With the rise of modern nationalism such pluralist states give way to nationalist societies which seek conformity. Australia went through a version of this nationalism between the 1880s and the 1940s. The Austrian empire was inhibited from monocultural nationalism by its dual Germanic-Magyar character, just as Canada is inhibited by its dual Anglo-French character. Other minorities were able to benefit from the lack of a dominant culture, which was not the case in Russia either under the Tsars or the Communists. Australia, too, has a dominant culture, though one which is now liberal enough to permit cultural

diversity. It is historically assimilationist and conformist, as those Ukrainians arriving in the late 1940s soon found. Australia has moved from expecting conformity to allowing diversity. The Australian state neither discourages nor actively encourages ethnic minorities, which must rely on their own resources to resist the mass metropolitan influences under which most of them live.

Ethnic minorities have survived where they are geographically isolated. This is not relevant for Australian Ukrainians, though it often is for Canadian Ukrainians in remote prairie locations. The maintenance of Welsh-language society has also depended on a degree of rural isolation, even in close proximity to millions of urban English speakers. But Welsh society, unlike that of the Irish speakers, also had institutional support through religious activity, intellectual life, singing and poetry, which were actively encouraged even when Welsh schools were attempting to teach only in English (which they abandoned many years ago). But the Celtic languages could not survive transplanting to Australia, where they all died out within one generation. This was partly because they did not enjoy the geographical isolation which they still experienced in the British Isles. Where there was such isolation, in Nova Scotia, Scottish Gaelic persisted for several generations. Isolation has been a major factor in the survival of Aboriginal languages in northern Australia.

Ethnic minorities survive most effectively where they are based on religious adherence rather than on language or sentiment for a distant homeland. Examples in Australia include the survival of Lutheranism in South Australia for 150 years, the persistence of the Jewish community throughout the entire period of European settlement and the century-old maintenance of the Greek Orthodox religion. The persistence of very exclusive religious sects, which control all aspects of their members' lives, is less common in Australia than in North America. This is largely because such sects have established an isolated rural base, as with the Mennonites or Hutterites of Canada. The only comparable Australian example has been that of the Russian Orthodox Old Believers of Gladstone in Queensland, though a Hasidic Jewish community is being maintained in totally suburban surroundings in Melbourne just like its much larger New York counterpart.

Ukrainians do not isolate themselves in this way, despite a high level of organization around Ukrainian-language churches. The Catholic and Orthodox churches are both well integrated into

mainstream religious structures and do not require social isolation nor the adoption of distinctive dress or habits. Nevertheless, it remains true that religious adherence is a powerful factor in cultural maintenance and persists in the Australian context for a long time. Of those Australians born in Ukraine, the great majority are either Catholic (50.5%) or Orthodox (34.3%), and there is no numerically significant adherence to any other denomination which might weaken the cultural influence of those two churches. A relatively small proportion of Ukrainians (7.1%) declined to state a religious adherence.

Ethnic minorities also persist where they have become politically effective, especially if they dominate a political subsystem. The current Soviet government is finding how important the ethnic basis of its component republics can be in conditions of free competition for political support. The position of French Canadians in maintaining their language rests centrally upon their domination of Quebec. Indeed, Canadian federalism cannot be understood without accepting that domination as an unchangeable fact. Numerical strength within a political unit is also important, even when that strength is not dominant. Welsh language policy reflects the preponderance of Welsh-speakers in some areas of Wales, such that distinct Welsh legislation has now become common despite the lack of Welsh self-government or political devolution. The importance of Ukrainians in provinces such as Manitoba (where they make up 12% of the population) has been an important factor in the development of Canadian multiculturalism. The relative concentration of Italians and Greeks in some Australian metropolitan electorates is significant as a base for political pressure on immigration and multicultural policy, especially through the Australian Labor Party.

Needless to say, Ukrainians in Australia do not have any comparable political base. They are insignificant in all political units down to the municipal level. Ukrainians cannot exert influence through the ballot box but must use influence on elected politicians through personal or organizational representations. This was achieved most effectively through the late Senator Missen. Through organizations such as the Captive Nations movement, Ukrainians can effectively combine with other small ethnic communities on specific political issues. But they cannot threaten any kind of electoral backlash, nor do they control any political institutions other than those within the Ukrainian community.

Influence through such publications as the *Australian-Ukrainian Review* cannot be denied. But it is not of the same order as direct intervention in the political process on the basis of controlling a unit of the political system.

Experience in Europe and North America suggests that one or more of the circumstances outlined above can greatly slow down assimilation even in quite urbanized mass societies. Most modern democracies have moved away from deliberate assimilationism towards a more pluralist approach. This is true whether official pronouncements favour multiculturalism (as in Canada or Australia) or nation-building (as in the United States). But there are also many influences which encourage minorities towards abandoning their distinctiveness. These include the spread of mass education and the mass media and the enmeshing of most citizens within a mass consumer urban society. With rising levels of education and of highly skilled employment, many become bicultural. It is easier to maintain cultural distinctiveness as an isolated farmer than as a computer programmer or lawyer. Such well-educated bicultural professionals are, however, very important in representing ethnic minority communities within society and thus protecting and advancing their interests.

Strategies for Cultural Maintenance

The long-term expectation of ethnic minorities in most modern societies must be a degree of assimilation, even possibly of total disappearance as a distinct entity (a path already followed in South Australia by the Wends and Cornish in the nineteenth century). Such assimilation takes several forms. Different cultures proceed in differing order and at different speeds. Among the first distinctive difference to disappear is that of clothing. This may be slowed down when certain items have a religious significance, as with Sikhs or Muslims. Australian Ukrainians have long abandoned any clothing which makes them appear different from other Australians, except for folkloric occasions. Of more importance is the shift toward the language of the majority. In Canada the great majority of first generation Ukrainians speak Ukrainian. This has dropped to half by the second generation and to below a quarter for the third. In Australia Ukrainian is normally spoken by over 70% of the first generation, as compared to only 13% who normally use English. Apart from some Yugoslavs, nearly half of those speaking Ukrainian were born in Australia. But

on Canadian experience (where the critical mass of Ukrainian speakers is very much larger), language loss will occur amongst second and third generation Australian Ukrainians, though more slowly than in many other communities.

Marriage outwards, especially towards the majority, also increases with the generations. It normally leads to language loss amongst the children, as parents communicate in English with each other if they have no common tongue. Small communities, with limited marriage partners and opportunity for social interchange, are especially vulnerable to outmarriage, especially if their members belong to majority religions. The high degree of Ukrainian organization works against outmarriage to some extent. Movement away from original areas of ethnic concentration is an important factor in lessening community ties and the likelihood of socialization and marriage within the community. While many Ukrainians still live in industrial areas of western Melbourne, Sydney or Adelaide, those who have become middle-class (and especially their children) have tended to move away. In any case, there have rarely been Ukrainian concentrations of sufficient numbers to support the complete communities possible for Italians, Greeks, Arabs or Chinese.

Many individuals, especially in the second and subsequent generations, simply sever all ethnic community ties because these no longer have relevance for them. They may change their name to disguise their non-Anglo origins, as was common in Australia in the past. They may cease to practise their religion, or simply merge into one of the mainstream denominations like the Catholic Church. They may not associate with those of a similar origin either at work or in the community and may live in areas where they rarely meet such people. This is a common experience and must be accepted within a liberal society. If it is the experience of the great majority, then the distinctive ethnic community eventually disappears. What normally counts, especially for those of European origin, is behaviour and orientation, not increasingly distant origins. It is not very relevant that a certain percentage of the population is "Ukrainian" if they no longer think of themselves as such. A rather different situation exists for those of non-European origin, such as Aborigines or Chinese, who may be reminded of their origins by others because of their appearance.

Naturally, those who are attached to a particular minority culture wish to prevent these eroding and assimilating tendencies to

reach the stage where the culture disappears as an element in Australian society. Some factors are especially relevant to cultural maintenance, even for small minorities such as Ukrainians. Among these are support from the original culture. With political changes in the Soviet Union, this has now become a possibility. It is an opportunity which they must seize despite reservations about current changes. It is important to Ukrainians in the homeland that they keep effective links with communities such as the Canadian and Australian. Thus the process is two-way and benefits both societies.

Some cultures now have widespread diasporas which mutually reinforce each other and the homeland. Most obvious in this connection is the Canadian Ukrainian community which has vigorously sponsored Ukrainian culture over the years when access to the Soviet Ukraine was impossible.

The sustaining of world-wide cultural links is of great importance in sustaining Australian Ukrainians. Of great potential significance will be the arrival of Ukrainian immigrants in the future. This may put strains on the Australian Ukrainian community, as it has done for Polish Australians. There is a considerable cultural gap between those arriving in the 1940s and those likely to arrive in the 1990s. But if Australian Ukrainian culture is not to become fossilized or irrelevant, it must embrace those coming from Ukraine and come to grips with their attitudes.

There is, then, no reason to suppose that assimilation is inexorable and unavoidable to the point where a Ukrainian presence simply disappears. On present trends and probabilities there will be a recognizable Ukrainian community into the next century. With the possibility of strengthening cultural links with other Ukrainian communities and the homeland the dangers of fossilization will diminish. The prime need is to maintain organizations and to ensure (as Ukrainians are doing but Poles have not) that leadership passes to the younger generation. It will be important to accept some aspects of cultural change, including language loss, and not to set up unrealistic models of Ukrainian purity which will only alienate the locally-born. Pure cultures cannot be indefinitely maintained in modern societies except by deliberate self-isolation, usually on a strict religious basis.

Australian Ukrainians will need to think through the issue of dual identity. Official multiculturalism accepts such duality and no longer demands that immigrants choose between the homeland and

Australia. This liberalism is, regrettably, not yet accepted by all native-born Australians. Immigrant societies cannot base their concepts of nationality on the same racial or exclusive criteria so common in Europe or elsewhere in the past two centuries. All societies expect a primary loyalty to the country of residence, even if that is tempered by a continuing interest in the country of origin. Such dual loyalties are not impossible. Indeed they are essential to the maintenance of the cultural identity of ethnic minorities. A strong interest in Ukraine is central to the identity of Australian Ukrainians and to the continued viability of their community. This does not necessarily mean a continuing obsession with events, loyalties and cultural forms of fifty or sixty years ago any more than Australian identification means acceptance of the myth of the bush or the legend of the 1890s. Australian Ukrainians have shown convincingly that they can maintain their identity over a period of forty years, despite their small numbers. The challenge for the future is to build on that achievement, to renew links with Ukrainians elsewhere and to assert that they are both Ukrainians and Australians and that there is no contradiction between the two.

УКРАЇНЬСЬКА ГРОМАДА ВІКТОРІЇ (40 РОКІВ ЇЇ ІСНУВАННЯ)

Степан Лисенко

Дата 9 вересня 1949 р. є історичною в житті українців стейту Вікторія. Того дня українці Мельборну й околиць, зібравшись в кількості 170 осіб, започаткували організоване національно-громадське життя, ухваливши статут Української Громади Вікторії та обравши її першу управу, яку очолив с.п. інженер Іван Грушецький. Так постала перша у Вікторії, а друга з черги в Австралії, статутова установа українців в цій країні. (Першою була Українська Громада Південної Австралії). А треба пам'ятати, що це були часи, коли наші люди не мали ані власних домів, ані автомобілів, ані навіть постійних адрес. У телефонічній книзі того часу не знайдете у Вікторії ні одного українця. Наші люди жили в нелегких умовах: чоловіки були порозкидувані більшими і меншими групами по різних місцях праці, а жінки з малими дітьми—по окремих таборах. Часто чоловіки й жінки жили сотні миль одне від одного. Життя ускладнювали розкиданість, великі віддалі, брак зв'язку і, вкінці, незнання мови, бо тільки нечисленні одиниці так-сяк володіли англійською мовою.

В таких обставинах народилася Українська Громада Вікторії. Треба подивляти проникливість і відвагу батьків-основоположників УГВ, які в таких несприятливих умовах закладали фундаменти під наше національно-громадське життя. Українська людина, опинившись в австралійському буші, на фабриці чи в будь-якому іншому осередку праці серед чужого оточення, після тяжкої праці шукала оази рідної духовости, які дали б їй душевне задоволення і надію на краще завтра. Тому основною ділянкою праці УГВ напочатку стала культурно-освітня діяльність. Разом з організаційним ростом творилися різні одиниці самодіяльності, розвивалася культурно-освітня

діяльність.

УГВ засновано дев'ятого, а вже двадцять дев'ятого вересня 1949 року відбулася перша вечірка з концертною програмою, яка складалася з вступного слова першого голови УГВ інженера Грушецького та виступів баритона Іларія Клодзінського, піяніста Михайла Кліоновського, бандуриста інженера Григорія Бажула та гумориста Володимира Тимошенка. З учасників того першого українського концерту в Мельборні тільки його організатор, магістер Олесь Куціль, ще живе, всі інші відійшли у вічність. У тому ж часі магістер О. Куціль зорганізував перший у Вікторії український мішаний хор, ставши також його диригентом. Олена Гудова і Онуфрій Цабанюк створюють групу народних танців, а в 1952 році мистецька група УГВ ставить п'єсу *Земля* за В. Стефаником. Ця група стає ядром театру імені Леся Курбаса, душею і першим режисером якого був Степан Крижанівський. Театр був на рівні професійного, до чого причинилися колишні професійні актори львівського оперного театру Степан і Ірина Залеські, Ярослав Гевко та Анастасія й Іван Мартинюки і Кость Любарський з театру Садовського, та інші. Того ж року появилася *Наш вісник* під редакцією Дм. Нитченка, який мав стати інформаційним органом УГВ. На жаль, той намір не здійснився, бо *Наш вісник* перестав видаватися. В 1951 році започатковано також бібліотеку УГВ, яка за рік начисляла вже біля 300 томів і 35 журналів. Бібліотека, в якій кілька тисяч книжок, існує і до сьогодні.

На початку 1952 року мішаний хор переорганізувався в хор «Чайка», яким спочатку диригував мгр. О. Куціль, а потім батуту диригента перебрав маєстро Степан Корінь. Він міцно тримає її у своїх високофахових і талановитих руках до сьогодні. Майже сорок років «Чайка» обдаровує українську спільноту красою і чаром української пісні. «Чайка» також широко відома за океаном. В 1985 році хор відбув по Америці й Канаді успішне турне, яке закінчив тріумфальним виступом в осідку Об'єднаних Націй в Нью-Йорку. В тому ж, щасливому для УГВ, 1952 році створився другий театр УГВ—Театр Музичної Комедії під керівництвом Олександра й Михайла Кліоновських, який поставив оперету Йозефа Штрауса

«На чудовому блакитному Дунаю». Пізніше цей театр мав назву «Музичний Театр ім. Миколи Лисенка». В 1979 році театр відбув успішне турне по Великобританії, давши 23 концерти. Українська публіка Англії виступи нашого театру сприймала з великим ентузіазмом.

З пієтизмом згадуємо с.п. інженера Ярослава Булку, який дійсно був батьком народного танку в Мельборні. Група, якою він керував, виникла в п'ятдесятих роках і мала сотні виступів перед українською і чужинецькою публікою, плекала любов до народного танку серед нашої молоді. В 1960 році на сцені Українського Народнього Дому появилася нова мистецька одиниця танку й балету «Соняшний промінь» під керівництвом досвідченого балетмайстра Марини Березовської.

В шістдесятих роках за ініціативою Дм. Нитченка закладено Літературно-мистецький клуб, який згодом прийняв назву «імени Василя Симоненка». Клуб видає альманах *Новий обрій*.

Пізніше творилися численні драматичні, музичні, танцювальні й вокальні самодіяльні гуртки й одиниці, як при централі, так і при філіях УГВ чи поодиноких організаціях, які виникали на ґрунті Української Громади Вікторії. З огляду на обширність теми я обмежився тими групами, які найглибше витиснули «печатку свого духа» і які, у свою чергу, дали приклад і поштовх до творення нових одиниць культурно-освітньої роботи.

А тим часом кипіла організаційна робота. Де тільки осідав більший гурт українців, там поставали гуртки і філії нашої Громади. Вже 16 квітня 1950 року засновано першу філію УГВ в Сеймор, яку очолив інженер Олексій Черкаський. Філії засновувались далі в такій послідовності:

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| Ньюборо | 18 травня 1950 | гол. Осип Швайлик |
| Водонга | 1 квітня 1951 | гол. Лев Ревекун |
| Саншайн | 30 березня 1952 | гол. П. Фурик |
| Джілонг | 8 червня 1952 | гол. Богдан Хамчук |
| Балларат | 18 січня 1953 | гол. Юрій Овчаренко |
| Мафра | 1 серпня 1953 | гол. Михайло Бобик (згодом Степан Лисенко) |

| | | |
|------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| Ньюпорт | 23 серпня 1953 | гол. Ярослав Гевко |
| Ст. Албанс | 13 грудня 1953 | гол. Петро Мали- новський |
| Нобл Парк | 5 травня 1962 | гол. Іван Єфименко |

28 жовтня 1953 року УГВ закупила будинок для Народного Дому Громади. Це була винятково радісна подія. Ми спромоглися на власну «українську хату», куди кожен українець міг приходити, почувати себе, як вдома, бути серед свого рідного оточення як повноправний член, брати участь у збірному житті своєї спільноти. Це сталося під час головування інженера Богдана Шемета. Наявність «своєї хати» дала такий великий поштовх активізації різних організацій і гуртків при УГВ, що Дім скоро виявився затісним. Він вже не міг задовольнити всіх потреб Громади. Тому в квітні 1960 року тодішній голова УГВ Осип Нагірний поінформував осіб, зібраних на ширшій громадській нараді, що продано старий і закуплено новий Дім в Ессендоні, який, у зміненому вигляді, до сьогодні служить нашій спільноті. Паралельно філії УГВ будували свої домівки: Саншайн-Ардір, Ньюпорт, Водонґа, Ньюборо, Ст. Албанс і, вкінці, Нобл Парк.

З ініціативи о. д-ра Івана Прашка в 1951 році відкрито дві перші українські школи: братську при церкві св. Августина в Сіті і другу, загальногромадську, в Бродмедовс. Незабаром такі школи відкрито при кожній філії УГВ. Братська школа ім. Митрополита А. Шептицького примістилася в Народньому Домі, спочатку в Південному Мельборні, а опісля в Ессендоні, аж до побудови власних приміщень 1965 року при катедрі святих апостолів Петра і Павла в Північному Мельборні. Всіх шкіл у Вікторії було 28. Деякі школи начисляли понад 100 учнів, а деякі мали всього від 5 до 20 учнів. З часом, деякі школи злилися з більшими так, що в 1965 році шкільна мережа УГВ охоплювала 19 шкіл з 62 учителями, які навчали 726 учнів. В тому ж 1965 році сім клас української школи закінчило 284 учнів; дворічну Школу українознавства—79 студентів; закінчивши дворічну педагогічну школу одержало диплом учителя 9 студентів.

30 серпня 1952 року, з ініціативи о. д-ра І. Прашка, відбулася нарада, на якій накреслено пляни організації шкільництва у ширшому обсязі. Нараду проводив голова Українського Католицького Братства с.п. Ілля Яворський, який також був головним доповідачем на тій нараді. На нараді обрано першу Шкільну Раду, яку очолив В. Лещинський. Рада існувала тоді при католицькому братстві. Але вже 14 березня 1953 року на поширеній громадській нараді ухвалено, що Шкільна Рада Вікторії стає секцією Української Громади Вікторії і відповідно має бути поширеною. В травні 1954 року УГВ була зареєстрована як інкорпорована установа, що дало правно-юридичну базу для українського рідного шкільництва у Вікторії. 25 вересня 1954 року відбулося поширене засідання Шкільної Ради Вікторії з участю вчителів, на якому обрано новий склад Шкільної Ради, який очолив Дм. Нитченко.

За пропозицією СУОА Шкільна Рада Вікторії перебирає обов'язки Центральної Шкільної Ради Австралії, створює ділові зв'язки з іншими стейтовими Шкільними Радами і скликає перший учительський з'їзд, який відбувся 25-26 грудня 1956 року. На з'їзді зформовано структуру рідношкільної мережі та створено крайову централю—Українську Центральну Шкільну Раду в Австралії, до складу якої ввійшли Дм. Нитченко (голова), Д. Носяра (заступник голови) і члени: О. Фітьо, С. Завалинська, Т. Ляхович, Г. Вишневий, Б. Шемет, Я. Булка, М. Соловей, а від інших стейтів: Б. Дубик (НПВ), д-р С. Горський (Квінсленд), Т. Пасічинський (ПА) і П. Шимага (ЗА).

Поринаючи думками в минуле, пригадуємо оті світлі часи росту й буйної творчості культурно-мистецьких сил Української Громади Вікторії, бурхливі роки змагань, навіть боротьби, за кермо громадського життя, за соборницьке і національне обличчя Громади, за збереження її єдності і поборювання руйнівних ухилів хворобливих амбіцій чи непогамованих отаманчиків руїни.

Громада росла і збагачувалася. Вона надавала тон і служила прикладом українським громадам в інших стейтах. Навколо Громади як матірньої установи творилися й розвивалися інші організації: СУМ, Пласт, Союз

Українок, комбатанти, студентська громада.

Маніфестації Громади притягали багатотисячні маси народу з усіх осередків поселення у Вікторії. Треба пригадати хоча б величавий похід у 20-ту річницю голодомору в Україні, або свято Мазепи в 1959 році. Чужинці подивлялися нашу організованість і чималі досягнення. Українська Громада Вікторії росла, здобувала признання, втішалася довір'ям спільноти.

Першу декаду існування УГВ можна назвати декадою організаційного росту. Впродовж цього періоду УГВ здобула загальне визнання як речник всієї української спільноти Вікторії. УГВ дійсно стала всеоб'єднуючою, соборницькою, центральною українською установою у Вікторії. Вона заслужено одержала назву матірньої установи. Про те подбали піонери-творці УГВ, які її творили, розбудовували, унапрямували, які формували її ідейне обличчя. А їх було чимало. Їхніх прізвищ не наводимо, щоб когось не оминати. Тому обмежимося прізвищами голів УГВ. За сорок років існування УГВ мала десять голів:

1. Грушецький Іван, інженер, 1949-51, 2 роки;
2. Болюх Василь, посол союму, 1951-52, 1 рік;
3. Шемет Богдан, інженер, 1952-55, 1959-60, 1971-76, 9 років;
4. Гаєвська-Денес Лідія, педагог, 1955-56, 1 рік;
5. Нагірний Осип, книговод, 1956-59, 1960-64, 7 років;
6. Глуханіч Андрій, підприємець, 1964-67, 3 роки;
7. Назар Богдан, правник, 1967-70, 3 роки;
8. Кирлик Іван, урядовець, 1970-71, 1 рік;
9. Лисенко Степан, технік, 1976-86, 10 років;
10. Романів Стефан, учитель, від 1986 до сьогодні.

При кінці першої й на початку другої декади існування УГВ зайшли події, які негативно вплинули на дальший розвиток громадського життя. В тому часі в українському середовищі дійшло до гострої поляризації поглядів щодо ставлення до УССР і питання контактів з офіційними кругами режиму в Україні, головню з культурними діячами. Велися диспути: оглядати чи не оглядати фільми радянського виробництва? йти чи не йти на

імпрези радянських мистецьких одиниць?—і т.п. Менше уваги стало приділятися громадським справам, зменшився вклад енергії і зусилля для громади. Від громадського життя почали відходити провідні одиниці. Одні через вік підупали на силах, другі через розчарування, життєві труднощі й перешкоди, деякі виїхали до інших стейтів чи за океани, а ще інші відійшли у вічність. І число тих останніх зростало з кожним роком. Громадський віз УГВ попав у вибоїни, сповільнив рух і при кінці другої декади зупинився на похилій площі і, втративши динаміку, почав котитися вниз. Щораз меншало людей, які були б готовими взяти на себе не завжди вдячний обов'язок провадити громадським життям. І тоді стало сумно і жалко за буйним громадським життям і недавно минулою славою Громади. Думка про занепад Громади не давала спокою її членам; збуджувалося бажання, гострилася воля, «похилену калину»—Українську Громаду Вікторії—піднести із занепаду. До громадської праці пристають свіжі сили. Постають нові мистецькі і самодіяльні гуртки, такі як: драматичний гурток «Заграва», хор «Черемош», танцювальна група «Верховина»—це сумівські одиниці, а потім жіноче мистецьке товариство «Кольорит», пластовий співочий гурток, Школа гри на бандурі ім. Лесі Українки та інші. Пожвавилось культурно-освітнє життя. Наші імпрези ставали частішими, різноманітними, а заля Народного Дому заповнювалася глядачами і слухачами.

Обнова культурно-освітньої діяльності, мов те казкове Євшан-зілля, збудила членів УГВ зі сну зневіри і збайдужіння. Вони масово поверталися до Громади, сплачували свої борги за членську вкладку. Повіяло новим духом. Найбільшою болячкою того часу був стан Народного Дому, який опинився в дуже занедбаному стані.

Вибрана в жовтні 1976 року нова Управа Громади (яку очолив Степан Лисенко) поставила перед собою, на той час, велике завдання: відновити і розбудувати Народний Дім! Вона негайно приступила до реалізації того завдання. Відновлено й поширено відповідними фахівцями Комісію розбудови, виготовлено кілька варіантів плянів, розпочато посилену акцію придбання фондів і вже 9 липня 1977 року приступлено до

довгоочікуваної розбудови. Розбудову закінчено за два роки величавим святом 20 жовтня 1979 року. Згодом перебудовано Дім Молоді так, що на відновлення й перебудову Народного Дому в Ессендоні, центрального осідку УГВ, зібрано понад 600 тисяч доларів, а члени без оплати відпрацювали при розбудові 2,668 днів. Засяг діяльності Громади значно поширився, піднесено якість послуг членам.

Від 1977 до 1984 Управа УГВ випускала річний Бюлетень, який висвітлював діяльність і проблеми Громади. В 1984 піднесено нову ініціативу і приступлено до видання громадського органу інформації—квартальника *Вісник УГВ*, який виходить до сьогодні. Дотепер вийшло двадцять чотири числа цього цінного періодика. При цьому не можна забути заслуги незмінного його редактора Петра Ленківського, який є душею цього видання. В 1982 році УГВ започаткувала нове діло, яке можна вважати короною всіх дотеперішніх досягнень УГВ. Це створення перших українознавчих студій в австралійському державному університеті, які згодом оформилися в Лекторат ім. Миколи Зерова. Відкриття студій української мови і літератури в австралійському державному університеті ввійде в історію поселення українців в Австралії як одне з найбільших досягнень української спільноти в цій країні. Підписання угоди між Українською Громадою Вікторії та Університетом ім. Монаша в Мельборні не тільки підвищило рідне шкільництво до університетського рівня; не тільки відкрилися можливості для української студіюючої молоді поглибити і поширити знання української мови і літератури; не тільки те, що створено перший український академічний осередок в Австралії—його значення сягає глибше, бо актом підписання угоди австралійським державним університетом визнано підметність української мови, себто того факту, що українська мова є окремою мовою, а не якимось діалектом іншої, чужої нам мови. І, нарешті, це піднесло престиж УГВ і цілої нашої спільноти.

На створення лекторату спільнота пожертвувала понад 800 тисяч доларів. З того українські установи Вікторії і члени УГВ пожертвували понад 90% загальної суми.

УГВ є головним руслом організованого життя української спільноти Вікторії, всі інші організації—це мовби струмочки, які доповняють головне русло, основну течію, додають їй більшої сили. Вона сприяє і дає можливості плекання і розвитку духовної спадщини, яку ми одержали від наших предків—мову, традиції, мистецтво—все те, що ми називаємо українською культурою. Це робить УГВ шляхом організації і підтримки рідного шкільництва, мистецьких одиниць, влаштуванням національних свят, культурно-мистецьких імпрез, творенням матеріальних вартостей і, нарешті, притяганням мас глядачів і слухачів на різні імпрези, без чого немислиме організоване культурно-освітнє життя. УГВ єднає українську спільноту Вікторії з українською діаспорою, творить звено зв'язку з українським народом.

Народні Доми УГВ є не тільки свідками українського організованого життя у Вікторії, не тільки центрами, в яких розвивається різноманітна діяльність, вони також виконують важливу роль станиць зв'язку з українцями з різних країн світу, включно з Україною. В них відбуваються зустрічі з визначними людьми церковного, політичного, наукового, культурно-мистецького і громадського світу. Такі зустрічі скріплюють українську спільноту і протидіють процесам асиміляції, яка є найбільшою загрозою для нас, українців, як окремої спільноти в цій країні.

Особисте, приватне життя українців Вікторії так тісно пов'язане з Громадою, що дуже важко розрізнити, де кінчається приватне, а де починається суспільне, громадське життя.

Значення Громади як установи не завжди належно оцінена. Тому що вона існує, що вона діє, що вона є інтегральною частиною буття української спільноти, не добачаються ті користі, які впливають з Громади, недооцінюються її вартості, її роля у формуванні життєвого стилю українця у Вікторії. Ті вартості й послуги, з яких користають члени УГВ і ціла українська спільнота, стали б наочними тоді, коли б їх було втрачено, тоді, коли б їх не стало.

Адам Міцкевич писав: «Литво, вітчизно моя, Ти—наче здоров'я, як тебе оцінити—збагне тільки той, хто

Тебе втратив!». Ці слова можна приложити й до такої установи, якою є Українська Громада Вікторії.

Сильна й здорова і, що найважливіше, соборницька Громада є джерелом, з якого випливає і радість, і задоволення, і почуття повновартости, до яких має доступ кожний українець. Такою Громадою є УГВ. Це стверджують свої й чужі. Вона може похвалитися поважними досягненнями. Варто згадати хоч про деякі ділянки діяльності УГВ.

Комітет Оборони Людських Прав, який створила і який діє при УГВ, розвинув велику акцію оборони переслідуваних українців в ССРСР, подав дуже поважну моральну й матеріальну допомогу політв'язням та іншим потребуючим патріотам в Україні. Зорганізовано й проведено багатолюдні протестні маніфестації, пороблено численні інтервенції перед федеральним урядом, зложено свідчення визначних українських та інших політв'язнів в обох палатах парламенту. Такий стан не виник випадково. Опубліковано ряд матеріалів про переслідування, терор і вбивства українських патріотів в Україні та ССРСР взагалі. Зорганізовано медичну й матеріальну опіку дітям українського національного духу на рідних землях. Розбудовано технічну базу для національних формацій в Україні.

УГВ створила також Бюро Суспільної Опіки, зорганізувала допомогу українським біженцям в Австрії, виклопотала перед федеральним урядом статус спонсора для поселення біженців в Австралії, дала притулок і опіку новим імігрантам.

УГВ створила Стипендійний Фонд для допомоги вчителям і студентам українських шкіл в Польщі; виділено стипендії українським студентам у Бразилії; розгорнено допомогову акцію потребуючим українцям в Аргентині, Бразилії, Парагваю і Польщі.

УГВ фондувала прем'єру історичної музичної драми *Золотий меч* у Празі, яку поставив Український театр з Братислави. Також матеріально підтримала визначного драматурга й історика українського театру професора Юрія Шерегія, який проживає у Братиславі. Вже з цього можна судити, що УГВ має причину радіти своїми

досягненнями. Вона також набула поважне майно, яке варте мільйони.

Але найціннішим скарбом УГВ є її членство, його висока національна свідомість, громадське вироблення, пошанування іншої думки, свідомо дисциплінованість і подиву гідна жертвенність. Члени УГВ завжди були готовими відчуті і зрозуміти вартість нової ініціативи і її підтримати. Але, щоб члени підтримали якусь ініціативу, вона мусіла бути інтегруючою, а її здійснення залежало від громадської позиції ініціаторів, від їхніх здібностей, тактовності і насамперед—від їхнього морального рівня, виявленого в минулому при подібних починах.

УГВ, мабуть, єдина українська громада в Австралії, яка може похвалитися постійним ростом членства, що на початку 1990 року становило понад 1,500 членів.

Потішаючим явищем є також і те, що вже четвертий рік Громаду веде нова, молода зміна громадських працівників. Молодий провід УГВ успішно розв'язує проблеми, які приносить життя; підносить і реалізує нові ініціативи та здобуває признання широких кругів спільноти. Перебрання проводу Громади молодого покоління відбулося без потрясень чи внутрішньої кризи. Відбулося воно плавно й закономірно. Це дає підстави для оптимістичних прогнозів щодо майбутнього УГВ. На те є свої причини. Це наслідки глибокої національної свідомості української спільноти Вікторії, її єдності у принципових справах, яка, не зважаючи на велику розмаїтість політичних поглядів, поділ за віровизнанням, регіональним походженням, соціальним статусом і т.п., завжди свої вужчі, групові інтереси підпорядковувала інтересам вищим, інтересам спільноти. Також організаційна структура зберегла УГВ від роздріблення і створила для неї тривку і здорову базу.

УГВ базована на індивідуальному членстві. Членом може бути кожен українець і кожна українка, яким сповнилося 18 років. Членами також можуть бути обидва партнери мішаного подружжя, якщо одне з них є українцем. Кандидатів в члени приймає або не приймає Управа УГВ. Члени мають вибір: бути приписаними до центрального осідку УГВ (тепер Ессендон), або до однієї з

філій (відділів) УГВ. Всі члени мають однакові права. Вони мають право голосу на загальних зборах УГВ і право бути кандидатом на вибори до її органів. Однак у виборі управи філії УГВ можуть голосувати тільки члени даної філії. Філії закладає і розв'язує Управа УГВ.

На початку 1990 року УГВ нараховувала вісім філій: Балларат, Водонга, Джілонг, Ля Троб Веллі, Нобл Парк, Ньюпорт, Ст. Албанс, Саншайн-Ардір (ця філія не підпорядкована централі). Всі філії, за винятком Балларату, мають власні народні доми.

Члени УГВ можуть створювати окремі одиниці вужчих завдань чи зацікавлень. Такі одиниці, за власним бажанням, можуть стати секціями УГВ. Під сучасну пору при УГВ існує десять секцій, а саме:

Шкільна Рада Вікторії;

Комітет Оборони Людських і Національних Прав України;

Літературно-мистецький клуб ім. Василя Симоненка;

Чоловічий хор «Чайка»;

Жіночий ансамбль бандуристів «Кольорит»;

Комітет українського радіомовлення;

Регіональне товариство «Полтава»;

Українське мистецьке товариство;

Клуб гольфу;

Товариство старших громадян.

УГВ створила також спеціальний фонд для фінансування університетських студій україністики, який названо Допомоговий Фонд Українознавчих Студій (ДоФУС). У цьому фонді сьогодні понад 650 тисяч доларів. Лекторат Україністики ім. Миколи Зерова в Університеті ім. Монаша вдержується прибутками з інвестицій ДоФУСу.

Але кожна організація, так, як кожний народ, має позитивні й негативні риси, світлі й темні сторінки своєї історії. Це відноситься також і до УГВ. Не кожна ділянка праці в УГВ на задовільному рівні. Вона має свої недоліки і недотягнення. Але це аж ніяк не применшує її вартости. Українська Громада Вікторії за сорок років існування переживала періоди високого піднесення і періоди кризи й занепаду. Вона занепадала, щоб знову підноситися й

досягати нових вершин. Вона була й залишилася зразковою українською громадою в Австралії. Вона є головною базою людських і матеріальних ресурсів нашої громадської централі—Союзу Українських Організацій Австралії. УГВ створила й виплекала широкі зовнішні зв'язки та гідно заступає й обороняє інтереси української спільноти Вікторії.

Завдяки УГВ українська спільнота у Вікторії втішається славою як одна з найкраще зорганізованих національних спільнот. До її голосу уважно прислухаються австралійські офіційні кола та інші національності.

З такими надбаннями Українська Громада Вікторії вступає в п'яту декаду свого існування. Вона, на нашу думку, успішно перейшла пробу життя і заслуговує на признання й позитивну оцінку історії.

THE CULTURAL LIFE OF UKRAINIANS FROM YUGOSLAVIA IN THE GEELONG REGION

Linda Sydor Petkovic

This paper aims to establish that, upon arrival in Australia, Ukrainians from Yugoslavia adjusted to the already-established Ukrainian community in Geelong and particularly to its cultural life.

Ukrainian settlement in Australia has been relatively well documented.¹ This is also true of Ukrainians in Geelong, their branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, their Ukrainian schools and their local chapters of the youth associations Plast and S.U.M. However, Ukrainians from Yugoslavia in the Geelong region have not been given separate consideration.

The term "Ukrainians from Yugoslavia" refers here to those people who speak Ukrainian and are of Ukrainian heritage, but were born in Yugoslavia. These Ukrainians were born mostly in the Republic of Bosna (Eng. "Bosnia"), while their parents and grandparents were born in Ukraine and migrated to Yugoslavia due to economic hardships in their homeland. These Ukrainians speak Ukrainian with members of the Ukrainian community at large, for example, at Church or at concerts, although among themselves they sometimes speak Serbo-Croatian. The spoken Ukrainian of Ukrainians from Yugoslavia is tinged with a Bosnian accent and vocabulary. The total number of such people in Geelong is approximately 430; they constitute about 50% of the Ukrainians in Geelong.

The majority of Ukrainians from Yugoslavia migrated to Australia and settled in Geelong in the period between 1969 and 1971, though some families migrated earlier—between 1952 and 1954. At this early stage the Ukrainian community of Geelong consisted of approximately one hundred persons who had, for the largest part, migrated from Ukraine via Germany. An influx of

¹ See especially Shevchenko Scientific Society, eds., *Ukrainci v Avstralii* (Melbourne: Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia, 1966).

Ukrainians from Yugoslavia began to develop and by 1958 there were approximately fifty such persons. The two Ukrainian "contingents" shared a good relationship while developing the Ukrainian community of Geelong. Despite this, the Ukrainians from Yugoslavia were not involved in the Association of Ukrainians. They chose to pour their energies into the Ukrainian Catholic Church which was completed in 1958.

The following observations are based on a survey of Ukrainians from Yugoslavia in the Geelong region carried out in 1989. The sample size used to conduct the survey was small—only seven married couples or 3.25% of the total population of persons with such a background. Nevertheless, it is valid to have conducted the research for three major reasons. Firstly, as practically no research has been done on these Ukrainians within the Geelong region, it is necessary to provide some facts and data, perhaps as a starting point for further research. Secondly, the upcoming generation of Ukrainians in Australia needs to preserve historical and other accounts of its pioneers for future generations. Thirdly, Ukrainians from Yugoslavia in the Geelong region consider themselves to be Ukrainians and they associate with the Ukrainian community. Investigation of their experience as a community, therefore, falls within the purview of the discipline of Ukrainian Studies. It has been suggested that they are, indeed, Rusyns. This is inaccurate, as those people who describe themselves as Rusyns do not understand the Ukrainian literary language, have not joined the ranks of the Association of Ukrainians and, more importantly, have formed links to other ethnic groups from Yugoslavia.²

Two major problems arose in the process of performing the survey and analysing the results. The first problem was encountered when four other couples who were approached to participate in the survey refused to do so. No reasons were offered, but they could have included lack of interest on their behalf or the belief that the survey was an invasion of privacy.

Obtaining reliable general data, too, proved to be an area of difficulty. Accurate statistics specifying the number of Ukrainians from Yugoslavia within the Geelong region are not available. In

² Marta Harasowska, "Juhoslavs'ki rusyny v Avstralii," in Halyna Koscharsky, ed., *Istoriia ukrains'koho poselennia v Avstralii: dopovidi z pershoi i chetvertoi konferentsii* (Sidnei, 1983, 1988) (Sydney: School of

the 1986 census, 364 people aged 5 years and over residing in the state of Victoria classified themselves as speakers of Ukrainian born in Yugoslavia.³ This figure clearly understates the number of people of Ukrainian heritage born in Yugoslavia in the state as a whole. Nor is a regional analysis available. In an attempt to obtain more inclusive, if informal, data, Father Zenon Horkawyj of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Geelong was consulted. His records suggest that the number of parishioners of Ukrainian heritage born in Yugoslavia is approximately 430 persons. As Ukrainians from Yugoslavia are, almost without exception, Ukrainian Catholics, this figure probably approximates the size of the population as a whole.

The survey, entitled "The cultural life of Ukrainians from Yugoslavia in the Geelong region," attempted to determine what it was that these Ukrainians did culturally upon arrival to Geelong. The areas chosen for enquiry were education, religion, traditions and entertainment.

Of the seven couples participating in the survey, six were already married before they migrated to Australia. Their children were also born in Yugoslavia, though some had other children born in Australia. The remaining couple met and married after their migration to Australia. Needless to say, their children were born in Australia.

The period of migration was mainly the beginning of the 1970s: five couples migrated in 1970, one couple in 1971. In the case of the couple who met in Australia, the male was one of those Ukrainians from Yugoslavia who migrated in 1954, whilst the female migrated in 1964. It was this woman who made the necessary arrangements for her three brothers to migrate (all of whom participated in the survey). All participants were born in the Republic of Bosna, except two females born in the Autonomous Republic of Vojvodina.

Five couples had completed only their primary school education, while the remaining two couples had completed high school. Three of the seven men surveyed completed apprenticeships in Yugoslavia as carpenter, cabinet maker or tanner. The low standard of education of these migrants, combined with their poor knowledge of the English language, resulted in

Modern Languages, Macquarie University, 1989), pp. 106-111.

³ Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1986 Census of Population and Housing*, Table CX0010.

these people working in the local industries. The males obtained jobs in such companies as Ford, Shell, International Harvester and Henderson Springs, while the females worked in the sewing factories of Pelaco, CBK, Zora and Milburn. Quite a few of the females had worked in such positions in Yugoslavia.

Of the fourteen survey participants only one male had made an effort to extend the education he had received in Yugoslavia. This person undertook a course relevant to his occupation. Not surprisingly, the female participants did not undertake further education due to family commitments associated with setting up a new life in a new land.

As mentioned earlier, three men had formal qualifications from Yugoslavia. Only two of these men made an attempt to have these qualifications recognized by the Australian authorities. Their qualifications from Yugoslavia were accepted at the workplace, although only one of these men chose to work in the field in which he had been trained.

The migration of people to a new country is usually associated with learning the relevant language. In the case of these Ukrainian immigrants from Yugoslavia, four couples formally learnt English: a trained teacher would visit a particular household where these eight people gathered. The remaining three couples learnt English through use of dictionaries, at work or, simply, by everyday use in ordinary situations.

At one stage, two Ukrainian schools existed simultaneously in Geelong. All survey participants sent their children to one of these schools in the hope that this education would contribute to the preservation of their Ukrainian language and heritage. Some parents considered the knowledge of more than one language to be beneficial to a child. Other parents were purely practical and thought that, as one never knows where one will end up in this world, mastering as many languages as possible would be a useful preparation for life.

All parents were pleased with the efforts their children made to learn Ukrainian. They considered themselves successful in achieving the aim of giving their children an education in Ukrainian, although some thought themselves more successful than others. Two sets of parents commented that their roles as educators had been completed. Now it was their children who had to undertake the role of maintaining their Ukrainian heritage and

ensuring that it was passed on to their children.

Upon arrival in Geelong, all seven couples immediately began to participate in local Ukrainian Catholic ecclesiastical life. Religion and the church were an important part of the lives of all the people surveyed, although one person remarked that religious observance was not necessarily important, but his family adhered to it out of respect for tradition. Four couples became members of the Church choir, brotherhood or sisterhood and are still active members today. The remaining three couples were never active within these groups, but still attended church.

Arriving in Geelong, the majority of people noticed the division of Ukrainian society into Catholic and Orthodox. Half disagreed with the division and half could not understand it because this kind of segregation did not exist in Yugoslavia where all Ukrainians were Catholics. In some areas they even had their own churches. As for the current relationship between the different religious communities, three couples think that relations are unchanged, three couples say the relationship has improved and one couple stresses that the relationship is definitely better.

From their first days in this new country, the Ukrainians from Yugoslavia maintained their Ukrainian heritage by celebrating in traditional ways festivals that are important to all Ukrainians, especially Christmas and Easter, but also other church feasts. Half of the participants stated that they had observed Ukrainian traditions more rigorously in Yugoslavia than in Australia. For example, they celebrated a feast on the particular day when it occurred, rather than compromising and celebrating at a time more convenient for the congregation (usually due to work commitments). One couple commented that they celebrated a greater number of traditional customs in Yugoslavia than in Australia. For example, the Monday following Easter (*polyvanyi ponedilok*) is traditionally celebrated by wetting family members with water, a process which has been excluded from contemporary celebrations.

The lack of participation of these people in Australian traditions and culture may have several interpretations. It may reflect dedication to their Ukrainian heritage and a desire to pass on Ukrainian traditions and culture. It may be a consequence of the fact that they had no interest in Australian traditions, or, simply, that they did not understand English and felt uncomfortable attending any cultural functions other than Ukrainian ones. Whatever the reasons behind this lack of participation, half of the

couples had never taken part in activities which they identified as traditionally Australian, although one couple had done so on a few occasions and two couples had attended Carols by Candlelight and Australia Day concerts.

All survey participants already had some family or friends in Geelong by the time they had arrived. Thus, gaining access to entertainment within the Ukrainian community was not considered to be a problem. The Ukrainian Hall and the S.U.M. Hall were both completed by this time, and were used regularly to hold dances and concerts. Other modes of entertainment included picnics and barbecues, being active in S.U.M., the local choir and theatre production group (although the choir and theatre group have since disbanded) or, simply, staying at home and entertaining friends and relatives. Every time a function such as a dance was held, all couples automatically attended. Many of them even said that there were never enough Saturdays in the week. Half of the couples attended only Ukrainian functions, a few had gone along to dances held by other nationalities and one couple had attended a few Australian functions.

Five couples commented on the fact that few Australian traditions, if any, appealed to them, unlike two couples who liked the Australia Day festivities and country music. Generally speaking, attending Ukrainian entertainments was important to these people because they wanted to see and meet people, but especially because they believed that this was a method of supporting the Ukrainian community in Geelong. Many people commented that most of what the Ukrainian community has by way of facilities was obtained through the support and hard work of Ukrainians, be it financial support or manual labour.

The majority of participants were active within the Ukrainian school and the Ukrainian community. This participation included holding positions within the Parents' Committee at the school, contributing to the building of the school and contributing donations. Within the Ukrainian community the men were members of the Association of Ukrainians while the women were members of the Womens' League. Many of the participants are still current members. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, too, functioned with the aid of the Brotherhood and Sisterhood, of which many survey participants were, and still are, active members. Those people who were not active within these organizations in some form gave work commitments as the reason for this.

On the whole, responses to the survey suggest that, upon arrival in Geelong, Ukrainians from Yugoslavia immediately adjusted to the Ukrainian community and to local Ukrainian cultural life. While trying to adapt to the new Australian environment they did not neglect their own Ukrainian culture. They started attending Church services, their children were sent to Ukrainian school, and they observed traditional customs, much as had been done in Yugoslavia. By attending and participating in Ukrainian dances, concerts and plays, these people upheld and supported the Ukrainian community, but at the same time enjoyed themselves with their family and friends.

The community of Ukrainians from Yugoslavia in Geelong functions as one large, very tight-knit family which, through its dedication and hard work within the local Ukrainian community, has managed to help the community as a whole to expand and to function in a way that benefits all its members.

A STUDY ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDE: THE CASE OF BILINGUAL AUSTRALIAN UKRAINIANS IN SYDNEY

Anna Shymkiw

*Introduction*¹

*1.0 Ukrainian Language Ecology*²

Ukrainian is one of the many Community Languages Other Than English (CLOTEs) used in multilingual Australia. In contrast to Greeks and Italians, who have a long history of immigration to Australia, and unlike the Ukrainians of Canada, who arrived in that country in four major immigrant waves, the Ukrainian community in Australia is the product of a single influx of migrants after World War II. It can be argued that each immigration plays an important role in the maintenance (or development) of the language providing the native input (whether dialectal or literary) to renew and reinforce linguistic elements affected by language contact, or inputting a new variant (dialectal or literary) not used in the speech community previously. In the Australian case, where the Ukrainian immigration corresponds to the third wave of Ukrainian immigration into Canada, the input, which for the purpose of this paper refers to an underlying base for language maintenance (or development), is identified as both dialectal and standard literary—which accounts for the speech of a majority who emigrated from the western and south-western regions of Ukraine and a minority from the eastern regions, in particular, Kiev and Poltava. This out-migration was motivated by political conditions in the homeland and included emigrants of varied socio-economic backgrounds, including members of the intelligentsia. Therefore, Ukrainian as it is spoken in Australia is characterized by a number of language varieties.

First generation Australian Ukrainians, whom I regard as only

¹ This study was supported by a Macquarie University Research Grant (MURG) in 1990.

² After Clyne (1982:27).

those who were born either in Ukraine or in Displaced Persons camps and who emigrated to Australia as infants or children, initially learned their parents' variant of the language. This was later inputted with a dialectal variant (whether the Western or Eastern) and/or the standard language taught formally in the Saturday community schools. A similar process can be delineated for second generation Australian Ukrainians born in Australia.

Inevitably, contact with English reduced the functions of the language, restricting its use to such domains as the home or social gatherings, and simplified the language structure, for example, by means of interference, transference and hypercorrection on all language levels to form an interlanguage for communication among both these groups of Australian Ukrainians. Although it is clear that such an interlanguage, containing an admixture of dialectal as well as standard literary and English elements, characterizes the speech of Australian Ukrainians, one cannot ignore the question of the impact of an underlying Ukrainian variety on language maintenance (or development). This question directly relates to perceptions of the nature of the Ukrainian language system and to attitudes toward language varieties within the community.

2.0 *Hypothesis*

To address adequately the issues of perception and attitude it is necessary to delineate the ongoing language debate on the use of particular varieties of Ukrainian within the speech community. There exist among members of the older generation of Ukrainians who arrived in Australia as adults two opposing views which, interestingly, are identical to those of the older generation of Ukrainians from the third major wave of immigration into Canada referred to above. The debate counterposes the views of members of the intelligentsia from the eastern regions of Ukraine, whose speech reflects the standard language of Kiev and Poltava, and those of members of the intelligentsia from the L'viv region in particular—the heart of Western Ukraine—whose speech patterns are linguistically regarded as dialectal, but from the historical and theoretical perspectives can be considered as a kind of "standard," given the relative uniformity of the variant and its consistent, practical use and application. The latter point of view, though controversial, broaches another, albeit related, language issue which is not treated here, given the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that the issue relating to a "Western standard," together with

the language debate brought forth, are expected to go beyond discussions within the Ukrainian speech community, given the present conditions of *perebudova* and *hlasnist'* in Ukraine, where questions on language policy and orthography are today being decided. This digression serves to point to the complexity of the situation and sheds light on this language debate.

Essentially, the debate is between a purist faction of the intelligentsia, which upholds the use of the standard language and condemns dialectal use, especially its application in teaching, and another which adheres to the Western dialect, but recognizes the importance of the standard, even though, realistically, it is seldom used in areas such as teaching, owing to widespread fluency in the dialectal variant.

It is within this frame of reference that I propose to investigate the impact of an underlying Ukrainian variety to support the argument that the Western Ukrainian variant was and is intrinsic to language maintenance (or development) for the first and second generation bilingual Australian Ukrainians on whom this study focusses. The main objectives of this study are, first, to determine the attitudes that bilingual Australian Ukrainians hold about varieties of Ukrainian speech, and, second, to determine the degree to which the judgment of the varieties of speech varies according to the bilinguals' origin, age and sex.

3.0 *Methodology*

3.1 *Attitude Measurement*

The semantic differential technique developed for cognitive studies by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) was adopted for measuring attitude.³ This technique is concerned with the evaluation of stimulus which is rated on a bipolar scale consisting of adjectives. Scales are defined in terms of factors. In the original Osgood factor analysis study three factors were found to appear regularly in the measurement of meaning (Osgood, May and Miron 1975:58). These are selected as the basis for measurement here and include Evaluation, Potency and Activity, which the Osgood study labels as the "E-P-A structure." Two scales were chosen to represent each factor of the E-P-A structure. Bipolar adjectives chosen for the scales reflect those items that would be readily

³ Compare the studies by Shuy and Williams (1973) and Williams (1973).

| | | +3 | +2 | +1 | 0 | -1 | -2 | -3 | |
|------------|----|---------------------------|----|----|---|----|----|------------------------------|--|
| Evaluation | 1. | valuable | | | | | | worthless | |
| | 2. | good | | | | | | bad | |
| Potency | 3. | simple (to understand) | | | | | | difficult (to understand) | |
| | 4. | developing | | | | | | diminishing | |
| Activity | 5. | like | | | | | | dislike | |
| | 6. | significant | | | | | | insignificant | |

Figure 1: Semantic Differential Scales (E-P-A- Structure)

understood by bilingual Australian Ukrainians in judging speech samples and those that focus on values relevant to the evaluation of speech. For example, bipolar adjectives: "good : bad" relate to the Evaluation factor; "simple (to understand) : difficult (to understand)" relate to the Potency of the variety of speech examined; and "like : dislike" assess the Activity of the speech variety. Scales were assigned values ranging from +3 to -3. The semantic differential scales used to measure attitude are delineated in Figure 1.

3.2 Stimuli

Three informants whose speech patterns represent a particular variety of Ukrainian were selected from the community to produce samples of a) the Western dialectal variant, b) the Eastern variety, representing, as far as possible, the literary language, and c) a variety of Ukrainian affected by dialectal and English transference. These informants were invited to the studio at Macquarie University and asked to describe the events of a typical day or occurrence. The choice of this neutral topic not only provided the opportunity for vocabulary to reflect the domains and speech situations in which the language is used, but excluded the possibility of emotional reactions to the topic, thereby enabling the subjects of this study to focus specifically on speech patterns.

Three samples of continuous speech, each of approximately five minutes duration, were recorded. No attempt was made to explain in detail the purpose of the samples so as not to make the informants self-conscious in their speech. These samples, representing different speech varieties within the community, were then used as the stimuli presented to thirty subjects in order to determine attitude.

3.3 The Informants and the Varieties of Ukrainian in Their Speech Samples

VARIETY 1 (WUv): male, bilingual Ukrainian/English; 48 years of age; born in Germany; emigrated to Australia at the age of 5; parents from Western Ukraine; resident of Sydney; speech sample reflected phonological features characteristic of the Western variety of spoken Ukrainian; sample was grammatical; vocabulary was free of interference from English and predominantly reflected lexical items of the spoken Western variety.

VARIETY 2 (EUv): male, bilingual Ukrainian/Bulgarian; 46 years of age; born in Kiev, Ukraine; resided mainly in the Poltava/Kiev regions of Ukraine; parents from Kiev and Kharkiv, Eastern Ukraine; moved to Bulgaria at age of 44; temporarily resident in Sydney, permanent resident of Bulgaria; speech sample reflected phonological features characteristic of contemporary Ukrainian as spoken in Kiev; grammar and lexicon that of literary Ukrainian.

VARIETY 3 (AUv): female; bilingual Ukrainian/English; 39 years of age; born in Sydney; parents from South-Western Ukraine; resident of Sydney; speech sample reflected dialectal phonological features with interference from English; speech sample contained grammatical errors and grammatical features of the South-Western Ukrainian dialects; lexicon contained dialectal items; some code-switching was evident.

3.4 Subjects

Subjects participating in this study were all bilingual Australian Ukrainians from the metropolitan Sydney area. The majority of subjects had completed or were in the process of completing tertiary studies. All had at least six years of formal training in Ukrainian. The subject sample (N = 30) varied according to three dimensions:

1. *Origin*

| | | |
|----------|----------|---|
| Origin 1 | (N = 4) | parents from Eastern Ukraine |
| Origin 2 | (N = 18) | parents from Western Ukraine |
| Origin 3 | (N = 8) | parental background Eastern and Western Ukraine (mother: E. Ukraine, father: W. Ukraine N=6, mother: W. Ukraine, father: E. Ukraine N=2). |

2. *Age*

| | |
|-----|-----------|
| 20s | (N = 10) |
| 30s | (N = 10) |
| 40s | (N = 10). |

3. *Sex*

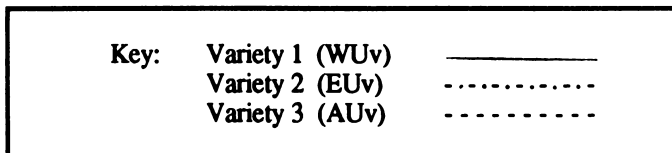
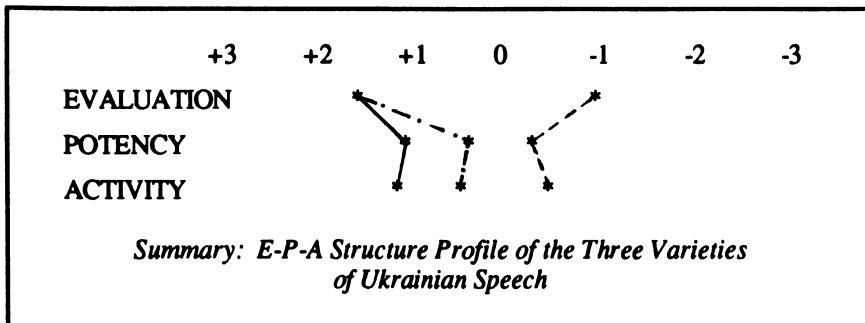
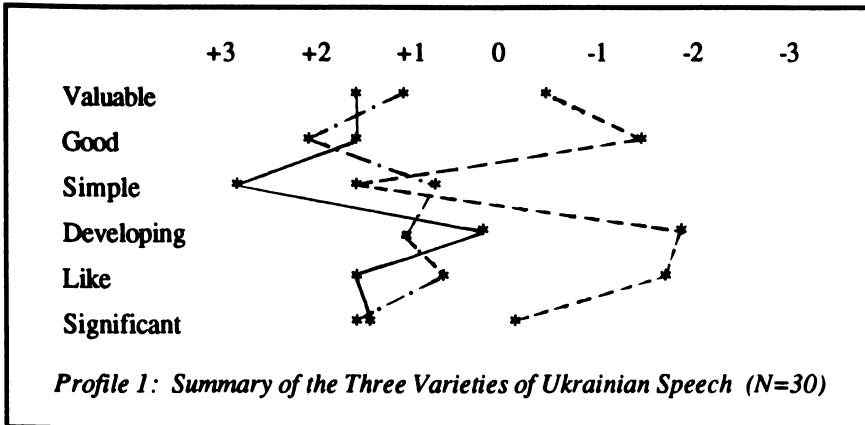
| | |
|--------|-----------|
| Male | (N = 14) |
| Female | (N = 16). |

3.5 *Procedure*

These subjects were asked to complete a questionnaire in two parts: a sociolinguistic section concerned with sociodemographic variables, competence and self-evaluation, and a section dealing with the evaluation of speech varieties using semantic differential scales (see Figure 1). Subjects were instructed first to listen to all three varieties of Ukrainian speech (approximately fifteen minutes in duration). Each variety was then played separately and the subjects instructed to rate their feelings about the variety by circling a number on each scale. All instructions were given in English.

3.6 *Data*

The raw data obtained from the semantic differential scales and sociolinguistic questionnaire were tabulated and processed. Statistical analysis was used to calculate the mean (\bar{x}) and standard deviation for the data obtained from the scales. The mean or arithmetic average was used as an objective tool to determine statistically significant differences tabulated for the three dimensions and allow for the delineation of profiles.



4.0 Analysis and Results

The objectives set forth in this study were to determine by statistical means the attitudes held by bilingual Australian Ukrainian subjects toward varieties of Ukrainian speech and the degree to which their judgment varied according to origin, age and sex. Given the mean (\bar{x}) of the subjects' individual scale markings, Profile 1 represents a summary of the judgments on the three varieties of Ukrainian speech and its E-P-A structure.

In the broadest view of the E-P-A structure, varieties 1 (Western Ukrainian—WUv) and 2 (Eastern Ukrainian—EUv) showed the most similarity for ratings judged according to factors Evaluation and Activity. Scales representing Evaluation indicate that the subjects judged the WUvariety to be slightly more valuable

than the EUvariety but the latter was judged to be slightly better than the former. In terms of the Activity factor subjects "liked" the WUvariety more than the Eastern. Correlating this rating with the Potency factor, we find that the subjects judged speech variety 1 to be simpler to understand than variety 2; a significant difference between these varieties was recorded for this scale, namely a mean of 2.65 for WUv and $\bar{x} = .46$ for EUv. On the other hand, no statistically significant difference was recorded for the second potency scale, i.e. (significant : insignificant); both varieties were judged similarly.

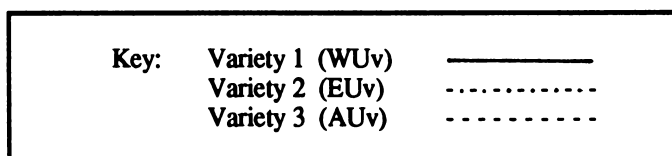
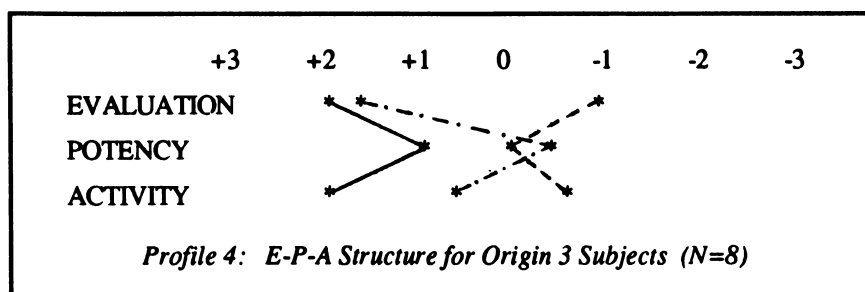
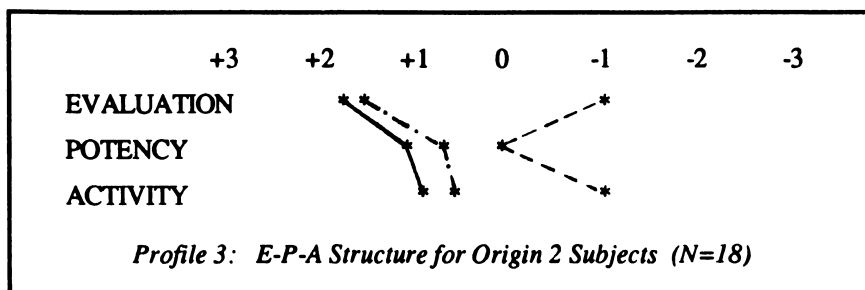
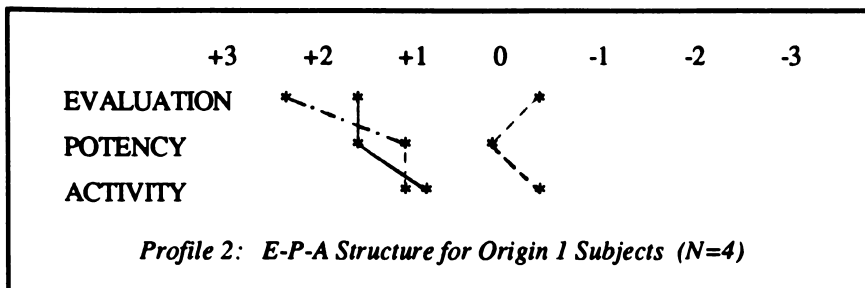
In contrast to varieties 1 and 2, variety 3 (Australian Ukrainian variety—AUv) was judged negatively on all counts, with the exception of the rating for the scale "simple : difficult (to understand)." Here variety 3 was judged to be easier to understand than EUv, but not as intelligible as the WUv. Whereas varieties 1 and 2 showed a possible correlation between scales "simple : difficult" and "like : dislike," no such correlation was found for variety 3; here "simple : difficult" showed a mean of 1.60 while the mean for "like : dislike" was -1.36. In terms of the Activity factor, variety 3 was judged to be the least active of all the speech varieties, while WUv was the most active, as indicated in the E-P-A structure.

This discussion of mean differences generalizes on the subjects' attitude to the three varieties of Ukrainian speech. The overall results of the statistical analysis indicate, however, that certain dimensions necessarily qualify and modify differences between the subjects' ratings. Thus, the following analysis examines the degree to which the judgments vary according to the origin, age and sex of the subject.

4.1 Dimensionality of Ratings

4.1.1. Interaction of the Subjects' Origin and Speech Variety

Origin, which categorizes the subject according to parental background (see section 3.4), is an important dimension in terms of examining specifically the perception of and attitude toward the subjects' underlying variety in relation to the other speech varieties. Profiles 2, 3, 4 delineate the E-P-A structures according to Origin.

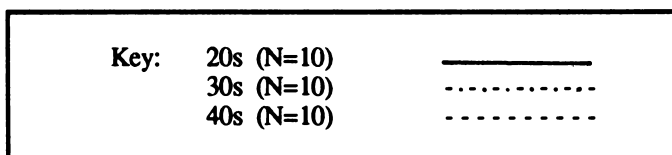
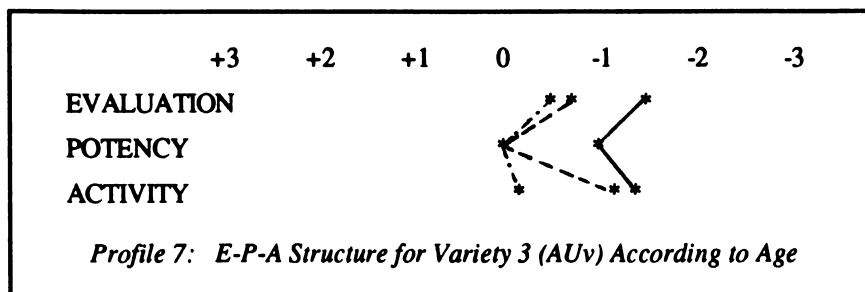
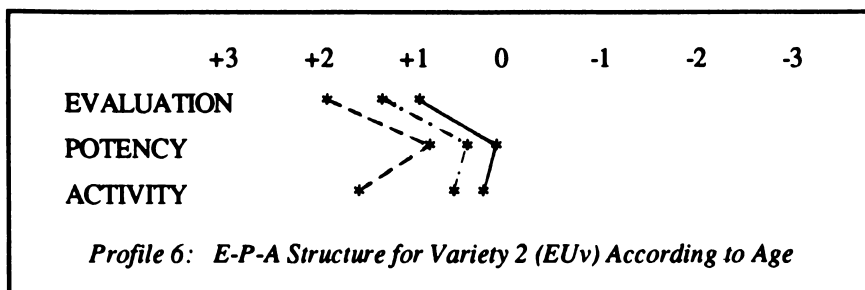
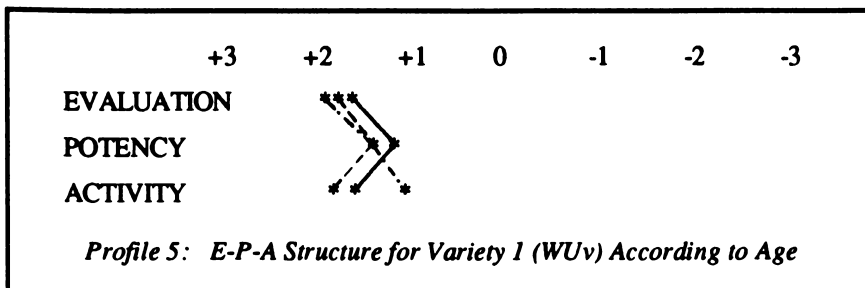


Examining the Evaluation factor first which comprises the scales "valuable" and "good," we find that Origin 1 subjects, namely those of Eastern Ukrainian parentage (Profile 2) rated the EUvariety more positively than WUv, showing a mean difference of 2.37 versus 1.62, respectively. Interestingly, Origin 2 subjects, namely those of Western Ukrainian parentage (Profile 3), rated WUv more positively than EUv, but the difference between the

means is negligible in comparison with Origin 1 subjects. The same holds true for the mean calculated for Origin 3 subjects, namely those of Western and Eastern Ukrainian parentage (Profile 4). Given these findings, consider for now the argument that the positive perception of and attitude toward particular varieties of Ukrainian speech is determined by origin. This would be the case for Origins 1 and 2 while, interestingly, Origin 3 points to the subjects' preference for WUv, even though both varieties underlie their background.

Considering the Potency factor, comprising the scales "simple" and "developing," we find that a realistic spectrum emerges from all three origin profiles for the subjects' ratings of varieties 1 and 2, irrespective of their origin. The attitude holds that the WUvariety is more influential than the EUvariety which manifests the reality of the language situation not only within the Australian Ukrainian speech community but the Canadian one as well. I am, however, sceptical of the ratings for the AUvariety. It is my experience that this variety of Ukrainian has "developed" and advanced far more within the community than either the WU or the EU varieties. Therefore, the ratings for the potency factor for this variety should have exceeded those of the other two. This is partly evident in Profile 4, where the ratings for AUv exceed those of EUv. While, on the one hand, this discrepancy may perhaps be explained by the supposition that the subjects had difficulty in relating the meaning of the polar adjectives "developing : diminishing" to the variety, on the other, one can interpret these results as an indication that the subjects' attitude to this variety leans toward its diminishing status, in view of the negative ratings.

In terms of the Activity factor, comprising the scales "like" and "significant," it is interesting to note that the ratings significantly differed according to the subjects' origin. The EUvariety was judged by Origin 1 subjects to be more active than the WUvariety, while the reverse held true for Origin 2 and 3 subjects; for Origin 3 subjects, however, the differentiation was more significant, as is evident from Profile 4. The AUvariety, on the other hand, was consistently judged to be insignificant in its activity, which lends support to the interpretation of the previous ratings that the potentiality of this variety to manifest itself is insignificant and therefore diminishing. More specifically, the results suggest that



there is evidence of language shifts.⁴

Considering the ratings of Origin 2 and 3 subjects versus that of Origin 1 for the WUv and EUv varieties, one can argue that either origin influences their attitude toward the variety which correlates with the Evaluation factor, or the ratings reflect the influence and/or

⁴ The question of language shift is examined in Bettoni (1988). On the basis of their findings, it seems plausible to draw this inference from my results.

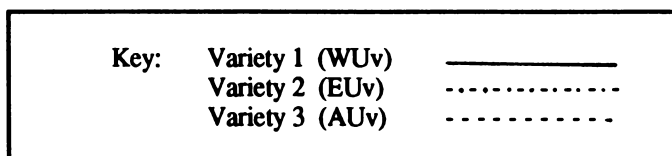
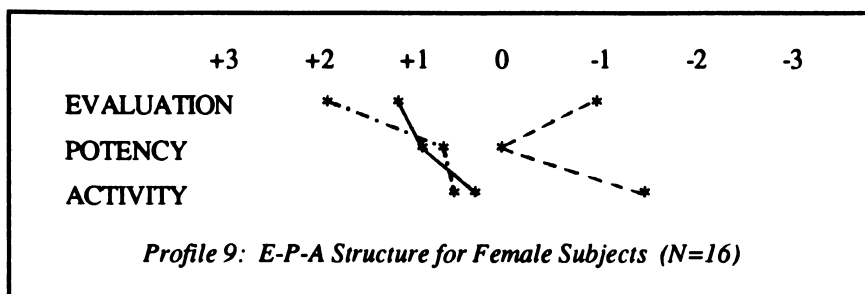
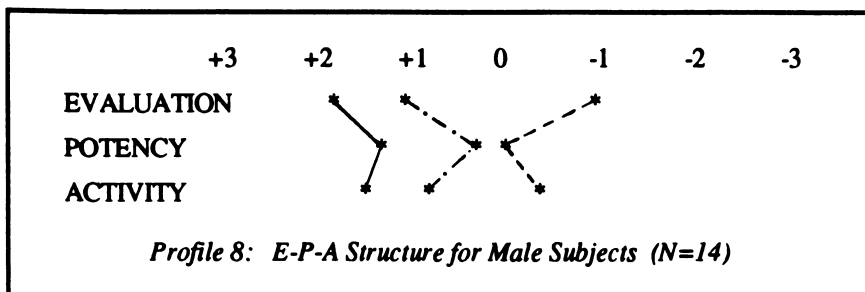
impact that the WUvariety has had on the subjects' speech which correlates all three factors. To my mind, given these data, both arguments hold true for now and shed light on the existing language debate within the community, pointing to the intrinsic value of the underlying WUvariety. Consider, though, the results of the other dimensions.

4.1.2 Interaction of the Subjects' Age and Speech Variety

Profiles for this dimension were delineated from two perspectives, namely that of individual varieties versus all age groups, and individual age groups versus the three speech varieties. No particular perspective was discerned to be more revealing than the other. Thus, Profiles 5, 6, 7 delineate the E-P-A structures according to the individual varieties of speech versus all age groups.

No statistically significant interactions were found between the age of the subject and variations on the ratings of the speech varieties with the exception of perhaps the EUvariety (Profile 6). Here, EUv was consecutively rated more positively from the 20s to 40s age groups for all three factors. Conversely, the ratings of the AUvariety were negative for all factors for the 20s age group subjects who judged the variety most negatively. Interestingly, the attitude to the WUvariety was consistently positive with negligible differences for all age groups (Profile 5).

If we contrast the results of the WUvariety with the EUvariety we find that the ratings are more positive for the WUv than for the EUv in terms of the Potency and Activity factors. This is consistent with the findings for the origin dimension. The Evaluation factor, on the other hand, correlates subjects of an Eastern Ukrainian background with those in the 40s age group to indicate a more positive rating for the EUvariety. Although a pattern seems to be emerging, consider the following data tabulated for the sex dimension:



4.1.3 Interaction of the Subjects' Sex and Speech Variety

Sharp attitudinal differences between males and females were recorded for the WU and EU varieties, as indicated in Profiles 8 and 9.

While the mean scores calculated for the male subjects consistently showed a more positive rating of the WUvariety for all factors, the scores for the female subjects indicate that the EUvariety was not significantly differentiated from the WUvariety, especially for the Potency and Activity Factors. Here the females judged the WUvariety as slightly easier to understand and more likable ($\bar{x}=1.13$ versus $\bar{x}=.75$ for EUv), but felt that the EUvariety was better and more valuable than the WUvariety. The latter judgment, which relates to the Evaluation factor, sets apart the ratings for the former two factors more significantly; a mean score of 1.90 was calculated for the value of the EUvariety, which was the same, sharply positive score calculated for males for WUv.

In sharp contrast to the females' judgment for the Potency factor, males found the EUv much more difficult to understand, equating it with AUv. Females, however, concurred with the males on the ratings for AUv not only for the Potency factor, but the other factors as well; all values were consistently negative.

Disregarding the AUvariety, we find there is a sharp difference between male and female attitude toward the WUv versus the EUv in terms of the Evaluation factor. Before drawing any conclusion, I wish to consider here the arguments delineated for the origin dimension, namely that attitudes toward varieties of speech are determined by origin and that the influence and/or impact of the WUvariety on these speakers of Ukrainian reflects this variety's intrinsic value, which underlies attitude. These arguments should be examined in the light of the interaction of the origin and sex variables. Consider Table 1, which tabulates percentages for origin according to the sex of the subject.

| | <i>Males</i> | <i>Females</i> |
|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| Origin 1 (Eastern Ukraine) | 7% | 19% |
| Origin 2 (Western Ukraine) | 50% | 69% |
| Origin 3 (both) | 43% | 12% |

Table 1: Percentages for Origin According to the Sex of the Subject

If attitudes toward speech varieties are determined by origin, then the value judgment of the WUvariety by female subjects should have exceeded that of the males, given the percentages of 69 and 50, respectively. This, however, is not the case, nor would it seem to be the case that the WUvariety is intrinsically connected.

Given these findings, it would seem logical to dismiss these arguments as non-applicable to the Evaluation factor and argue that females have a more responsive attitude to and place more value on the literary language, while males have a more conservative attitude toward language. Such a conclusion, however, does not fully put into perspective all variables underlying the results on attitude. This point is elaborated below.

5.0 *Conclusion*⁵

This study set forth to investigate the impact of an underlying Ukrainian variety of speech to support the argument that the dialectal WU variant was and is intrinsic to the maintenance (or development) of the language for first and second generation Australian Ukrainians. The results of the study put into perspective the status and perception of the varieties by the bilinguals, especially the WUvariety, and shed light on the effect of the contact situation on the maintenance (or development) of the language.

Attitudinal differences sharply separated the WUv and the EUv varieties from the AUvariety on all counts with the exception of the values for the "simple : difficult" scale. The consistent unfavourable ratings of AUv suggest that the bilinguals disapprove of interference and transference from English,⁶ since these are the underlying elements which differentiate this variety from the other two. But, in contrast, AUv was judged more favourably than EUv in the sense that it was regarded as more intelligible, thereby further reducing the common denominator to the WUvariety which underlies both. The bilinguals, therefore, preferred the WUvariety since it is more readily comprehensible. Moreover, it was judged as the most "likable" of the three varieties.

Although both the WUv and EUv varieties were equally favoured in terms of their value, there were distinct preferences among particular groups. Older females of an Eastern Ukrainian background preferred EUv while males, irrespective of age and predominantly of a Western Ukrainian background, preferred the WUvariety. There seems to be no logical explanation as to why this polarization of attitudes occurs, except that females are perhaps more aware of language and recognize the value and need of the literary language, which is minimally represented in the speech community versus the widely used dialectal variant.

The Potency factor drew attention to the effects of the contact situation on the maintenance (or development) of the language. Irrespective of any dimensional interactions, the WUvariety was judged by the bilinguals to be the most influential variety. This is not surprising, since it is the Western variety that is predominantly spoken in the community. Therefore, the perception that it was

⁵ This study uses a very small sample of thirty subjects. Therefore, the conclusions drawn are solely indicative of my sample.

⁶ Compare attitudes to transference in Bettoni (1988:28-31).

influential and has potential to be influential is not unfounded.

No doubt the WUvariety has played an important role in the Australian Ukrainian speech community. Within the duration of the four decades of language contact, WUv has established itself over other varieties to become instrumental in the maintenance of the language. It seems obvious now that if a certain variety is predominantly used in the community by the older generation, then it would naturally be the influential variety and form the basis for communication among the younger generation. Indeed, the study supports this observation and relegates the origin argument to secondary status. More important, however, is the fact that the findings confirm that the WUvariety was and is intrinsic to the maintenance (or development) of the language. It was perceived as aesthetically pleasing and, moreover, linguistically acceptable by first and second generation bilingual Australian Ukrainians, providing their attitudes on the language debate as opposed to the older generations' views.

Although this paper specifically focussed on the question of the WU dialectal variant and language maintenance, there is evidence to suspect the tendency toward language shift rather than language maintenance. This was particularly evident from the results on the judgment of the AUvariety which will be the focus of a future study.

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THE LITERARY GENRES OF JAROSLAV MASLAK

Halyna Koscharsky

The large number of texts in a variety of genres which make up the corpus of the literary work of Jaroslav Maslak serve as an excellent reflection of the psychological and economic state and working environment of Ukrainian immigrants who settled in Australia in the late 1940s.

Characteristic of the texts is their brevity: rarely does the play, the essay or the dramatic etude extend further than three or four pages.¹ They succeed in capturing, however, the taste and feel of being an outsider, a poor migrant feeling his way around an unfamiliar setting and, more often than not, making a fool of himself through lack of English, lack of worldliness and a kind of naiveté, due to isolation and inexperience, characteristic of a working-class newcomer to a country.

The working-class label which I attach is worthy of discussion. Of the 21,000 or so Ukrainians who arrived in Australia in that main wave of migration which was a result of the displacement of Ukrainians after the Second World War,² only a small percentage were men and women with tertiary qualifications who might be regarded as the intellectual leaders of their community.³ Having suffered the horrors of war and surfaced in D.P. camps in Germany as the refugee class, they arrived in Australia with a need for intellectual satisfaction and recognition.⁴ In most cases this gave the writer a certain advantage: Maslak and others in this

¹ The longest work is a three-act unpublished play "Test of Love" (Test kokhannia), written in Lviv, Ukraine, in 1937-38.

² See Eugene Seneta's figures in "Ukrainians in Australia's Censuses," in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: Second Conference*, ed. M. Pavlyshyn (Melbourne: Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, 1986, p. 15).

³ Maslak's own estimate, given during discussion with the author of this article, is 2-3%.

⁴ In an interview in Sydney in January 1990, Maslak himself mentioned that as a young man he had been well-known throughout Lviv as the author of lyrics to the music of Kos-Anatolsky and Baltarovych.

position were able to project the attitudes and psychology of the working-class immigrant in their writing, while seeing him objectively with all his faults and weaknesses, due to the fact that they were forced by circumstances to live a similar role themselves.

The psychological and economic condition of the Ukrainian immigrant in Australia emerges in several sketches and études, written by Maslak in the early years of settlement in this country. It is also an undercurrent throughout the book *Gift of Love* (Dar liubovy), in which short works such as *The Visit* (Hostyna, written in 1952) and *Spring Love* (Vesniane kokhannia, written in 1956) reveal the everpresent economic problems faced by new arrivals.

Since Maslak's genre is predominantly mild satire, this dire shortage of funds for seemingly everyday needs is revealed in circumstances usually caused by the thickheadedness or foolishness of the hero himself. His naiveté and gullibility are rarely presented in a harshly critical way; this being a mild satire, his weaknesses are treated with a measure of indulgence and understanding. This applies, though, more to the economic plight of the new settler than to his attitude to his new surroundings and his fellow Ukrainians in particular.

Where the new settler's psychology and personality are concerned, Maslak can be subtle and complex in his treatment on the one hand, as in *A Pirandellian Theme* (Pirandelivs'ka tema), and unsubtle and biting in his satire on the other, as in *Community Zoology* (Hromads'ka zoolohiia).

It is perhaps a little unfair to compare the two texts on the same level, and this is an everpresent dilemma when considering Maslak's work. His fifty-five years of writing have yielded works of almost every literary genre: plays, dramatic sketches, lyrics for songs, poetry and feuilletons, as well as works of a more journalistic nature, such as humoresques and articles which perch rather uncomfortably on the dividing line between imaginative journalism and artistic literary text. In addition to this, an overall assessment is complicated by the distance in literary value between the stronger and weaker examples of his art.

For the purpose of examining a text as a sociological document of its time, one which in particular reflects the psychological states of its cast, we should perhaps choose *Pirandelivs'ka tema*, which Maslak wrote in the early 1950s.

This original one-act play, referred to by the author as a dramatic *étude*, acknowledges in its title its debt to the Italian dramatist and novelist, Luigi Pirandello. Although one should be wary of overstating the importance of a piece as short as this one, several relevant and valuable elements emerge. Since Pirandello is known for his symbolic and psychological dramas and satires, it is natural that Maslak should adopt some of his themes when working in the same genre.

Pirandello "explored the many faces of reality" by confronting his characters with elements of life which each individual sees as being truth or reality according to his or her interpretation. This is reminiscent of one of Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky's three main themes, the question of reality versus illusion, in his examination of human psychology in his short stories and novels of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁵ Since Kotsiubynsky has been stated by Maslak to be one of the Ukrainian writers who most impressed him, the dual influence is a natural one.⁶

In a scene which recalls Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, although on a much smaller scale, Maslak's play presents characters who materialise onstage and make demands of the author, thereby revealing their worries and preoccupations. The structure of the play and the visual interaction of the characters provide an unexpected element for the Ukrainian audience: it is able to see and hear all six characters, four of whom belong in the play being written onstage by the playwright; they are, at this point, nothing more than a figment of his imagination. His wife is not aware of them, but they are personalities in their own right, with a past and a future, with certain expectations, problems and hopes of resolution.

At the same time all six characters in the play are symbols of the refugees of the late 1940s and early 1950s. As three separate pairs they represent three fairly distinct groups of new settlers from Ukraine. The playwright symbolises the intellectual and the artist; he is the true writer—he hears what his wife says to him through a haze—for him the play is his reality. As so often happened during those first years, the wife was forced to be the practical partner, and their seeming incompatibility stemmed from a sense of resentment

⁵ Chernenko, Oleksandra, *Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky—impresionist* ([Munich]: Suchasnist', 1977).

⁶ Interview, Sydney, January 1990.

she felt at being the one to shoulder the responsibilities of everyday life. She may be seen as the symbol of reality, he of illusion—the illusion of reality created by the playwright for the audience.

The second couple to appear onstage is the pair with a low level of education. Their colloquial and dialectal forms of expression identify them as having come from a village in Western Ukraine. They are sensitive to the slightest suggestion of discrimination and accuse the playwright of neglecting their needs in favour of those of the better dressed and better educated couple. They reveal, as well, a certain resentment towards that class by their words, "we've had experience of such foolishness in the camps...",⁷ implying that the working class Ukrainian was discriminated against by the better educated in the refugee camps. Their conversation also revolves around the need to anglicise their names, in an effort to adapt to what they see as their new status—no longer that of "some kind of D.P.," but of "true New Australians."⁸ The author satirises this as a rash attempt at instant assimilation.

The third couple, a professor and his secretary, are under a delusion—they are unaware of the fact that they are father and daughter. Their ignorance stems from wartime separation and from misunderstandings which lead the older man to misinterpret his natural affection for the young woman. The text suffers from lack of credibility at this stage, mainly because the revelation comes too suddenly after the introduction of the new characters; they are not given an opportunity to develop.

This relatively short scene provides snatches of historical background, parts of which may, in part, have applied to some of the new settlers: through unexplained circumstances during the war the girl's mother lost touch with the father of her child and married another man instead, when the child was twelve years old. The mother and stepfather were shot by Germans for hiding a wounded nationalist and the girl went to live with her aunt. The audience, however, is left with too many unanswered questions.

The text reveals a lot about the author himself. He is a self-confessed romantic, and it is this romantic element in his writing which sometimes verges on melodrama and robs it of credibility. It also establishes for him the style of his writing—mainly the mildly

⁷ Volokyta, Hrytsko (pseudonym for J. Maslak), *Dar liubovy* (Melbourne: Prosvita, 1983), p. 191.

⁸ *Ibid.*

satirical, the humorous. To find the next stage of development in the style—that which approaches true satire—one must turn to a younger writer, Zoia Kohut. Another of those who arrived in Australia in their teens is Lesia Bohuslavets'. While the first of these began her literary life by examining the behaviour of the Ukrainian immigrant with great skill and insight, the second centres on the community twenty years on and to the present day, highlighting the inconsistencies, ironies and self-righteousness of some of its members. Whereas Maslak reveals the individual's weaknesses with forgiving forbearance, Kohut and Bohuslavets' are often merciless in their irony.⁹

By his own admission Maslak does not have their patience: his is an interpretation of life which must be communicated to the outside world with some urgency. He sees life as drama co-existing with comedy.¹⁰

Maslak talks about the first fifteen years in Australia as having their unpleasant sociological aspects: the unwillingness of the locals to accept ethnic differences and their readiness to express this in a direct way; inside the ethnic group itself there are expressions of superiority by the very small minority of educated individuals towards the rest, as well as frictions within the community arising from political party allegiances brought from the home country.¹¹

Maslak himself, though, is no provincial: his familiarity with German and Russian writers has deepened his understanding of the uneducated villager and enabled him to present the villager's worldview with perception and sympathy. His work is therefore a valuable contribution to our store of knowledge about the Ukrainian settler in Australia.

⁹ For a fuller treatment, see M. Pavlyshyn, "Satire and the Comic in Australia's Ukrainian Literature," in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-113.

¹⁰ Interview, Sydney, January 1990.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

THE POETRY OF IRYNA ROMANOWSKI

Anna Berehulak

While studies of literature by Ukrainian migrant women have generally focussed on the "first generation" writers, the "second generation," whose work is mostly written in English or other diasporic languages, can also be seen as part of this paradigm: that is, in the context of the themes and issues raised by the poetic tradition of Ukrainian migrant women. In this paper, I will argue that the work of the Australian-Ukrainian poet Iryna Romanowski can be discussed in relation to this tradition. Romanowski's poems are sensitive to the oral tradition of poetry and acknowledge the importance of the *Word* in Slavic cultures. In these respects her poetry has much in common with the literary work of many other Ukrainian women living and writing in the diaspora. These literary features can be found in her recent collection, *Naming the Baby*, which will be the focus of our discussion.

Iryna Romanowski was born in Wellington, New Zealand, in 1959, the daughter of a Ukrainian mother and Byelorussian father, who both migrated to New Zealand following the Second World War. When she was two years old, Iryna's family moved from New Zealand to Melbourne, Australia, where Iryna was educated: first at Ormond State School (Primary), McKinnon High School, and then at Monash University, where she completed a B.A. in Visual Arts and a Diploma of Education. For some years she worked as a teacher. Iryna Romanowski wrote poetry as a child and as a teenager, and has been writing with an audience in mind since her early twenties. She regards her literary awareness as having begun in literature classes in Ukrainian Saturday school, and believes that it was reinforced by reciting poetry both at school and at Ukrainian community concerts.

Her poems, all of them written in English, have been published individually in Australia in Ukrainian-language journals and almanacs such as *Novyi Obrii*. She gave a public reading in Melbourne in June 1989 at a literary evening in which the Melbourne poet Myron Lysenko and the Canadian poet and scholar Jars Balan, both of Ukrainian heritage, also participated.

Through these mediums, Iryna Romanowski's poetry has reached a mainly Ukrainian literary audience. It has also come to the attention of academic criticism. Marko Pavlyshyn says of Romanowski's poems,

they are emotionally intense, replete with well-seen and originally worded images—and as remote as could be from the tradition (not to mention the language) of Australian-Ukrainian writing. Whether the promising newcomer is the harbinger of a new development, or merely a swallow whose appearance does not herald a spring, remains to be seen.¹

Pavlyshyn's concern with mapping the path of Ukrainian poetry in Australia and his observation concerning Romanowski's "remoteness" from the former generation of Ukrainian poets in Australia implicitly places her work in the context of the Australian poetic tradition. Although her work may certainly be discussed in these terms, this does not rule out the possibility of examining in her poetry the influences of Ukrainian consciousness and identity or examining it, more specifically, in its relationship to the tradition of Ukrainian migrant women's literature.

A common theme in the works of these Ukrainian women living and writing in the diaspora is the fear of a loss of language and identity in exile, which for the poet takes the form of a fear of the silencing of creativity in a culturally and spiritually hostile environment. The need to retain creative identity as the "Keeper of the Word" in exile is widely expressed by these writers.² We find an echo of such creative insecurity in Iryna Romanowski's hitherto unpublished collection *Naming the Baby*. In the first poem of this collection, images of a world closing in upon itself and preparing for a hibernation-like stasis in order to conserve creative strength are invoked by a poetic persona, who, endowed with shamanistic powers, assumes control of the seasons:

It is I
—Winter—
And when I come
One by one
Your leaves

¹ Marko Pavlyshyn, "The Dislocated Muse: Ukrainian Poetry in Australia 1948-1985," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 28(1986), No.2, 187-204, here p. 204.

² See Anna Berehulak, "Creativity and the Landscape in Exile: The Poetry of Emma Andievaska, Lidiia Daleka, Patricia Kylyna and Vira Vovk," B.A. (Honours) thesis, Monash University, 1989.

Fall away...

The anticipation of a loss of creativity is revealed in a change of focus from the outward manifestations of nature to an inward preoccupation with the processes of creativity itself, which needs to be re-imagined before it is reactivated:

And after the laughter
 —The deep blue eyes of summer—
 I am crystal-blue ice twilight
 Sucking on an ember
 of the dying sun.
 I never really was
 beyond my own imagination.
 How feeble it has become.

The poetry of migrant poets often reflects an alienation from the culture and society of the new country through images of an implicit or overt dissociation from, or inexpressibility of, the landscape (which, indeed, is unfamiliar to the European migrant in the "antipodes"). In a similar way, Romanowski's poems reveal a disorientation of identity which is manifested in a reappraisal of the outward appearances of nature, which the poetic persona attempts to assimilate, in order to retrieve creative strength. It is, however, the social world which causes this crisis of expression, and it is the appearances and assumptions of society which Romanowski penetrates and questions. In the title poem of the cycle, "Naming the Baby," the fears which cause conflicts in the creative identity of the poet are expressed as being of social origin; they result in alienation from nature and dehumanization:

I give it a name,
 Put faces and labels to it:
 Europe,
 Prostitute,
 Poetess...
 They peel away.
 One day when
 I can no longer tame it with
 A face,
 A name,
 An intent,
 It will swallow me.

The innocence of the title's associations with a baby is negated by monstrous and grotesque images throughout the progression of the poetic argument. What the "baby" actually represents may be conjectured on the basis of connotations of the names tried by the poetic persona: the "labels" and "faces" of "Europe, Prostitute,

Poetess" are categories of identity, origin, and creativity. They are inadequate for the poet, and are proven to be stereotyped and one-dimensional through the ease with which they "peel away." The subtleties of the poet's identity thus cannot be expressed, and its repression and "taming" by inappropriate categories creates a crisis of integrity: the fear of losing control over the process of taming-through-naming, and being unable to find the right words or expression, threatens to "swallow" the poet.

The threat of chaos, which may be unleashed by the unmasking of the false order of the world, reinforces the urgency of being aware of the responsibility of the poet as Keeper of the Word. At the same time, the extreme deconstruction of language and symbols portrayed in "Naming the Baby" potentially damages the legitimacy of the poet and her medium of communication. However, Romanowski's exposure of the inadequacies of social labels and categories of culture is itself a controlled and necessary process, an "unmasking" which, as suggested by the incantational quality of the verses, is ritualistic. Thus, "Naming the Baby" can be read as a crucible of cultural assumptions and meanings, in which Romanowski attempts to melt down and reify the substance of social language, forcing a confrontation with the inadequacies of tradition on the one hand, and with the fear of going beyond the tradition and losing expression and identity altogether, on the other.

The loss of external and false significations is followed by a further reassessment of basic principles and values in the poem "Black on Black." While in the earlier poem, "It is I—Winter," the persona's withdrawal from the world is accompanied by gentle images of nature, the poem below portrays a grotesque personification of a weak and impotent humanity:

Again it keeps your company,
 Presses at your shoulder
 To be known when you're alone.
 The rasp of its chill breath
 Against your fragile white neck
 Wrings at nerve ends like a shudder.
 Its countless teeth that gnaw your mind
 Are the ghosts and shadows of
 The fears you've known, the gaps are gaps
 In your vision of the future:
 Keyholes that overlook the silent landscape
 Beyond those flimsy dreams.
 Afraid to turn, afraid to face

The chaos where the sky begins,
To even touch it for a moment
Would burn your flesh away:
You're afraid to touch
The black on black.

The intensity with which Romanowski challenges the reader to reassess personal values and to find the essential "truths" of existence culminates in the closing verses:

Take the risk,
See your bones stripped of dreams,
Stripped of the skin
Your mother knitted.

Taunting and terrifying the reader, the poetic persona addresses an audience which she wishes to confront with its contradictions and hypocrisies, if she, the poet, is to find a medium of communication with it. Thus, the poet's dilemma that arises from the quest for expression beyond the norms set by society is presented as a question of integrity for the whole community: the "flimsy dreams" which cover a "silent" landscape must be abandoned before new cultural and social territory is discovered and defined.

In articulating the dilemma, evident in "Naming the Baby," of what Romanowski terms "our false ontological security," the poet, aided by her own bilingual background, is acutely aware of the ambivalences of language. Here, the actual crisis of naming and determining personal identity and integrity can be read to mean that there are more ways of naming and communicating concepts on the borderlines between different cultures and languages than there are within a single language system. We see that the crisis of a potential loss of expression is indeed transcended when the conflict between the roles and identifications of different cultures becomes creative, and offers new possibilities for expression. Romanowski's own interpretation of her work, expressed in an interview, affirms that it is indeed wrong to think in terms of a closed system of language and meaning. The world she deals with in her poetry, she explains, exists on three main levels. Firstly, there is the superficial harmony of social convention, to which belong all the false labels, symbols and role models generated by society. Secondly, there is a chaos and disorder which this false world attempts to mask. Thirdly, there exists a level of natural harmony, which can only be discovered by penetrating the chaos, as Romanowski urges the reader to do in "Black on Black." We

may conclude that this last level is the realm of spirit and myth, the source of the poetic persona's creativity. The summoning of a muse-like figure in the poem "Lullaby" gives access to an ephemeral world, a vision of which symbolizes the spiritual equilibrium of the poetic persona:

Oh, beautiful Dark Angel,
 Now sing for me a song
 To remind me of far away
 Days when I was young
 And alone in the cradle.
 Woo me with your banshee breath
 Heavy with the bay of moon,
 Laden with the sweet perfume
 Of Night's thousand sparkling kisses,
 All for me—moist and heady—
 Parted slightly to reveal their stars...
 All for me: I watch, I wait impatiently
 For them to open wide
 And bright enough
 To cast their shadows while
 They spin their spider-tales
 Just for me: daylight-bright
 I listen to their story
 Wide-eyed, like a child,
 I hear their dazzling silence
 —Too enormous for
 adult-worded, ordered minds
 To comprehend—oh, send
 Your sea to me again,
 Beautiful Dark Angel:
 Woo me with your black-hole eyes,
 Lull me with your pretty lies,
 And absolute untruths.
 I want to sleep
 That peaceful infinite...

The incantational quality of Romanowski's verse in this poem, and the prevalence of highly unusual yet effective and evocative combinations of words and phrases, suggests a search for expression beyond an identifiable world. Such a search is reflected in the paradoxical desire of the poetic persona to *hear* the stories in the "silence" of the stars: it is a desire for mystical knowledge which, unmediated by the confines of social language, becomes a source of creativity. Her plea to the angel to "lull me with your pretty lies,/ And absolute untruths" denies the possibility of the existence of "absolute truths" themselves, and, in its slightly mocking tones, suggests that the poet's relationship to her Muse is

problematical. Thus, if the poet's bilingual identity provides the infinite nuances and possibilities of language which are created by the intermingling of two different cultural streams, then it follows that the intercultural identity expressed in such a way must itself be without definite boundaries. Thus, Romanowski's images reject an identity determined by monolithic cultural assumptions. The question of identity, however, is left unresolved, and the subject is found in a state of embryo-like suspension, in the conclusion to "Lullaby":

And, gentle as you sound
The final breezy hushes
Of your lullaby, then
Softly, silently descend,
Scoop me from this flesh and bone,
Cradle me into the night
On silken arms of sky
And hang me somewhere high
On a heartbeat hook of time.
Hang me on my side
Somewhere high, past night:
Further than the stars and moon
With my back turned to the world,
Where sleep I might
As silent as a tomb
In the sheer, unbroken dark,
Or endless, changeless light.

As a protest against the superficiality of society, the poet creates a purely spiritual world which can only be reached through the effacement of social identity, and, indeed, by effacing the physicality of life itself: "scoop me from this flesh and bone." The spiritual reification of the persona culminates in a sleep, the hibernation-like state anticipated in the poem "It is I—Winter." However, while in the latter poem the world closes in upon itself, the poem ends with a lament over the "feebleness" of the imagination. "Lullaby" celebrates the re-energizing of the imagination in a "sleep" surrounded by the creative forces of cosmic nature, thus transcending the fear of silence and loss of expression. Indeed, in this poem, "silence" itself gains new connotations: its creative potential is explored in relation to the denial of the world and its meaningless sounds, while the stars "spin their spider-tales" in "dazzling silence." They become a metaphor of a potential source of creativity: thus, "webs" of meaning can be created from the signs of these "tales"—that is, from the written, although "silent" word. This phrase can also be

interpreted from the point of view of primitive mythology. According to Mircea Eliade, the world, for the primitive person, was a living cosmos which was "open" and could be "read" according to its myths, where elements of nature provided symbolic meaning: "the World is no longer an opaque mass of objects thrown arbitrarily together, it is a living cosmos, articulated and meaningful."³ In a similar way, the superficial chaos of existence can be transcended when the poet is able to find and read new meaning in the cosmos, which can, in turn, be harnessed for spiritual and creative purposes. However, as the poem implies through the lines, "I listen to their story/ Wide-eyed, like a child,/ I hear their dazzling silence/—Too enormous for/ adult-worded, ordered minds/ To comprehend," this realm of understanding is beyond the "logic" of the "adult world"—that is, it can be found beyond the rational, in the spontaneity and innocence of childhood. A continuity with this theme can be found in other poems which we will later discuss.

In contrast to the migrant poet, who fears the loss of the poetic Word in a hostile environment, the second generation poet must find her Word in a society which ostensibly accepts her, but which her own integrity does not allow her to identify with. However, to go beyond the limits of the discourse of this society is to go beyond the world which it names and legitimates. The stripping away of a former identity and the search for new expression and meaning beyond established limits can be seen here as a parallel to the feminist search for expression beyond the limits of patriarchal discourse. Neither the attempt to destroy androcentric myths in order to free language and literature from gender bias, nor the argument for an intercultural identity are overt features of Romanowski's writing, but in the light of the tradition of Ukrainian migrant women's poetry, these certainly may be read into her work. The argument with tradition apparent in the poem "Baliada pro masku na karnaval" (Ballad of the Mask for the Carnival) by Vira Vovk is comparable, for example, to the ideas and imagery of Romanowski's "Naming the Baby." Vovk, a Ukrainian woman who emigrated to South America following the Second World War and lives and writes in Rio de Janeiro, takes the motif of the Latin American Carnival as her point of departure

³ Mircea Eliade, "The Structure and Function of Myths," in *Myth, Rites and Symbols: A Mircea Eliade Reader*, ed. Wendell C. Beane and William G.

in the "Ballad of the Mask."⁴

The central symbol of Vovk's poem is the mask which the poetic persona embroiders in anticipation of the Carnival, the celebration in which order and authority are temporarily suspended or even inverted. The "coming out" which the woman yearns for, however, has grotesque connotations, as the mask which she finishes becomes, in fact, a mask of death, symbolic of the plague which had decimated the city before the Carnival. The mask is also associated with the vitalist social ritual of the Carnival, and its embroidery is the work of the woman's creativity; it functions for the persona as a mode of transcendence, not only of the frustrations of a woman and a cultural outsider, but also of death itself. At the end of the poem, however, the identity of the persona is effaced, with only "a beaded mask, a rag doll" left on the pavement. The paradox of assuming a mask in order to transcend identity, but with the result of losing the self altogether, is a part of Vovk's argument with tradition, and an attempt to explode myths of migrant and female identity. While the woman in Vovk's poem turns both the traditional female occupation of embroidery and the Carnival rituals of the new country to her own devices, it is questionable whether any emancipatory effect is achieved: indeed, Vovk's argument may be seen as the actual pointing out of this paradox, since, beyond the subversion of tradition, nothing seems to remain with which the poetic persona may identify. The final image of the poem is that of a palm tree waving over a precipice ("nad prirvoiu viiala pal'ma"), a bleak image which is a rebus, seemingly detached from the rest of the poem, except perhaps as a symbol of the woman's isolation, and a provocative "Quo vadis?" This is the point at which Romanowski herself arrived through the poem "Naming the Baby," in which her unmasking of the inadequacies of tradition pointed out the paradox of a choice between stereotyped labels and values on the one hand, and creative silence, on the other.

The destruction of old myths, however, does not leave a tradition without myths altogether, as the critic K. K. Ruthven points out with regard to feminist poetry:

Every act of demythologizing involves a corresponding act

Doty (New York: Harper, 1975), vol. 1., p. 8.

⁴ Vira Vovk, "Baliada pro masku na karnaval," in *Koordynaty. Antolohiia suchasnoi ukrains'koi poezii*, ed. Bohdan Boichuk and Bohdan T. Rubchak

of remythologizing, and even if large numbers of people were to believe in "the myth of mythlessness" the outcome would be a body of writing which, far from being myth-free, would merely exemplify "the mythology of no more mythologies"... [thus] ...what a writer reveals when she removes her mask is not her face, but the mask of masklessness.⁵

The disappearance of the identity of the poetic persona at the end of "The Ballad of the Mask" is an apt illustration of this idea: what the persona must search for is a new identity beyond both restrictive domesticity and the directionless liberation of the Carnival. We may ask here whether it is the role of the next generation of poets of migrant heritage to attempt to produce such new myths of identity. It may be argued that Romanowski does indicate a willingness to explore identity and new possibilities of expression and, thus, to "remythologize" the creativity of the migrant female tradition.

Apart from the poetry quoted above, other works, such as "Immortality" and "All Things Being Equal," search for spiritual roots which transcend the meaninglessness and superficiality of contemporary life. In "Immortality" the poet mourns the death of her uncle with whom she identifies elements of her spirituality:

You saw God on a cross,
I saw him standing
On his own right hand—
An image of you
working a field—
On God's clay and earthen hand
You stood: a gentle man who lived
As honestly, as simply
—In 'love'—
As his own beliefs.

While celebrating the vision of her uncle and admiring his strength of faith and his love of nature and nurturing, Romanowski is identifying the elements of her consciousness which are parallel to his Slavic values: a spiritual inheritance which was transferred to the poet through her family, and which is out of place in the culture she inhabits. His values and their solidity, expressed in the image of the earth as the palm of God, are seen by the poet as available to her only through a return to nature and the memory of

(New York: Suchasnist, 1969), p. 319.

⁵ K. K. Ruthven, *Feminist Literary Studies. An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1984), p. 79.

childhood play, in which all natural things (trees, wind, stones) contained forgotten, primeval names. The linking of such ideas becomes the basis for the poet's myth of her own identity: for her creative strength she relies on the memory of her uncle and her childhood, and on the interpretation of these memories in the light of her own adult search for values and integrity:

As a child I made mud pies
With names the wind
Had scrubbed from these stones.

From your hands whole forests sprang:
You had the most beautiful of gardens, uncle...

I stood beneath a sky; cast down
A handful of forgotten names
To bury yours: side by side,
Some still clinging to my skin
As they had done in my play.

Wisest then—in innocent bliss,
A child unversed, untaught—I
Have never since been closer to
The universe's profound simplicity.

The earth's sweet vapours rose
And stung my eyes to tears.

In a different vein, the poem "All Things Being Equal" attempts to find new myths through a world of universal values, harmonizing elements of nature and mysticism from different regions of the world. Romanowski's imagery alludes to the ephemeral realm described earlier, in "Lullaby," in the opening verses of "All Things Being Equal":

Deep in the heart
Of worlds which speak
In single syllables:
Beneath the paraphernalia
Of thoughts which pass
Through an earth-bound mind
Lie worlds neither here
Nor anywhere with a name,
Where only the stars watch
With unabated breath,
Watch my history unravel
Before it is woven.

In searching for simplicity of expression, the poetic persona aspires to a transcendence of the world, but also to a unified vision

of human existence:

A minister, a cannibal,
 The buddhist monk, the mountain devil...
 In the deepest of deep oceans, or
 Wind-blown on a sheer cliff-drop,
 In the deepest of devotions, or
 Watching cities alone from a building's top,
 Balanced in remote, forgotten temples, or
 Jostled in the hurly-burly everyday
 Of a bread-and-butter roadside cafe...

In the reflection of a moment
 All is one within the balance,
 The balance is the chaos within all,
 While chaos' balance is all as anguish,
 In all must anguish stir: with it begins
 And with it ends the tranquillity
 Of a mystic's meditations...

Romanowski's choice of an ecumenical spirituality is consistent with the ideas found in other examples of her poetry. Finding a "balance" within the "chaos" is as necessary to her as penetrating the superficial order of society in "Black on Black," or discovering personal harmony in "Lullaby." In the poem "All Things Being Equal," the individual, seen in the perspective of the whole expanse of the human and cosmic universe, is relativized. However, her attempt to express this mysticism and self-effacement as the ultimate source of knowledge necessary for personal integrity is problematical. While Romanowski alludes to Eastern philosophy as the basis of her search for meaning, her passage from "personal" (as in "Immortality") to "universal" myth is not resolved: that is, there is no "mediation" between the "personal" and the "universal," and no overt speculation on the nature of cross-cultural identity. However, the problem of identity need not be seen in terms of the dualistic terminology offered here, but through a plurality of positions which the critic may uncover.

Iryna Romanowski's creativity also encompasses other themes and genres. She has written a large number of love poems and prose-poem 'fragments,' and is currently working on a novel. The poems in this discussion have been selected primarily for their relationship to a tradition of Ukrainian migrant women's writing. Although it is apparent that Romanowski's works stand on their own merit in an Australian literary context and are easily accessible to an Australian audience, as the success of her readings has

shown, her themes can be placed, nevertheless, into the tradition of the migrant women poets, whose sensibilities towards language and culture she shares. In the search for such a tradition, and the demarcation of its qualities and identity, further comparative research of first, second, and later generations of Ukrainian women poets across the diaspora is imperative.

UKRAINIAN THEATRE IN AUSTRALIA: A STUDY OF THE SOURCES

Marko Pavlyshyn

The Ukrainian theatre in Australia is one feature of Ukrainian cultural life concerning which there has been a considerable amount of useful documentation. The historical survey of the activity of prominent individual theatres, such as the Les' Kurbas Theatre¹ in Melbourne, the Ukrainian Theatre of Small Genres in Adelaide, and the theatre of the Ukrainian Arts Society in Sydney has been undertaken in such generally available source works as Volodymyr Bilyns'kyi's article in *Ukrainci v Avstralii*² and in various issues of Dmytro Nytychenko's almanac, *Novyi obrii*.³

And yet, these individual studies, usually of the chronicle type, do not give a picture of Ukrainian theatrical life as a whole, nor do they convey an impression of the character, extent or significance of the phenomenon of the theatre in the Ukrainian community in Australia during the 40 years of Ukrainian settlement. An intuition that the theatre was, indeed, crucial to the cultural experience of Ukrainians in Australia, as well as the fruitful insights gleaned by Iroida Wynnyckyj in her source study of Ukrainian drama in Canada,⁴ persuaded me two years ago to undertake a major research project in this field. The aims of the project were to be interpretive, as well as simply historical. The project was to address itself to such issues as the nature of the aesthetic and social experience that the theatre represented for people involved: the dramatist, the theatrical company, and, finally, the audience. The theatre was to be used as a tool to obtain a more general understanding of the nature of the Ukrainian émigré community and

¹ The transcription of Ukrainian names in this article uses the Library of Congress system without modification.

² Bilyns'kyi, "Nashi kul'turno-mystets'ki syly," in *Ukrainci v Avstralii* (Melbourne: Soiuz Ukrain'skykh Orhanizatsii Avstralii, 1966), pp. 634-80.

³ *Novyi obrii*, No. 1 (1954), pp. 81-82 and 122-25; No. 2 (1960), pp. 174-84, 189-94 and 227.

⁴ Wynnyckyj, "Ukrainian Canadian Drama From the Beginnings of Immigration to 1992," M.A. thesis, University of Waterloo, Canada, 1976.

its experience.⁵

The project received support from the Australian Research Council and the Monash University Special Research Grant—\$28,000 over 1988-89. The funds made possible the employment of research assistants who collected data and, so far, have been involved in its preliminary processing. I acknowledge here the assistance of Ms Taya Vereshaka and her assistants Ms Liana Slipetsky and Ms Teresa Warcaba. The research assistants were put to work compiling a data base on all known theatrical productions in Ukrainian and by identifiably Ukrainian theatrical groups in Australia. Every available issue of the newspapers *Vil'na dumka*, *Iednist'*, *Ukrainets' v Avstralii* and *Tserkva i zhyttia* was examined for information from advertisements and reviews. Interviews were conducted in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Brisbane. Personal theatrical archives were inspected, photocopied and photographed. The excellent archive maintained by the Ukrainian Women's Association in Adelaide was studied. The information thus gathered was entered into a computer data base, each record covering an individual production.

Each record contains the following information, as far as it can be ascertained: the name of the play (or other kind of theatrical production) and its author, the dates of performances, the number of performances, the name of the company, the director, the names of actors and their roles, the names of other persons involved (e.g., the scene painter, the conductor of the orchestra, even the prompter). Each record contains detailed bibliographical references to each advertisement and review and has space for unstructured comments (e.g., a drama in five acts with music and dance; or, dedicated to the memory of the famine of 1933).

The computer record, together with tapes of interviews with theatre activists and actors and the rich pictorial material that has been gathered (photographs, handbills, posters, costume designs, albums) represents an archive whose cultural and historical value has become more and more obvious to us in the course of research.⁶ It is a source for much future detailed study, for many

⁵ The results of this research were subsequently published in my article, "Culture and the Émigré Consciousness: Ukrainian Theatre in Australia 1948-1989," *Australasian Drama Studies*, No. 20, 1992, 54-69.

⁶ The archive is housed in the Slavic Section, Department of German Studies and Slavic Studies, Monash University.

scholarly articles and, I hope, a popular illustrated book.

It should be pointed out, however, that some information of great interest to the project has been irretrievably lost. Within months of the project's commencement, three of the key surviving stars of the Ukrainian theatrical scene in Melbourne died: Iaroslav Hevko, Mykhailo Klionovs'kyi, and Iryna Zales'ka. The doubtless fascinating accounts which they would have given on tape were never recorded.

The purpose of this paper is to present some of the information from the archive in a quantitative form and to venture some observations that will place a phenomenon seemingly familiar to members of the Ukrainian community in a new light.

I shall start by focussing on what, contrary to our initial intention and expectations, we did *not* find. Wynnyckyj's study of original dramas written by Ukrainians in Canada mainly between the two World Wars had brought to life a body of fascinating texts written and, in most cases, published in Canada. Together, these dramatic texts offered a detailed and extensive portrait of the concerns of Ukrainians in Canada and the social, political and moral challenges facing them. We had expected to unearth at least something along these lines. What we discovered was, instead, a dearth of theatre of any substance using texts written in Australia. Iaroslav Masliak is the exception; his plays were relatively widely performed, especially in Sydney in the 1950s, and several were subsequently published in his collection *Dar liubovy* (Gift of Love, 1983). Other writers for the stage who produced full-length plays, or entertainments sufficiently major for their names to be used in the publicity materials, were Vasyl' Onufriienko and Iurii Sukhovs'kyi. This is not to say that there was not a great deal of writing of a dramatic nature (one-act plays, sketches, dialogues, review materials) that was used as part of the programme of evenings of mixed entertainment or as the focal point of a ball or commemorative concert; we know that such fugitive materials existed, but they passed through the net of a data-gathering procedure based on the complete production. Texts for such materials have been almost impossible to collect. Omelian Buchats'kyi of Sydney contributed a sheaf of his sketches for the archive; but the texts of the highly acclaimed and apparently uproarious reviews held in Sydney by the "Forest Devil" fraternity of the Plast Ukrainian Youth Association cannot be found.

This absence is, naturally, in itself a most interesting

phenomenon. It reflects a reluctance on the part of people capable of writing for the stage to take themselves seriously; it evidences an acceptance of the fact that "real theatre" is the theatre of the classical Ukrainian repertoire, or, in the case of the generation that grew up in Australia, the English-language theatre of the mainstream culture. The embarrassment of the writer for the stage is also reflected in the choice of genre: the satire, the revue and the parody are all forms in which the writer is able to be ironic at his or her own expense, offering the audience entertainment without taking responsibility for a major personal aesthetic statement. Elsewhere I have argued that Ukrainian literature in Australia in general has five possible responses to the experience of dislocation from the original matrix: melancholy, sentimentality, subjectivism, elegy, and satire.⁷ It is the last of these, satire, especially in its ironic and self-ironic variant, that dominates the original dramatic creativity of Ukrainian writers for the stage in Australia.⁸ This is consistent with a perception of one's own cultural activity as marginal, not only to the dominant culture of the country of residence, but also to the cultural tradition of the country of origin.

Enough, however, of absences. The Ukrainian theatre in Australia was emphatically a presence, a real and important fact in people's lives. The statistics speak for themselves. In our data base there are details of no fewer than 205 separate productions between 1950 and 1989. The geographical spread of the theatre covers all the mainland states. In New South Wales, plays were shown at eleven different locations: 50 productions in the Sydney Ukrainian community hall ("Narodnyi dim") in Lidcombe, 22 in the hall of the S.U.M. Ukrainian Youth Association ("dim molodi"), and varying numbers in such metropolitan locations as Blacktown, Bankstown, Grenville, Cabramatta, Paramatta, Strathfield and Sefton. Outside Sydney, productions were mounted in Wollongong and Newcastle. In Victoria, which had 115 plays to New South Wales' 104, there were nine locations: Melbourne itself (i.e., the central community hall in South Melbourne and later Essendon), Geelong, Sunshine, Noble Park,

⁷ Marko Pavlyshyn, "Aspekty ukrains'koi literatury v Avstralii," *Suchasnist'*, 28 (1988), No. 4 (324), 31-47.

⁸ See my article, "Satire and the Comic in Australia's Ukrainian Literature," in Marko Pavlyshyn, ed., *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia, Second Conference, Melbourne, 5-7 April 1985* (Melbourne: Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, 1986), pp. 93-113.

Ardeer, Newport, Fitzroy, St. Albans, and even Yallourn in the La Trobe valley. (There is, by the way, no arithmetical mistake here: the sum of the number of productions in N.S.W. and Victoria is greater than the number of records in the data base, because in this instance we have counted separately the same production mounted in a different location. Taking a successful production interstate was very much part of theatrical life.)

The number of active theatre troupes, too, was extraordinary: for example, in Victoria in the decade 1950-60 eight distinct groups were active, and in New South Wales as many as thirteen. The number would be greater if one were to count re-organizations and name changes.

Theatrical activity was initiated, on the whole, by trained (or simply experienced) actors whose careers had begun in Ukraine—either Ukraine within the U.S.S.R., or Western Ukraine under Poland or under German occupation—and had then continued in the theatre companies of the post-war Displaced Persons' camps in Germany and Austria. Such were, for example, Iaroslav Andrukhovych, Ievheniia Andrukhovych, Antin Kryvets'kyi and Rostyslav Vasylenko in Adelaide, Stepan Kryzhanivs'kyi, Stepan Zales'kyi, Iryna Zales'ka, Iaroslav Hevko, Kost' Liubars'kyi and Daria Liubars'ka in Melbourne, and Iaroslav Masliak, Stepan Khvylia and Vasyl' Podryhulia in Sydney. Ievheniia Pavlovs'ka had sung in the Kiev Opera, while Ivan Mykolaienko and Maria Malysh-Fedorets' (known in Australia as Ivan and Maria Martyniuk) had begun their careers in Sadovs'kyi's theatre in Kiev before 1917.

The first Ukrainian theatre group organized in Australia was the Ukrainian Theatre of Small Genres ("Ukrains'kyi Teatr Malykh Form") in Adelaide. The theatre was remarkable for its unusual repertoire, which included plays by Ivan Bahrianyi. The directors, in addition to the manager, Iaroslav Andrukhovych, were Antin Kryvets'kyi, Rostyslav Vasylenko, Volodymyr Korolyk and Andrii Teplyi. In the course of 1950-65 the Theatre of Small Genres mounted fourteen different productions. Later Adelaide theatre groups included those linked to the Ukrainian Association of South Australia (directed mainly by Viktor Hai) and to S.U.M.

Ukrainian theatrical life in Melbourne was dominated up to 1963 by the Les' Kurbas Theatre, directed until his departure for the U.S.A. by Stepan Kryzhanivs'kyi and, from 1958, by Stepan Zales'kyi, who introduced modernist elements into the theatre's

style. Nevertheless, the theatre's greatest successes were traditional 19th-century Ukrainian plays: Mykhailo Staryts'kyi's *Ukradene shchastia* (Stolen Happiness) and *Marusia Bohuslavka*, produced in 1957 and 1958 respectively. The theatre also staged Viennese operetta.

Other ensembles active in Victoria in the 1950s included the Volodymyr Blavats'kyi drama group in Sunshine, directed by Ivan Derkach; groups associated with branches of the Ukrainian Association in Newport and Glenroy; and the ODUM (Organization of Democratic Ukrainian Youth) Dramatic Theatre Studio under Ivan and Maria Martyniuk. Later groups included Mykhailo Klionovs'kyi's Mykola Lysenko Musical Theatre, active in 1962-87, which on one occasion toured Ukrainian communities in England and Scotland, and the "Red Poppies" troupe initiated in St. Albans in 1984 by Olia Terlets'ka and directed by Iaroslav Hevko.

In Sydney, a drama group associated with the Ukrainian Association came into being in 1950. In chief activists were Iaroslav Masliak, Stepan Khvyliia, Ievhen Novychevs'kyi, Mykola Sviders'kyi and Lidia Haiivs'ka. After many reorganizations and changes in membership, the Ukrainian Arts Society ("Ukrains'ke Mystets'ke Tovarystvo," or U.M.T.) was formed with a drama group as its most important section. Between 1952 and 1959 the U.M.T. mounted thirteen plays directed by H.F. Masliuk and L. Doroshenko.

A plethora of other groups was active: the Friends of the Stage, the drama groups of the Ukrainian Associations in Bankstown, in Cabramatta, in Sefton-Bass Hill-Chester Hill, in Newcastle and, later, in Wollongong; and the Arts Union of Western Sydney (Vasyl' Podryhulia, director).

At the beginning of the 1960s the activity of most of these groups had ceased, and a new ensemble, the Mariia Zan'kovets'ka Dramatic Section, was established by Klavdiia Fol'ts, who directed eleven productions in 1962-76. An interesting phenomenon was the Sydney-based Flying Estrada ("Letiucha estrada"), a group of young amateurs led by Iaroslav Masliak. The Estrada, active in 1975-1984, used mainly new texts and toured as far afield as Perth. The two Ukrainian youth associations were active in theatre in the 1970s and 1980s, Plast specializing in cabaret-style entertainments and S.U.M., under the direction of Kateryna Atamaniuk, in plays with historical themes.

In Western Australia there were two ensembles: the Lesia Ukrainka group, led by Osyp Mentsins'kyi in 1956-1965, and a group in Northam (1958-1963). In Brisbane the Ukrainian Association's drama group, whose main activists were Ivan Osmolovs'kyi (Ol'khivs'kyi) and Ivan Brynza, staged plays from 1951 to 1969.

In practically all Ukrainian communities there was also theatre of a more informal kind: Saturday schools prepared sketches and short plays for their regular end-of-year concerts, and many community organizations put their members on stage at least occasionally.

One should point out that even with scrupulous research it has been impossible to produce a complete record of Ukrainian theatrical activity in Australia. Small communities less oriented toward the Ukrainian press than those of Sydney and Melbourne, and relying on local channels of information for publicity of local events, put on plays that were not recorded in any of the sources that were accessed. The rather rich theatrical culture of Brisbane, for example, yielded very few reviews, and it was only through interview with a knowledgeable person that some notion of the titles and dates of productions could be obtained.

The record allows us to discern a clear trend in the intensity of Ukrainian theatrical activity. In 1950 there were 3 productions. In 1951, 1952 and 1953 there were already 10 in each year. In 1954 there were 14, in 1955—9, and the tally peaked in 1956 with 15. After that there was a slow decline: in the 1960s there was an average of 5.5 productions per year, in the 1970s 3.7, and in the 1980s 2.5. The reasons may, perhaps, best be sought in the pattern of the community's demographic evolution and its ageing: a decline in the youthful enthusiasm that fired the golden decade of the 1950s, the passage of amateur actors into the staidness of married life, the gradual decline in the number of people with adequate linguistic ability, the decline in both the energy and the number of the professionals who had been the mainstays, the coming of television, and the acculturation of younger generations to the mainstream culture that diminished the audience's needs for theatre in its own language. These observations are corroborated by the reflections of the participants themselves, as recorded in interview.⁹

⁹ Some representative viewpoints are quoted in my article in *Australian*

Of great interest is the light that our record sheds on the dramatic taste of the companies and the public. What were the most popular plays? We have measured this in two ways: by counting the number of distinct productions, as well as the total number of performances in all productions. By both counts, the nineteenth century emerges triumphant. Ivan Kotliarevs'kyi's *Natalka Poltavka* (1838) had six productions and ten performances that we know about. Mykhailo Staryts'kyi's *Oi, ne khody Hrytsiu* (Don't Go Carousing, Hryts', 1890) had six productions and nine performances. There were four productions each of Ivan Franko's *Ukradene shchastia* (1883) and Taras Shevchenko's *Nazar Stodolia* (1843), and three each of Vasyl' Stefanyk's *Zemlia* (The Earth), Lesia Ukrainka's *Lisova Pisia* (Forest Song, the first twentieth-century piece on our list, and that written in 1911), Borys Hrinchenko's *Stepovyi hist'* (A Guest From the Steppe, 1898), Marko Kropyvnyts'kyi's *Po revisii* (After the Inspection) and *Poshylys' v durni* (Made Fools Of), Ivan Tobilevych's *Beztalanna* (Unfortunate, 1886) and *Martyn Borulia* (1859), and *Vashi znaiomi* (Your Acquaintances) by Dima—a post-war émigré piece.

In the list of plays that had two or more productions, there are four plays by Kropyvnyts'kyi, three by Tobilevych, two by Staryts'kyi and two by Hrinchenko. In this part of the list, at last, some twentieth-century names appear: Mykola Kulish (two productions of *Myna Mazailo*), Stepan Vasyl'chenko, Ivan Bahrianyi, and two residents of Australia: Vasyl' Onufrienko and Iurii Sukhovs'kyi.

These figures bespeak a highly conservative cultural situation. Not only is it the case that the companies chose to perform the classics; they chose classics of the ethnographic, folkloric and historical type, favoured and, indeed, created by the actor-director-playwrights of the second half of the nineteenth century. Great expanses even of the classical repertoire are neglected: Lesia Ukrainka is represented only by her play with folkloric themes, *Lisova pisnia*. Volodymyr Vynnychenko, the most popular playwright of the interwar period (he was widely translated and performed on the stages of Western and Central Europe), was all but ignored, perhaps because of a lack of sympathy within the community for his leftist political views. Mykola Kulish is represented only by the most accessible of his plays, his comedy of

manners, *Myna Mazailo*. The plays that are most favoured are precisely those against which Les' Kurbas and the innovators of the Ukrainian theatre in the 1920s and 1930s fulminated as backward-looking and anachronistic.

Clearly, what was valued by the Ukrainian audience in Australia was the ability of theatre to reproduce and keep alive images of the familiar: the national costume, the village, the simplicity and the artlessness of the folk milieu. The "great" classics, Shevchenko and Lesia Ukrainka, are presented as icons, symbols of great cultural values, but the "real" classics are Kropyvnyts'kyi and Tobilevych.

Finally, it would seem appropriate to remark that the project has brought to light some surprises. The role and importance of the operetta seems at first to be implausible. The operetta *Natalka Poltavka*, of course, is one of the mainstays of the traditional repertoire, and its popularity among companies and audiences alike was to be expected. But Kalman, Lehar and Strauss were put on in Melbourne in Ukrainian as well. The resources that needed to be massed for such productions might have been thought to be beyond the reach of the amateur theatre. And yet, these were performed with a sumptuousness almost defying belief: elaborate costumes and sets, and musical accompaniment by a tail-coated orchestra seemed par for the course at the peak of Mykhailo Klionovs'kyi's all-too-short career.

Why did the Ukrainian theatregoer want to hear Ukrainian-language versions of Viennese operetta? The answer, perhaps, lies in the fact that the places where the "real" productions of Strauss and Lehar took place in the 1950s, the Palais and the Princess theatres, are places where the Ukrainian public would not go. For this audience, entertainment and culture had to be Ukrainian to be consumable. The romance and the glitter of Viennese operetta were, for this public, escapes from a cultural everyday defined not by the mainstream culture, but by Ukrainian culture. These Ukrainian versions of international operetta were demonstrations, not of a deviation from the theatre's standard role of confirming the cultural values of the Ukrainian community, but a demonstration of the strength of those cultural values: they were able to nationalize even that which seemed remote from Ukrainian culture as popularly perceived.

It should be noted that it was only Viennese operetta that was honoured with this level of naturalization. Ukrainian theatres did

not appropriate other "foreign" cultural possessions. Certainly, they did not offer their audiences any Australian drama in translation. This was consistent with the function of the Ukrainian theatre in Australia: it was not a mediator to the new world, as was the inter-war Ukrainian theatre in Canada, but a reminiscence of the old.

MICHAEL KMIT: REALITY, MYTH AND METHODOLOGY

Andrew Lachowicz

It was none other than Leo Tolstoy who said that "art is not a handicraft, it is the transmission of feeling the artist has experienced." And the more work I did in researching the life of the Ukrainian artist Kmit, the more I realized the wisdom of Tolstoy's words. For, to do justice to an artist, it is not enough to establish the facts about his life—the date and place of birth, where he studied, how many paintings he painted, where he lived; one needs to penetrate into the mind of the artist and into his soul in order to comprehend the feelings which demanded to be transmitted to the public—in Michael Kmit's case, through the medium of painting.

If we look at a work of the Kiev-born painter Kazimir Malevich, such as his well known "White on White," which is in the New York Museum of Modern Art, then we may be forgiven for thinking that it is the drawing of a childish hand, unless we also learn about the Suprematist theory which Malevich developed, passionately taught and incorporated visually into his paintings. Similarly, we cannot appreciate Picasso's "Guernica" unless we know its historical background and something of Picasso's emotional involvement which made him paint these powerful images of war. Here in Australia we can scarcely appreciate Sidney Nolan's Ned Kelly series unless we have absorbed the Australian ethos which had captured Nolan's imagination.

The same applies to Michael Kmit. It is essential to capture the emotional and intellectual base of the artist to do justice to his heritage, which made Paul Haefliger remark,

He was one of our top painters then [in the 1950s], and I'd still call him one of the best. He influenced many people because we just hadn't seen his sort of painting before. (*The Australian*, April 1977)

Among the problems facing someone who wants to reconstruct the life of an artist are what I would call the problems of relativity and reliability.

It is a consequence of relativity that the information which one comes across, either written or spoken, has to be related to a specific milieu at a specific time. When Michael Kmit arrived in Australia in May 1949 he was thrown into a society which, to use Geoffrey Blainey's words, was suffering from the "tyranny of distance," which in turn made Australians look at anybody from a non Anglo-Celtic background with a mixture of parochial suspicion and patronizing egalitarianism. As Michael Kmit put it in an interview on 17 November 1965, the tape recording of which is now in the Macquarie University Library,

When I first came to Australia, I was bound by my Government contract as a labourer. I worked for the first year for industries in Villawood, and for another year I was a railway porter. But before I was assigned to the railway I worked for three months as a blacksmith somewhere in Woollahra, and finally I worked as a house painter at a David Jones factory in Surry Hills. At this time I worked during the day and at night I painted.

The problem of reliability is one that would delight a Sherlock Holmes. There is factual information about Michael Kmit's life which has been well documented and can be accepted with a high degree of certainty. However, other information has still to be corroborated, or may be accepted only with reservations.

For instance, we know for a fact that Michael Kmit was born on the 25 July 1910 in the small West Ukrainian city of Stryi and that in 1914 his family moved to Lviv. His father, Konstantyn, was a major in the Austrian army, he was wounded and died at the age of 41 when Michael was sixteen years of age. On the other hand, in the interview of 17 November 1965 Kmit said that he was attracted to painting from his early childhood. His voice on the tape says,

I think that I was four years old when, with the help of my mother, I sat on the window sill and drew on the frozen glass. I used the window for all my pictures—and with a frozen finger, perhaps! When my father saw this drawing he said, "He will be a painter," and he went and bought me watercolours and crayons. This was how my career as a painter started.

Well, it is a nice story, but knowing from later accounts Michael Kmit's love for story-telling and for exaggeration, I feel one should take such an account with a grain of salt, although the fact remains that at some point Michael Kmit embarked on a career as an artist and that he was a member of a gifted family that appreciated art.

There is a photograph of a pencil drawing made by Michael

Kmit of his father on his deathbed, dated 3.11.1926 and signed "Michael." He was 16 years of age at that time, and the thought has crossed my mind that he must have been a youth dedicated both to his art and to his family if he resorted to a pencil drawing at the moment when his father was dying.

Kmit matriculated from a technical school in Lviv and, according to some accounts, studied under Oleksa Novakivsky, the best-known Ukrainian post-impressionist, before moving to the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków. On graduating, Michael Kmit took a job as a drawing teacher and then as a lecturer in painting and composition in the Lviv College of Art and Industry. There are some suggestions that Michael Kmit was drafted into the Polish army, that he was a German prisoner of war, that he was wounded by a splinter to his right temple, that he escaped for Switzerland, that he travelled through France and Italy—but all this still awaits verification. It is a fact that towards the end of 1944 he met Edda, the woman who would be his first wife, in Austria, and that after three months they were married. In the following years they had two daughters.

All the time Michael Kmit was painting. In a letter of 23 March 1983, Kmit's brother wrote, "a large number of his works remained in Lviv and Krakow. Up to 700 in number. Unfortunately everything was lost due to the war."

It appears that Michael Kmit was already known as an artist in Europe before he came to Australia, as his name appeared on a UNESCO list of émigré artists. It is this list that helped Australian artists of the Sydney Group to discover him and to establish contact with him. Such notable painter-critics as James Gleeson, Paul Haefliger and Wallace Thornton befriended and encouraged him, and helped him to settle in Sydney.

Success came quickly once Michael Kmit's paintings burst into the public's view. Already in 1951 he held his first one-man show in Australia at the Macquarie Galleries, and in the same year he received a commendation for his entry for the Blake Prize for Religious Art. In 1952 he obtained second place in the Blake Prize competition and in 1953 his painting "The Evangelist John Mark" won the prize itself. In 1954 he was awarded the Perth Prize, in 1955 the Critics' Prize for Contemporary Art, in 1956 the Darcy Morris Memorial Prize and in 1957 the Sulman Prize.

So far I have been able to establish that Michael Kmit held 32

solo exhibitions and was represented in 19 group exhibitions in commercial galleries during his twenty-five years in Australia—that is, an average of one exhibition every five months.

It is therefore to some degree surprising that at the height of his success he migrated to the United States. There are four sources known to me which may throw some light on why he should have wanted to leave Australia.

The first is the 1965 Macquarie University Library tape, where he says, "in 1957 I decided to go to the United States to further my study of art and to investigate." I think the emphasis should here be placed more on the words "to investigate," rather than on the words "to further my study of art." For in 1957 Michael Kmit was already a mature artist, 47 years of age, who had made his name on two continents.

The second source is Kmit's first wife, Edda, who said, when interviewed by Dr Marko Pavlyshyn in California in June 1989, "Michael had this drive to go somewhere and exhibit and go to America." When asked whether Michael felt that Australia was too small for him, she replied: "I don't think so. He had 17 crates of pictures, he said he would come to the U.S. and be accepted immediately. He had the desire to see new places and new experiences. It inspired him." Edda's comments are supported by Michael Kmit's second wife, Norma, who provided the third source. When I asked her why he should have wanted to go to America, her answer was, "He was a traveller."

The fourth source is an obituary on Michael Kmit by Allan McCulloch published in 1982.¹ It states:

In his pre-war days Kmit participated in a large Ukrainian exhibition, sent on tour to the United States of America, and he had been marked there as a painter of consequence. Hoping perhaps that Americans may remember this, he optimistically moved there. The Americans did not remember and the seven years he spent there were disappointing and in some respects disastrous.

The four sources agree in that all of them highlight Michael Kmit's restless character and his conviction that he should expose his creativity to new challenges.

Allan McCulloch's reference to Michael Kmit's disappointing and disastrous stay in the United States must refer principally to the mental breakdown he had soon after he arrived in California. He

¹ *Art and Australia*, 19(1982), No. 3.

was admitted to an institution, he lost his family in a divorce and for all practical purposes he had to make a start in America as an unknown artist. As his illness resulted in his having delusions, everyone in the hospital was rather sceptical as to his claims that he was a well-known painter in Australia. There is a tape of an interview with the occupational therapist in the rehabilitation centre that he attended.² We have here reliable evidence that Michael Kmit painted while still in hospital as part of his therapy:

Michael Kmit was painting as one of the group of people involved in the treatment. And I think it is a kind of tribute to Michael. I mean, here was a very talented man doing those fantastic paintings alongside someone who was very ill and certainly not talented. But he was tolerant about the situation. He was really quite fair about it.

Kmit soon started exhibiting these paintings in such venues as the annual art show of the Unitarian Church, the University of the Pacific Art Show, the Haggin Pioneer Museum Galleries in Stockton and St. Mary's College outside of Oakland. It was a far cry from exhibitions of his works that had been mounted in prestigious galleries in Australia.

There is one point in relation to Kmit's stay in America that needs to be clarified. In the interview of 1965 Michael Kmit tells of exploring the art galleries and museums in Washington, New York and Chicago. However, from the interview with the occupational therapist in Stockton, it appears that he never left California and lived in Stockton until he returned to Australia. Did he actually visit all those places? Or was the claim merely an expression of his expectations, part of the flamboyancy of his character and tendency to exaggerate? We must remember that he had always been an excellent story-teller. Or was it, perhaps, a leftover of the delusions he had experienced while under treatment in the hospital?

In 1965 Michael Kmit returned to Australia at the urging of his Sydney friends. He married for the second time, had a son, and continued with his painting, although some art critics claim that he never recaptured the fame he had before he went to the United States. Nevertheless, he collected an impressive range of prizes—such as the Melrose Prize and the Newcastle Prize in 1967, the Woollahra Prize in 1968 and, for the second time, the Sulman Prize in 1970.

² Dr Marko Pavlyshyn's interview with Faye Nees-Grisworld, Stockton, California, July 1989.

It may be appropriate at this stage to show some slides of Michael Kmit's work. The extremely limited selection is designed to illustrate some specific points of his art.

The first six slides show pictures of women, a theme most often used by Michael Kmit. It is of such paintings that art critic Tony Trip wrote:

the sooty-eyed sphinx-like Kmit women are a bewitching sisterhood. Their touchingly *démodé* glamour only heightens the timeless quality of their womanliness."³

Allan McCulloch reflected,

Kmit's men and women evoke nostalgic thoughts of Picasso's Blue Period, of the rhythmic subtly modelled heads of Modigliani or of the sensual slightly sinister dancers of Van Dongen. At the same time they have a strangely monastic look, the look of people who live in cells. As paintings they have a haunting beauty. No superfluous details disrupt the central theme of character or disturb the contours of the silhouettes from which most of the pictures derive their structures.⁴

The next five slides can serve to illustrate a comment by Douglas Watson:

He paints as if he were laying a mosaic, small shapes of vibrating colour, one contrasting with the other, almost a jigsaw in its involved technique.⁵

And now we come to the painting, "Edda." It is nearly two meters high. The figure represents Kmit's first wife. It is more than life size. Allan McCulloch called it "monumental":

The monumental work of the show is the large picture "Edda". It embodies a combination rarely seen these days, strong realistic drawing allied to a solid, unifying architecture of abstract form and colour.⁶

James Gleeson characterised the painting as follows:

The art of Michael Kmit has always been able to raise Byzantine ghosts, and the aesthetic splendours of that vanished empire have rarely been more fully materialised than in such a portrait as Edda.⁷

Again I shall use James Gleeson's words to shed light on the

³ *Newcastle Sun*, 22 September 1966.

⁴ *The Herald* (Melbourne), 7 October 1964.

⁵ *Women's Weekly*, 2 June 1961.

⁶ Review of Michael Kmit's exhibition at the Australian Galleries in Melbourne, *The Herald*, 26 May 1965.

⁷ James Gleeson, quoted in an article by Robert Rooney, *The Weekend Australian*, 8-9 October 1988.

next five slides, each showing the human figure in brilliant colours.

The human figure was, and still is, his central motif. Working like a mosaicist with small, irregular areas of colour he often played a cat and mouse game in which the figure is here revealed and there concealed by the apparent vagaries of the pattern. They sometimes suggested damaged icons that had been restored by someone who did not believe in images and had filled in the missing parts with abstract designs that had an independent life of their own. His paintings never lacked unity, but they often created in the spectator a strange compound of ease and tension similar to the sensations aroused by a tightrope walker or a juggler. Despite their obvious skill, you were nagged by the thought that their foot or hand might falter.

Now we come to the painting "The Evangelist John Mark." The painting won the Blake Prize. The judges made the following comments about the painting:

The Evangelist John Mark is indebted as much to Russian icons as it is to the soft colour of painters like Bonnard. The Evangelist is interpreted iconically, gazing beyond the viewer. His right hand is raised in priestly blessing while his left protects the holy book. In his earlier entries Kmit was criticized for the way he had failed to handle background areas. In this painting he has filled almost the entire space with the figure so that the small amount of background can be easily organised with soft, shallow rectangles of colour. Although a more successful painting than his earlier entries, it lacks their sense of excitement and discovery.⁸

The last slide is of the painting "St. George and the Dragon." St. George is the patron saint of the Ukrainian Scouts, and Michael Kmit intended the painting to be used by the scouts as a banner. In the four corners one can see the four Ukrainian letters "C.K.O.B.," with the corresponding four symbols, i.e. an oak leaf for "C" (*syl'no*), which stands for "strength," flowers for "K" (*krasno*), which stands for "bright and beautiful," a ladder for "O" (*oberezhno*), which stands for "careful," and a lightning bolt for "Б" (*bystro*), which represents "swiftness." The four letters form the rallying cry of the Ukrainian Scouts. In the centre is a rather stylized St. George almost in the form of an icon.

This painting can be taken as an indication that Michael Kmit participated in Ukrainian communal life. I was told that he was an active member of the organization of Ukrainian "Kombatanty" or ex-servicemen. I was also told that, on one occasion, accusations

⁸ R. Crumlin, catalogue essay in *The Blake Prize for Religious Art: The First 25 Years* (Melbourne: Monash University Gallery, 1984), p. 10.

were made against him to the effect that he did not acknowledge sufficiently that he was a Ukrainian, to which he replied that his paintings were hanging in galleries throughout the world and that he belonged where his paintings were. "I am internationalist," I was told he used to say, "but if you should ever doubt that I am a Ukrainian, then I tell you that no foreigner could paint such paintings as I do."

"Michael loved to play chess," one of his friends told me, "as long as I was at his place he never picked up a paint brush. Mostly we played chess. One day we played eleven games."

Michael Kmit also loved to play bridge and he could lose over a thousand dollars in one day, but of course he paid for his losses with paintings. Kmit's first wife recollected that once, when she asked him for money to pay a dentist's bill, he gave her two paintings to pay it with.

I spoke to another friend of Michael Kmit's, an artist, who had an abstract painting by Kmit hanging in his house. "When Michael came to my home," he said, "he took the painting off the wall, took my paints and completely re-painted it."

"I was in tears," said the artist's wife, "I liked the painting in its original form, but he would not listen to me. After he left I discovered that the wet paint could be wiped, and restored the original surface. When Michael saw it, he growled and complained but eventually he forgave me."

In an interview with me, Michael Kmit's second wife, Norma, highlighted that to him his paintings were never finished. He would pull out a year-old painting and re-work it. He would take back paintings he had sold and would work on them again. He always had three or four canvases going at the same time, one on the easel and two or three propped against the walls around him. He never sketched, he just applied colour, and while one painting was reaching completion, two or three others had already emerged. In the words of Michael Kmit's first wife, Edda, "we looked at a blank wall, but he saw a painting in it."

In a taped interview Michael Kmit talked about his art as follows:

I found that the subject itself is of no account; what matters is the way it is presented, it is a matter of shapes trapped by the four sides of the canvas. When I start painting I never have a clear vision of what will happen. Painting, in my opinion, is a question of a painter's spiritual destiny and

creative power.

It is quite clear that Michael lived a rather bohemian life. His habit of painting at night, originally imposed on him because he had to do contract work in daytime, continued throughout his life.

John Lapsley in an interview with Michael Kmit, published in *The Australian*, described him as he was five years before his death.

He is an old man now, 66, with a heart condition, and he doesn't think he has long to live. I follow him through the large shambling house, and up the spiral stairs to a room on the second floor. It is untidy—the vaguely methodic untidiness of someone who knows in which heap he's stored something only some of the time. Paint tubes are scattered round, old envelopes with numbers and addresses are strewn on the floor, and there are half-finished paintings everywhere. "I am in a fortunate position. I dream in colours," he says. "My paintings come three quarters out of my head and one quarter from those dreams. It is a question of recognition and rejection of forms. You reject hundreds of unimportant details, and you build the important detail into unified forms."⁹

It was six years before this interview that Michael Kmit had his first heart attack. In the recollection of his widow it did not keep him too long away from his paintings and soon they were standing at Little Bay watching Christo wrapping up the cliffs. Christo used whole islands, and Michael said it was wonderful that an artist could take so much space, that his vision was not restricted by the space of a canvas.

It was in 1978, one year after the interview, that Michael had a heart pacemaker implanted, and three years later, on the 22 May 1981, after his fifth heart attack, he died. Norma Kmit described it to me:

He actually looked as if he was going to sleep. You see, he had been sleeping quite a bit before his final attack. He just lay down on his pillow and said: "It's dark in my eyes," and just left. He did it rather gracefully. Greta Garbo could not have done it better.

⁹ 19 April 1977.

ПЕДАГОГ І ГРОМАДЯНИН: БІОГРАФІЯ ІВАНА РИБЧИНА

Роман Микитович

Наукове Товариство ім. Шевченка в Австралії засновано в Сідней 1950 р. Докладні інформації про діяльність Товариства впродовж перших двадцяти п'яти років його існування подав Степан Радіон.¹ Микитович написав статтю «Про діяльність НТШ в Австралії в роках 1950-1986» для Наукової Ради НТШ і звіт «Наукове Товариство ім. Шевченка в четвертій декаді свого існування в Австралії», який є в посіданні СУОА.

Першим головою Товариства став його ініціатор Є.Ю. Пеленський. По його передчасній смерті 1956 р. головування перебрав П. Шулежко, який виконував цю функцію аж до свого виїзду з Австралії до США.

Третім головою (1961-1979) став І. Рибчин. Біографія цього визначного громадянина мало відома українському загалові, зрештою так, як і біографія інших заслужених осіб. Сьогодні ще пам'ятаємо цих піонерів українського поселення в Австралії, але за кілька років і слід по них загине. Історію їхнього життя вже й сьогодні нелегко написати через брак матеріалів.

У випадку І. Рибчина завдання було менш складне. Для його біографії можна було використати інформації, писані його власною рукою. Це були листи, рукописи доповідей, щоденник, писаний в дорозі з Європи до Австралії, і, що найважливіше, автобіографія, написана його каліграфічною рукою на двадцяти чотирьох сторінках. Ця «коротка автобіографія», з назвою «Моє життя», доведена до 1968 року.

Рибчин ось так почав опис свого життя:

¹ *Нарис історії НТШ в Австралії* (Мельбурн: Крайова управа НТШ, 1976).

Я народився дня 5 вересня 1892 в селі Братишеві, повіт Товмач, Західня Україна (Галичина), як син селянина-середняка. Я був найстарший серед шістьох дітей. Народню школу відвідував у рідному селі (чотири роки) та в поблизькїм містечку Нижневі над Дністром (два роки). За порадою управителя школи Льва Кликайла батько записав мене у вересні 1905 року до української державної гімназії в Станіславові, яка саме тоді була заснована на основі постанови австрійського парламенту...²

Хоч І. Рибчин говорить про українську гімназію, її офіційна назва була «Ц.К. [цїсарсько-королївська] гімназія з рускою мовою викладовою в Станіславові». З такою назвою є і свідоцтво зрілости—з відзначенням, яке одержав І. Рибчин в червні 1913

Директором станіславївської гімназії був тоді д-р Микола Сабат, а поміж учителями було багато осіб, імена яких записані золотими літерами в нашій історії. Деяких із них І. Рибчин перераховує:

Д-р Іван Демянчук, пізніше доцент філології на університеті в Чернівцях (Буковина), Антін Крушельницький, відомий педагог, політик, письменник і критик (замучений більшовиками), д-р Юліян Гірняк, відомий професор фізики і хемії, Василь Пачовський, відомий письменник і поет.

Ці й інші учителі, що їх згадує І. Рибчин в своїй біографії, надхнули своїх учнів бажанням науки, яку можна було поглиблювати надобов'язково самодіяльною працею в «Научнім кружку». За словами І. Рибчина,

Праця в Научнім кружку, а також участь у сходинах тайного гуртка під керівництвом Дмитра Вітовського (пізніше міністра військових справ Західньо-Української Народньої Республіки) і знаменитого літературного критика Миколи Федюшки (Євшана) були доброю школою практичної, суспільної діяльності.

Вже під час гімназійних студій під впливом своїх учителів та деяких ровесників І. Рибчин часто виголошував доповіді поза школою. Одним із перших його виступів відбувся 1913 р. на академії на пошану композитора Миколи Лисенка у згаданому вже містечку

² Тут і далі в цитованих текстах збережено мову і правопис рукопису.

Нижневі над Дністром.

І. Рибчин згадує в своїй автобіографії, що «матеріальні обставини в моїй родині не були вдовольняючі, тому я був змушений заробляти на своє удержання приватними лекціями. Так було на протязі моїх гімназійних і університетських студій». Але в матеріальних злиднях він не жив.

У 1911 р. Рибчин відвідав Італію в гурті вчителів і учнів під проводом шкільного інспектора д-ра Івана Копача, відомого суспільного діяча, пізніше професора Львівського університету та дійсного члена НТШ, і директора М. Сабата. Ця подорож мала великий вплив на формування світогляду молодого гімназиста. Він пише:

Учасники звиділи тоді головні місця класичних пам'яток архітектури, різьби, малярства не тільки в Італії, але теж і в Австро-Угорщині. Авдієнція у тодішнього папи Пія Х, нещодавно проголошеного святим, зробила на нас усіх незатерте враження.

Тим, хто ознайомилися в Австралії з діяльністю І. Рибчина, з його ідеями, висловлюваними в численних доповідях і статтях; тим, хто бачили його зацікавлення церквою та його відданість праці і науці, ясно, що його світогляд сформувався вже в гімназійному доквіллі.

Перший рік університетських студій І. Рибчин провів в німецькому університеті в Чернівцях. Тут він слухав лекції з класичної філології, філософії, психології, логіки, історії та української мови і літератури. Професором української мови і літератури був тоді відомий мовознавець професор Степан Смаль-Стоцький, батько професора Романа Смаль-Стоцького, в наш час президента Головної Ради НТШ. В Чернівцях І. Рибчин був членом управи студентського товариства «Січ».

Коли вибухла Перша світова війна, І. Рибчин як доброволець вступив до Українських Січових Стрільців. Пройшов вишкіл, та через стан здоров'я його звільнили з військової служби. Тоді, завдяки Українському допомоговому комітетові, Рибчин в 1915 р. виїхав до Відня продовжувати університетські студії. Там рівночасно він брав активну участь і в українському студентському житті як член товариства «Січ» і хору.

Виступав теж як декляматор і виголошував доповіді.

В березні 1917 р. І. Рибчин здав іспит з філософії та педагогіки у Віденському університеті, а в жовтні, після звільнення Галичини від росіян, повернувся до Станиславова і став працювати в гімназії, з якої сам вийшов.

Та скоро прийшов 1918 рік, світлий період в історії України. Про це ось так згадує І. Рибчин:

У Львові українське суспільство, а особливо його найбільш патріотична частина від керівництвом полковника Дмитра Вітовського та інших, гарячково приготувалось до обняття влади. Ми в Станиславові та інших провінційальних містах були в порозумінні з львівським проводом.

День 1-го листопада 1918—історичний зрив західньої частини українського народу до самостійного державного життя—викликав скрізь небувалий ентузіазм. Влада на просторі Східньої Галичини перейшла спонтанно в українські руки. В Станиславові утворилася місцева Українська Національна Рада.

Деякий час я був одним із секретарів місцевої Української Національної Ради, а опісля редактором дневника «Нове життя». В січні 1919 я вступив до Української Галицької Армії (УГА) та був придлений як підхорунжий до Заграничної Місії полковника Івана Коссака, який виїхав до Риму, щоби вести переговори з урядом Італії в справі виїзду бувших австрійських полонених української національності з Італії на Україну.

Італійське представництво в Відні робило мені труднощі і допустило до Італії тільки двох чільних представників української місії. Тому я перейшов до місії Червоного Хреста УНР, під головуванням полковника Окопенка.

Моїм новим місцем праці був Лінц в Горішній Австрії, а опісля Інсбрук в Тиролі. Там я опікувався українцями, які поверталися з Італії і Франції. Моїми шефами були—сот. Кириця, лікарка д-р Марітчак, а вкінці лікар д-р Вербенець. Деякий час я редагував в Лінцу разом з пор. Потураєм інформатичний листок для наших поворотців. Після того, як всі наші полонені залишили Італію і Францію (1920), праця місії Українського Червоного Хреста закінчилася.

Двадцятивосьмилітній І. Рибчин переїхав тоді до Відня продовжувати свої студії, які завершив докторатом з філософії і психології на тему: *Wesen und tragische*

Wirkungen des individuellen und symbiotischen Strebens («Сутність і трагічні наслідки індивідуального та симбіотичного стремління»). Цю працю захистив з відзначенням.

В архіві Крайової управи НТШ в Австралії знаходиться диплом філософії Рибчина, виданий Віденським університетом 9 грудня 1921 р.

В січні 1921 І. Рибчин повернувся на рідну землю, що була вже під польською окупацією, і спочатку (з 1922) працював у Станиславові учителем в державній гімназії з українською мовою навчання. У вересні 1924 його перевели до державної гімназії з польською мовою навчання. Там він працював аж до вересня 1939. Крім цього, Рибчин працював як дохідний учитель у двох дівочих українських приватних гімназіях (Рідної школи і сестер Василянок), та в німецькій приватній гімназії євангелицької громади.

Під час свого вісімнадцятилітнього перебування в Станиславові (1922-39), поряд з педагогічною працею І. Рибчин брав активну участь в громадському житті. Він був членом управ товариств «Рідна школа» і «Просвіта», а від 1923 до 1934 був головою філії «Учительської громади». У тому часі заходами Учительської громади в селі Ямна біля Яремча збудовано велику вакаційну оселю «Маковицю».

І. Рибчин був головою Театру ім. Івана Тобілевича в Станиславові в 1923-24 рр. За той час поставлено п'єси: «Любов» А. Вільдганса (в перекладі Рибчина), «Суєта» і «Житейське море» І. Тобілевича та «Брехня» В. Винниченка. Рибчин часто згадує про своє зацікавлення театром, хороваю музикою та рецитаціями.

На прохання Учительської громади і Товариства ім. Петра Могили, як теж і з власної ініціативи, І. Рибчин виголошував доповіді для ширших кругів громадянства. Серед тем доповідей були «Цар Едіп і трагізм», «Філософія Фрідріха Ніцше», «Соціалізм у старині і новітніх часах», «Соціяльна філософія», «Мислителі старої Греції», «Філософія Сократа і Платона», «Григорій Сковорода». Замилування доповіданням І. Рибчин зберіг до останніх днів свого життя.

В періоді 1921-1939 деякі його статті появилися друком: «Михайло Драгоманів як історик і соціолог» в студентському журналі *На переломі* (Відень, 1921), «Вільгельм Єрузалем як філософ і психолог» в часописі *Діло*. Інші статті друкувались в тижневиках *Український прапор* і *Станиславський прапор*.

З приходом більшовиків до Галичини в 1939 І. Рибчина відразу призначено на працю в шкільнім інспектораті:

З тої праці большевики звільнили мене після двох місяців за гостру критику неправильностей і несправедливого розподілу взуття для шкільної молоді більшовицькими властями. Цій критиці піддав я потягнення більшовиків на січневій конференції, у якій взяло участь приблизно 600 учителів та учительок.

Рибчин «прорахувався»: це трапилось півсотні років перед періодом гласности. Його перевели спершу на посаду директора української середньої школи, а опісля— на пост голови польської середньої школи.

В червні 1941 прийшла німецька окупаційна армія і влада... Під час постою мадярських військ наступило проголошення самостійности Української Держави... Національна Рада покликала мене до праці в окружній шкільній раді. На становищі інспектора я залишився і після обняття влади німцями. Як відомо, праця в умовах, які створила німецька окупаційна влада згідно з жорсткою ідеологією Гітлера, змагаючи до екстермінації провідної української верстви та інших націй Східної Європи, була дуже тяжка. Наш крайшкульрат був ноторичний п'яниця і ми, чотири українські шкільні інспектори, мусіли бути дуже обережні, щоб не помандрувати в підвалини Гестапо.

Не зважаючи на ті труднощі, ми змогли розбудувати дуже широку мережу українського народного (початкового і середнього) шкільництва, а також промислово-торговельного. Треба ствердити, що сотні учителів українських шкіл працювали в роках 1941-44 з великою посвятою при величезних харчових, житлових та технічних труднощах.

Після сталінградської поразки німецької армії, терор німецької влади посилювався до небувалих розмірів... страшне пригноблення і жах лягли на все українське громадянство, на вчительство і

шкільну молодь... кожного вечора Гестапо оголошувало прізвища розстріляних закладників. Були це жахливі дні...

Та страх перед сталінським терором був ще жахливіший. 20 липня 1944 І. Рибчин покинув рідну сторону і після довгої, повної неприємностей і небезпек, подорожі опинився у Сирії, Австрія, де в місті Фельдбах працював в земельному управлінні до серпня 1945 р.

Після закінчення війни І. Рибчин як знавець мов працював три роки в цензурному відділі. Однак ця праця не давала йому задоволення, тому 1948 він вирішив здобути в університеті Грацу ступінь доцента. Його габілітаційна праця мала назву *Socialpsychische Dynamik des ukrainischen Kosakentums* («Соціально-психологічна динаміка українського козацтва»).

Цю працю прийняв філософський факультет, а після цього, як пише Іван Рибчин,

я мав пробний виклад на тему «Das ukrainische Kosakentum bei Gogol» [«Українське козацтво в Гоголя»]. На тому викладі, який відкрив декан філософічного факультету ... були присутні численні професори Грацького університету та українські і австрійські студенти... Факультет надав мені титул доцента для історії і соціології східних слов'ян...

В Граці І. Рибчин теж знайшов час для громадської праці. В автобіографії, в розділі «Суспільна і педагогічна праця в Грацу в Сирії», він подає ось такі інформації:

В Грацу я брав участь у таких імпрезах: а) в концерті в честь Тараса Шевченка в Stephanie Saal, на якому виголосив німецькою і українською мовами доповідь «Тарас Шевченко і душа українського народу», б) виголосив доповідь в радіостанції «Alpensender» «Taras Schevtschenko der grösste Dichter der Ukraine» [«Тарас Шевченко—найбільший поет України»], в) доповіді в Українській Громаді, г) доповіді в Товаристві Прихильників Української Науки. [І. Рибчин був головою цього Товариства—Р.М.]

Педагогічна діяльність

а) На протязі двох років викладав як лектор в Інституті для перекладачів при Славістичному Відділі Університету Грацу термінологію в ділянці суспільного, правничого і адміністраційного життя в українській, польській та німецькій мовах. Іспитував кандидатів на перекладчиків. б) Був управителем українських

гімназійних курсів в Грацу, на протязі одного року.

Та в повоєнній Австрії не було місця для наукового біженця, навіть з австрійськими кваліфікаціями. І. Рибчин був змушений виїхати з Європи. До Австралії прибув 7 листопада 1950 з жінкою і сином. Його спонсорами були дочка Іванна і зять Богдан. Він мав тоді 58 років, а до Австралії приймали емігрантів, поручених Міжнародною Організацією для Втікачів—IRO (International Refugee Organization), яким було менше 45 років.

Перших чотири тижні Рибчин провів у переходовому таборі в Бонегіллі, Вікторія, а згодом переїхав до Сіднею. Там спершу влаштувався на роботу прибиральника в артилерійській школі (School of Artillery, North Head, Manly), а опісля в шпиталі (Manly Warringah District Hospital).

Тільки в січні 1952, на поручення свого приятеля з переходового табору в Німеччині (в Бремені), колишнього декана філософського факультету університету в Ризі, Латвія, професора Павла Юревича, дістав працю вчителя в англійській школі св. Павла у Волла Волла (Walla Walla) біля Олбюрі (Albury), 600 кілометрів на південь від Сіднею.

Ізоляція в австралійському буші і віддалення від родини та української громади не були приємними для Рибчина, але кращих можливостей він не мав. У листі від 20 днютого 1954 до Є. Ю. Пеленського він писав:

29 січня 8.15 рано ми обоє з жінкою виїхали до неінтересної, нудної Валля. Праця у школі в цьому році ще тяжча, ніж у минулих роках, бо кількість учнів зросла з 60 до 90. Особливо кляси, в яких я викладаю історію і географію, дуже численні як на дотепершні відносини по 37 учнів. Германістичні кляси менші, по 7-10 учнів. На наукову працю залишається дуже мало часу.

Умови дещо покращали, коли в 1957 Рибчин став працювати в приватній середній школі в Сіднеї (Wenona Girls College, North Sydney). Там він залишився до грудня 1961. Та в 1968, вже сімдесятшестилітній, Рибчин ще вчив латинську мову в одній з сіднейських приватних шкіл (St. Scholastica's College, Glebe Point).

І. Рибчин вже в 1951 включився в працю НТШ Австралії. Хоч жив далеко від Сіднею, він старався брати участь в наукових і адміністративних засіданнях в часі шкільних вакацій. Більш інтенсивна була його праця на полі НТШ, коли, пішовши на емеритуру, став головою (1961-70). Цей період його діяльності добре удокументований у вищезгаданій публікації Радіона (1976). За головування І. Рибчина, 1965 р., засновано два нові Осередки праці, а саме в Мельборні і в Аделаїді. І. Рибчин був обраний дійсним членом НТШ в 1963 р.

І. Рибчин був членом стейтової Шкільної ради Нової Південної Валії та одним із директорів Української Щадничої Кооперативи в Сіднеї.

Інформації, подані вище,—це дещо скорочена біографія Івана Рибчина. Це ті факти, про які він сам бажав повідомити зацікавлених. Він інформував не лише про себе самого, а рівночасно про добу, в якій він жив. Більше інформацій про його особу можна знайти в його статтях і п'ятидесятисторінковому щоденнику, писаному під час подорожі з Європи до Австралії.

Іван Рибчин був передусім педагогом. Він більше як півстоліття (60-65 років) був учителем, бо вже в гімназійному періоді свого життя давав лекції молодшим товаришам. Навчав він не лише школярів, а також і широкі кола співгромадян.

Він доповідав з наймолодшого віку (з 1913). Тематика доповідей була пов'язана з його професійною спеціалізацією в ділянці соціопсихології. Наприклад, в Сіднеї він виголосив такі реферати: «Динаміка емоцій і почувань у відносинах між поляками та українцями в козацькій добі», «Вплив природи на вдачу українця», «Філософія щастя» та «Значення філософії для розвитку соціальних почувань». Стаття «Психосоціальне обличчя українського поселення в Австралії»—це причинок І. Рибчина до книги *Українці в Австралії* (1966). Павло Богацький, літературний критик, дійсний член НТШ, так схарактеризував в листі від 5 грудня 1961 до Головної ради НТШ наукову працю Рибчина: «Автор у своїй габілітаційній студії 1949 одним з перших в українській

соціологічній та філософській літературі звернув увагу на важливість соціо-психологічного підходу до історичних подій в теперішньому і минулому, на зв'язок геопсихічних чинників і на динамізм емоцій і почувань мас та індивідуальностей».

Несприятливі умови не дозволили Іванові Рибчину— зрештою, як і багатьом іншим працівникам пера в Австралії—друкувати своїх чисельних студій і наукових розвідок. В своєму зверненні до суспільності під назвою «Необхідність організованої наукової і видавничої праці в Австралії» Рибчин між іншим писав:

Мимо несприятливих умовин, наша інтелігенція, згуртована в НТШ, працює наполегливо і створила вже ряд поважних творів, які, на жаль, в більшості залишаються в рукописах, бо немає фондів, щоб їх видати... Хочемо надіятися, що всі наші свідомі громадяни в Австралії підтримають справу створення Центрального Видавничого Фонду.

Заклик І. Рибчина, кинений 20 років тому, ще сьогодні актуальний. Цю саму проблему і низку інших дискутував І. Рибчин в рукописі «Многочисленні завдання прихильників західної культури взагалі, а української зокрема, в Австралії» (червень 1968). В заключенні до цієї статті він пише:

У нас в Австралії є всі дані для того, щоб належно виконати багаточисленні завдання для угрунтування і поширення пізнання української культури серед нашої спільноти і запізнати з її найкращими проявами і самих австралійців, і наших сусідів імігрантів з інших країв. Потрібна тільки єдність і згода людей доброї волі...

В цій самій статті він подає деякі джерела, з яких черпав напрямні для міркувань на тему культури: «Найшляхетніший квіт культури виростає на ґрунті християнства у вселенському (екуменічному) значенні», писав він, тож не диво, що був він практикуючим християнином і радив «вглибитися в духа української нації, та шляхом критичної аналізи його історичного розвитку збагнути можливі чи потенціальні стежки його ходу в майбутнє з Христом як осередковим ядром сили ідеї».

Релігійність виражена в багатьох рукописах, що їх залишив Рибчин. Його найбільшим бажанням було

виховати і зберегти молодь в дусі національно-християнських ідей. В манускрипті «Філософія етичного поступування» І. Рибчин підкреслив чотири принципи поведінки, які тим, що знали автора, нагадують його самого. Перший принцип—це бути свідомим завдання, яке маємо виконати відносно інших людей. Другий—це вибирати засоби, які дозволяють виконати це завдання. Третій—бути свідомим своєї відповідальності. Четвертий принцип—бути переконаним, що, діючи етично, ми поступаємо згідно з Божою волею.

Іван Рибчин був людиною ніжної вдачі, джентельменом. Це можна відчутти, перечитуючи його листи і до чужих осіб у ділових справах, і до членів його найближчої родини. В листі від 20 лютого 1954 до д-ра Є.Ю. Пеленського, який був набагато молодший за Івана Рибчина і, до речі, професійним стажем (за галицькими уявленнями) нижчий, Рибчин писав:

Буду щасливий, коли одержу від
Високоповажаних і Дорогих Панства відповідь на
цього листа.

Тим часом шлю щирий привіт, уціловання
рук Вельмишановним Паням, та сердечний привіт
Дорогій Панні Ладі та Впов. панові Прокопові
[двадцятилітній тоді дочці Пеленських та її
нареченому—Р.М.]

Щиро Вам відданий
Іван Рибчин

Тут спостерігаються форми австрійсько-галицької етикетки, які були характерні для І. Рибчина. В тому самому листі він писав:

Високоповажани і Дорогі Пані Магістер і Пане
Доценте!

Перш усього бажаю зложити Вам сердечну
подяку за ласкаву щирю гостину і нічліг того
дня, коли п. Масляк відчитував свою п'єсу. Був
це дійсно настроєвий вечір, коли і почування
мистецьких переживань і ясність розумової
критики доходили до свого голосу. А це все
треба завдячувати тій милій атмосфері, яку
Дорогі Панство враз з Вашою родиною вмісте
створити у Вашій привітній домівці.

Зокрема коли переглядати щоденник, що його Рибчин писав в дорозі до Австралії і в якому він описує враження, викликані поведінкою співпасажирів,

переважно простих, малоосвічених людей, можна відчутти, що був людиною лагідною, часом до перечулення.

Він теж переживав негативні зміни в поведінці учнів, викликані «модерними» напрямками в сучасному суспільстві. Він писав: «з критичної обсервації того, що навкруги нас діється, наша молодь повинна поробити логічні висновки, а саме, що їм не по дорозі з тими дикунами, які мають зухвалість звати себе «культурними революціонерами» (1968).

Використовуючи матеріали, які збереглися в архіві НТШ Австралії, можна було б поширити біографію І. Рибчина. Та вже на підставі поданих тут інформацій ясно, що І. Рибчин був непересічним громадянином. В його біографії віддзеркалюється історія однієї вітки українського народу. Він жив у періоді великих змін на західноукраїнських землях, в час, коли формувалася наша національна ідентичність. Він ходив до гімназії «з рускою мовою викладовою», а вчителем був уже в українських середніх школах.

Рибчин був не тільки свідком, а й співучасником цього важливого процесу. Думки, які він висловлював у своїх публікаціях і доповідях, були не просто його особисті. Вони належали також і особам, які творили нашу новітню історію. Ці одиниці виховували його, а згодом він став їхнім співробітником і сіячем їх ідей. Тому, що ці історичні постаті нам добре відомі, відчувається, що й Іван Рибчин нам близький.

Ми щасливі, що тут, на цьому ізольованому континенті, опинився поміж нами Іван Рибчин, бо він символічно зв'язав нашу громаду з народом, з якого ми вийшли, та його минулим. Рибчин був справжнім патріотом. Ціле його життя було тісно зв'язане з рідною землею. Під датою 6 жовтня 1950 він писав у своєму щоденнику : «Працання з Європою було дуже сумне. Чомусь пригадалась мені левада у рідному селі Братишеві в Товмацькому повіті в Галичині. Жаль, що вже не побачу того дорогого мені маленького закутка над Дністром».

Думками Рибчин завжди був у рідній землі, якій

присвятив безкорисно свою енергію. В неділю 5 листопада 1950, сидючи на палубі корабля, він писав: «В п'ятницю ми вперше побачили західні береги Австралії; вони частинно скалисті з великими смугами білого піску, частинно більш плоскі. Подекуди видніють ліси». Без сумніву, це був для нього цілковито новий, незнаний краєвид-обрій, образ якого поглиблював турботу п'ятидесятилітньої людини про непевне майбутнє в країні нового поселення і пробуджував роздумування про життя:

Читаю новелю Вашингтона Ірвінга п.з. «Voyage». Тема: подорож пасажирським кораблем через Атлантийський океан. Чудовий опис моря та таємниць його глибин. Рефлексії: з приводу зауваження решток розбитого бурею судна. Де поділась його залога після нерівної боротьби зі стихією? Їхні кости, каже автор, біліють мабуть в нетрях морського дна... Мимоволі зродилась в моїй уяві думка, що і нас, скитальців, стріне така ж мовчанка і забуття після нашої смерти серед австралійського піскового моря. Чи згадає нас хто з наших рідних і друзів та їхніх нащадків на нашій чудовій Україні? Чи поховані на австралійській землі утонемо повністю в морі забуття і ніхто ніколи не дізнається, де спочили наші кости, ніхто не прийде помолитися на наших загублених безслідно в австралійських пісках гробах. Такі і подібні рефлексії будилися в моїй уяві, чим ближче під'їздили ми до берегів Австралії...

Іван Рибчин даремно турбувався на палубі корабля, який віз його до Австралії 1950 р. Після писання цих рядків він прожив і потрудився для дорогої йому справи ще двадцять років. Помер Іван Рибчин 17 січня 1970 в Сіднеї, а в двадцяту річницю його смерти згадуємо його, вдячні за його працю для громади.

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МІЙ ПРИЇЗД В АВСТРАЛІЮ (СПОГАД ПРО ПЕРШІ ПЕРЕЖИВАННЯ)

Степан Радіон

По двадцятьчотирьохденній подорожі пароплавом «Скаурум» з Неаполю (Італія) до Мельборну, я був дуже вдоволений, що тій «гойдалці» врешті прийшов кінець, так вона мені остогидла. Цілу дорогу дружина, донька та синок хворіли на морську хворобу. Через те не мав часу навіть по-людському розглянутися на небуденні морські дива—як табуни великої риби то виринали, то зникали в безмежних глибинах сумного Індійського океану. І гурми малої літаючої рибки, яка, виринаючи з води, підлітала, щось хапала, а потім знову зникала під водою.

Я весь час носився з двоохлітнім Юрком, який не переставав хворіти. Я лише інколи кидав оком на безмежну хвилюючу воду та іноді ввечері дивися на німий фільм про Австралію, що його висвітлював високий, з однією рукою, представник Австралії на кораблі.

До мельборнського порту «Скаурум» причалив 30 липня 1949 року. Я зідхнув з полегшенням, що пекло подорожі скінчилося. Дружина з донькою зразу стали здорові. Тільки синок ще не приходив уповні до здоров'я. То був холодний захмарений день. Нас із пароплава перевели в особові вагони й повезли далі залізницею до Бонегілі.

Поїзд виїжджав з мільйонного міста Мельборну, а я крізь вікно приглядався до неохайного вигляду подвір'їв високих і малих домів. Якись безладно понаставлювані будки й будочки зі старої поржавілої драбинчастої (корагейтед) бляхи, всяких дощинок, що ледве трималися купи. А за середмістям не відривав очей від безлічі чепурних і чудових віллів. За містом дивився на розлогі сірі пасовища, одні порожні, на інших були вівці, худоба та де-не-де хатина. Обгорілі в пожарах гамтрі,

біля них високі пеньки, дуплаві догниваючі колоди з цурупалками гілля навколо них та сумні де-не-де дерева евкаліптів, як сироти, стояли по безмежних просторах як сягає людське око.

Для українця, що виріс на лоні чудової рівнинно-горбкуватої чи гірської, лісної чи степової природи України, австралійські простори викликали непринадне, а то й пригноблююче враження.

У Бонегіллі нас порозміщували в довгих, як стайні, бляшаних бараках. А бараків тих без числа навколо і всі вони однаковісінькі: довгі, прямокутні, назовні оббиті «корагатною» (драбинастою) пристарілою цинковою бляхою. Поміж бараками то тут, то там були розкидані порослі, неначе нахмарені, евкаліпти.

У бараці, до якого я попав, було шістнадцять родин з дітьми. Люди ж не худоба, мають свої інтимні справи та потреби... Тому наші страждальники відразу поробили в бараці з коців перегородки. Зарядження було розміщувати мужчин окремо до одних бараків, а жінок з малими дітьми—до других. Однак, майже ніхто розпорядження не послухав. Кожен чоловік зносив свої речі до жіночого барака й там влаштувався з жінкою та дітьми разом. Оце відокремлювання жінок від чоловіків було хто знає ким придуманим кпинням над скитальцями, так, як це було на пароплаві; жінки з дітьми в кабінах в одному кінці пароплаву, а чоловіки в другому. Це саме хотіли застосувати також у таборі в Бонегіллі. На пароплаві, залякані своєю безправністю, діпісти й не збиралися протестувати проти такого зарядження. А в Бонегіллі всі просто те зарядження зігнорували. Адміністрація табору прийняла те мовчки до відома.

Так почали ми наше скитальче життя далеко від світу. Був серпень, але ночі були з приморозками, і в бляшаному бараці без внутрішніх стін було дуже холодно.

Другого дня директор табору скликав нас усіх, що приїхали пароплавом «Скаурум», до таборової залі для церемоніальних прийнят. Як звичайно, він приязно вітав нас усіх з приїздом на поселення в Австралії. Потім

у промові підкреслив таку «приємну» для нас потіху: «Ми, очевидно, найбільше зацікавлені вашими дітьми. Вони бо, виростаючи тут, стануть справжніми австралійцями!..» Отже, виходило, що ми, батьки своїх дітей, були для Австралії чимось якби непотрібними додатками до дітей... Звичайно, що таке «миле і чистосердечне прийняття» нас тут кожного вразило й сильно пригнобило. Адже кожен політичний емігрант залишив свій край в любові до нього, а не для пошуків за щастям, за ліпшим життям. Він шукав кутка на землі, де б він міг жити, почуваячись частиною свого поневоленого народу, помагати боротись далі за його визволення. А тут, на тобі, вимагають, щоб ти попросився зі своєю батьківщиною і забув її. «Не так сталось, як бажалось... Не туди я попав» думав я, ідучи зі зібрання до бараку. І я жалів, що не поїхав до США. А нагоду мав, коли проходив лікарські комісії у Фалінгбостелі, ба навіть одержав афідавіт до Америки. Шкодував, але пропало. Замість Америки маю Австралію, до якої чомусь в останній момент потягнуло.

Погані барачні умови стали сприяти дитячим хворобам. Незабаром вибухла між дітьми скарлятина й дизентерія, на яку в короткому часі померло тринадцять дітей.

У таборі постав переполох. Батьки малих дітей хотіли якнайшвидше вирватись з родинами з табору на працю. Та ба, нікому не можна було шукати працю на власну руку. Треба було ждати, поки уряд праці призначить на роботу, де він хоче, для відбуття дворічного контракту. А уряд праці не міг зразу всіх людей порозсилати на працю, бо не було транспорту. Тоді саме розпалився страйк австралійських вуглекопів, і не було чим льокомотив гнати. Залізниця були мало що не мертвими. «Не повезло нам і тут», думав я.

Так минали дні за днями, а там і тижні. Їсти було в таборі піддостатком, натомість грошей бракувало. А їх кожен потребував на багато дечого поза їжею. Я одержував 12 шілінгів і 6 пеннів на тиждень як решту від харчування з допомоги безробітним.

«Ну й попали ж ми!» я думав, коли тільки прокидався зі сну в холодному бляшаному бараці. А

кукабари на евкаліптах біля бараків, як на зло, як тільки заводилося на Божий день, наче сміялися з нас, чи одна з одної. І то, як на якесь нещастя, злітались вони до наших бараків і одна перед другою якнайголосніше скреготали й верещали. Цікаво, що цей дразливий вереск (ну, якби хто збирався їх різати) незнаной нам тутешньої птиці австралійці з любов'ю називають сміхом кукабари. (Сьогодні то й ми так сприймаємо!) Ми ж одразу іронічно називали їх «австралійськими соловейками».

У нас в Україні на Волині раненько, зі світанком дня, розлягався приємний, душевний збудник симфонією співу пташні та їх короля співу—соловейка. А тут могильна тиша перервана верескливим криком—сміхом кукабари. Це ніби для заспокоєння наших нервів, розшарпаних воєнними подіями в Європі, в атмосфері бомб і гестапівсько-енкаведівського терору та щоденних розстрілів населення по обох боках німецько-советського фронту.

Так далі минали тижні. Праці не було. Кукабари верещать. Моє вухо до їхнього сміху ніяк не призвичаюється. А тут тобі не раз, як нечиста сила, настирливо докучає питання: «Чого ти сюди приїхав? Приїхав, щоб слухати отого реготання кукабари, подивляти «красу» австралійської пустелі?» Я мовчав і, набравшись терпеливості, чекав на зміну нашого невідрадного положення, чекав на виїзд куди-небудь на роботу.

На початку жовтня 1949 року представник залізниць стейту Вікторія набрав на роботу кількадесят робітників, а між них попав і я. По лікарській комісії 7 жовтня ми виїхали до Мельборну. А звідам розіслали нас по всіх закутках Вікторії. Найбільше поїхало на будову при подвоюванні залізниці Гіпсленду.

По дорозі з Данденонгу до Сейл і Нова-Нова ми групками лишались по станціях. Одні залишились у Варагулі, інші в Ярагоні, а ще інші—в Моє. Я попав до Ярагону. Там з 7 жовтня 1949 року я став накінець на працю.

Як ми тут тепер даємо собі раду, як організуємось, як дбаємо про своїх дітей, щоб вони росли, вчилися та

пам'ятали про Україну й помагали їй визволитися—
подам іншим разом.

Ярагон, Гіпсленд, 15 грудня 1949 року.

Постскрипtum: тепер ми зжилися з оточенням австралійської природи й англомовним оточенням, то й кукабара є вже австралійським «соловейком». Для першопоселенців в Австралії, певне, нецікаво навіть згадувати початкові враження з Австралії. Але нашій зміні, яка є організатором і душею цієї конференції, і наступним поколінням це напевно буде потрібне. Бо у тих початкових враженнях вони знайдуть причини того, що перші поселенці створили тут в Австралії.

THE FIFTH WORLD

Kateryna Olijnyk Longley

The Western practice of numbering worlds is a convenient shorthand not just for identifying them but also for putting them on a scale of economic and political power.¹ The terms are vague and sweeping, just as the even broader labels of East and West are, and like those, they provide a cover for all kinds of stereotyping and othering. As an immigrant Ukrainian who had, by the age of five years, lived in Poland, Germany, Italy and Australia, I was for many years totally baffled by the terms East and West, globally applied. East of where? On the spherical surface of the South Australian Brighton Primary School library globe of the world I found no more answers than I did on a tennis ball. It was only after years of history, literature and even mathematics lessons, years of kings and queens, daffodils and glades, links, chains and perches, that I grew to understand where the bearings were all taken from, but even then the recognition came so imperceptibly that it simply became part of what I knew and worked from even though it always remained a puzzling arbitrary thing rather than the permanent given that it was presented as. Similarly the world numbering system seeps into people's vision, colouring their ways of mapping worlds and placing themselves in relation to others. For postwar immigrants here, as in other countries, there was a special dilemma highlighted by these labels that conveniently defined the world for those who gave themselves the power of naming and numbering. It was that they seemed to belong to no category at all.

Now, half a century after so much of the physical remapping was done, all the labels are coming unstuck. In using the term "Fifth World" for postwar immigrants it is my aim to:

1. create a stronger communal identity for a vast world-scattered migrant population of disempowered people who have lost their

¹ This paper was earlier published in Sneja Gunew and Kateryna O. Longley, eds., *Striking Chords: Multicultural Literary Interpretations* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1992), pp. 19-28.

cultural, linguistic and political base. The words "immigrant" and "migrant," by referring to the moment of displacement, implicitly define people as *not* belonging where they are and also as on the move.

2. dislodge further the hierarchical scale and geographical basis of numbering worlds by showing *all* such worlds to be regrouping and changing, with shifting patterns of power born of very specific historical circumstances.

3. by means of the broad fifth world framework, to provide a stronger structure for specific groups to be separately recognized, just as the term "fourth world" allows this to happen for indigenous colonized people.

But first, let's take a look at the origins of the existing terms. Wolf-Phillips traces the history of "third world" usage back to 1952 in France.² From the beginning the idea of a "third force" was implied, a non-aligned world that could add weight to the "fulcrum" of the balance of power, a group of nations that could wedge themselves between the first (Western capitalist) and second (communist) positions. There is no doubt that, as it was first conceived, the very process of naming was seen as an empowering act which gave solidarity to previously scattered and voiceless groups and made them visible in the U.S./U.S.S.R.-dominated world arena. However, as with all acts of naming, the other side of the coin is the danger of homogenizing diverse interests and ideologies under the one bland heading. This is an inescapable problem and one which is faced by women's movements, black power movements and, inevitably, all movements, since the interests of the group can never satisfy all individual interests.

Representing those who oppose the linking of a hugely diverse group under a single sign is Shiva Naipaul, who wrote in 1985,

The Third World is a form of bloodless universality that robs individuals and societies of their particularity... Blandly, to subsume, say, Ethiopia, India, and Brazil under the one banner of Third Worldhood is as absurd and denigrating as the old assertion that all Chinese people look alike. People only look alike when you can't be bothered to look at them closely... a Third World does not exist as such... it has no collective and consistent identity except in the newspapers and amid the pomp and splendour of international conferences... The idea of a Third World, despite its congenial simplicity, is

² Wolf-Phillips, "Why 'Third World'? Origin, Definition and Usage," *Third World Quarterly*, 9(1987), No. 4.

too shadowy to be of any use.³

It is impossible not to agree with Shiva Naipaul's comments at one level, but I believe it can be a greater danger to be without any name at all or with a denigrating name, such as "refugee," or "displaced person," or "under-developed country," all terms that emphasize vulnerability in relation to the naming authority. If these labels can be shaken off by using a stronger and broader banner, there is little to lose and much that may be gained, especially now, at this extraordinary moment in history, when even the entrenched first and second world positions are beginning to lose their distinguishing features. It is worth remembering that the word "black," while totally insensitive to individual differences, has been a powerful tool precisely because it has submerged differences that no-one denies.

In numbering systems the idea of a hierarchy is almost impossible to avoid, but, as with the words "black" or "woman," there is no reason why hierarchies, like binaries, need to hold their traditional positions. In fact, the act of creating new groupings that do not conform to traditional world power groupings has the effect of destabilizing the mythology of the original set, just as the contemporary use of "Fourth World" as something other than "worse off even than Third" has already done. There is a major Fourth World conference being organised in the U.S., and this will further consolidate that term's usage for indigenous or native peoples colonized in their own countries and now forming links world-wide. That does not mean that Fourth World people have to subsume their specific ethnic and local allegiances to the wider group; that would be to lose the very thing that world-wide linking enables: solidarity which recognizes and respects difference. This is not to say that the problems of difference are solved by such linking, but simply that they can be confronted more positively under the pressure of common cross-cultural goals. In all cases, self-definition can only be a strategically shifting process, not a fixed mark, whether it is the whole group that we are considering or its countless subsets. In this context, it is worth recalling Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's comment to Black Independent Film-Makers in London on the dangers of world-wide grouping and naming:

You are diasporic Blacks in Britain, and you are connecting to

³ Naipaul, "The Myth of the Third World: A Thousand Million Invisible Men," *The Spectator* (London), 18 May 1985, quoted in Wolf-Phillips, p. 1314.

the local lines of resistance in Britain, and you are therefore able to produce a certain idiom of resistance; but don't forget the Third World at large, where you won't be able to dissolve everything into Black against White, as there is also Black against Black, Brown against Brown, and so on.⁴

In spite of such dilemmas as micro/macro and specificity/homogeneity, and in spite of early derogatory connotations, the term Third World, like the term Black, has been enabling. As Trinh T. Minh-ha has argued,

Exploited, looked down upon, and lumped together in a convenient term that denies their individualities, a group of "poor" (nations), having once sided with neither of the dominating forces, has slowly learned to turn this denial to the best account. "The Third World to Third World peoples" thus becomes an empowering tool, and one which politically includes all non-whites in their solidarist struggle against all forms of Western dominance.... What is at stake is not only the hegemony of Western cultures, but also their identities as unified cultures. Third World dwells on diversity; so does First World... The West is painfully made to realize the existence of a Third World in the First World, and vice-versa. The Master is bound to recognize that His Culture is not as homogeneous, as monolithic as He believed it to be. He discovers, with much reluctance, He is just an other among others.⁵

Fourth World, on the other hand, is seen by Trinh T. Minh-ha as a disabling label, designating "a Third World within the Third World," but following her Third World argument through would lead to the possibility that this term could equally be turned against its potentially colonialist connotations by means of the very same process of disrupting illusions of homogeneity and by running across other world boundaries. In the Australian context, the term enforces acknowledgement of a persisting colonial mentality which can then, at least, be confronted rather than remain, as it has in the past, invisible. The world links are essential because they throw issues of racial oppression open to world scrutiny and so make national closed door policies much more difficult to maintain. The same can be true of attitudes to Fifth World people. Even with the act of naming, there begins a process of recognition which forces attention on old cultural habits and assumptions and so throws them open to question, particularly in relation to issues of national

⁴ In Sarah Harasym, ed., *The Post-Colonial Critic* (New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 65.

⁵ *Woman, Native, Other* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 98-99.

identity. In this way, Third, Fourth and Fifth World gain power from each other by the very fact that they do not arrange themselves symmetrically and hierarchically in relation to each other or to other worlds; instead, they demand a multiple focus and a global vision.

Who belongs to the Fifth World, then? Broadly, I am suggesting that those who were referred to as postwar immigrants, or migrants, or refugees, and those who belong to their families and communities, should take this name. If the argument is put forward that these people belong to a specific moment in history and, what is more, one that is passing, I would point out that all group naming is similarly tied to the moment, even when it appears to denote a "permanent" category. Think of "Sovetskii Soiuz," or "Commonwealth," or "Empire" (with any name attached), or even "Asia." As the remarkable events of the past year in Eastern Europe powerfully testify, the solidity of any world is an illusion promoted for a particular purpose; so it is in this case.

What do Fifth World people have in common? Answering that question is a large project in itself, and so I will touch on it only as it is relevant to this paper's other theme, that of the oral tradition in transplanted cultures. The Fifth World consists of resettled people who have lost their cultural and linguistic base. They have in common the problem of finding a niche and participating in a new dominant culture without having the basic tools that make this possible—fluency of language and competence within "the system" in its day-to-day workings, a system which is almost invisible to those who have been born into it and move effortlessly through it all the time, but one which rises up everywhere for Fifth World people as an almost impenetrable network of fences and obstacles that exclude them. But they also have in common a range of cultural experience that allows them to see all cultural and political systems as temporary structures that are infinitely changeable and open to question. That is where Fifth World people have a great advantage over those who are monocultural—they are suspicious of *all* systems. Behind everything I say there is the recognition that shared experience provides the basis for a stronger and louder voice, but also that there is really no such thing as completely shared experience. Those of us who have heard individual stories of dispossession and resettlement—or have lived them—know how different each story is even amongst Ukrainians who lived through the same political machinations at the same time and in the same places. Ideally, the linking of expatriate groups world-wide

provides a framework for differences to be protected and celebrated.

Central to Fifth World cultures is the importance of the oral tradition in their development. The reasons for this are at least twofold. First, there were very few opportunities to communicate in print (and I am referring to Australia now, but the pattern was repeated in other countries) because of obvious political and economic factors in the early days of settlement, but more importantly because of fear. Even now, older Ukrainians are often nervous about self-revelation, because they understand very well that an approved position now may well become an offensive or even dangerous position at another time or in a different context or in the presence of another audience. So it is for Romanians, Chinese, Germans and so on. Even after forty years, and with all the transformations which have been occurring in Soviet policy, the fear has not entirely gone.

And so the reason for the oral tradition flourishing as it has was not simply based on circumstantial necessity; oral story-telling was chosen because it was safer. While reasons of a disadvantaged educational or class background could not be invoked in my direct experience of Fifth World story-telling, it would be interesting to consider the role of such factors for other groups. This is not the moment to go into other reasons—to do with something like purgation—but they were there, driving the compulsively repeated narratives, and they, too, deserve further exploration. In this tradition there was no communal pool of stories as there is, for example, in the Aboriginal oral tradition, because the stories were first-hand and autobiographical and cut off from other similar stories, told within the closed circle of the family or small friendship group. But this is not to say that a collective tradition will not emerge amongst Fifth World groups. More frameworks are needed for recording and preserving this wealth of individual stories from the Fifth World oral tradition. The new Ukrainian Studies Association provides one such supportive structure. Its world-wide affiliations provide an even wider one.

My own limited knowledge of Ukrainian story-telling, based almost entirely on the experience of my own extended family and their friends in Adelaide, suggests to me that there are two main kinds of Fifth World stories:

1. private stories of intense suffering, humiliation, exclusion from all possible worlds, stories so painful that they may be untellable

even now except within the security of the immediate family or deeply trusted friends. They have not yet been transformed into acceptable fictions. To tell them is almost to relive them.

2. public stories, often of the old world. These are anecdotes or nostalgic tales which have been cast into a known genre—romance or mystery or self-deprecating comedy. The genre provides a welcome shield between the memory and the telling, with the memory itself already a protective fiction. These are stories I am still compulsively told whenever I go home to Adelaide, and it is one of these, told by my father, that I will now tell.

The Commissar's Boots

(Told to me in Ukrainian)

In 1931, when I was an engineer at the factory in Kharkiv, in the early days at the electrostation, I lived with Tyotyia Olya. Her name was Olya Mokina. The Prosecutor, or "Prokuror," of the city lived there too. It was his flat where he lived with his wife Olexandra Vasylivna and his son Stanislav who was a schoolboy then. Tyotyia Olya had been his nanny but even though she was no longer needed, the prosecutor let her stay in her room at the back and even allowed her to let a corner of it to me. It was just a small sleeping corner and that's where I lived. At that time it was extremely difficult to find any kind of accomodation in Kharkiv so I was very grateful when I heard about this room from the student friend who lived there before me. I became friendly with Stanislav and helped him with his studies. Although I had never met Tyotyia Olya before, she gradually became like family to me. She was already quite old and had a hump on her back.

The Prosecutor was Stepan Vasylovych, a Byelorussian. Because of the way we lived, very close together, and because I became a good friend to his son (although I was much older), the prosecutor became my friend. These were very hard times, 1931 to 1934. This was a period of repression and great hunger in Ukraine, and I saw some terrible things whenever I went with Stepan Vasylovych to the prisons as part of his daily work. So many people were dying there under inhuman conditions. These were things that few people were allowed to see. I remember prison cells so packed with people that they could only stand, even

to sleep, and many died like that. The Prosecutor was on the side of the repressed and he helped the people in the prisons as much as he was capable, using his power, but often he could do nothing.

In those days it was very hard to get basic food to survive, but to get good boots was absolutely impossible unless you were a military officer of high rank or a member of the Secret Police and even then it was not always easy. Because of his position as Prosecutor for Kharkiv, Stepan Vasylyovych could get them; he had coupons for them. In fact, he had one magnificent pair of *choboty*, made of wonderful flexible leather of a kind you couldn't usually get, but they hurt him and he just couldn't wear them however hard he tried and so he gave them to me. They were a bit big but I just wrapped extra rags round my feet (we didn't have socks at that time, even the army didn't always have socks because it was customary to bind your feet with *onuchi*) and I wore the *choboty* for special occasions. My everyday shoes were short boots, not *choboty*, and they were worn with galoshes over the top. Shoes and boots were very important because of the harsh winters and the deep snow.

On my wedding day in January 1934, I wore those *choboty*. It was still a time of hunger when the only way to get food was through your factory or place of work. There was no such thing as a shop where you could buy food even if you had the money. Every institution had a Director of Produce who was in charge of distributing rations to the workers. To honour the occasion of our wedding I was given by my factory a bag of potatoes and two kilograms of meat (this was about ten times the usual monthly ration!) and Babushka (mother's mother who came to Australia with us) made *kotlety* and *pyrizhky*. Of course Stepan Vasylyovych came to the wedding. In fact he was our only guest because we had already lost contact with our relatives. They had all been taken away from their villages to labour camps like millions of other Ukrainians in those years under Stalin. So the wedding was very small and took place in the shadow of great fear about our relatives, but we still had a good party and ate *kotlety* for a whole week for our "honeymoon." We had to pay three roubles to get married and three again if we had decided to get divorced. It was a registry office wedding, of course, since the churches had long since been closed.

For years I only wore the *choboty* on very special occasions because I wanted to save them. It's difficult to explain how

precious they were. Even as a soldier you couldn't get a uniform unless you had been in the army for ages, and being a soldier without boots was a terrible thing.

In 1941 Hitler attacked the Soviet Union and Ukraine and so Kharkiv was occupied by the Germans, but then the Soviets came back to occupy Kharkiv for the second time. At that time I was working at the margarine factory, the only factory left unharmed in our area other than the beer factory. It was a huge modern factory employing more than a thousand people. In retreat, the Germans took away the electrolysis machine which separated water into hydrogen and oxygen as part of the process of making margarine. The Germans wheeled it out late on their last evening. It was an enormous 3000 kilowatt machine. When they found that they couldn't take the whole thing they took out its essential parts. In that factory it had been my job to maintain the electrolysis machine and so, as soon as the Soviets arrived, they sent me to search train wagons for the crucial missing sections. My Adelaide friend Avdiev worked in that factory too and it was he who recommended me as the one they should send.

It was February and I had to go out in the freeze on foot, making my way along the railway line towards Poltava and Kiev straight towards the front line. I wore my *choboty* but I kept them covered by my trousers so that no-one could see them and demand to take them from me. It was a terrible journey. There were thousands of dead people lying in the snow. Using sleds, women and children searched amongst the bodies for their families. Some of those who were huddled in the snow were not yet dead but asking to be killed. Many were swollen with hunger. Through this nightmare I walked on and as I walked the Soviets were forcing every man they could find to attack the Germans but they gave them no weapons and no clothes and so they had to use sticks and clubs, useless in front of the German guns. For most of them there was no chance of survival. By then the Germans had retreated to Skorokhodove. After 110 kilometres of walking, I came to the front line itself, near Poltava (the place was called Iskrivka), and I could go no further.

The Soviets stopped me and even though I had documents they could check they said they would mobilize me into the army. "You have no right," I said, "I am a Soviet civilian on essential business for the Soviets." But it was no use arguing, they were not interested in my documents. They took me towards the place

where the shooting was going on. On the way I saw a burning house in the fields and outside it, barefoot in the snow, was a boy—about seven years old he must have been—and he was crying and saying, "My mother's in there," but the house was almost burnt to the ground. I was led on to a small anti-tank gun which they put me onto for a while. Then they gave me a sealed military packet to deliver and sent me back to the Shevchenko sovkhos (a Soviet state farm) for reinforcements. On that journey through the fields I was shot at from haystacks. I hid behind the huge heaps of harvested sugarbeet that were lying in the snow but every time I made a run for it I would hear the bullets pattering again and see them making patterns in the snow.

In this way I made my way towards the sovkhos and eventually arrived that same day. I delivered the packet and joined the "army" there. They were all civilians—fifty people with about ten machine guns—holding a Soviet base 100 metres from the hayfields where the Germans were with one tank next to a haystack. This was the front. Neither attacked the other. And all this was happening practically in my village, the village where I was born and grew up, Rublivka. Because I knew the area so well I was sent to explore, reconnoitre. When I got to the next village there were only a few people there, all women—no Soviets, no Germans. "Go to the next village," they said. My cousin lived there. As I approached it in the dark and with snow falling, bullets began to fly out of the haystack. Out of the snow, dressed in white, came a German pointing a rifle and indicating where I should go. I put my hands up. Several others rose up and led me with guns to my cousin's village where their "front" station had been set up. They took me into a small building, searched me and then gave me a bowl of thick pea soup. I will never forget the taste of that soup. It had been a very long time since I had eaten but this soup was wonderful. It had lumps of meat in it, probably that tinned meat that the army had, but however many times I have tried since then to make such a soup again I have never come near recreating that beautiful taste, there in the German station.

I still had my documents to say that I was not a soldier but a civilian on important official business and that I knew the area really well and even had relatives in that very village but when they looked at my boots they were very suspicious about me. They did not believe me but decided to test my story by asking me to take them to the house of my cousin. We went to the house and

knocked on the door. No-one answered. I shouted out, "It's Petro," and then Marusia came out, crying. She was my cousin's wife. She hugged me and cried on my shoulder. Somehow, with the German soldiers watching, she managed to whisper in my ear, "The Germans have taken Maria but Andriy is hiding in the trunk (*sunduk*)." She began to ask us all to come inside but the soldiers said, "O.K. You're genuine, let's go."

They took me to a higher military base, an office with high-ranking officials. Again my boots were a problem and I spent the night there under heavy guard on the floor of the office. In the morning a top German general arrived, accompanied by at least ten other high-ranking officers in several of those big open armoured cars. Over their greatcoats they wore long white furs. I had never seen anything like this before. They immediately began to question me about my boots. "No ordinary civilian has *choboty* like that. You are an impostor, a spy. You must be a Commissar. Come with us." And so it happened that I was taken in the open car, sitting between the German generals, to inspect the German troops at the front line! We drove for at least 100 kilometers, perhaps even 200, in the cold and the snow, over the steppes, through villages and small towns, watching the shooting, all of it in the direction of the Soviets. Late in the evening we arrived at the German headquarters in Poltava, in the big white crescent building overlooking the central garden—it's still there. I slept in a guarded room and the next morning they interrogated me under heavy guard. However hard I tried, I could not explain my boots in a way that convinced them. "These are fake documents," they said, "You will be shot as a spy," and they took me to Karl Karlovych Mitchell, a top army judge. He spoke perfect Russian, better than many Russians, and we talked for a long time until he was convinced that I was not a spy and not a Commissar. From then on they kept me at that station as a prisoner, chopping wood, sweeping snow, even doing some electrical work for them. Although I was a prisoner I slept in the same room as the Germans and went with them to help at the bazaar where they did all their trading. It was from the bazaar that I eventually managed to escape and start the journey back to Kharkiv. By then Nadia and Babushka had almost given up hope of seeing me again.

I wore the boots for many years and in the end couldn't even part with them completely when we came to Australia. I still have them here in the garage in Adelaide.

What can we do with all these stories that are told over and over again in Ukrainian and in all the other languages of the multitudes of people who have lost their homelands and their communal histories since the Second World War? First there is the obligation to record and not to lose them in the way that so many have already been lost. Second, it seems clear that there is the double need to celebrate specific cultures and their particular experience while at the same time joining a wider community of people with parallel histories. This is an essential part of the continuing post-colonial reshuffle, with all its radical redefinitions of groups, centres and margins, and its on-going challenge to the dominant discourses of First and Second World official history. Beyond all this, for those of us who belong to later Fifth World generations, there is the immeasurable privilege of listening.

40 YEARS OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN VICTORIA: PERSPECTIVES ON THE PAST AND FUTURE

Panel Discussion

Participants:

Dr Ihor Gordijew, Macquarie University

Professor Wsevolod Isajiw, University of Toronto

Dr James Jupp, Australian National University

Professor Michael Lawriwsky, La Trobe University

**Mr George Papadopoulos, Chairman, Victorian Ethnic Affairs
Commission**

**Mr Stefan Romaniw, President, Association of Ukrainians in
Victoria**

Dr Marko Pavlyshyn, Monash University, Moderator

STEFAN ROMANIW:

Upon arrival in Victoria, Ukrainians began the task of forming the Association of Ukrainians as a harmonious and viable vehicle to assist their homeland, to retain their Ukrainian heritage, to assist members in coping with their new environment and to cater for the needs of members who had arrived as Displaced Persons. They had to find a way of operating in the new country despite the problems of language, low community awareness of European questions, non-recognition of academic qualifications and the material problems of providing for a family. Many felt that they were in Australia only for a short time. Many members of the community of their own will psychologically divorced themselves from the new environment.

Taking all this into account, the founders of Ukrainian community life took on the task of creating community structures with diligence. The list of their achievements includes the following: the creation of a highly structured community; the community's awareness of its responsibilities both towards the homeland and towards its members; awareness of needs within the community and acceptance of responsibility for those needs. There was a generation of builders and leaders; they created structures which following generations would be able to continue. Much activity was generated. To understand its full scope one needs to look at church life, community life, schools, youth organizations, co-operatives, women's organizations, welfare organizations, professional associations, émigré political parties, the press and so on. All these in some way helped to mould the community we have today. Cultural groups, literature groups, sports groups have all added to its depth. Most importantly, Ukrainians did not lose faith: they did not compromise their principles, and they tried to the best of their ability to use the resources at their disposal. The Association of Ukrainians also played a vital role in this process.

Assessing the community's main achievements is by no means an easy task. They include buildings, community schools, choirs and a host of different activities conducted by a variety of organizations. But much of what the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, for example, has achieved is not tangible: it is not something that allows itself to be easily recorded. The Association has been an instrument that allowed the Ukrainians who wished to do so to unite regardless of religion or political affiliation. It allowed for discussions, at times fiery, of the situation in Ukraine and of the direction the community ought to take. It gave us a sense of security, it was something that allowed us to do things our way. "It was our home away from home," said one of those who helped to form it. The Association allowed us to feel a part of something—a feeling which many lacked, being in a strange environment.

Among the community's later achievements one could list a worthwhile structure that allowed for unified representations to Government concerning Ukraine and Ukrainians; the development of public relations; the teaching of Ukrainian at VCE and university level; the acquisition of community centres that allow for congregation and cultural life; and assistance to Ukraine, both

moral and financial. The Association played and plays a vital role as a link between all Ukrainians. Its membership, second only to the membership of Ukrainian co-operatives, shows that it is an important part of the community. The Association has striven to encourage youth and families to continue their heritage and culture. It has, to the best of its ability, striven to educate a new generation. Of course, factors outside the community's control have had a great bearing on the outcome of some of the above. All in all, the community has, to date, an impressive list of achievements which gives a solid foundation on which future generations may build. In future discussion we would need to assess which elements have played an effective role and what factors worked against and interfered with our progress.

GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS:

It is very hard to maintain a critical perspective, particularly when with so much of what was said I find myself in agreement. What is impressive to me is the transmission of language and the way in which there has been a retention and a development of cultural consciousness, especially through the school system. Certainly, the cooperative movement and the Association have been important structures, and the work done by and around the Churches, I think, shows a very high degree of communal identification and integration and a lot of progress.

I don't think you have been quite as successful in presenting your issues beyond the community. I think that a lot of the Ukrainian consciousness has been highly internalized and is not well understood by government and other groups.

As regards the size of the community, this is always in dispute, because, as we are all aware, Australian immigration statistics have always been inaccurate. One of the groups that have suffered from the inaccuracy of those statistics has been the Ukrainians, because of the times and the countries from which Ukrainians have come to Australia and the way records have been kept here. So it is only those who have been able to study the community that have some idea of the nature and extent of it, and it is, of course, a much larger one than most official statistics would reveal. It will be interesting to see how the community marshalls its resources in order to deal with issues such as ageing and care of the ageing, and the transmission of Ukrainian cultural consciousness to yet a further

generation. Much will change as people adjust to the changes that are necessarily taking place elsewhere and which, I believe, will take place in Ukraine over the next few years.

Basically, yours has been a remarkably successful settlement for a small group, and you have achieved much in proportion to what others have achieved. I think you do have things that you can justly be proud of, but I do believe there are some questions of your relationship to Ukraine that have not been well explained beyond the community.

This would require some attention in the future, particularly as you go on into another generation.

MICHAEL LAWRIWSKY:

It is often thought that the Ukrainian community has two main aims: to maintain itself culturally and to bring the political plight of Ukraine to the attention of a wider public. Most Ukrainians and Australians would agree with this, but there are many who would not. For example, Frank Knopfelmacher would like us all to become "anglomorph," although in conversation he has mentioned to me that he thinks that refugee groups who have difficulty in maintaining their culture in their homeland should have the right to maintain it in Australia: so it is all right for Ukrainians, say, to maintain their culture in Australia, yet for Greeks and Italians it is not all right because they have a homeland where their culture is not at risk.

As for publicizing the political plight of the home country, most people in the host community would probably say, "leave your politics at home"—particularly if there is a chance that it may lead to some violence in Australia. I think, however, that such chastisement is often selective and depends on whether you wield any political power. If you actually do wield some political power, people are not game enough to tell you to leave your politics at home.

As to projecting to the Australian public the cause of Ukrainians and information about Ukrainian history and so on, it is informative to consider Geoffrey Partington's survey of three high schools in South Australia. He surveyed the students' knowledge of Ukrainian history, and found that this was rather abysmal. I do not find that to be especially shocking, considering the relationship between Ukraine and Australia at present. After all, according to

the *National Geographic*, 17% of Americans do not know where the United States is on the map. I think that the strategy of leaders in the Ukrainian community has been to try in the first instance to inform the opinion leaders in Australia about the situation in Ukraine—that is, such people as politicians, academics and media personalities. In order to be successful at that sort of task you need several things. Firstly, you need to have money—in order to set up research organizations and lobby offices, in order to make donations to political parties, and so on. That is something that Ukrainians have not had a lot of, after looking to the cultural maintenance aspect of their community life. You also need to have people, particularly people who can become opinion leaders or have an influence on opinion leaders: that is, people who are going to enter politics, people who are going to enter academia in areas such as sociology, history, politics and law, people to enter media as journalists and editors, people who will become successful businessmen and have an influence on society as a result of that success. I think that Ukrainians in an absolute sense have not had a great deal of success in most of those areas. They have had a good deal of success relative to their numbers; but that is no consolation, because it is really the absolute level that matters.

If you compare Ukrainians to Macedonians, for example, you might say that Ukrainians had been more successful in getting across in the wider community various aspects of their history and political plight. If you compare them to the Baltic communities, however—and I think that this is probably the best comparison to make, because their situation is similar to that of the Ukrainians—you will notice differences in favour of the Balts. For a start, the three Baltic groups have twice as many people in Australia as the Ukrainians, 60,000 of them as opposed to 30,000 Ukrainians. The Balts had independence between 1920 and 1940, so they had diplomatic representation in Australia. In the 1970s Whitlam made the Baltic nations an issue—an *Australian* issue—by his *de jure* recognition of Soviet control of the Baltic States. All these things have given the Balts an advantage in projecting themselves to the public in Australia. Their other advantage, of course, is people like Sir Arvi Parbo, the chairman of the two largest mining houses and the largest corporation in Australia, Broken Hill Pty. Ltd., or John Spalvins, who is chairman of Adsteam. If you have just a few people of such calibre, you can do a great deal to influence some of the key decision-makers in Australian politics.

As for cultural maintenance, if you compare Ukrainians to Balts, I think that the Ukrainians have been more successful, because of their organization and the dollars that they have put together for their cultural goals. The credit co-operatives, the Churches, the youth groups and other institutions, I think, are better organized than is the case with the Baltic groups. You also have university-level studies in Ukrainian at Macquarie and Monash. All this has put Ukrainians in a better position to maintain themselves culturally, and this is borne out in statistics. 15,000 people in Australia use Ukrainian at home, and there are 10,000 Ukrainian-born people in Australia. By contrast, only 17,000 people speak one of the Baltic languages at home, while there are 20,000 people born in one of the Baltic countries. These statistics may be inaccurate, because Ukrainians may appear as born in Yugoslavia, Poland or somewhere else. Nevertheless, the statistics imply that Ukrainians have been much more successful in their cultural maintenance.

JAMES JUPP:

I was saying yesterday that the community is quite small, and therefore to judge its success we have to judge it relative to its size. We can't expect a small community to have much electoral pull, for example. There is no significant Ukrainian vote in the sense that there might be—though many would dispute this—a significant Italian or Greek vote. The threat of withdrawing electoral support is not one that small ethnic communities can sensibly make.

Equally, the interest of the media in a small community is likely to be less than in a large community, although the interest of the mainstream media in any of the ethnic communities is very small. It is much smaller than one would expect thirty or forty years after mass migration began in the 1940s. As Michael has rightly said, access to the media is extremely important in influencing the broad population, because politics is conducted in the media and through the media: if it is not in the media it is not happening. In so far as the community, and Michael in particular, have for some time now produced the English-language *Australian Ukrainian Review*, they have tried to influence the opinions of policy-makers. I think that is very necessary and is something which most other ethnic communities have not really done. Most other ethnic communities have, of course, a media in their own language, but that has no impact on Australia at all, because it is not read or understood or

even looked at, except within the community. The *Review* and the work that people have done around it is a very good example of how to reach opinion-makers. It does not, of course, reach the man in the street, but very little reaches the man in the street unless it is taken up by the mass-media—by the commercial television or the mass newspapers. Nevertheless, by getting to the journalists who work in those media you do have some opportunity of getting to the politicians and getting to the general public.

As far as institutionalization and organization and cultural maintenance goes, you can all congratulate yourselves: the Ukrainian community is really a model which other ethnic communities could well follow, and you have therefore a right to be proud of what you have done in that area over the last forty years.

There are, I suppose, a couple of goals which I feel that this community in common with others might pursue, and in fact does pursue. One is the welfare of your community and particularly its elderly component, which is so dominant now in the first generation. There is for the Ukrainian as for some other East European communities an urgent need to ensure that their elderly population is properly and equitably cared for in a manner which is culturally relevant. The mere fact that many members of a community are elderly does not mean that they should be ignored. They require services and are entitled to them because they have been working and paying taxes for the past forty years. This is certainly an issue which your community should really take up and which it must continue to pursue throughout this century.

I would, personally, as a strong supporter of multiculturalism, like to see all the ethnic communities taking a more active role in pushing for and supporting the policies of multiculturalism. Policies of multiculturalism are always under threat. They are not generally accepted by many policy-makers or by a large part of the general public, and yet they are in the interest of all ethnic communities who wish to maintain their cultural identity. It seems to me—I suppose that this is only natural—that ethnic groups put a great deal of effort into preserving their own culture, but are perhaps less active in defending the rights of all other cultures. I would like to see a much more active multicultural lobby in Australia than the one we have, because unless there is one, Government will pay no attention. Unless you constantly nag, scream and kick a Government it goes and does something else. At the present moment the whole argument about multiculturalism is

still very much up in the air. Multiculturalism is still by no means fully accepted at the political level.

Finally, on the question of the political plight of Ukraine, all I can say is that actually you have done as much as you could reasonably be expected to do, given your numbers and organization. You did have—unfortunately he has passed away—in Senator Missen a national politician who took a great and active interest, and that is what communities have to have: somebody in the Federal Parliament who will look after their interests. The great problem is, and this is not simply confined to Ukrainians, that Eastern Europe is an area of darkness to Australians. They know nothing about it at all. Given this fact, you have done what you can do, and if it has had a very small echo one can only say, I think, that this was true of most East European affairs here in Australia until very, very recently. Of course, everything is now changing in the Soviet Bloc, so that anything we say is not necessarily going to be true in two or three years time.

IHOR GORDIJEW:

Let's look at the past and the future. In the first generation, the people who came here either did not have their qualifications recognized, or their qualifications were not entirely appropriate, or they did not know the language—in other words, we came here as very poor people, most of us, with ten bob in our pockets which had been given to us by the Australian Government. As time proceeded, the profile of the Ukrainian community changed. Increasingly we have been approaching the social average in terms of professional qualifications, business involvement, income and wealth. The contribution which we have been making to society in this way, I think, has been increasing. We have now accumulated a considerable amount of success in this area: indeed, I would call this "the silent achievement," because so little has been said about it.

We can look at this situation from the point of view of individuals and families, and from the point of view of institutions. Our community is rather small, so we have the problems of attrition and of assimilation. Individuals who are writing their wills and thinking of bequests should take this into account: they should think of how they can preserve and nurture cultural and linguistic values. If they see, for example, that their kids are becoming

assimilated, they could give thought to leaving part of their estate to institutional structures that address such processes. As for institutions, they, too, have accumulated a considerable amount of real estate as well as cash. In time some of these institutions, I won't say which, may, through attrition of membership, be less in need of the resources which they have come to possess. It is, of course, as economists would say, highly improbable that these institutions would divest themselves of their resources. Let us then appeal to these institutions to use these resources in the interests of the maintenance of Ukrainian community life. We can have different scenarios. Say there is not going to be any addition to the Ukrainian population from abroad. In that case we shall have the paradoxical situation where the number of consumers of the services which Ukrainian institutions provide is dwindling, while the bequests and foundations become richer, making it possible for these institutions to use their resources in such a way as to assist the maintenance of the community. There is the possibility, on the other hand, that some migration from Ukraine will be possible in the future—ten, twenty, thirty years from now. If we are of the opinion, based on our statistics, that the rate of attrition of our community is such and such, how about setting up funds which will make it possible to assist immigrants from Ukraine to join the community here? Other communities are doing this. What I am suggesting is that we could, if the Australian Government made it possible, try to set up a fund to sponsor Ukrainian immigrants to make up for the annual attrition.

GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS:

Under present Australian immigration policies the scheme is not feasible, because, with one exception, there are now no quotas of the type that would enable you to bring in a fixed number of people of any particular ethnic background, given the argument that the system must be non-discriminatory. People have canvassed these issues over the last two years in the course of the general reshaping of Australian immigration policies. Canberra has turned its face very strongly against that type of immigration proposal. Even politicians from the Government party have put up the idea of limited quotas, and each time they have been rejected. You would be better off fitting people into existing categories and trying to get them in on the point system. The last people coming in under the fixed quotas would be within the refugee quota—some Vietnamese

who are in camps in Malaysia and Thailand.

IHOR GORDIJEW:

Firstly, I am not talking about the next two years—I am talking about the next century. By that time things will change, and I am hopeful that they might change for the better. Secondly, Canberra can go and jump in the lake: we can adjust to the conditions which Canberra enforces. All I am appealing for is that the Ukrainian community try and set up a fund in order to assist those people who are allowed to immigrate. Of course, it would be much easier for them to immigrate if they could have this kind of assistance. We have the problem at present that, when people come from Ukraine to visit, they have to pay in American dollars for a ticket between Singapore and Sydney or Melbourne: they can't do that unless we subsidize them.

Lastly, turning our face to Ukraine: existing Ukrainian institutions should develop programmes to assist Ukraine through very specific schemes, like student exchanges, business contact and information to help develop a co-operative movement in Ukraine. I have been told that, if the Ukrainian budding businessman does not receive information from us, or America, he has to turn to Moscow. In other words, the colonial link between Moscow and Kiev will continue.

WSEVOLOD ISAJIW (asked to compare the situation of Ukrainians in Australia to that of Ukrainians in North America):

Comparisons are always tricky, as you know. Not everything compares well. Certainly the Canadian situation is very different from the Australian, in spite of some similarities. One can say that in Canada Ukrainians as a group have had more political clout. That does not mean that they have an enormous amount of it, but, compared to Australia, much more. For one thing, there has been a greater participation of Ukrainians in the government process: there have been Ukrainian senators and other parliamentarians at the federal level, members of provincial parliaments, especially in the prairie provinces, like Manitoba and Alberta, members of local city governments and mayors of such cities as Winnipeg and Edmonton. It can be said that this is due to a large extent to the fact that Ukrainians in Canada are an old established ethnic group. When you look at most of the participants in government, they tend

to be third generation people. In fact, I would argue that you really cannot have strong clout in the political system until you have two generations.

Canada has a large French population, and the French issue always acts as a precedent for other ethnic groups. Of course there are the native Indians, comparable to Australia's Aborigines, and what happens in relation to native Indians has also been picked up as a precedent in relation to other ethnic groups: if they can do this, why not us?

In the past, the policy of the Canadian Government toward ethnic groups has been a sort of an external pluralism: the groups can retain their identity if they want to, but somehow, some day, they will disappear and assimilate into the Anglo culture. Being Canadian meant, in the past, being Anglo in background. However, there has been a re-definition of this. Ukrainians have contributed their share to defining "Canadian" not only as Anglo-Canadian or French-Canadian, but also in terms of other ethnic Canadian groups. I can see the beginning of a process in which Canada as a whole begins to recognize that not only the French and the native Indians, but other ethnic groups as well, are here to stay.

In Australia, as Dr. Jupp pointed out yesterday, there has been one wave of Ukrainian immigrants who were very much of the same kind—ideologically oriented in the same way, and of much the same economic background (though there were some differences in educational background). So identity maintenance has been very much of one type in Australia. In a sense it has worked—as a process of preservation. However, what Australia does not have, and what Canada does actually have, is a diversity of Ukrainian identities. The third generation and the fourth generation descended from the first wave has a Ukrainian identity that is not the same as the identity of the post-World War II second generation. The post-World War II generation was ideologically committed. These people are not. Their commitment is more to Ukrainian culture and tradition. I have talked to a number of such communities. These third generation people who speak English feel Ukrainian: they want to do something Ukrainian. I would tell them, "Well, what we want is to make our group more effective *vis-à-vis* the Canadian Government, or perhaps to get organised and do something to help Ukraine." But they said, "What for? What we want is to maintain Ukrainian identity as a kind of recreation, like a club, so that we can enjoy ourselves—let's have

none of these ideological duties." That is a sector which Canada has, and which you don't have here.

Then we have a fourth wave of immigrants which you don't have here. We have Ukrainians who have come within the past 15 years or so from Poland in particular and from Yugoslavia, and some are now coming from the Soviet Union. In Toronto alone the estimates are that there are at least 5000 such Ukrainians from Poland, and there may actually be more. In one sense they are like the old wave: they have brought a new Ukrainian cultural revival to Canada. They have established, as you may know, an Avant-Garde Theatre. It is made up of young people who are experimenting with Ukrainian culture and relating to it in a completely different way than the post-World War II generation. That is something new and different: an experimentation with Ukrainian identity and culture, especially among young people, which I think you may not have here in Australia.

STEFAN ROMANIW (asked about the reasons for the relative success of organized Ukrainian life in Victoria):

If we read Ukrainian newspapers from the early years, it is difficult not to be astonished at the enthusiasm in Victoria to create a strong community base. Today Victoria can be seen as the Ukrainian capital in Australia, so to speak. Most federal roof organizations are located here: we have the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations, the federal executives of the youth associations, the Ukrainian Schools Board, the Ukrainian Co-operatives Council, church organizations and so on. There are probably three reasons for this cohesion: personnel (the level of organizational skills that people had), the objectivity with which they approached their tasks, and their constant awareness of the ultimate aims of the ethnic group. These statements are not made with any arrogance or out of local patriotism. It needs to be highlighted that the other States have had people of the same qualities—it just seems that in Victoria we have been able to put these three elements together a little more effectively. It also needs to be stressed that here the Church, and especially Bishop Ivan Prasko, played a very important role.

The initial structure created in Victoria lent itself to a flexible, yet centralized, mode of operation. The Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, schools, co-operatives, youth groups, women's associations and many other associations developed together, yet

independently. On the other hand, you read that, for example, in New South Wales, while a central organization was in mind, the creation of other organizations made the central organization suffer. Political parties played a role in this—although they also played a role in forming community opinion and at times offered the community a more in-depth description of its situation than it might otherwise have had.

Looking at Victoria, we can see times when political conflicts created community problems and worked in a negative way. But in Victoria political factions more quickly came to the conclusion that working together in areas of common interest would benefit the community, and this is probably another reason for our fairly harmonious community structure. In creating the Association of Ukrainians, Ukrainians in Victoria chose to set up a body representative of all people of Ukrainian origin. The question of buying premises, for example, was resolved with great speed and with a sense of urgency, because this was viewed as a community project that warranted the assistance of all parts of the community.

The question of centralization is also important. The A.U.V. has created a structure that enables it to have branches and to cater for the needs of members throughout Victoria, yet retain a central decision-making body. There appears to be some moral bond that allows the A.U.V. to represent Ukrainians in Victoria. Among the different Ukrainian organizations in Victoria there is no constitutional bond that compels our youth groups or women's organizations to allow the Association of Ukrainians to represent them, but that bond exists. Most organizations are quite happy to work within this system. Another interesting point in this context is leadership. In many cases leadership of the Association of Ukrainians was in the hands of people who had served apprenticeships elsewhere: they had worked as teachers, in youth organizations, in the co-operatives, and therefore had an understanding of the problems of specific organizations and found it easier at times to come to grips with those problems in the community at large.

The ability of the Church and community organizations to work coherently is another important feature of Ukrainian community life in Victoria. For example, the Churches and community organizations saw education as a community issue; the Churches and other organizations see the A.U.V. as a general community body, not just as a particular organization.

MICHAEL LAWRIWSKY:

I agree with most of what has been said. The dominance of Victoria can be seen straight away when one compares the memberships of Associations of Ukrainians in the various states.

Victoria has about 10,000 people of Ukrainian origin, according to the 1986 census. New South Wales has 9,300. In New South Wales you have Wollongong and Newcastle as major centres outside Sydney, and also Queanbeyan, and in Victoria you have Geelong as the only major centre other than Melbourne. So there is a greater concentration of Ukrainian population in Melbourne than in Sydney. That is one of the major reasons why the organization has been better. Ukrainians in Victoria, with 33% of the Australia-wide Ukrainian population, have 43% of all the Ukrainian Association membership. Of the total membership of roughly 3200, 1400 are located in Victoria. New South Wales, with 31% of the population, has only 23% of Ukrainian Association membership. The co-operative movement grew up in Melbourne, largely due to the influence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; today the Victorian co-operative has something like two thirds of the total assets of all Ukrainian co-operatives in Australia. If you look at the Ukrainian school system, you find that Victoria has a disproportionately high number of students enrolled in the Ukrainian schools. While Victoria has twice the Ukrainian population of South Australia, the number of young people speaking Ukrainian in Victoria is three times greater than the number in South Australia. (In fact, if you look at Ukrainians in Australia state by state, you will find that, the smaller the centre, the less activity it sustains even on a *per capita* basis.)

I think that the greater centralization in the organizational situation in Victoria has lent itself to the success and concentration of activities focusing around the Ukrainian Community Centre in Essendon, which is the flagship of the community. In Sydney the premises used by the co-ordinating committee for Ukrainian organizations are quite small relative to the S.U.M. (Ukrainian Youth Association) premises. I think that S.U.M. has moved into a vacuum caused by lack of community centralization, and that probably had, overall, a negative effect—which was not S.U.M.'s fault, I hasten to add. If we look at the question of succession to community leadership, in Victoria we find people like Stefan Romaniw and Michael Moravski first serving apprenticeships in

youth groups, and then becoming head of the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations or President of the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria. If you look at the Sydney situation, on the other hand, once the apprenticeship is done in S.U.M., you have reached the pinnacle of power in the sense that the assets that you control are much greater than those of the community organization.

The Catholic Church, in particular, has been a strength of Melbourne. The Bishop has been located here, and has been a source of authority resisting fragmentation.

GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS:

I have been listening for the last few minutes in fascination. It almost seems to me that we are talking about a community with no real gut-wrenching politics.

There has been a relatively high degree of belief in a coherent set of political values. The Ukrainian community may have some differences, but compared to those of other communities they sound to me more like the politics of personalities than the fights between left and right that we had in the Greek community. You could not have had a communist migration as we did, you have not had, I think, some of the other consequences of a long-term split between older settlers. There are differences in the Greek community, because we tried to incorporate everything into the same set of structures, and because of that we had very significant tensions. Now some of those may have been present amongst this post-war Ukrainian community, but I don't get that feeling of hard dirty politics which brings communities apart, and which in some cases has debilitated ethnic communities and prevented them from effectively presenting their claims on the society in which they live.

STEFAN ROMANIW:

To say that we never had that gut-wrenching type of activity is not true. We have had that: we went through such stages. There were different ideas about how the community ought to run, problems arose about how we perceive Ukraine, whom we should or should not have contact with—these issues did create community debate. The important thing is that, when all was said and done, we could pull together, because we have had a sense of something greater than political factions.

MAYA HRUDKA (*from the floor*)

I agree with George Papadopoulos and with James Jupp that we do not have any significant presence outside our own community. In the Ethnic Communities Council, for instance, we have no representative on the main committee, but only on what previously was the Committee for the Aged and now is the Committee for Welfare—that is the only committee where there is a representative.

My other point is that I am very happy to see that female members of our community have been speakers at this conference. However, as the theme of the conference is the history of Ukrainian settlement in Australia, there should have been a request for a paper to the Ukrainian Women's Association, which was one of the first Ukrainian organizations to be set up in Australia. There is not female participant in this panel, either. If that reflects the attitude of the Ukrainian community, I am sorry to see this in the 1990s.

Each of the panellists was asked to name the issues to which, in his view, the Ukrainian community would need to give priority in future.

STEFAN ROMANIW:

What are the priorities? To date, a strong sense of attachment to a Ukraine that is engaged in a struggle for its independence has served as a purpose of the community's existence. In his article on the Association of Ukrainians in South Australia, Dr. Washchyshyn remarks that, in future, lack of emotional ties with the homeland will create new problems. The future interest of community members in community affairs is also a point that we need to be looking at. The community at present has a high percentage of elderly members, and there is a lack of commitment on the part of the second and third generation in some areas.

Given the changing political climate in the U.S.S.R., we need to be able to offer information to people within the community, and to show the youth and young families that the present situation of Ukraine should have some bearing on their everyday lives.

If our community structure is to withstand pressures of assimilation and apathy, we need to be keenly attuned to the needs of our members. This would involve reviewing and developing policies in the areas of youth, language, Ukrainian schools and other education, young families, the elderly, information. We

would need to look closely at continuing our work in the area of public relations, and it has already been said that we need to do more in that area. We need to be not only devising policy for the Association of Ukrainians in Victoria, but using the Association of Ukrainians as a vehicle for creating community policy in different areas of need. The A.U.V. needs to play a leadership role here. The number of people involved in community leadership is limited, but this is not to say that there are not others who could be involved, though at present they are not that way inclined. We need to be aware of our resources, consolidate them, and utilize the resources not only of the Association of Ukrainians, but also of the community at large.

Language and its relevance in binding the community—can I be Ukrainian without knowing the language?—needs to be addressed. Similarly, the dissemination of information: how do we reach those with whom we have no contact? How do we reach those who do not read Ukrainian newspapers?

The Association needs to look seriously into the area of social welfare, a new area created by the passage of time. There is a need for old peoples' homes, nursing homes, etc. We are doing this at present, but it needs to be stressed that the area of social welfare should not only be the responsibility of the Association. It is a community problem, and such problems call for policy on a community-wide basis.

There is also the area of the administration, finance and further development of the A.U.V. and its branches. We see some branches that are vibrant and have an upward trend in membership, and others where there is a natural downturn. The A.U.V. needs to set out on a marketing campaign: where once membership invited itself, it is now necessary to convince people why they should be members. To sell one's product, one needs to have a product to sell. The objects set out in the Constitution are still valid today, but they need in certain areas to be developed.

JAMES JUPP:

We have enough examples of ethnic groups in 200 years of Australian history to say, simply, that different things happen to them. Firstly, some groups simply disappear—they cease to have any culturally distinct presence, and many people of that descent have no idea about their descent. The organizational agendas which

have just been set out are clearly designed to prevent that from happening. It must be said that most of the groups which have totally disappeared did not have much of an institutional structure. Irish speakers, for example, disappeared in Australia because the Catholic Church did not favour the continued use of the Irish language—it preferred the use of the English language, so the Church that the Irish people invariably belong to did not give them institutional support. The Ukrainian community is not like that. You have institutional support and plans to develop it, and that, I think, is extremely important, particularly where, as in your community, there is a sound financial basis. We all have been involved in organizations and have sat down to think of how to make a particular organization better, and one of the best ways is to accumulate lots of money and spend it sensibly, because activities which thirty and forty years ago were done voluntarily you now have to pay for. You have to pay for professional workers, you have to pay for advertising, you have to pay for everything.

The second thing that happens to ethnic communities if they are not topped up—and I use the Chinese community in Australia as an example here—is that they just hang on in there, try and pass as much of the organizational culture on to their children as they can, and hope that one day migrants will start coming again. That's exactly what happened to the Chinese, not because they stopped coming, but because they were prevented from coming under the White Australia policy. By the year 1950, the number of Chinese-born people in Australia was less than the number of Ukrainian-born people now, and they were just as old as the Ukrainian community, in fact older. So that was a community that looked as though it was going to disappear. Now they have organizations going—there are organizations in Little Bourke Street which have a hundred years of continued existence. They kept their language and culture and transmitted them to their children—to a certain extent. Many of them, in fact, became Christians. Many of them can no longer speak Chinese. But nevertheless they kept the notion of being Chinese alive. They built their business communities and they maintained these as best they could, and they maintained their connections with the Chinese mainland and their connections with the Chinese of South-East Asia. It is now, of course, an extremely large community: it has been replenished by immigration.

It is not at all clear to me, and this has come up again and again in this conference, that Ukrainians will not start coming to Australia

again. And that brings me to what I think must be a priority and which was touched upon in the example of the Chinese: the necessity of maintaining some sort of link with the homeland. This was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Ukrainians to do under the preceding situation. It seems to me that it is much more likely in the future that you will be able to develop more meaningful educational, cultural, travel and even, possibly, business links with Ukraine than you could in the previous forty years. And that is really desirable, because if a community does not keep some links with its original base, then it suffers the third fate, which is, that it turns into something else.

This is what really happened to the Irish in Australia. The Irish kept coming for a hundred years, from 1790 to 1890, when they stopped coming (mainly because everybody had left Ireland by then), and they turned into Catholics. That is, they stopped being predominantly Irish and became predominantly Catholics, and, indeed, Australian nationalists. They changed their orientation away from Ireland altogether. This old gentleman up on the wall here [Archbishop Mannix] did his best to stop them, and in Victoria he succeeded. But certainly in New South Wales they turned into something else which was Australian Catholic nationalists of Irish descent. I think the German population in South Australia has done the same thing—they have shifted: they have become pseudo-Germans, putting on a German tourist face which in fact is artificial and not part of their original culture.

That is what happens when you cut yourself off from the main body of your culture. It may be all right for you to do so, but I don't think it's what you had in mind. So that is the priority that I would like to mention: obviously, do as much as you can to keep your organizations going, but also have a hard look at how you can re-establish some sort of communion, not with the political system in Ukraine, but with the Ukrainian people.

WSEVOLOD ISAJIW:

There are several things that I want to mention. What Stefan Romaniw has outlined has sounded to me very much like the politics of *within*. I would like to allude to what Dr. Jupp has already mentioned—the necessity of a politics of *without*, directed at Australian society and the Australian political structure. What I have in mind is the Canadian experience of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism as a policy, let alone a word, has meant a large number of things. I think that, too often, multiculturalism has popularly meant dancing ethnics and the support of the external culture of ethnic groups.

Now even in Canada many people see it only as that. But, in fact, in Canada multiculturalism has gone much further as a matter of policy, though often not as visibly, perhaps. What I have in mind is that multiculturalism has been used in Canada by a number of ethnic groups to build ethnic structures on a permanent basis into existing Canadian institutions and into Canadian society as a whole. I think that this is one of the priorities which needs to be pushed for in Australia, too. The best examples are, perhaps, the so-called ethnic chairs of studies at universities in Canada—the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at Toronto, the Chair of Hungarian Studies and a number of others—which have been established by the multiculturalism programme. In Edmonton via the provincial multiculturalism programme you had the establishment of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies on a permanent basis with a budget that is part of the university's budget. In Toronto we have the multicultural history society, which has been established now in the same way as the Royal Ontario Museum as a permanent institution with exactly the same legal and financial basis. That is the kind of thing one has to move towards. If I look at the university Ukrainian programmes in Australia, here at Monash and at Macquarie University, I see that they are supported by the community only, with perhaps a little bit here and there from the major institutions, but nothing that would commit these institutions permanently to have these as part of their general structure. I think one has to push further to be included in the mainstream institutions of society. That is the only way in which to ensure that the group will maintain itself over a long period of time. One could give other examples—language programmes need to be built into the standard curriculum of high schools or other schools, for example.

In this discussion of priorities one thing has struck me. I mean this as criticism in the positive sense. The way in which you [Stefan Romaniw] presented your priorities sounded to me like the presentation of the programme of a political party that has been in power and has just won another election. I can see a problem with this—and this has been alluded to before. I think there is a need to loosen up the organizational structure of the Ukrainian community a bit. A number of you have been pointing out that there is a loss of

membership in various institutions, that people are going elsewhere—where are they going? You may end up in another ten or fifteen years with empty structures, and the people somewhere else. I think one has to do a bit of *perestroika* of the organizational structure to allow some more people to emerge with their own alternative ideas, and organizational structures, too.

Finally, there is a priority that emerges out of concern for future generations: to look not to the past, but to the future. As one of our parliamentary leaders said on resigning from parliament, we do not inherit the past from our ancestors, we borrow the future from our children. I think there is a lot of wisdom in that. Thinking of our children in the future, we ought seriously to ask what Ukrainian identity means to people whose mother tongue is English rather than Ukrainian. What does organizational life, commitment to some kind of Ukrainian values, mean for people who actually feel themselves to be primarily Australian and secondarily Ukrainian? This ought to be given serious thought and study, because the future will become the present much faster than we think.

MICHAEL LAWRIWSKY:

One of our priorities is in the area of personnel. For example, there is a lack of young priests, particularly in the Orthodox Church. This is a problem for the future: you just don't see where these people are going to come from. In other areas we have the problem of the old oak tree: dominant personalities who have been leaders for many years—who in some cases have spent thirty years in one position. They may have had understudies for a few years in the past, but the understudy never got the top job and so disappeared in the end. That's a problem that we're facing increasingly. It was one of the successes in Victoria that there was a transmission to the younger generation at a faster pace.

With regard to training leaders, our youth associations should be spending more resources in training for leadership in the Ukrainian community, even outside of their own organization, because the number of leaders required by their organization is small relative to the numbers needed elsewhere. Otherwise they just filter through those youth organizations and disappear by the time they reach their early twenties and finish their tertiary education.

As regards our English-speaking youth: it is a problem that we tend to regard as members of our community only those people who were baptized in the Ukrainian churches. But they are just the tip of the iceberg. There are many other people of Ukrainian background out there, and we do not yet have well-developed programs for them within our school system. We haven't tried in a serious way to reach those people and recruit them into the system. This was not the case when the Ukrainians arrived here after the Second World War: there was a recruiting drive to bring people into the organizations and into the schools system. In this connection I believe that the co-operatives will be important, because in many cases they have links to people of the second and third generations who otherwise are very much on the periphery of the Ukrainian community. There is an onus on the co-operative movement to find a way to link these people to the wider community. One way in which this could be done would be through an English-language periodical, like the *Ukrainian Weekly* in the United States. This would help raise the consciousness of predominantly English-speaking people of Ukrainian background, engage them in debate on issues important to the community and give them a sense of belonging to it. This should have been done already. If you look at the retention of language and other features of identity, you will see, as I have argued before, that the present model of the community is not succeeding in retaining these people. We have to bend the ideals that we hold in order to keep the numbers of people that are required to maintain the community at the level at which we would like to see it in Australia.

If we are looking into the future, two important factors, as I see it, are whether there will be significant immigration from Ukraine, and whether Ukraine will be independent or not. If we look at different combinations of these factors we can list four possible scenarios. I have ranked them in declining order of the strength of organizational activity that they would seem to support.

First I have ranked a situation of no independence but significant immigration of political refugees. This is the situation in which we might expect organizational strength to be at a maximum, because the immigrants would be likely to be politically motivated.

In the second place I would have independence and significant immigration, in which case there might be many economic migrants and a decline in the sense of purpose in the whole community. One of the reasons why this community is stronger than some others,

such as, for example, the Hungarian, on a *per capita* basis, is that Ukraine has not been independent and its existence as a nation has been under threat.

Third I would have the situation of independence but no immigration, and in the last place the situation of no independence and no immigration—in other words, a situation where nothing happens and we continue to slide towards what might turn out to be some sort of equilibrium position in which there would be a greater degree of "anglomorphism" in the community.

KATERYNA LONGLEY (from the floor):

I notice that much of what has been said has been inward-looking. Here are some suggestions for external publicity that come to mind. There are mainstream radio programmes which would be interested in obtaining better knowledge of what the Ukrainian community feels about events in Ukraine. For example, I regularly speak on A.B.C. programmes about books. On the religious programme "Chronos" on Tuesday I intend to tell listeners about religious issues that have been raised at this conference. There are regular opportunities for many of us who have the right skills to approach and badger radio and television stations—not just by phone, but through written submissions—and to point out that we notice that, for example, very little time has been devoted on the A.B.C. to Ukrainian music; there is a wonderful heritage of Ukrainian music on the following records. They can be listed, with numbers. Another approach might be to put a programme together for "Radio Helicon," say—on Shevchenko, for a start. This should happen not just on the community radio stations, but on the mainstream stations. Otherwise all of the community's organizational activity is not properly recompensed: there is no increase in the knowledge of Ukraine outside the community. A plan for approaching the media needs to be made.

GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS:

I am the last person to be giving advice to communities, given the position that I am in and the occasional advice that I am supposed to give the government, but several matters have come to my mind that I must comment on. I preface this with a remark that may not be pleasant to some of you: the real issues of Ukraine will be determined by the 40 million or so Ukrainians that live there, and

anything the community does or thinks here is peripheral to what will actually happen. This does not mean that the community should not gear up and be prepared to give support, as might any expatriate community. But I believe that events in Ukraine and changes in the politics of Ukraine will overtake anything that we have seen to date and will even cause Michael to re-evaluate his fourfold scenario.

I would suggest, bearing this in mind, that the key issue which arises out of Stefan's comments is really the question of planning for the here and now. I don't believe in the future. I support another economist, John Maynard Keynes, who said that we need not worry about the future because in the long term we're all dead anyway. What that means is that the community has to start looking at its linguistic and cultural structures and working on a plan for their maintenance and development. I keep using the word "development" as well as "maintenance." This will entail contact with Ukraine, Canada, the United States, parts of Europe—places where there are Ukrainian communities that are developing in their own way and in which there will be an ongoing Ukrainian cultural presence. A lot of thought has to be given to ways in which that is to be maintained and sustained, particularly in the context of an ageing community—which will in itself entail cost.

But I do not think that all ageing has to be looked at in terms of institutionalization—and I do not say that simply because governments are turning away from institutionalization. There are programmes that can be developed which will enable people to live within their homes and their community (except, of course, people who are chronically ill or traumatized in a way which means that they need either hospitalization or care). But bear in mind that both welfare programmes and cultural programmes are expensive.

There is clearly the issue of political pressure and consciousness-raising. I suspect that you [Kateryna Longley] are over-optimistic. There are people in the A.B.C. who are willing to listen and create space, but to break through to Australian society you need access to the commercial stations, the big T.V. stations which are happy to run anything as long as it contains horror or trauma or shooting. But when you want to get down to explaining the serious, hard issues of Ukrainian existence, I suspect you are going to need lots of documentaries, and then you will be asked for contributions. But there is a valid point in what was said: a lot of care needs to be given to how you access the media.

There are in Australia bigger, stronger communities with political clout. It is sometimes claimed that the Greeks have political clout. We do, in some ways: we have proportionally more members of parliament and more people in political parties than many other groups. When Michael was talking earlier I noted that there was no strong Ukrainian presence in any Australian political party.

Political pressure does need to be thought of, and at any level of sophistication it requires a fair amount of money, full-time staff, and people who are oriented towards working with politicians. And it is not just the key politicians that you have to influence. You have to keep looking down the line to work out who are the future leaders. You have to work out which of the confounded political advisers you are going to spend time talking to, which of the imbecilic bureaucrats who otherwise stand in your way (such as myself) you have got to spend time drinking with at some function or other. Let's not think of politics as anything other than a very rough form of transaction, a commercial activity in which people trade things, and you need to get into that area, because even as a relatively resource-rich community you will still need cash and Government grants. Now Government grants are becoming tougher and tougher to get, but there will still be some available. For the development of an elderly people's home, I think, the present level of Commonwealth subsidization is between 1.5 and 2 million, depending on how much the community itself would put in. Consider the range of projects you may need, and argue for those. I don't say this simply because I regard myself as being of ethnic origin, I regard it as a right of communities to have community-based services. I don't believe that Government services or general community-based services can cater for all aging or sick ethnic populations.

One of the key things the community has to start thinking about is its own level of secondary taxation. Secondary taxation is the extent to which the community contributes to itself. You have done this for your Church, your schools, your communal buildings and infrastructure. Someone ought to sit down and have a good look at the fund-raising that goes on across the community. One of the key priority issues—and you are fortunate in that you have economists and financial managers in the co-operative movement who are able to do this—is to plan for the monies you are going to need to sustain programmes for the immediate future and the long-term

future, because one would rather hope that there will be a significant Ukrainian community in Australia not forty years hence, but a hundred years hence.

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Ukrainian Settlement in Australia

**Fifth Conference, Melbourne
16-18 February 1990**

Edited by Marko Pavlyshyn

This book presents papers from a conference held in Melbourne in 1990 under the auspices of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia and two centres at Monash University: the Centre for Migrant and Intercultural Studies and the National Centre for Research and Development in Australian Studies. The collection incorporates essays in English by Anna Berehulak, Wsevolod Isajiw, James Jupp, Halyna Koscharsky, Andrew Lachowicz, Kateryna Longley, Marko Pavlyshyn, Anna Shymkiw and Linda Sydor, and in Ukrainian by Stepan Lysenko, Roman Mykytowycz and Stepan Radion. Also included is the text of a panel discussion on the topic, "Forty Years of the Ukrainian Community in Victoria: Perspectives on the Past and Future," whose participants were Ihor Gordijew, Wsevolod Isajiw, James Jupp, Michael Lawriwsky, George Papadopoulos and Stefan Romaniw.